

ACTIVATION POLICIES DURING THE EU CANDIDACY PROCESS: AN
ANALYSIS INTO THE PROFILES, EXPERIENCES AND EXPECTATIONS OF
TURKISH WOMEN ATTENDING LABOUR MARKET TRAINING
PROGRAMS

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ABSTRACT

ACTIVATION POLICIES DURING THE EU CANDIDACY PROCESS: AN ANALYSIS INTO THE PROFILES, EXPERIENCES AND EXPECTATIONS OF TURKISH WOMEN ATTENDING LABOUR MARKET TRAINING PROGRAMS

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This thesis aims to inquire the profiles, experiences and expectations of Turkish women attending the labour market training programs. The latter emerged as one of the key dimensions of the labour market policies adopted by Turkey within the EU candidacy process, in order to raise its female labour force participation rates which is well below the EU standards. The study first reviews the status of Turkish women in the labour market. It then locates the development of the activation approach in labour market policies within the framework of increasing neoliberalisation of the Turkish economy, which especially since the 2000s, overlapped with Turkey's EU candidacy process. The study derives on field work that entailed a combination of focus group and in depth interviews with women

who were enrolled at the time or had successfully completed labour market training programs organised by both the central government (Is-Kur contracted training programs) and one of the local governments (Cankaya Municipality, Ankara). Through an analysis of the self-statements of the interviewees, the study finds that such programs have considerable potential in terms of increasing women's labour force participation, their prospects for economic empowerment and that they contribute to women's self-confidence and self-actualization. The study also highlights that provision of labour market training programs through multiple channels such as through programs coordinated by both the central and local governments increases the accessibility of the programs concerned for women.

Keywords: Labour Market Training Programs, Women, Active Labour Market Policies, European Union

ÖZ

AB ADAYLIK SÜRECİNDE AKTİF İSTİHDAM POLİTİKALARI: TÜRKİYE’DE MESLEKİ EĞİTİM KURSLARINA KATILAN KADINLARIN PROFİL, DENEYİM VE BEKLENTİLERİNE YÖNELİK BİR ANALİZ

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Bu tezin amacı Türkiye’de mesleki eğitim kurslarına katılan kadınların profil, deneyim ve beklentilerini analiz etmektir. Bu kurslar, Türkiye’nin adaylık sürecinde, kadınların AB ortalamasının oldukça altında olan işgücüne katılım oranının arttırılmasına yönelik olarak benimsediği işgücü piyasası politikalarının önemli bileşenlerinden biri olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Çalışma, Türkiye işgücü piyasasında kadının durumunu inceledikten sonra ülke ekonomisinin özellikle 2000li yıllardan beri AB adaylık süreciyle örtüşen neoliberalleşme süreci çerçevesinde işgücü piyasası politikalarında aktifleşme yaklaşımının gelişimine odaklanmaktadır. Çalışma, merkezi hükümet (İŞKUR) ve yerel hükümetlerden biri (Çankaya Belediyesi, Ankara) tarafından düzenlenen mesleki eğitim kurslarına

kayıtlı olan ya da hâlihazırda başarıyla tamamlamış olan kadınlarla yapılan odak grup ve derinlemesine mülakatları içeren bir alan çalışmasına dayanmaktadır. Kadınların kendi ifadelerinden hareketle, çalışmada bu programların kadınların işgücü piyasasına katılımlarını ve ekonomik güçlendirme olanaklarını artırma konusunda önemli bir potansiyele sahip olduğu ve kadınların özgüvenlerine ve kendilerini gerçekleştirmelerine katkıda bulunduğu görülmektedir. Çalışma ayrıca mesleki eğitim kurslarının, hem merkezi hem de yerel hükümetler gibi çeşitli kanallar aracılığıyla verilmesinin, söz konusu programların kadınlar açısından erişilebilirliğini arttırdığına dikkati çekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mesleki Eğitim Kursları, Kadın, Aktif İstihdam Politikaları, Avrupa Birliği

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP:	Justice and Development Party
ALMPs:	Active Labour Market Policies
CEDAW:	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
EES:	European Employment Strategy
EU:	European Union
ILO:	International Labour Organization
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
IPA:	Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance
ISKUR:	Turkish Public Employment Agency
OECD:	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
TISK:	Turkish Confederation of Employers' Associations
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
WB:	World Bank

CHAPTER 1

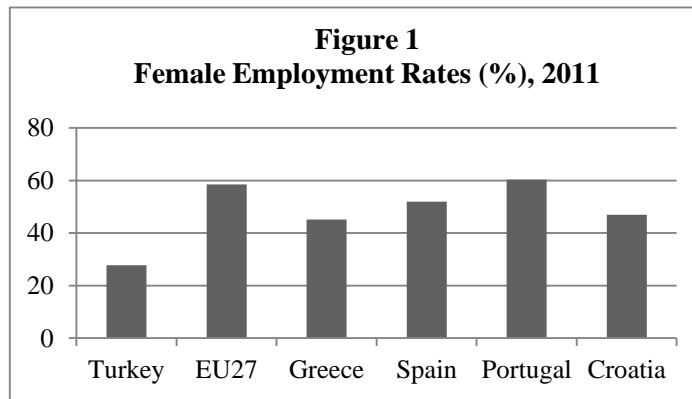
INTRODUCTION

In the latest years, one of the recurrent themes of the progress reports, as a critical document guiding the accession process between Turkey and the European Union, has been the status of women in the society which largely draws upon their disadvantaged position in the labour market. They are frequently highlighted as a societal group requiring the specific attention of the policy-makers since the statistics reveal an adverse picture in terms of especially the low labour force participation rates. In 2011, the related rates have shown a difference of almost over 30% (as 31% for Turkey and 64.9% for the EU in average), which will be evaluated in detail later. In parallel with the increased neoliberalisation of the economy and also as a part of the efforts to harmonize with the European Employment Strategy, the country has increasingly been involved in the implementation of the active labour market policies so as to address such questions. Therefore, an active orientation has been promoted fervently to elevate the status of women in the labour market in line with the neoliberal inclinations of such international agencies as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. To that regard, the labour market training programs, which can be defined as the measures to enhance the employability of the individuals through human capital investments, have increasingly emerged as one of the essential tools to elevate the status of women in the labour market. One of the key institutions for the implementation of such measures is the Public Employment Agency which has carried out numerous projects in cooperation with international agencies like the EU as well, however, the recent years have also marked an increasing interest by the local administrative units in the social policy field, in particular the labour market questions, suggesting a variety in the institutions involved. This study aims to explore the profiles, expectations and experiences of the women who participate

in the labour market training programs in Turkey. In order to gain an insight into the profiles of the trainees, an inquiry is undertaken regarding their age, marital status and their socio-economic background. Furthermore, an analysis is performed so as to identify the main factors influencing their participation in such programs and in the labour market, to grasp their conception and characterization of the working life, and to lay out their self-perceptions as to the impacts of the program on their labour market prospects and their personal lives.

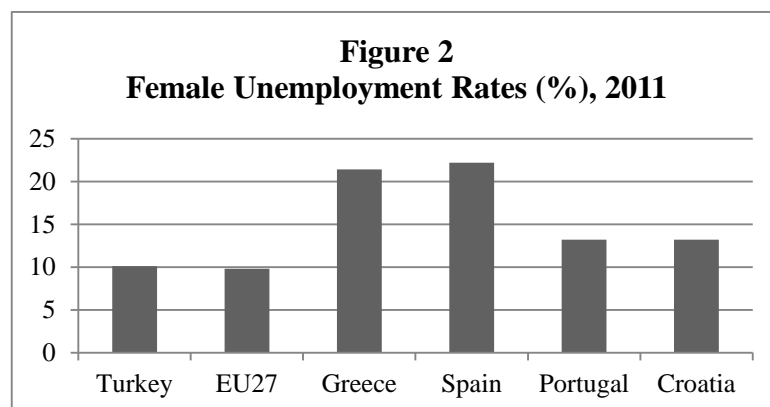
1.1. Background to the Study: The Labour Market Status of Turkish Women

So as to comprehend why the issue has been a key constituent of the policy agenda and a constant of the domestic and international discourse, a glance at the current situation of the women in the labour market may be wise. To point to the gravity of the question, the analysis will be complemented with a comparative and a chronological viewpoint. For the comparison to be based on rational grounds, the countries chosen are the Mediterranean member states of the EU (Spain, Portugal and Greece), Croatia (for being the latest acceding country to be announced) and the general statistics covering all of the member states (EU27). To begin with, the female employment rates in Figure 1 reveals a concerning gap between the EU members, including even the newly acceding Croatia, and Turkey. In 2011, the overall employment rate for the EU has been recorded to be more than 58% while it has been merely around 27% for Turkey. In relation to the domestic patterns, the statistics indicate that the services and the agricultural sectors accommodate the largest sum of the employed women in the country while the share of the industry remains quite limited.



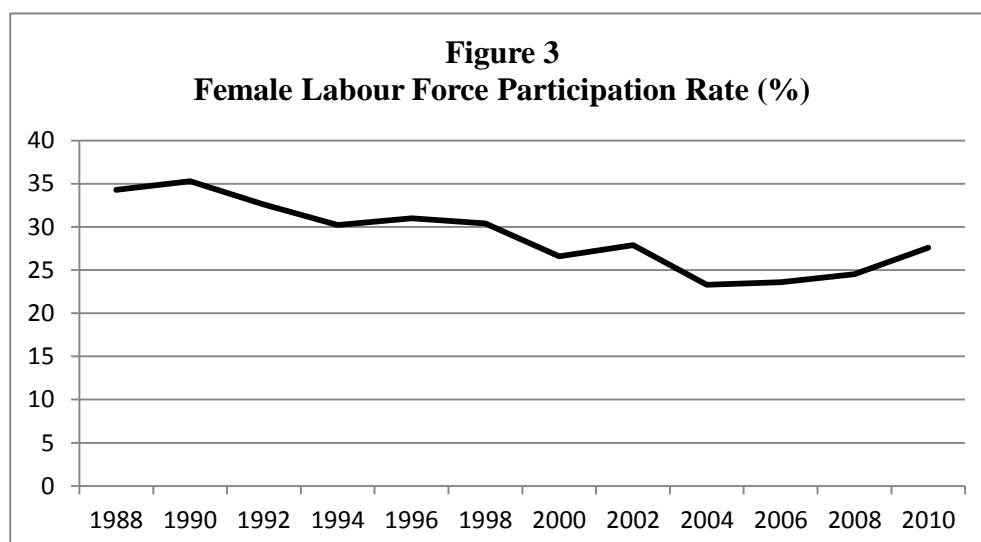
Source: Eurostat

Unlike the previous table, the data on the unemployment rates show a fairly better performance by Turkey when compared to some other members like Spain or Greece. Although the rate in Turkey (10.1%) is still slightly above the EU average (9.8%), it does not deliver the worst performance among the countries some of which seem to be hit by the recent crisis more severely. To that regard, Eser and Terzi (2008) warn that Turkey's statistics can seem to outperform some European states; however, it may disguise further troubling questions like the low labour force participation rates and the number of women working as unpaid family workers or in the informal sector.



Source: Eurostat

As hinted earlier, the grave nature of the situation manifests itself more thoroughly when the statistics on the labour market participation for women is reviewed. According to the Eurostat data, even the countries marked with high unemployment rates for women previously, such as Spain and Greece, show quite successful performances in terms of the activity rates. Turkey, on the other hand, has a dismal record on the issue; the female labour force participation for women is merely 31% in 2011 (when compared to the EU average of 64.8%). Furthermore, the gap between the male and female participation rates is the largest in Turkey and actually the performance in terms of the men is close to the EU: It is 75.6% for Turkey whereas 77.6% for the EU overall. What is further curious here is that the country emerges as a conspicuous case in terms of the female labour force dynamics. Besides its poor performance, as the statistical analysis above has shown, one of the factors that make the country's case so noticeable is that the female labour force participation and employment rates were in decline at a time which was rather marked with an opposite universal trend. It is believed that since the demise of the post-war Keynesian order meant the dissolution of ideals like full employment and generous welfare benefits, which is to be reviewed in the following chapters, in many parts of the world the women increasingly felt the need to participate in the labour market to contribute to the household budget. Furthermore, the flexible arrangements through the neoliberal transformation in the labour markets are believed to have encouraged an increasing number of women to become active; consequently, many countries have experienced a process which has been frequently labelled as the "feminization" of the workforce (Standing, 1989). What intrigues the mind in this picture is the trend in Turkey which emerges as an odd-one-out with rather severe decreases in the rates. The statistics below in Figure 3 show that in the late 80s and early 90s the country had higher rates of female labour force participation; however, the following decade witnessed a drastic fall.



Source: Turkish Statistical Institute

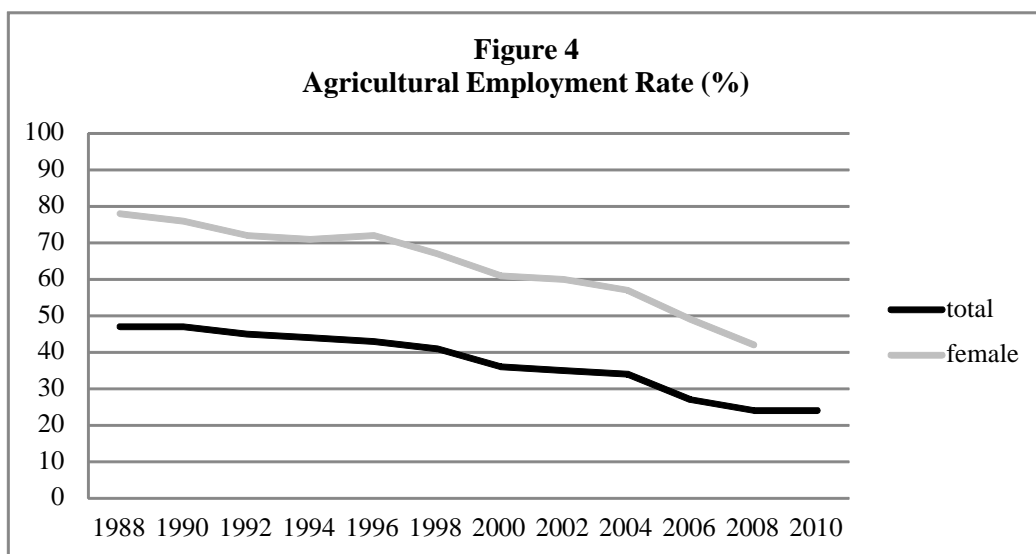
The picture drawn so far through the help of the statistics suggests the need for a closer examination of the conditions surrounding Turkish women, which clearly seem to constrain them from actively taking part in the labour market. It should therefore be noted that in Turkey women constitute an interesting societal group rather functioning as an intersection of the generally experienced challenges of the labour market together with the gender-specific dynamics. Consequently, in an economy beset with various economic problems, they seem to face a double-edged situation in order to acquire a favourable spot in the labour market.

1.2. The Sources of the low labour force participation by women in Turkey

A general overview of the literature shows that there are certain explanatory factors put forward by the majority of the scholars in an effort to clarify the mentioned oddness. One of the key reasons for the low rates of female labour force participation is identified as the changes in the agricultural employment patterns as a result of the reforms pursued since the 1980s in line with the neoliberal inclinations rising in the world (mostly symbolized by politicians like Reagan in

the USA and Thatcher in the UK). This neoliberalization process, which accelerated since the 90s (Mütevelliöđlu and Işıık, 2009), fundamentally meant the subversion of the import substitution model and its replacement with an export-oriented growth model. In this period, the orientations and practices of the country were directed by the outlook of certain international organizations like the World Bank and the IMF which encouraged Turkey to dissolve the agricultural production in order to increase the efficiency of the economy and the country initiated a reform scheme through which the agricultural subsidies were abrogated (Mütevelliöđlu and Işıık, 2009). All these initiatives eliminated the agricultural sector from functioning as a lucrative business and the farmers faced harsher conditions of poverty, forcing them to move to the cities (Mütevelliöđlu and Işıık, 2009).

The employment patterns of women constitute one of the key indicators to distinguish the impact of these changes and reforms. Historically, the agricultural sector has been one of the primary economic activities for women who have mostly worked in their families' farms. The figure below statistically summarizes the following decline in the share of agricultural sector both in the total and female employment. It can be seen that in 1988 the share of agriculture was 47% in total employment and 78% in female employment. However, as the sector started to lose its attractiveness as a source of income due to the abovementioned policies, the rates have fallen for the last two decades. In 2010, the share of agriculture was specified as 24% in total employment and 39% in female employment.



Source: World Bank Data (World Development Indicators & Global Development Finance)

As argued earlier, this picture brought about massive waves of migration to the cities; however, as a result of the emerging jobless growth phenomenon, which indicates an unparalleled relationship between the growth rates and the labour market performance, as to be handled more in detail later, the employment created or already available in the urban could not compensate the labour force shed from the rural. To that regard, one of the societal groups to be most hit has been the women who previously could work as unpaid family workers in the rural areas but now faced a harsh challenge of surviving the competitive market conditions. Since the skills that are of value in the agricultural sector are quite different from what is required in the urban labour market conditions (P. Ilkkaracan and I. Ilkkaracan, 1998), economically, it is believed that most women lack the required skills to enter the labour market. Consequently, as opposed to men, who maintain their active status in the labour market, most women choose to stay at home and embrace their reproductive role for the society. Here emerges one of the differences in the experiences of men and women about the migration process in that this outcome of “housewifization” constitutes a solely female experience (P. Ilkkaracan

and I. Ilkcaracan, 1998). As a result, the labour force participation rates for these women in the cities remain quite low (WB, 2009).

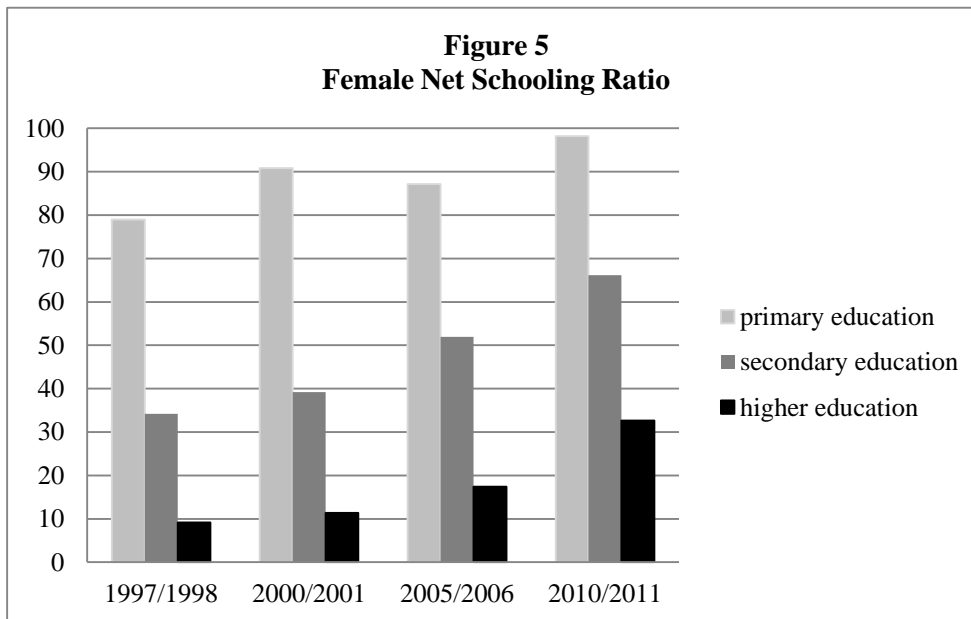
For the ones who feel the need to work to earn a living, the market does not function as a welcoming host and, as low-qualified workers, they face various restrictions about the areas where they can work and do not have much choice left but to opt for undeclared or temporary jobs with quite poorer outcomes (Mütevellioğlu and Işık, 2009). They are consequently trapped in jobs with lower prospects of wage, career prospects and social security conditions; therefore, one of the striking factors about those women in the cities is identified as the dominance of undeclared work (WB, 2009). The lack of sufficient job creation in the economy in combination with the already existing high rates of unemployment constrains women to the informal jobs which offer adverse working conditions. Thus, women may prefer to remain excluded from the labour market fully.

In addition to the dissolution of the agricultural employment, the insufficient educational attainment of the female population is usually put forward as one of the basic determinants of their labour market status. It is proposed that in line with the patriarchal configurations of the society, the families may tend to discriminate between their daughters and sons in the provision of education opportunities (WB, 2009). Especially when it is a low-income family and therefore has to manage the already restricted resources, they may tend to prioritize the boys' education over the girls' (Ayvaz Kızılgöl, 2012). This is directly linked to the gender-based expectations of the family from their children: the boys are perceived as the main bearer of the duty of earning a living (with the father or after the father) whereas the daughters are perceived as soon-to-leave members of the household who should focus on mastering their skills of domestic duties. Considering that for a long time agriculture has been the main economic activity for women, the lack of need for investment in the young girls' education has been maintained.

To begin with, the country has been beset with an alarming issue of illiteracy for decades and there has been a substantial improvement for both men and women since the 1940s by a decrease of almost 70%, according to the data from the Turkish Statistical Institute. However, it should be underlined here that illiteracy still presents itself as a concern for the female population. The statistics suggest that there is a distinct difference between the male and female rates in all the years and in particular, the data on the recent years indicate that there is still a significant amount of illiterate female population requiring special attention through far-reaching initiatives. For instance, in 2010, the 10% of the women are registered as illiterate, which corresponds to an important share in today's knowledge economy.

A similar line of improvement can actually be traced in all educational levels as the transformation in the macroeconomic structure of the country and the accompanying globalization have resulted in a change in the levels of skills and education demanded by the capital. As a consequence, a higher level of education has been promoted for all segments of the society. Here in order to point to the related improvements in the education levels of the women, certain statistics are provided in the figure below which shows that there is an increase in the schooling rates for women in the selected years¹. It can be seen that one of the most significant increases has been experienced in the rate of women in the higher education. In 1997, less than 10% of the women study in a university while in 2010 more than 30% do so.

¹ The statistics in the table rests on the threefold educational system: primary, secondary and higher education. The table starts with the year of 1997 and 1998 since it is the year when the educational system in Turkey was transformed into eight-year compulsory education. The starting point has been chosen as such in order to guarantee a fair analysis.



Source: Turkish Statistical Institute

In order to elevate the educational levels of the women, there have been many campaigns and projects dedicated to the promotion of higher enrolment rates and longer school expectancy for girls. Actually today at some levels the country has parallel rates with the overall EU average. For instance, according to the Eurostat, the share of women among students in ISCED² 5 or 6 is 55.5% in the EU and 43.6% in Turkey in 2009. Therefore, it can be suggested that women compete fairly with men when it comes to tertiary education. However, what constitutes the problem is the conditions of the women who have migrated from the rural to the urban. The lack of education for these individuals, who are characterized by the World Bank report (2009) as “the largest share of the urban working-age population”, seems to have a direct bearing on their labour market status. It is suggested that women who do not pursue a college degree are usually constrained to jobs which do not offer high wages or favourable working conditions (WB,

² ISCED: International Standard Classification of Education

2009). In particular for the migrant women who are not equipped with the desired skills or qualities, there may be a need for measures like vocational training in order to adapt to the labour market conditions. However, before a higher-level intervention, there may be a need to handle the question of literacy (Ercan, 2007) or encouragement of the successful completion of the earlier educational stages. Here in terms of the initiatives for adult education, which have been increasingly promoted by the EU within the framework of the lifelong learning strategy, it should be indicated that Turkey displays a poorer performance than the EU. According to Eurostat data, for the women aged between 25 and 64, the rate of participation in an educational or training program is 9,6% in the EU whereas it is merely 2,7% in Turkey.

Another critical problem for women is the early leavers, which is underlined by the EU within the “smart growth” component of the EU 2020 Strategy. In that sense, the Eurostat data shows that the rate of women who left education or a training program early in 2011 is 11.6% in the EU. However, the statistics point to a graver situation for Turkey as the rate is 45.7%. An interesting point here may be the difference between the women who want to work and women who do not want to work. The rates of early leavers for the former are quite low (4.3% for the EU and 4.2% for Turkey). However, the ones for the latter are quite higher for Turkey (32.8%). This can be interpreted as a sign for the close link between education and employment as perceived by women. In other words, Turkish women are inclined to establish a close link between the necessity to continue education and the employment status as an outcome. Therefore, they tend to quit such an endeavour more if they do not desire to take an active part in the labour market in the end. In relation, the table below showing the labour force participation rates with a reference to the educational status clearly displays the importance of the level of qualities for the individuals to possess in their integration to the labour market.

Table 1
Labour force participation rates with reference to the educational levels (%), 2011

	Illiterate	Literate but no educational degree	Primary education	High school	College
Male	37.8	57.5	51.7	69.7	85.3
Female	17.1	21.4	21.1	30.3	70.8

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute

Through a review of the statistics in the table above, it can be seen that there is a distinct difference between men and women and that the participation rates rocket as the level of educational attainment increases. Also, it attracts the attention that except for the women with a college degree, the labour force participation rates still remain quite low whereas the men, even at the lowest levels of the table, show a higher rate of integration into the labour market, which may be contemplated as an indicator of the male breadwinner model.

So far, the changes in the agricultural employment patterns and the comparatively low levels of educational attainment by the women have been emphasized as two of the commonly highlighted reasons for their inferior labour market status. In the course of the arguments, the patriarchal order has been highlighted several times; however, it may be rational to handle it more in detail. Forsberg, Gonäs and Perrons (2000) point to the presence of “gender contracts” which influence the way that the daily practices are conducted and argue that it determines the behavioural expectations for both men and women. In that respect, the dominant gender contract in Turkey is in parallel with the traditionally attached roles of the two sexes. Here it may also be wise to ponder on the welfare regime in the country which is usually placed among the countries identified alongside the Southern European Model in Esping-Andersen’s (1990) well-known typology, with Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece. One of the typical attributes of the model in

Turkey is the presence of a male breadwinner in the family which constitutes the core of the social structure (Grütjen, 2008). Normally, while the male are charged with earning a living, the female are charged with the responsibility of taking care of the family members and the house. In general, the Turkish welfare regime structures the family as the key welfare provider (Grütjen, 2008) and, as shown in the Family Structure Survey held in 2006, the women are predominantly associated with household chores and child or elderly care (see Table 2).

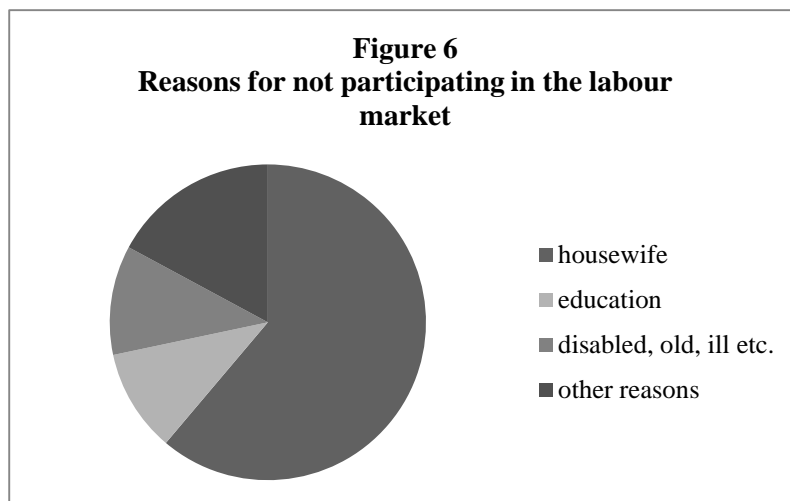
Table 2
By whom the housework is done (%)

	Men	Women
Cooking	2	87.1
Ironing	2.2	84.3
Preparing the meal table	2.4	74.1
Daily shopping	33.3	37.7
Paying monthly bills	69.1	17.0
Small repairing jobs	68.4	6.7

Source: Family Structure Survey (Turkish Statistical Institute) (2006)

The same survey also reveals the general thoughts on working women, stating that almost 65% of the women identify housework as the essential duty of the women. It is interesting that men show lower rates for the same question; that is to say, 60.7% of men are of the same conviction. Therefore, the societal norms that influence the gender roles are not entirely on men but also on women who seem to have acknowledged them. A recent research by Yılmaz Esmer (2012) also provides

hints into the rooted perceptions of gender-based roles in the social practices³. According to the study, 71% of Turkish women agree with the statement that men should be the head of the household and 59% confirm that women should always obey their husbands. As a consequence, it is safe to suggest that a substantial portion of the women in the country live their lives in total accordance with the patriarchal settings and these convictions prove to function as impediments for women to enter or stay in the labour market. According to the statistics from the Turkish Statistical Institute (shown in the figure below), being a housewife constitutes the principal reason for not participating in the labour market.



Source: Turkish Statistical Institute

In relation, here the marital status can be put forward as a factor also. For instance, the statistics for the year 2011 show that the rate of labour force participation is usually much higher for the single women (36.5%) when compared to the currently

³ http://www.bahcesehir.edu.tr/haber/turkiye_degerler_atlasi_2012_yayinlandi (last accessed on 04.10.2012)

married ones (28.1%). In that sense, it can be suggested that some women tend to quit the labour market once they get married, pointing to the prevalence of the male breadwinner model. Furthermore, women are characterized as the primarily responsible parent for raising the child, which is also supported by the same survey by the Statistical Institute in 2006. On average, the caring of the children (aged 0-5) is assumed by the mother by 92.1%. The share of the father is quite limited and it can be viewed that the mother does not get adequate help or support from professionals and institutions. The policies or services that are usually compiled under the “work-family reconciliation policies” are not accessible for all the women. The decision to hire a professional as a care-taker at home or to send to a private school during the daytime depends on the costs. Consequently, it is suggested that the high costs attached to receiving such services is one of the factors that encourage women to leave the labour market and take care of the children themselves at home (Ecevit, 2008). To that regard, it can be argued that the dominant care regime has an influence on the labour market participation as well as the choices of how, when and where to work for women (Ilkkaracan, 2010).

Presumably a further related point to be raised here may be the growing tendency for having women to contribute to the family budget through the care of their children. Buğra and Yakut-Çakar (2010) argue that in general, the welfare structure in the country seems to position women as the “deserving poor” who do not take an active part in the labour market but take care of the family. To that regard, the authors point out that the option of staying at home for reproductive activities may seem an advantageous choice for many women, which is nourished by certain support mechanisms providing them with an income; and thus, they may remain out of the labour market for a long period of time and their chances of returning to employment gets harder. There are certain issues to be put forward in relation to the approach of the current government, as well. Buğra and Yakut-Çakar (2010) pinpoint a dilemma to arise for the outlook of the current government, which is believed to be caught between its conservative viewpoint and the

importance attached to women's economic agency as a consequence of globalization. As mentioned earlier, the prevailing welfare system seems to enhance the traditional role of the women within the society.

So far the main goal has been to provide a general picture of the question of women's labour market status in Turkey, in particular the alarmingly low rates of labour force participation, which has been followed by a discussion of the key reasons postulated in the literature. Given the gravity of the problem, the recent years have shown an increasing effort to ameliorate and the labour market training programs have been adopted as a fundamental tool to that aim. The Public Employment Agency, as the key provider in the country, has organized training courses since 1988 and the number of courses has increased particularly since the 2000s due to a rise in the financing through both domestic and foreign sources. It is suggested by the institution itself that between the years of 2002 and 2008 a total of 897 employment-guaranteed courses were implemented, which meant over 24 thousand trainees⁴. Furthermore, as mentioned in the beginning, the latest years have witnessed a marked rise in the interest by the local governments in the provision of such services. For instance, today many metropolitan municipalities offer various training courses to improve the individuals' skills in centres like ISMEK in Istanbul and BELMEK in Ankara. Similarly, the Municipality of Çankaya is a notable example here due to the increase in its efforts regarding local labour market policies in general and towards women, which will be reviewed in the following chapters.

In line with the rising prevalence of such active measures in the world, there has been an increasing interest in the evaluation of their impacts or effectiveness in the literature. However, taking into consideration the time limitations of a masters thesis, this study does not aim to analyse the actual impacts of labour market training programs on women's participation or employment rates because it is

⁴ <http://www.iskur.gov.tr/default/Yayinlar/DundenBugune.aspx> (last accessed on 10.04.2013)

acknowledged in the concerned literature that such measures have long gestation periods and that impact evaluations concluded in short term generate unreliable results (Meager, 2009). Instead, the study aims to inquire into the profiles, expectations and experiences of women who participate in these training programs.

1.3. The Field Study and the Research Methods

In line with the defined aim, the main method preferred is the conduct of interviews primarily with the trainees in order to detect the basic inclinations with regards to the headlines determined above. Through uncovering the fundamental similarities and differences in patterns of women's participation in such programs, the determining factors and the remarks on the impacts or contributions of the program, the ultimate goal is to examine the expectations or the self-perception of women regarding the impact of training as an active labour market policy on women's both economic and psychological or social empowerment. Here the economic empowerment aspect has been based on the trainees' expectations regarding an increase in their income, purchasing power and also their say in the decisions on the financial matters of the family. The psychological and social empowerment aspects, on the other hand, have been formulated on factors like self-actualization, awareness and self-confidence, in addition to the promotion of a more active social presence in the public sphere along with further contact with other individuals. In order to examine the profiles of the trainees, besides their personal characteristics like their marital status, their previous experiences in the labour market have been contemplated as a related issue in order to evaluate the kind of connection that they have to the market.

Implementation of the labour market training programs in Turkey is provided at multiple levels including both the central government institutions like the Public Employment Agency and local governments such as the municipalities. Given the multiple providers of such programs at multiple levels, a closely related secondary

objective of the study is established as to gain a general insight on whether this diversity in the provision channels brings about an increase in access to different groups of women. In parallel to one of the latest discussions in the literature; that is to say, the global tendency of the decentralization of certain policy fields, in particular the social policy, and the overall expectation that such local actors will be more involved in the related processes, it is considered that such a basic inquiry will be useful. Thus, the same group of questions probing into the impacts on empowerment has been directed to trainees from both channels of provision.

In order to conduct the field study, a series of interviews has been arranged with a number of trainees from the Turkish Public Employment Agency and the Çankaya Municipality in Ankara. For the former, the information presented in the institution's website has been utilized so as to detect the available courses and a few mediator institutions have been contacted. As positive responses have been received from an authority in the Agency's Department of Active Labour Market and NETIS, one of the mediator institutions, the interviews were initiated in December 2012. At the time, the institution was involved in the provision of three training programs in cooperation with ISKUR (cook assistance, pastry chef assistance and manicure), all of which offered job guarantees denoting that a certain amount of women would be provided with a job directly. All in all, seventeen trainees have been interviewed in the centre itself during the breaks of the lessons (seven women from manicure course, five women from pastry chef assistance course and again five women from cook assistance course). The access to women was enabled through the help of the authorities in the institution and the determining factor here was the availability of the free time. Some of the interviews were made as in-depth interviews with individual trainees; while others were group interviews (consisting of three trainees). The choice for complementing the in-depth interviews with group interviews was derived out of the experience of the first couple of in depth interviews conducted with the trainees. The researcher felt that women were more constrained on one to one conversations with the researcher whereas they felt more comfortable in the presence of their colleagues

who attend the same course. Group interviews in this context emerged as a more viable option that provides a more relaxed atmosphere for women to respond to the questions, where they had a chance to reflect not only on their own experiences and expectations but also comment on others. Needless to say group interviews also proved more convenient for the trainees involved in terms of time and place. However, so as to guarantee the effectiveness of the analysis, the number of trainees in one interview has been limited to three.

Amongst the increasing number of municipalities that are getting involved in the provision of labour market training programs, the Cankaya Municipality in Ankara was selected for the purposes of this study. Initial interviews were conducted at the The Jobs and Employment Centre in the Çankaya Municipality so as to gain an insight about the related policies and outlook. In that sense, an authority in the Centre has been contacted for several times and as complementary a meeting with the Director of the Social Support and Aid Department in the Municipality has been arranged. Since the employment policies are implemented as a part of the social policies in combination with various aspects, other brief interviews have been executed with other units. For instance, so as to understand the labour market support of the Women's Shelter, a related unit has been contacted also to access statistical information. In addition, in order to grasp the nature of the courses regularly provided by the Municipality through its local organizations (TODAM), an authority in its Centre has been contacted. At the time there were no running labour market training programs organised by the Municipality. A formal permission was requested from the Municipality in order to provide access to the researcher to get into contact with trainees that participated and completed the programs previously organised by the Municipality Through the help of the authorities in the Centre, nine ex-trainees was accessed (four women from the childcare course and five women from elderly and sick care course). Since most of them were employed after the course and were currently working during the term of the study, the interviews were arranged to take place either in the workplace (if it is convenient) or in a previously agreed upon meeting place in

Kızılay (to facilitate the transportation). Hence in total, twenty-six trainees have been interviewed.

As a personal challenge, one of the difficulties of the process was the lack of experience in conducting a field study, which could be overcome through the valuable guidance of the thesis advisor and the kind attitude of the interviewees. Presumably another major difficulty was to convince the possible interviewees to participate in the meetings and to encourage them to speak of both positive and negative experiences which sometimes included sensitive issues like sexual abuse. Furthermore, since the questions also require references to the personal and family relationships, the dialogues and wordings have been formulated so as to minimize a negative reaction. On the same grounds, the effectiveness of the interviews has changed in accordance with whether the women felt comfortable enough via one-to-one or a focus group meeting. In the former, some trainees enjoyed a higher level of comfort in discussing the related matters in private; however, for the latter, also, some trainees seemed to benefit from the company of other women sharing similar experiences. Thus, although group meetings have been preferred specifically as a measure to ensure a comfortable environment for the interviewees, as highlighted earlier, such unwanted consequences were experienced. Furthermore, some meetings had to be cut short due to the time limitations from the personal calendar of the trainee or the course schedule of the centre. Another challenge during the study was the preference for not using a recording device in order to guarantee a certain level of comfort for the interviewees and to facilitate the conversation, which was actually appreciated by many but required a further effort of note-taking and mental work to remember.

As mentioned above, in accessing the women, the help of the institutions played a crucial role. The fact that the initial part in NETIS took part in the Centre itself helped eliminate the emergence of any discouragement on the part of the interviewees. However, since the courses analyzed within the framework of Çankaya Municipality had already been completed some time ago, the process of accessing and persuading the trainees proved to be a critical problem to mount. With

the help of an authority in the Jobs and Employment Centre, who herself contacted the trainees in the first place, a total of nine women could be reached. In that sense, one of the key challenges was to ensure their willingness and to arrange a date which would agree with their daily schedule; consequently, the field work took a longer amount of time than planned at the beginning.

1.4. Outline of the study

Following this introduction, a literature review is provided in order to establish the background for the leading arguments. In that sense, the second chapter locates the development of the active labour market policies within the framework of the increasing neoliberalization in the world and in Turkey since the 1980s. Firstly, it provides an overview of the global neoliberal restructuring of the welfare systems prevailing after the World War II, and the flexibilization of the labour markets therein. It then traces the development of the activation approach as a corollary of these policies, in line with the rise of neoliberal ideals and the enshrinement of the individualistic outlook as well as the aspiration for competitiveness. In that sense, an inquiry into the definition of the different types of active measures, their impacts, the convictions as to their effectiveness is presented. Then, the essence of such measures, which are named differently by different scholars, is traced in the development of the European Employment Strategy which is established as one of the key goals of the harmonization efforts in the labour market.

Subsequently, the third chapter moves on to provide a historical overview of the policies adopted to promote the labour market presence of women in Turkey. It explores the increasing significance attached to the question since the 1980s and focuses on the agency of the international financial organizations in the promotion of the flexible arrangements and active policies in the labour market. A similar line is traced in the harmonization efforts especially concerning the following decade, which includes the introduction of legal reforms to improve gender equality and

restructure the labour market and the implementation of active measures. It concludes with an overview of the restructuring of the Public Employment Agency during the term, the key policies and training programs adopted by the Agency as well as the administrative processes underlying the formation of these policies.

Deriving from the literature review presented in the previous chapters, the following chapters focus on the analysis of the findings of the field work. The fourth chapter concentrates on an evaluation of the profiles of the interviewees with regards to certain factors like their ages, level of educational attainment and marital status in an attempt to have an insight on their socio-economic backgrounds. The responses of the women are evaluated in order to assess their relationship to the labour market prior to the program, revealing the prevalence of a certain kind of female life cycle. Then, the fifth chapter is devoted to presenting the main findings on the expectations and experiences of women's participation in the labour market training programs. Two of the fundamental questions here aim to pinpoint the main factors to determine the women's decision to participate in such programs and in the labour market in general. To that regard, it is found that there are certain facilitating elements like the presence of the approval of the family or a high level of trust for the intermediary institutions. Moreover, the interviewees' perception regarding the working life is examined, which shows that quite positive characteristics such as further economic freedom and self-confidence are associated with working. Also, since the study could not provide a long-term analysis due to the time limitations, the self-statements of the interviewees are used to draw an analysis of the impacts of the training, including a boost in the employability and personality development. In the following part, an inquiry into the impact of the presence of alternative channels of training provision is presented. To that regard, it is observed that by triggering different sources of trust and expanding the access of the programs, the involvement of such local organizations as the municipalities can enhance the effectiveness of the measures in general. Finally, a concluding chapter is provided so as to recapitulate the main findings and arguments, as well as to offer further areas of research.

CHAPTER 2

THE GLOBAL WAVE OF NEOLIBERALIZATION AND THE PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF LABOUR MARKET ACTIVATION.

So far through the introduction, a general review of the women's status in the labour market in Turkey as well as the main reasons for this question has been presented. It has been highlighted that the issue has attracted an increasing level of attention particularly during the EU candidacy process and that in line with the tendencies parallel to the neoliberal preferences of the institutions like World Bank and in an effort to harmonize with the EU framework, the active policies have been championed as effective means to overcome the problems related to the labour market. To that regard, this chapter will probe into the rise of the neoliberal outlook in the global scene and in Europe so as to lay out the background to the development of the activation approach, which will be followed by a more detailed analysis of such measures.

2.1. The demise of the welfare state system and the rising neoliberalism

In this section, by deriving a distinction between the period after the Second World War until the mid-70s and the period since the 80s, the attention is forwarded to the drastic change in the state-market relations which has influenced each facet of policy-making and lead to the normalization of the activation approach. Underlying the post-war attempts were grave experiences like the two world wars and the Great Depression of 1930, which meant that the states felt the need to re-establish their roles concerning the markets. Then, the prevailing idea was that the market cannot be allowed to rule on its own (as envisaged through Adam Smith's invisible hand and laissez-faire conceptions) and that some form of state intervention was crucial; therefore, considering Polanyi's (2001) "double movement", the states

were to propel the second movement; i.e. they were to step in to tackle the unintended consequences of the market functioning. Thus, the post-war understanding did not leave the individual to deal with the market alone but held the state responsible for the provision of at least minimum conditions for all. The period was typically marked with Fordist regime which rested on the mass production processes through the employment of semi-skilled workers (Jessop, 2002). It denoted an order in which the firms were not exposed to high levels of competition, which is rather typical of the post-Fordist order to be analyzed later, and the firms could accommodate resources that they did not make use of (Streeck, 1999). In general, the Keynesian schemes were commonplace; therefore the state assumed the role to make restitutions for the market failures (Jessop, 2002).

Although there is no uniform conception of a welfare state, in the literature some common elements have been featured to have guided most states along the way. For instance, Esping-Andersen (1990) puts forward that in order to analyze the welfare state three points should be taken into consideration: the rights, the relationship between the state and the market, and the role of the family. In that sense, there was a mixed economy allowing for state intervention, as a result of the above-mentioned need felt for the second part of Polanyi's (2001) "double movement". Furthermore, the period, which is sometimes deemed as the "Golden Age" of capitalism, featured a wide range of welfare benefits and rights. Another common element to be raised for the period was a shared tendency towards the incorporation of the social partners into the policy-making process and thus collective bargaining was a strong instrument. In a similar vein, nationalization was a favoured means for the states. In delineating the basic features of the era, Jessop's (2002) analysis on what he calls as Keynesian Welfare National State can be practical. A closer analysis of the name suggests a useful characterization of the post-war order.

In the 70s, the post-war policies faced a severe crisis which led to a questioning of the fundamental notions of the order. In the literature, it is possible to pinpoint diverse arguments to explain the demise of this system. According to Esping-

Andersen (1996), one of the criticisms was that the welfare state could not keep up with the globalizing world. There was a growing tendency for internationalization in the world economy which undermined the nation-state-based conception of the post-war order (Jessop, 2003). Furthermore, domestically, the growth capacity of the Fordist system had been in decline, resulting in stagflation and decrease in profit-making (Jessop, 2002). The building blocks of the system like the welfare benefits and the nationalization projects were attacked for being an extra liability for the state since they were not being balanced enough with the tax base (Cerny, 2004) and the result was an increasing public debt. Therefore, the emerging conditions were found to tolerate no “profligate” spending (Esping-Andersen, 1996). Moreover, the two oil crises in the 70s played their part in the emergence of such a crisis since the effective functioning of the order rested on increasing productivity as well as oil supply (Jessop, 2002). All in all, there emerged grave problems like mass unemployment and the traditional Keynesian means of handling the crisis did not serve the purpose. To that regard, Jessop (2002) analyzes the phenomenon by separating between the symptoms of crisis *in* Fordism and crisis *of* Fordism. In that sense, as mentioned earlier, he marks the former with stagflation and the incremental deceleration of the growth. In the later stages, what Jessop (2002) names as the crisis *of* Fordism emerged, meaning a search for alternatives when the Fordist order could not offer viable solutions through its usual mechanisms, as a result of which neoliberalism came to the forefront.

The rise of neoliberal ideas, whose basis actually lies in the classical liberalism pioneered by Adam Smith (Esping-Andersen, 1990), is associated with the national policies pursued by Thatcher and Reagan in the 80s; however, the real transformation is believed to be triggered by the above-mentioned crisis in the post-war order (Cerny, 2004). The result of the crisis has been a reversal of the dynamics of the post-war era, calling for a change in many facets of the society, including the role of the state (Overbeek, 2003). The overall aim was to handle the unpromising growth and the high unemployment rates through “greater labour market and wage flexibility” (Esping-Andersen, 1996). In general, then, the

resulting order predominated by the neoliberal ideas upholds the rule of the market and the elimination of state intervention (Overbeek, 2003). Considering that even where neoliberalism has not been enshrined to its limits it has been influential through certain mechanisms (Jessop, 2002), it can be suggested that each state has experienced its own process of transformation. Nevertheless, certain common policies can be identified like privatization and deregulation. Overbeek (2003) analyzes the expansion of neoliberal ideals through two processes. Firstly, there was an attack on the fundamentals of the welfare state regimes and secondly, there was the rebuilding phase through which the market-led conceptions were normalized (Overbeek, 2003). According to Cerny (2004), with the dominating neoliberalism, the market emerged as the fundamental entity whose functioning is or should be prioritized both at the national and international levels.

Regarding the period after the 1980s, competition emerges as one of the common factors to determine the practices. To that regard, one of the defining features of the era is internationalization through which the boundaries among the states are blurred. Although it is criticized for being a vague concept, globalization has been used frequently as an explanatory factor for many policies. Overbeek (2003) characterizes globalization with “commodification” implying the subordination of the social to the economic. Cerny (2004) puts forward that neoliberalism developed within the framework of globalization as well as in line with it. Now the states, firms and individuals are faced with harsher conditions of competition and thus all economic actors behave and are expected to behave in a way to raise their competitiveness. In the literature, it is possible to observe some attempts to define such a relative term. Jessop (2002), for instance, highlights the importance of dynamic competitive advantage—a state open to change socially—in the long-run. In that sense, he marks the competitiveness as the primary concern at the expense of aiming full employment and identifies it as one of the key impacts of globalization upon the welfare states. Lee (1997) presents some of the arguments used to advocate the idea that welfare states cripple competitiveness. One such argument rests on the provision of welfare benefits and the resulting labour market

rigidities and eventually unemployment. This can be analyzed in close relation to the dependency culture argument which is based on the possible harms of the process whereby the individual can get accustomed to the benefits provided by the state; in other words, the welfare benefits are criticized for functioning as disincentives for the individuals to look for a job (Lee, 1997). The background is the negation of the “decommodification” process in the post-war era which used to target the provision of a minimum source of income to survive on without depending on the market conditions (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Another argument is that such spending on benefits tilts the balance in the budget and leads to an inefficient use of the funds (Lee, 1997). Thus, they are censured for hurting the competitiveness. In the conditions of the globalizing world and the neoliberal principles, the capital is to aspire to contain the labour costs and there is a change in the conception of the wage, pointing to how the capital or the state perceives the labour: as a source of skills and knowledge or as a replaceable factor of production (Jessop, 2002).

2.2. The neoliberalization of the labour markets and the resulting urge for flexibility

The labour markets are usually deemed as one of the fields where the impact of the neoliberal transformation can be observed clearly. At the individual level, the transition basically signifies the prominence of a new ethic championing the acquisitive man or woman (Overbeek, 2003). Cerny (2004) presents this orientation towards “a culture of individualistic, market-oriented behaviour” as one of the goals. Furthermore, as pointed out before, there has been a drastic change in the conception of wages which started to be evaluated as a cost, contrary to the Keynesian understanding in close relation to the domestic demand (Jessop, 2002). Similarly, as a response to the crisis, the states have gone for a revision of the benefit system. The scope, as well as the terms, of the welfare programs have been

limited and made conditional (Hemerijck, 1999). Moreover, the ideal of full employment, one of the essential goals of public policy (Cerny, 2004), is no longer considered as a viable goal. In terms of the ultimate labour market goals, the states do not entirely cross full employment off; however, it is no longer listed among the urgent ones (Jessop, 2002). Instead, it is substituted with the concept of “natural rate of unemployment” (Palley, 2004). As hinted so far, another fundamental change in relation to the labour market policy is concerning the approach to unemployment. The post-war order approached it as a failure of the structure of the market and identified it as “politically dangerous and ethically unacceptable” (Overbeek, 2003). Therefore, it was considered as a weakness of the capitalist system (Palley, 2004). On the contrary, the neoliberals conceive it as a failure of the individual (a lack of employability) and actually believe that some level of unemployment serves well in maintaining a desired level of wages and containing the labour movement (Overbeek, 2003). As all components are interrelated, one can establish a link between the demise of the powers of the trade unions and the approach to individuals as active risk-takers. As Ryner (2000) proposes, there emerges the possibility of the “atomization and anti-communitarian behaviour”.

Surely one of the key factors regarding the neoliberalization of the labour markets is the urge for flexibility. A brief look at the former era which is believed to be commanded by the Fordist system shows a dependence on the existence of a certain level of demand to meet the mass production through assembly lines (Jessop, 2002). The typical form of employment then was full-time work for an indefinite period of time; thus, the ideal was “standard and lasting employment” which was believed to provide decent living conditions for the individuals (Martín, 2009). However, the conditions of the post-80s are believed to render such formulations in the labour market ineffective in that above all neoliberalism urges all the participants in the market to be competitive, including both the companies and the workers, as well as the nations at the global level (Standing, 2009). In the new era, the production process is no longer the standardized formulation of the Fordist system; on the contrary, the structure is “demand-driven” and rests on the

production of a range of products (Strangleman and Warren, 2008). In other words, the new form of production is based on the provision of the demanded product in accordance with the customers' desire in the shortest amount of time (Karadeniz, 2011). Thus, as Gallie et al. (1998) put forward, the goods market is susceptible to changing demand levels and the capital is faced with a challenge to devise a way to adjust its costs accordingly. At the very general level, then, the post-Fordist order champions flexible production based on a diversity of goods, as opposed to the Fordist era with rather inflexible and standardized production (Jessop, 2002). In accordance, the workers are increasingly expected to adjust more easily and rapidly to the shifts and as pointed out earlier such a structure is deemed necessary for the states to ensure a high level of competitiveness. For instance, the World Economic Forum (2012) bases a country's competitiveness on twelve indicators including labour market efficiency which the WEF links to the presence of flexibility. In that sense, flexible arrangements are seen as closely linked to a country's economic performance and encouraged on the basis of both workers and wages. Actually, the workers are to be flexible in a variety of ways, which can be visualized with a review on the types of flexibility developed so far in the literature.

Although the term itself seems vague and rather wide, here quite basically it can be understood as the expectation on the side of the capital for the labour to be able to adapt more easily to the rapidly changing market conditions, which in the end can range from lower levels of wages to easier dismissal. It is possible to come across a variety of typologies as to what flexibility in the labour market may entail. For instance, Atkinson's approach (1984) (as cited in Gallie et al., 1998) presents three types of flexibility: *functional*, *pay* and *numerical*. The first one—*functional flexibility*—points to going beyond the job descriptions. Secondly, *pay flexibility* points to the ability of the employers to change the wages with respect to the individual or firm performance. Lastly, the *numerical flexibility* is about the employer's being able to modify the number of the employees and the working hours. Vermeulen (2008) uses a different terminology for the classification by driving another set of three essential forms of flexibility. He identifies the first as

numerical or *contractual flexibility* which refers to the emergence of non-permanent contracts like fixed-term or temporary work. The second is *temporal* or *financial flexibility*. The third is the same with the previous typology: *functional flexibility*. Strangleman and Warren (2008), on the other hand, put forward flexibility to be considered in three kinds: functional, numerical and temporal flexibility. As can be understood from the examples above, the literature provides different terminologies for the same content. Regardless of which one to choose, a fair picture of the labour market can be visualized to include a more liberal arrangement for the working hours, wages, job demarcations and contractual relations. It can be exemplified through such forms of employment as part-time, fixed-term, seasonal, home-based, unpaid family work and self-employment.

Despite the frequent reference to the “need” felt for flexibility in the labour market, the discussion does not go without doubts as to its real effectiveness. It is frequently put forward in the literature that the neoliberal hegemony in the world has brought about certain dire consequences for the labour market, such as the increase in the unemployment rates and the deregulation in the labour market as well as the spread of flexible and informal forms of work (Koray, 2011). The problem here is that flexibility comes with a price for the security and as Standing (2009) argues, the neoliberal system safeguards the interests of the capital and it is the employees who have to face the “risks and uncertainties”. Generally, in terms of the complications as to the spread of flexibility in the labour market, there are frequent references to Atkinson’s model of core-periphery structure. Atkinson (1984) (as cited in Gallie et al., 1998) analyzes a “flexible” firm in terms of the presence of two separate groups as the core and the periphery. On the one hand, there is the core including the employees with high levels of skills. They are usually surrounded with advanced conditions of work, and high levels of income, as well as a key role for the firm in the long term (Strangleman and Warren, 2008). The type of flexibility expected from them is *functional* so they may be asked to switch between different tasks (Gallie et al., 1998). On the other hand, there is the periphery which includes employees with non-standard contracts (temporary, part-

time and the like) and the type of flexibility expected from them to own is *numerical*; therefore, they prove to be “easily disposed” for the employers (Gallie et al., 1998). These employees are usually the ones equipped with lower levels of skills and provided with poor future prospects and social security (Strangleman and Warren, 2008). Although the periphery is usually considered to be low-qualified, the globalizing economy may also require some qualified workers to be on temporary contracts (Gallie et.al, 1998). However, the fundamental question does not rest on them since they are not the ones who experience the most adverse conditions of insecurity; rather, it is usually the low-skilled dimension of the periphery that tends to suffer, and the presence of such a group workers with the mentioned conditions is believed to enable the presence of the core with the most favourable circumstances (Gallie et.al, 1998).

What seems to aggravate the concerns is the fact that flexible forms of employment have been increasingly promoted as a remedy to unemployment as a result of the growth of the services sector and the inadequate level of job creation (Karadeniz, 2011). Besides, it has been stipulated as a valuable way of integrating certain societal groups into the labour market. Therefore, some workers appear to suffer from the mentioned complications much more since it has increasingly been emphasized as a viable option for attracting more people to the labour market, especially the women and the young. For instance, Buğra and Yakut-Çakar (2010) identify the expansion of such flexible jobs for women who have been associated with rather lower levels of skills but higher levels of “docility and subordination”. Here, in terms of women, it should be highlighted that what lies beneath the encouragement of such a strategy is the patriarchal conceptions and the conventional roles attached to women within the household. It is underlined that through flexible working hours the women are provided with an opportunity to both take care of their domestic responsibilities and earn an income. However, as suggested previously, there is another aspect to take into consideration: the employers’ viewpoint. Koray (2011) argues that the liberal tendencies in the economic policies benefit from an increase in the labour market participation rates

for women by their elevating the level of competition in the market and by their acceptance of working under the unfavourable conditions. It has been likewise emphasized that women's working in insecure and low-wage jobs serves as a profit-increasing factor for the capital (Güneş, 2011). Thus, flexibility has emerged as a way for it to enjoy a cheaper and more submissive labour force as the women have increasingly felt the need to enter the labour market and have been promoted to do so in order to contribute to the household budget.

2.3. The growing significance of the active labour market policies through the neoliberal transformation

So far it has been argued that through the neoliberal transformation various radical changes have been experienced in the economic and social structures with regards to the positions of the state, the capital, the individuals as well as the trade unions. Contrary to the demand-side management and provision of welfare benefits in the previous era, the neoliberal movement has proposed the supply-side measures and flexibilization as the key means of regulation (Jessop, 2002). One of the fundamental changes has taken place in the perception of equality. Streeck (1999) points out that earlier the equality of individuals used to be provided through welfare benefits aimed at compensating the market failures but now the equality is aimed through the initial endowments; in simple terms, not equal outcomes but equal opportunities are chased. Therefore, the author identifies the overall approach as "supply-side egalitarianism" which aspires to equality in terms of the "marketability of individuals" rather than protecting them from the market forces. As Jessop (2002) puts forward, the conditions of the era, like globalization and the emphasis on knowledge-economy, drive the states to take up supply-side measures and try to subject social sphere to the dictates of the market. Since the welfare policies aimed at redistribution are seen as too costly, the states now rather aim to promote such investments as human capital which will enable the individuals to

handle the competition themselves (Streeck, 1999). It has become harder for the unemployed to not take part in the suggested programs and some states have even accommodated sanctions to impose in case of non-compliance (Jessop, 2003). When considered in addition to other essential changes, which have been briefly revised so far, this notion surely underlies why the active labour market policies have lately been championed so much both in the national and international contexts. Although the ALMPs as a component of the rising post-Fordist model existed in the earlier practices of some states, even they felt the need to adaptation to the new circumstances and laid down requirements for participation in schemes like training programs (Jessop, 2002).

As raised earlier, at the very basic level, the post-war order incorporated a rather passive understanding of unemployment whereas the new competitive order brought about a more active attitude towards labour market policies which encourage the individuals to be employable and active during the terms of unemployment (Jessop, 2002). Quite basically, therefore, neoliberalism does not believe in the benefits of employment protection or labour market rigidities (Palley, 2004). Despite the overall expansion of activation approach as a part of the neoliberal ideals, Jessop (2002) points to the national varieties in accordance with the welfare state practices. In that sense, he bases his analysis on Esping-Andersen's well-known typology of welfare states in Europe. For instance, while the liberal welfare regimes tend to underline flexibility in wages and changes to the system of unemployment benefits, the social-democratic welfare regimes are inclined to preserve the old means of demand-side measures and the implementation of active labour market policies with an injected workfare perception (Jessop, 2002).

According to Jessop (2002), the developing activation approach incorporates four features. Briefly, it promotes flexibility and employability in the labour market and avoids guaranteeing a life-time job. Also, it features the role of the local administrations in devising a solution to the problems. Finally, it underscores the challenges of the day and the need for a knowledge-economy as well as policies

towards life-long learning. It repudiates the citizenship-based entitlements to benefits and rather sets out conditions for unemployment benefits. At the more general level, Jessop (2002) puts forward that the labour market policies in the new phase can be considered to range from “flexploitation” to “flexicurity”. By highlighting the workfarist perception, the author aims to underline that there is a change in the immediate concerns of the states from redistribution towards “productivist and cost-saving concerns”. In that sense, the Schumpeterian Workfare Post-national Regime, as he identifies, is inclined to develop welfare at the advantage of the businesses as opposed to the individuals (Jessop, 2003). The same inclination can be sensed at all levels as both domestic and international institutions are encouraged to adopt market-friendly policies (Cerny, 2004), which is in line with the overall understanding of the primacy of the market. The transformation is defined by Streeck (1999) as one from “protective and redistributive” towards “competitive and productive”. Consequently, there is a tendency towards curbing the social expenditures viewed rather as “populist demands and social engineering”, which is contrary to the immediate concerns related to economic growth (Jessop, 2003). All in all then, it can be summarized that for the policy-makers, the orientation towards activation is believed to correspond to a break from the welfare-based approach to unemployment prevailing in the post-war period, which conceives it as an individual responsibility rather than as a failure of the market itself. Therefore, it rests on the idea of dynamism resulting from the enhanced levels of activeness by both the employees and the job-seekers.

Today, unemployment can be identified as a common question perplexing all the countries around the world. Especially, after the recent crisis, even the countries with impressive records of employment figures have gone through difficult times in preserving the effectiveness of their labour markets. Despite the presence of minor national differences in combating the question, a basic universal tendency towards activation can be identified and, in terms of the spread and adoption of active measures, the role of some international organizations cannot be denied (Bonoli, 2010). For some time now, the agencies like the OECD have championed such

policies and actually prescribed them as a remedy for various labour market problems including unemployment and low participation rates. For the European Union, as well, the growing importance attached to the active measures rather than the passive ones has been a key element in the development of the European Employment Strategy (Greve, 2006), which will be discussed further in the following sections.

The active labour market policies have been implemented in the European Union for more than two decades (Uşen, 2007). However, the traces of similar policies in the continent can be found in national practices earlier than the Second World War (Işığışok and Emirgil, 2009). They are frequently associated with the policies in Sweden in the 1950s (Bonoli, 2010). The model is attributed to the Swedish economists Rehn and Meidner, whose aim was to devise a social-democratic scheme to achieve full employment (Işığışok and Emirgil, 2009). What was envisaged then can be identified as a combination of active labour market measures and generous unemployment benefits (Raveaud, 2007). The role to be played by the former was to compensate for the unemployment to arise from the possible challenges awaiting the low-productivity industries (Bonoli, 2010). Also, as there was a new demand of labour in the high-productivity firms, those measures were to satisfy the need for qualified workers (Ryner, 2000). Despite such origins, it is found that the present orientations are different from what was pursued then and actually the Swedish model was not emulated elsewhere (Bonoli, 2010).

In spite of such earlier roots, the active measures became quite widespread after the crisis in the 70s (Meager, 2009). In that sense, the dissemination of such practices and the spread of neoliberalism are closely intertwined. As underlined previously, one of the reasons for the crisis in the Keynesian model was the budgetary concerns and, resting on the birth of an “acquisitive individualist ethic” (Overbeek, 2003), the neoliberal agenda is distant to high levels of welfare spending to reach the goal of full employment. Instead, the unit of action is identified as the individual who is responsible for making use of the opportunities to increase his or her employability and take part in the competitive labour market

(Overbeek, 2003). Considering the fact that the neoliberal conception of unemployment is what underlies the ALMP practices, this new ethic can be seen as the rationale behind the stimulation of the active measures globally in the first place.

With regards to the transformation in Europe, apart from the above-mentioned universal conditions, the member states were faced with a singular process as the Maastricht process which altered the scope of policies available for them. To start with, as the integration progressed to cover monetary policy, they transferred that competence area to the European Central Bank. Similarly, in terms of the fiscal policy, the Stability and Growth Pact introduced further limitations on their capacity to respond to economic problems (Scharpf, 2002). Within the framework of the “convergence criteria”, a variety of restrictions were brought to the macroeconomic structures, specifically stipulating restrictions in terms of budget deficits, public debts and inflation; thus, the member states’ means of dealing with failures of the market were crippled and the deepening process eliminated the possible use of some instruments like the state aids, leaving the supply-side orientations as the viable options (Scharpf, 2002).

2.4. The definition and types of active labour market policies

One of the initial questions to raise here should probably be what the active labour market policies signify. Although it may seem ambiguous, it is possible to devise a common formula since it is now commonplace to observe similar policies to be adopted in many countries. For example, in his report for the European Parliament, Greve (2006) identifies the ALMPs as “a response to the existing market failures” and as “an investment in the future”. Similarly, Işığık and Emirgil (2009) opts for a generalization and includes all kinds of social policy measures that are implemented by the state and facilitate the unemployed to find a job or the employed to maintain it within the framework of ALMPs. As can be understood

from the beginning, the spread of the “active” measures rests on a desire to bypass the contrary orientation; that is to say, the policy of supporting people through generous welfare benefits during periods of unemployment. In that sense, Bonoli (2010) finds the choice over active measures as in contrary to the “postwar notions of citizenship based entitlement to social benefits”.

From a broad point of view, the ALMPs can be associated with a diversity of objectives. Some scholars have underlined the distinction between passive and active measures as intended by the policy-makers. Uşen (2007), for instance, identifies the aim of the ALMPs as facilitating the re-entry into the labour market, as opposed to merely providing income support. Greve (2006), on the other hand, points to the question of mismatch between supply and demand in the labour market and seeks the aim of the ALMPs in offering a solution to that sense for both the employers and the to-be-employees. It is believed that the former can boost their productivity through a labour force with higher human capital whereas the latter can benefit from the increasing opportunities for entering or staying in the labour market. Taking into consideration the points made so far, it can be suggested that the active labour market policies are associated first and foremost with the expected consequences in the economic realm; that is to say, a rise in the levels of employment and productivity above all (Uşen, 2007). However, there may also be parallel social considerations involved. As can be clearly seen in the EU’s policies towards social cohesion, employment is considered to be the primary means to combat poverty and social exclusion. In relation, such measures are used in the continent mainly as a means to tackle unemployment, boost employment, and help people to retain their jobs and to get back in the labour market once they are out (Greve, 2006). For the member states, the essential target group for the ALMPs has been the registered unemployed but there has been a marked increase in the attention paid towards encouraging the labour force participation, as well (Eurostat Yearbook, 2011). Here a distinction is made with the approach prevalent in the United States. In the other side of the Atlantic, these policies are found to be favoured for combating poverty rather than unemployment (Kluve and Schmidt,

2002) since the country is considered to suffer from such a problem for people with jobs.

As put forward previously, the preference for activation in the labour market has also been underscored by some international organizations which are influential on the choices developed at the national levels; therefore, to elucidate the concept, their stance can prove to be practical. To start with, the approach of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) can be explored, which is considered to contribute to the normalization of such policies (Gold, 2009). Since the 80s, the Organization has upheld the cuts on public spending to contribute to economic growth and the underlying conception was that wage—social or individual—is a cost of production (Jessop, 2002). In parallel, it has prescribed the implementation of active policies focusing on the individuals through increasing their employability and has tried to eliminate the presence of generous or long-term unemployment benefits to function as disincentives for people to look for a job. All in all, the Organization outlines the suggested strategies within the framework of “activation” measures and it frames the “essence of activation strategies” as portrayed in the table below.

Table 3
OECD’s Activation Approach

1	early intervention by the Public Employment Service (PES) in the unemployment spell and a high contact density between jobseekers and employment counsellors
2	regular reporting and monitoring of work availability and job-search actions
3	direct referrals of unemployed clients to vacant jobs
4	the setting-up of back-to-work agreements or individual action plans
5	referral to active labor market programs (ALMPs) to prevent loss of motivation, skills and employability as a result of longer-term joblessness

Source: OECD (2007)

The OECD’s outlook in this subject clearly reflects the promoted transition to the active policies in the labour market. As the table above shows, it accentuates the

need to encourage the job-seekers to become more active in their search and attaches great importance to overcoming the problem of mismatch between the labour supply and labour demand through the use of policies like training programs and individualized assistance. Keeley (2007) defines the outlook of the OECD as an “active social policy” which aims boosting investments in individuals with the underlying belief that enhancing human capital will increase the individuals’ competitiveness in the labour market.

As expressed earlier, the role assumed by the Organization in the spread of active interventions has been critical; especially, the Jobs Study dated 1994 was of significant influence (Meager, 2009). Its essential standpoint highlights the harsh competition forcing the firms to be engaged in a constant race of increasing productivity and efficiency and refers to a need to transform “from passive income support to active measures” (OECD, 1994). It rationalizes such a need through the prevailing conception that it is better to promote the unemployed to get a job rather than providing financial compensation (OECD, 1996). In the mentioned study in 1994, the Organization prescribes a set of measures to guide the members in tackling the labour market questions. Apart from a reference to the need for flexible arrangements in the labour market, there is a marked tendency for the implementation of active labour market policies. Actually the recommendations can be grouped into two. Some directly promote the adoption or improvement of active measures like entrepreneurship or training opportunities. Others, on the other hand, point to the advantages of revising the welfare benefits provided during the terms of unemployment. In advocating an active approach in labour market policies, the Organization does not uphold a total elimination of the passive measures; on the contrary, it argues for the existence of a fine balance between the active and passive interactions (OECD, 1996). However, all in all, the activation strategies seem to have the upper hand in the trade-off, which denotes the implementation of a variety of measures.

The literature is rich in typologies proposed for the evaluation of the active labour market policies. Despite the existence of prolific points of view to that

matter, a basic common ground can be identified, which serves all as a point of origin: the distinction between passive and active policies concerning the labour market. As formulated since the beginning of the chapter, such a conception actually points to a more basic distinction between the practices of the post-war period and the period after the 70s under the overwhelming influence of the neoliberal outlook. In that sense, the former mainly focuses on compensating for the loss of income during terms of unemployment (Meager, 2009), which can be exemplified through such interventions as unemployment benefits and insurance. Uşen (2007) argues that the passive policies prevailing in the post-war era proved to be no solution for unemployment and also they were not “budget-friendly”. By trying to thwart these, the policy-makers aimed to “activate” the individuals in the labour market. In identifying the types, some scholars prefer a simpler approach by adopting a classification based on a single trait while others prefer a more detailed and thus complex categorization revealing much more about the nature of the interventions. Meager (2009), for instance, goes for a simpler, binary categorization between supply-side and demand-side measures. As to be expected, the former contains measures like training and subsidies which are to impact the employees or the individuals in need or desire to have a job. On the other hand, the latter refers to encouraging the employers to create job opportunities for the unemployed and especially the most disadvantaged groups. This study will follow the guidance of the typology formulated by Bonoli (2010) since it is of great use in visualizing the content of the ALMPs. Although he argues that the elements are not to be implemented in their plain forms in the real world, the categorization shown in Table 4 can still function as a map to evaluate the country-specific practices.

Table 4**Four ideal types of active labour market policies by Bonoli (2010)**

Type	Objective	Tools
Incentive reinforcement	Strengthen positive and negative work incentives for people on benefit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tax credits, in work benefits • Time limits on reciprocity • Benefit reductions • Benefit conditionality • Sanctions
Employment assistance	Remove obstacle to employment and facilitate (re-)entry into the labor market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Placement services • Job subsidies • Counseling • Job search programs
Occupation	Keep jobless people occupied; limit human capital depletion during unemployment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job creation schemes in the public sector • Non employment-related training programs
Human capital investment	Improve the chances of finding employment by upskilling jobless people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic education • Vocational training

Source: Bonoli, G. (2010)

2.4.1. Incentive reinforcement

The first type presented in Bonoli's (2010) typology is incentive reinforcement measures, including both positive and negative interventions, which mainly aim to encourage people who receive benefits to take up a job. In that sense, it is argued that the receipt of benefits can be made conditional upon the beneficiaries' participation in certain programs or the policy-makers can make use of sanctions; for instance, a certain level of compliance can be ensured through a threat of financial cuts on welfare (Meager, 2009). Although such an approach may be widespread in most countries now, Bonoli (2010) highlights that especially the Anglo-Saxon countries are rich in such practices.

2.4.2. Employment assistance

The second category is employment assistance which focuses more on establishing the link between the employee and the employer and helping the former to eliminate any related obstacle. Bonoli (2010) presents the category as the newest set of measures, except for the placement services. The role of the agencies here can be described as a channel of communication between the labour supply and labour demand. They provide the job-seekers with the information for appropriate spots available and the employers with the presence of individuals possessing the desired qualities (Meager, 2009). Apart from the brokering function, the measures here also include counselling services. Besides the vacancies in the labour market, the job-seekers may be in need of further suggestions or directions in order to take an effective part in the labour market. Especially the individuals who have stayed out of the labour market for a long period of time, either as unemployed or inactive, may need a professional guidance. For instance, the women who have been inactive for some time may be unaware of all the opportunities available to them. Also, it is acknowledged that each individual is equipped with different qualifications and in need or desire of different conditions with respect to jobs; therefore, as put forward earlier within the framework of the OECD's activation approach, in the recent years, individualized plans have been promoted in order for a much efficient result.

2.4.3. Occupation

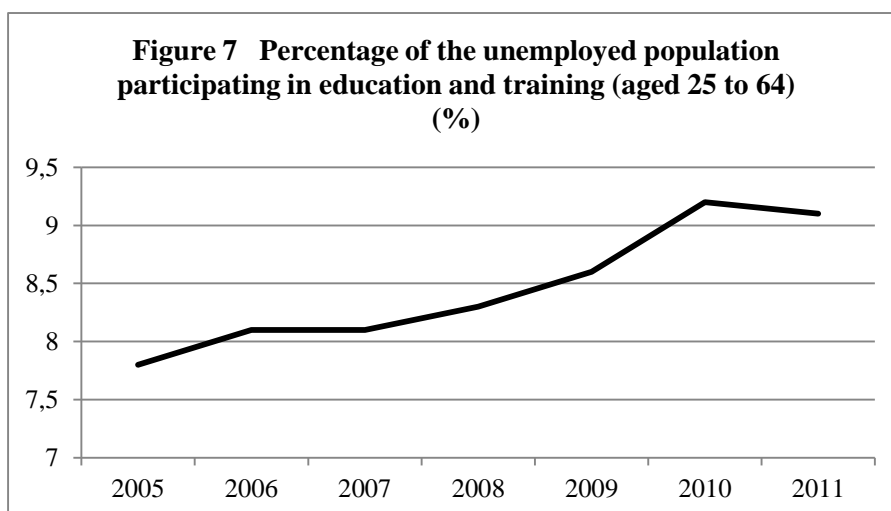
The third category is called occupation mainly because it is about keeping the unemployed occupied through schemes like temporary jobs and the fundamental goal here is to obviate any decrease in human capital (Bonoli, 2010). Therefore, the unemployed are to be included in schemes like temporary job creation or work experience. Although the table shows that this also includes certain training

programs, Bonoli (2010) clearly makes a difference between the ones which are intended to eliminate any “human capital depletion”, do not aim to regenerate the skills capacity of the participant and are thus included here and the programs which are intended to enhance the employability of the participant usually through providing them with new skills. According to the author, this type of intervention was born out of the somewhat desperate conditions succeeding the economic crisis in the 70s when there was little prospect for any labour market policy to remedy the resulting mass unemployment and it retained its importance during the next decade where training, as a crucial part of the ALMP packages, seemed to belong to occupation rather than human capital investment (Bonoli, 2010).

2.4.4. Human capital investment

The fourth category in Bonoli’s (2010) typology is the human capital investment which is also the focal point of this study. It basically comprises the vocational training programs formulated to provide individuals with the necessary skills or upgrade the present ones and may incorporate interventions of basic education also, as underlined by Bonoli (2010). Considering that some people may have been deprived of an opportunity to enjoy the earlier levels of education in school, like the individuals in need of a literacy course above all else, the provision of upper training may be nonsensical for their case. In general, though, the training programs characterized within the framework of the human capital investment have constituted one of the essential components of the active measures for many years. Lately within the framework of the activation outlook, the states have paid increasing attention to the utilization of such schemes as a means to decrease unemployment, especially long-term unemployment, and to overcome the low labour force participation rates. As the figure below displays, in the EU, the rate of the unemployed who participate in an education or training program has been on

the increase. In 2011, 9.1% of the unemployed population aged between 25 and 64 attended such a program.



Source: Eurostat

Theoretically, the rising interest by the international organizations and national governments in such measures as training and education has been substantiated through the human capital theory. Now it is possible to track the term in most of the documents produced by both the international and national institutions and at the basic level, it is quite in line with the underlying outlook for the implementation of active labour market policies. The traditional conception of “capital” usually denotes rather tangible resources and recalls elements like materials and buildings; however, it is acknowledged to denote more. For instance, Case and Fair (2007) define it as “things that are themselves produced and that are then used in the production of other goods and services”. Especially, with the development of what has been identified as the knowledge economy, the role to be played by the intangible forms of capital in the economic growth is accentuated. To that regard, Becker (1993) argues that the improvement in the physical capital is not adequate in explaining the increases in income in some countries. It has been suggested that the increasing investments in the physical assets ensure a certain level of growth;

however, it does not guarantee a prolonged increase due to the diminishing returns (Becker, 1993). Therefore, there has been a growing attention paid towards the qualities of the individuals—the labour force—as one of the factors of production contributing to the welfare and growth of a country. In relation to the debate on whether globalization stands for an opportunity or a detriment to the labour, the human capital theory takes it as the former and underlines its role in both individual and national welfare. Keeley (2007) identifies globalization as a process “beyond anyone’s influence”; therefore, what the countries should or can do is to find ways to maintain the well-being of their citizens. Now the national economies are tied up to each other quite closely and feel the pressure of rising competition so the pace of globalization requires the nations to keep up with the changes and make use of a qualified labour force in order to be competitive enough. As Keeley (2007) puts forward, today’s economic conditions underscores the brains, not the brawn.

A brief literature review shows that there are different orientations regarding what the human capital indicates; however, it is possible to derive a common ground to develop a fair definition. The term is usually credited to Schultz (1961) who approaches it as the expenditures on elements like health, education and internal migration. Similarly, Becker (1993) identifies the investments in human capital as “the activities that influence future monetary and psychic income by increasing the resources in people”. Although health is no less important to neglect, today the concept mostly connotes knowledge and skills and is used in promoting education and training policies. For instance, Case and Fair (2007) define the term as “a form of intangible capital that includes the skills and other knowledge that workers have or acquire through education and training and that yields valuable services to a firm over time”. Thus, in the recent years, the educational and skills components of the human capital concept has come to the forefront.

To clarify what is considered to be a human capital investment, some typical instances can be presented. According to Schultz (1961), five types seem to stand out: health investments, on-the-job training, formal education opportunities, study programs for adults (which are not organized by the companies), and the migratory

movements of both individuals and families. In general, Schultz (1961) puts forward that such investments turn the workers into capitalists. These are called human capital since such properties cannot be disconnected from the individual (Becker, 1993). To that regard, one of the mostly raised concerns by the pioneering scholars is the word “capital” and the rather negative connotations it assumes for the labour. However, they have been careful enough to strip the concept of such negativities. Schultz (1961), for instance, accepts that it acts against the inner values of the individuals to see themselves and fellow beings as capital goods. However, he puts forward that such investments foster the opportunities for increasing their welfare. Actually, he mentions the disadvantages of not regarding such qualities as a capital and warns that it yields no good to maintain the traditional conception of labour as physical work which does not need any upper skills or knowledge and which is granted to individuals equally. Therefore, what Schultz (1961) upholds is the significance of the individuals’ competences in the economic growth of the developed countries.

Within the framework of the theoretical arguments, a number of benefits are associated with such investments for the individual apart from the already highlighted national yields. To begin with, as one of the main ideas behind the promotion of training programs as a component of the active labour market policy measures identified so far, it is believed that there is a negative correlation between an individual’s level of education and his/her prospect for facing unemployment. Moreover, Becker (1993) argues that the higher the level of education and skills is for a person, the higher s/he is inclined to earn. He also links this analysis to the contended issue of inequality in earnings and points to the role to be presumably played by the human capital in the development of such a question in the first place. Taking into consideration the two factors mentioned above, the theory rests on the view that such investments increase the variety of opportunities that can be seized by the individuals in order to contribute to their own welfare (Schultz, 1961). Furthermore, the theory proposes a positive link between the attainment of training as a part of the human capital and the probability of maintaining one’s job.

Becker (1993) points to the higher likelihood of lower skilled workers to experience more changes of jobs as well as the better relationship to be developed by the higher skilled with their employers.

Besides the economic gains, Keeley (2007) suggests that such investments as education bring about certain favourable social outcomes like a further desire to be involved in social groups like associations. Also, sometimes activities related to education can function as incentives to hold the young people from criminal or other harmful actions (Keeley, 2007). The increase in the duration of compulsory education and the expansion of other diverse opportunities for improving one's qualities can actually serve other societal interests. A related issue to raise here is that there is a rising tendency by both the national and international authorities to establish human capital investments as a crucial component of the efforts towards achieving social cohesion. Such an orientation can be identified for institutions like the OECD, as well as the EU. The emergence of what has been named by some as "underclass" (Keeley, 2007) has been a matter of primary concern at the national and international platforms and one of the causes for the deprivations of such individuals has been linked to the lack of human capital or the presence of inadequate or unrelated one.

2.5. The development of the activation approach as a key component of the European Employment Strategy

In the previous sections, the focus has been on the development of the activation approach in the global scene as a part of the neoliberal transformation which has been established further through the outlook of the international agencies like the EU. To that regard, a specific attention should be paid here to the EU context due to the accession relationship between the Agency and Turkey that has been going on for years on. Here the aim is to gain an insight on the development of the European Employment Strategy and to point to the rising significance of the active

labour market policies as a key component. As a unique organization, the European Union has developed competences in certain policy areas like no other organization has historically. The existence of the European Central Bank serves as a valuable example here, which indicates the unprecedented integration of the monetary policies for the member states. However, not all policy areas are under the full authority of the Union. Especially certain fields where the national interests or traditions seem to dominate remain under the member states' control. Social policy, and employment policy as a part of it, can be named as one such policy area.

As the Treaty on the European Union clarifies through the Article 147, the employment policy at the supranational level is handled through encouraging cooperation among the member states and complementing their actions if deemed necessary. The mainstay of the policies and activities of the Union is identified as the objective of "high level of employment" and it should be noted that the Treaty grants the final authority in the field to the member states. Therefore, a general overview of the EU's role in the employment policy can result in a description of guidance or supervision. The employment policy can actually be closely associated with the subsidiarity principle of the Union, which is laid down in the Article 5 of the Treaty. Accordingly, in areas where the power to decide is not entirely delegated to the supranational institutions, the EU is to step in if the issue cannot be handled at the regional or local levels. A close review of the related Treaty articles casts a light on its role in the field, which is intimately linked to this principle. This is why some scholars have preferred to question its designation as a policy. Raveaud (2007), for instance, tends to identify it as a "procedure" instead.

As to the question why the EU has developed an increasing interest in the formulation of the employment policy, the answer is found to lie in the need for further integration as a result of the crucial steps taken towards an economic and monetary union (European Commission, 2011). Although the member states exhibit thoroughly different features in terms of their practices in social policy, it is possible to pinpoint common challenges and objectives for all. For instance, the high unemployment rates appear to be a commonality for the member states,

especially after the recent crisis. In that sense, Casey (2009) puts it forward as an incentive for the member states to develop certain solutions at the Community and member state levels. In highlighting its importance as a ground for its interest, the European Commission (2011) points to the expected benefits of employment at the individual level and the related advantages for the society in general. When taken to its origins, the desire to agree on common grounds can also be explained through the motive to deprive the abuse of labour for gaining advantage in the increasingly competitive environment of deepened integration; for example, as to be mentioned later, some of the earlier legislation on the gender equality in the labour market rests on this effort to avoid such practices (Burri and Prechal, 2008). In addition, as already mentioned, the recent crisis has been another factor to stimulate the member states to agree on certain common denominators. Considering the factors brought up above, it is found as a matter of no surprise that the EU is involved in this policy field (Gold, 2009).

Although most concrete steps in the area have been attributed to the 90s, the employment-related questions seem to be on the agenda of the institutions at earlier stages of integration, as well. To that regard, Casey (2009) traces the origins back to the Paris Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, when a sectoral interest was developed. Since the following Rome Treaty, the backbone of the integration has been the four freedoms: free movement of workers, services, capital and freedom of establishment; therefore, the labour market proves to be a centre of attention for decades now. In relation to this, Gold (2009) formulates a quintuplicate periodization of the development of the employment policy at the Union level (see Table 5). According to his analysis, during the first stage which lasts from 1958 to 1972, the focal point was the introduction and solidification of these four freedoms. The increasing interdependence among the member states as a result of the deepening integration led to the spread of the cooperation to the employment policy, as well, which is explained by the European Commission (2011) with the neo-functionalist concept of “spill-over”. According to Gold (2009), the fundamental discussion then was around the extent to which the

integration in this area should be developed. As mentioned earlier, some member states had concerns over the unfair competition to arise from the disparities in practices in national labour markets. This issue of “social dumping”, which can be defined as the advantage created for the country with lower standards or poorer implementation in terms of labour law especially under the conditions of aggravated competition like the single market, was one of the primary reasons for the further integration in the field, as exemplified above through the introduction of earlier gender equality legislation (Burri and Prechal, 2008). Through the progress in integration, the extent of the competition experienced by the member states expanded to cover the markets of goods, services, capital and labour (Streeck, 1999). Therefore, in the 1950s, there were arguments in favour of more supranational rule in the area to discard any such possibility (Gold, 2009).

Table 5
Stages of the EU employment policy regulation

Stage	Dates	Activity	Principal focus	Legal balance
1	1958-72	Limited activity	“four freedoms”	Hard
2	1972-80	Intervention	Workers’ rights (employment protection legislation)	Hard
3	1980-92	Mixed fortunes	Workers’ rights	Hard, but development of soft law through social dialogue
4	1992-97	Reappraisal	Consolidation of workers’ rights and shift towards employment promotion	Hard, but continued development of soft law through social dialogue
5	1997-	Consensus building?	Consolidation/ employment promotion	Soft, expansion of OMC

Source: Gold (2009)

In the 70s, the interest in the various dimensions of the labour market continued for the European Community then and one such area to highlight is the promotion of gender equality. As to be seen in the following sections, the Community adopted a number of directives to reinforce the equal status of women in employment, like the *Equal Pay Directive (75/117/EEC)* in 1975 and the *Equal Treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions (76/207/EEC)* in 1976. The next decade, on the other hand, was marked by Gold (2009) as mixed fortunes since the period witnessed advance in some areas whereas other fields seemed to come to a standstill.

For the employment policy at the EU level, a milestone was the launch of European Employment Strategy in 1997. Before that date, the White Paper of Growth, Competitiveness and Employment in 1993, which is usually credited to Jacques Delors, can be marked as a crucial step in promoting members to cooperate more within the scope of the European Community. In the preamble, the document underlines the importance of paying more attention to the employment policy by the following: “Yes, we can create jobs, and we must do so if we want to safeguard the future” (European Commission, 1993). Casey (2009) highlights the role of the Delors Commission which tried to elevate the social policy dimension to balance the considerable steps taken in terms of the economic integration.

Table 6
Components of the Essen Strategy (1994)

1	Promoting investment in vocational training
2	Increasing employment-intensiveness of growth through more flexibility, moderate wages for job-creating investments and promotion of initiatives at regional and local levels
3	Improving the effectiveness of labour market policy
4	Reducing non-wage labour costs so that employing people (especially the unqualified) is more attractive
5	Improving measures for the groups who suffer most from unemployment

Source: Presidency conclusions of the Essen Summit (1994)

Later, in 1994, the European Council in Essen discussed the employment-related conditions in the EC. The member states agreed on five fields to focus on, which can be summarized as in the Table 6. It can be understood from the table below that the basics of the employment policy features promoted by the Union today were laid down back then. However, it was hard to ensure the commitment of the member states. The next crucial step was the Amsterdam Treaty in that it specifically signals the launch of “a coordinated strategy for employment” via the Article 3. The Treaty, in a way, provided a legal ground for what had been agreed upon in the Essen Summit. Another substantial change to mention here was the adoption of “a high level of employment” among the key objectives set for the Community.

In 1997, an extraordinary European Council was held to discuss employment-related issues. In the summit, the member states agreed to implement the relevant clauses of the Amsterdam Treaty without further delay. Moreover, they came to terms to formulate “employment guidelines” as a common ground for the key aims and means to follow. The Luxembourg process, as has been called since, denotes a procedure whereby the employment guidelines are drawn up and based on these the member states devise their own national action plans. According to Casey (2009), the earlier ideas with regards to the Luxembourg process were ambitious and actually it was considered akin to the Maastricht process. In a nutshell, the Presidency conclusions included a set of guidelines based primarily on four titles (as outlined in Table 7).

Table 7

Employment Guidelines in 1997 Luxembourg European Council

-
- 1 Improving employability
 - 2 Developing entrepreneurship
 - 3 Encouraging adaptability in businesses and their employees
 - 4 Strengthening the policies for equal opportunities
-

Source: Presidency conclusions of the Luxembourg Summit (1997)

The first component is on employability, through which the member states are called to address to the youth unemployment and long-term unemployment questions within a five-year time limit. Furthermore, they are encouraged to pursue a transition from passive to active measures in general. In that sense, the Presidency conclusions highlight that the measures should function as “real incentives for the unemployed to seek and take up work or training opportunities”. The second component is on entrepreneurship, which basically promote the member states to alleviate the possible financial and administrative difficulties for potential entrepreneurs. They are also expected to encourage employment through tax regulations favouring recruitments. The third component is on adaptability which points to the introduction of flexible arrangements for “productive and competitive” enterprises and urges “adaptability” for not only employers and employees, but also for contracts and the usual organization of the business. Finally, the fourth component is on equal opportunities whereby the Presidency conclusions draw attention to the need for higher employment rates for women and further focus on the over- or under-representation of women in certain jobs or sectors. Furthermore, the member states are encouraged to help women and men to reconcile work and family. Although the principle evokes the equality between genders; the scope is to be expanded more to cover people with disabilities.

Considering all the components of the EES pointed out so far, it is fair to suggest that it tends to feature the supply-side measures in the labour market. Casey (2009) even argues that the guidelines did not prescribe any special step to

be taken for the labour demand and that there is an implicit suggestion that the supply-side approach gained prominence as a way to maintain the wages at a desired level. This may be one of the reasons driving Jessop (2002) to define the EU's involvement in the field as incorporating both welfare and workfare features. In another article, he actually argues that the economic policy of the EU in general has evolved towards the Schumpeterian features and that even when it embarked on a route to complement the economic with the social under the presidency of Delors, neoliberalism was the dominant ideology (Jessop, 2003).

With the launch of the European Employment Strategy, the member states were also introduced to a new method: the Open Method of Coordination. The main aim behind such an instrument is to promote deeper cooperation among the member states on the basis of commonly agreed objectives. It rests on the convention of meetings among the member states and review of their employment policies (European Commission, 2011). Its effectiveness mostly depends on what can be called as peer pressure and mutual learning. Thus, the process does not imply any sanctions to be applied in case of noncompliance with the suggested guidelines. Casey (2009) points to this dependence on mere “naming and shaming” as one of the key differences between the Maastricht and Luxembourg processes. Heyes and Rainbird (2009) interpret this feature as an implication of respect for the differences among the member states. Although the foundations of the instrument are taken back earlier, it is considered to become effective with the introduction of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, which is pronounced by Casey (2009) as the “apogee” of the rising trend created by the Delors Commission.

The Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Jobs was launched in 2000 with the desire to make the EU “the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world by 2010 capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion and respect for the environment”. The member states' objective in meeting then was to agree on a new strategy to keep up with the changes in the world and, in relation to the labour market performances, to respond to the challenges like unemployment, low labour force participation rates for

women and the elderly as well as the skills gap experienced in some sectors. The mainstay of the strategy was competitiveness, innovation and the modernization of the European social model. The Presidency conclusions envisage that if the proposed measures are implemented, the Union can enjoy an economic growth rate of around 3%.

One of the titles in the Strategy was towards “more and better jobs”, which was to focus on four key areas: employability; life-long learning and adaptability; increasing employment in services; and equal opportunities. Besides marking the primary areas, with the new strategy, the European Council identified employment rate targets to be reached by 2010. The target set for the overall employment rate was 70% while it was 60% for female employment rates. As to the question why the member states preferred to focus on employment targets rather than unemployment, Raveaud (2007) puts forward that they could not establish a common target for all in terms of the latter and also the competition with the USA and Japan as an important catalyst in that sense.

Although the strategy was launched in 2000, it did not preserve its original form until the aimed date of 2010. There were periodic evaluations of the progress and in the European Council meeting in 2002 in Barcelona, for instance, it was underscored that there were some areas where the developments had not been as fast and sound as desired. The Presidency conclusions of the meeting continued to feature the “full employment” ideal as the main goal and to promote the adoption of an “active” approach to measures so as to foster employability and preclude the factors that discourage the individuals from taking an active part in the labour market. In general, the European Council projected an intermediate evaluation to be carried out in 2006. As indicated by the European Commission (2010), the essentially formulated plan in Lisbon turned out to be too complicated with a fuzzy line between the competences of the member states and of the European Union. What was envisaged in the strategy was found too ambitious, which also made the European Employment Strategy more ambitious (Casey, 2009). Therefore, in 2005, the Lisbon Strategy was revised and re-launched. To streamline the whole process,

the number of the guidelines was reduced and the burden of paperwork (like the regular reporting) was relieved.

The background of the revision process was the two reports usually credited to Wim Kok. The first one was in 2003 and clearly announced the high possibility of failure by the EU in reaching the targets unless the member states did not put in more effort. The report found the situation “worrying” and held hopes for a fresh impetus. The second report was in 2004 and suggested the formulation of a single strategy for growth and jobs (Casey, 2009). As a result of this streamlining process, the employment guidelines were incorporated into the Broad Economic Policy Guidelines. Casey (2009) interprets the change as a “subordination of the Luxembourg process to the Maastricht process” which was based on the assumption that the key to reaching the employment-related goals was a healthy macroeconomic performance. Raveud (2007) similarly argues that it is an indication of the domination of neoliberal ideals in the EU policies and that the Lisbon Strategy was “reduced to an employment strategy” which was limited to the promotion of flexibility and multiplication of the labour supply.

In 2010, the member states devised a new strategy for the Union to follow in keeping up with the changes and in responding to the challenges ahead. The European Commission (2011) defines the new Europe 2020 Strategy as “an integrated strategy designed to strengthen Europe’s economy, improve its impact on the environment and raise levels of employment, productivity and social inclusion”. Its key objectives have been encapsulated under three main titles: smart growth, sustainable growth and inclusive growth. Similar to the previous Lisbon Strategy, the Europe 2020 scheme sets up targets in relation to each title. Accordingly, the Strategy envisages that the employment rate for women and men (aged between 20 and 64) should be 75% by 2020. Furthermore, the document proposes certain guidelines (Integrated Guidelines), four of which can be linked to the employment policy.

Table 8

Employment Guidelines as a part of the Integrated Guidelines of Europe 2020

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- | | |
|----|--|
| 7 | Increasing labour market participation of women and men, reducing unemployment and promoting job quality |
| 8 | Developing a skilled workforce responding to labour market needs, and promoting lifelong learning |
| 9 | Improving the quality and performance of education and training systems at all levels and increasing participation in tertiary or equivalent education |
| 10 | Promoting social inclusion and combating poverty |
-

Source: European Commission (2011)

The process still rests on the Open Method of Coordination and the member states' devising their own National Reform Programs in accordance with the general guidelines. A further point to make here can be the introduction of a new procedure called as the "European Semester". It was formulated in 2010 but implemented for the first time in 2011. It basically denotes a six-month process covering diverse duties to be performed by the EU institutions and the member states. The principal objective behind such an initiative is to ensure better coordination in terms of the employment policies of the members (European Commission, 2011).

What has lacked in the discussions so far is a clear reference to flexicurity. The European Commission (2011) defines it as its "overall approach to improve the functioning of labour markets". At the basic level, it can be viewed as an attempt to ensure a certain level of flexibility in the labour market without undermining the security conditions and its origins of such attempts can actually be traced back to national practices in the Netherlands and Denmark. In the Communication from the European Commission named "Towards Common Principles of Flexicurity: More and Better Jobs Through Flexibility and Security" (2007), the main approach to the strategy is clarified. It is clear that the EU tends to view globalization as a positive phenomenon offering benefits to be reaped by both the employers and the employees. The strategy is on top of the agenda of the EU for some time now and has been promoted as a model to emulate for the members. In its essence, the

Commission (2007) presents it as a combination of four elements: flexible and reliable contractual arrangements, comprehensive lifelong learning, effective active labour market policies, and modern social security systems.

Taking into consideration the evolution of the EES drawn so far, it is safe to argue that the active labour market policies have been a crucial part of the EU's perspective in this field since the earliest steps. In analyzing the use of ALMPs in the OECD, Bonoli (2010) devises a tripartite periodization, which can be of use for the EU case as well. During the first phase from 50s to 60s, the author traces an interest in the active measures for the countries in order to provide their industrial growth with a qualified source of human capital. In the second phase (after the oil-induced crises of 1973 and 1975), Bonoli (2010) argues that the countries suffered from high levels of unemployment. This is why he pinpoints the main goal then as "occupation". Finally, after the mid-90s, the active measures were directed towards smoothing the labour market entry of certain societal groups and the main tendency became the utilization of incentives for work and employment assistance (Bonoli, 2010). The formulation of the employment guidelines resting on four items as employability, entrepreneurship, adaptability and equal opportunities in 1997 under the framework of the EES shows that the activation approach constitutes one of its key features and the same inclination has been maintained throughout the following strategies, as well. For instance, under the title of "more and better jobs", the Lisbon Strategy envisaged the implementation of such measures as the enhancement of employability, lifelong learning and flexible work organizations. In that sense, the prime focus was on "developing an active employment policy", hinting that the way to achieving the desired goals for the Union, like a high level of employment as well as social cohesion, is considered to be through following active policies in the labour market, which is retained in the strategy of Europe 2020 also. In addition, within the framework of the flexicurity approach, which has been identified as the main strategy to guide the employment policies for the EU lately, the activation approach has been enshrined since it is found to emulate the Danish model, known as the "golden triangle" with a high level of importance

attached to the implementation of active labour market policies (Viebrock and Clasen, 2009).

It is of common knowledge that the member states have agreed to tackle some of the challenges brought about by the dictates of globalization and rising competition. Nevertheless, the conditions seem to have exacerbated with the recent financial crisis which hit the European countries severely. According to the Council of the EU (2010), it reversed the positive trend experienced in economic and social indicators in the continent. The member states then have framed various policy responses to combat the soaring levels of unemployment and generally the ALMPs have constituted a crucial part of the exit strategy. The Public Employment Services have been pushed to the front to alleviate the problem and most members have been inclined to allocate more funds to invest in active measures like training or start-up incentives (Council of the EU, 2010). Thus, all in all, it would be rational to suggest that active measures have been promoted by the EU for decades and within different frameworks and this emphasis seems to be enhanced with the latest crisis.

As a hint to the EU's viewpoint, the categorization adopted by the Eurostat (the organization's statistical office) concerning the labour market policies can be used. The Office classifies the interventions into three groups based on the type of action: services, measures and supports. Services here correspond to the task assigned to the Public Employment Services. The core activity for the participant is to seek jobs; however, this intervention does not lead to a change in his or her labour market status unless the search ends as intended (Eurostat Yearbook, 2011). Measures, on the other hand, differ from the first category in that it is not related to job-search and the participants are not considered unemployed any longer because either they are involved in a training program and the like or they are in a temporary work program (Eurostat Yearbook, 2011). The definition of measures is limited through the presence or lack of certain features. For instance, it is established that a practice can be labelled as a measure if it is supervised and encourages a person to find and accept a job or set up his/her own business

(Eurostat Yearbook, 2011). In that sense, the second category includes interventions like training programs, start-up incentives and direct job creation. Finally, the third category differs from the first two tremendously in that it actually signifies what has been expressed as passive labour market policies so far. It contains the financial aids aimed to compensate for the labour market failures (Eurostat Yearbook, 2011). Thus, unemployment benefits and early retirement schemes can be included here.

2.6. A review of the inquiries into the effectiveness of the active labour market policies

In the previous parts, it has been put forward for several times earlier that the recent years can be marked with a remarkable orientation towards an active approach in the policies that the governments and many international organizations seem to promote and implement within the framework of their efforts to handle numerous questions complicating the labour markets. The parallel academic interest, mostly through country or region-based analyses, has concentrated on how effective such measures have proven to be. In that sense, the last two decades specifically have witnessed an increasing number of such researches; therefore, the literature abounds with evaluations of the effectiveness of the active labour market policies in general and of training programs in particular. The main goal now will be to provide a brief review of the main findings of a number of studies so as to acquire a basic understanding of to what extent and under what conditions such measures have proven to be useful.

To start with, one of the main questions with regards to the efficiency of the active measures is the costs attached to the implementation of the programs which constitutes one of the essential arguments of the adversaries (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004). This is especially questioned if the country suffers from an insufficient level of labour demand as a result of the jobless growth and this

phenomenon emerges as one of the critical factors that cripple the effectiveness of the supply-side measures under the active labour market policies. In that sense, it is frequently pronounced that without any complementary steps in the demand side, the measures like training cannot result in the desired consequences (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004) and rather lead to the emergence of a more educated but still unemployed and now more discouraged group of individuals. If the economy is beset with rather high rates of structural unemployment, even the basic service of employment assistance will be futile (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004). Without any efforts towards the demand side then, the active policies in the labour market are doomed to function as sources of large loss of money as well as further disincentives for the already disadvantaged. Another point made in the literature is the existence of a large informal sector to hurt the use of the measures like the employment assistance services (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004). It is believed that if the employers are able to enjoy the presence of a magnitude of workers who are forced or willing to be employed under low-wage and low-security conditions, the level of the demand for the workers to be hired on formal terms will be much lower.

Besides the doubts on the effectiveness of the active measures with regards to the macroeconomic structures, the policies themselves may contain certain characteristics to impair the effectiveness. For instance, as mentioned earlier, the job creation schemes for the public sector are specifically devised to respond to the need in a short period of time and provide a temporary solution. Therefore, such programs like construction works are encouraged both for the common good and as a component of the policies to combat poverty (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004). However, the involvement in such schemes may induce “stigmatization” and create an unfavourable image for the potential employers in the future (RWI Essen, 2005).

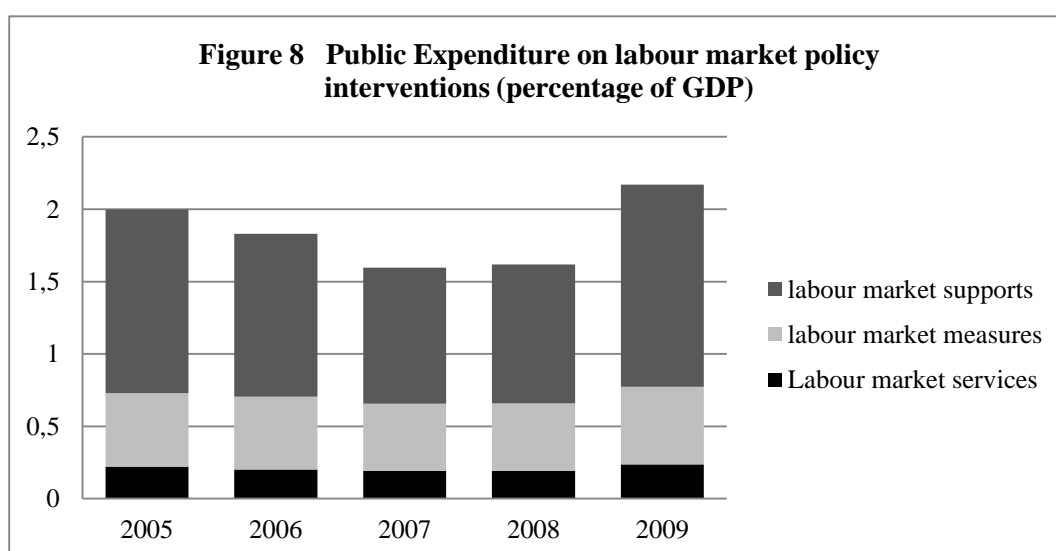
As clearly put forward above, it is of paramount importance that the attention paid to the labour supply is supported through a rise in the labour demand. In that sense, the subsidies granted to the employers constitute a significant element of the

policy packages. However, there arises the pressing need to control the process from the start and monitor afterwards due to the possibility of the emergence of certain complications. For instance, the employers may hire the subsidized workers at the expense of the previous employees in order to avoid having an increase in the wages; therefore not contributing to the employment levels at all (RWI Essen, 2005). Moreover, the employers may tend to terminate the employment relationship when the payment of the subsidies is over (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004). The probability of such grave complications, which has the potential to nullify all the desired impacts, if not resulting in further negative conditions for the workers, points to how compelling the need for a monitoring system is.

Furthermore, it is argued that the employment assistance policies like the job placement services by the employment agencies should be devised so as to direct attention to the most disadvantaged individuals in the system, as promoted by organizations like the OECD also. In that sense, though, it is established that usually the services have more access to the already advantaged groups in the society; thus, the efficiency of the policies can be undermined by what has been identified as the “deadweight loss” pointing to the ability of those individuals who benefit from the services most but also own the same chances in the labour market even without the assistance of the agencies (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004). Consequently, to make use of the funds allocated in a most efficient way, it is rational to formulate policies by directing a different level and type of interest in the different social groups. As suggested regarding the outlook of the OECD earlier, it is found crucial for the agencies to devise individualized plans to address both to the labour supply and demand sides and to carefully manage the administrative and financial process.

Moreover, in relation to the main aim of the study, the training policies are intrinsically “slow burn” measures; thus, rather than immediate results, the intended outcomes may materialize in the long-run (Meager, 2009). When combined with the above-mentioned concerns related to the lack of labour demand, such programs may prove to be too costly for achieving a limited portion of the

goals (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004). According to the Eurostat data, in 2009, 25,831.330 million euros have been spent for training. To contribute to the general picture, the figure below shows the share of the related spending in relation to the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of the EU. As can be seen, there have been declines in the expenditures in 2007 and 2008; however, the following year witnesses a major increase, which can be interpreted as the promotion of such measures within the framework of combating the labour market complications of the latest crisis.



Source: Eurostat

Furthermore, the capacity of the training programs to elevate the labour market prospects for individuals besides paving the way for their social inclusion depends on the participants' characteristics with regards to their educational background (Schömann, 2002). Therefore, the programs may not be open to all segments of the society and after a while may cement the already existing demarcations. In that sense, for the labour market training measures to serve the identified economic and social objectives, more radical and complex interventions may be required to implement since the earliest steps. To put statistically, the Eurostat data for the year

2007 indicates that the lack of prerequisites is among the main handicaps in participating an educational or training program, which can include the level of prior education. The average rate for the EU is 15.6% whereas depending on the member state it can increase over 50% (as in the case of Slovakia with 56.5%) (Eurostat Yearbook, 2011).

One of the important works concerning the effectiveness of the training programs is by Meager (2009) who provides a general insight into the researches conducted in the last twenty years. By pointing to the presence of mixed results, he underlines certain conditions for reaping the desired outcome from such initiatives. It is mentioned that in general there is a lack of desirable results or any results at all when the measures are designed to address a large segment of the population. Meager (2009) even indicates the presence of studies which put forward negative impacts such as the “locking-in” effect; that is to say, the individuals’ containment in the training without benefiting from other labour market opportunities during. Despite these quandaries including also the above-mentioned concerns for costs involved, the author, by deriving from the majority of the evaluations, concludes that there are actually favourable outcomes for the participants if the programs are designed to focus on a specific social group. In other words, such measures appear to be more effective if they focus on a smaller group with specific characteristics in terms of their position in the labour market. Furthermore, it is argued that these programs should not be implemented in isolation from other measures to eliminate other obstacles for them to work to their potential. Finally, Meager (2009) underlines how a marked connection between the training program and the labour market can boost the overall effectiveness. Consequently, the author identifies the labour market training programs as effective tools as long as they are operationalized in accordance with the abovementioned conditions.

A similar emphasis is made by Betcherman et al (1999) in their inquiry into the global experiences regarding the active labour market policies and their potential use for the East Asian region. The authors similarly highlight the link to the labour market as one of the key factors to determine the effectiveness of the measures.

Furthermore, it is put forward that there are findings on the existence of more positive impacts for the disadvantaged groups in the labour market like the women. What is additionally underlined here is the dependence of the effectiveness on other macroeconomic conditions to a certain extent. To that regard, the authors point to the importance of the presence of a labour demand in the market. Therefore, if the countries are beset with a challenging question of job creation, the extent for these measures to be effective in terms of increased employment opportunities is expected to be limited.

One of the region-specific evaluations (across the EU with specific attention for few countries) belongs to Schömann (2000) who, in parallel to the abovementioned, underscores the high level of effectiveness of the training programs with a link to the market. It is recapitulated that the training programs deliver positive outcomes even though it can be minimum. Also in line with the earlier propositions, it is argued that the organization of the program to address a specific group who face fundamental difficulties in reaching the labour market opportunities is identified as a clear factor to increase the cost-effectiveness in general. In that sense, it is propounded that the women who have been out of the labour market for a long period of time can emerge as one of these targets who can achieve the most favourable outcome. Another study with a similar line is conducted by O'Connell and McGinnity (2002) based on a review of a program in 1992 addressing young individuals aged under 23 in Ireland. In general, it is found that the program led to positive results after 18 months for both men and women; in other words, the skill enhancement seems to yield favourable results in the longer-run. Similar to the researches mentioned earlier, the connection to the market is acknowledged as a factor increasing the probability for a positive impact. As regards gender, the women were associated with a larger amount of benefits to be reaped from the training. Although the authors highlight that the study only covers trainees under the age of 23, they point to the possibility that the impact can be higher for the older.

One such important study was conducted by RWI Essen (2005) under the leadership of Jochen Kluge, which questions the effectiveness of the active policies in the EU. The fundamental conclusion in that sense is the lack of a single proposition to cover all the studies. In other words, the studied literature is found to point to a variety of assertions regarding the impact of the measures. With regards to the training programs, the authors recapitulate the presence of “insignificant or modestly positive” outcomes for the participants. Nevertheless, in line with the findings put forward so far, it is suggested that a higher probability for positive impact can be discussed for certain groups like the women. The same concerns towards the possible negative outcomes are highlighted here, as well, like the locking-in effect as a common element dominating the studies. However, to that regard, the authors assume a cautious attitude in putting forward that it may be desirable or that it can be considered as a characteristic of the program.

Another EU-wide evaluation is provided by Descy and Tessaring (2007) regarding the impacts of the training programs. One of the basic inferences is the presence of a positive impact on the employability of especially the “disadvantaged” individuals in the labour market; however, a similar relationship is not found in terms of the earnings. In parallel to what has been commonly put forward so far in the reviewed literature, the authors underline the positive correlation between the desirable impact of the measures and the program’s being designed to address specific segments as well as to maintain a connection to the market. The table below provides a brief list of the recommendations offered by the authors.

Table 9

Recommendations on how the training measures can be made effective by Descy and Tessaring (2007)

-
- 1 They should be targeted at specific groups and objectives
 - 2 They should allow time for active job search
 - 3 They should be kept relatively small in scale and not be used as a large-scale solution to unemployment
 - 4 They should lead to qualifications or certificates not only recognised but also valued on the labour market
 - 5 They should establish strong links with local employers and provide work experience, while avoiding displacement or substitution effects
 - 6 When targeted at the young, they should be considered in association with general policies on education
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Source: Descy and Tessaring (2007)

It is possible to increase the number of examples from the international literature questioning the effectiveness of the active labour market policies. However, all in all, taking into consideration the points drawn so far in addition to the table above, it is possible to argue that researches so far have dominantly prescribed a number of conditions to be implemented in order to ensure a certain level of cost-effectiveness. To reiterate, there seems to be a general agreement among the scholars that the impacts of the training prove to be minor unless the programs are designed to contain a direct link to the market through incorporating the demands of the employers in the different stages, to concentrate on a smaller scale and a specifically designated group of individuals with specific attributes regarding their relationship to the labour market (in particular the most disadvantaged). In addition, due to the inherent characteristics of the measure, an analysis of the longer-term impacts can demonstrate more positive findings. All in all, though, it can be concluded that women are generally identified as one of the groups which are expected to enjoy the greatest yield from the training programs. In that sense, there are also studies that focus solely on the impact of the active policies,

particularly the training measures, on the women and their prospects in the labour market.

One of the studies that should be underlined to that regard is by Bergemann and van der Berg (2006) who indicate a number of factors as the main reasons why the implementation of the active labour market policies can work to the advantage of women. Firstly, they argue that, particularly for countries suffering from a low rate of participation by women in the labour market, an active interest in such programs can help them get closer to the market. Furthermore, they put forward that in Europe where the educational levels of the women out of the labour market have not been quite low, the adoption of such policies can be of higher potential. On the side of the employers, the authors highlight that such involvement by women can challenge certain prejudices fed concerning their “ability” to manage the job. In respect of the training programs, it is found that they usually deliver favourable outcomes for women more than they do for men, which is associated with the low rates of labour force participation of the former. As to the other types of active policies, the authors summarize the positive implications experienced for women’s employment status and nominate the training programs as one with the largest impact.

CHAPTER 3

THE STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE WOMEN’S LABOUR MARKET STATUS IN TURKEY AND THE INCREASING ROLE OF THE ACTIVE POLICIES

In the previous chapter, the attention has been directed to the neoliberal transformation in the world with a specific focus on its reflections on the labour market in order to form a background for the rising significance of the activation approach. Then the content of the active labour market policies have been analyzed, to be followed by a specific attention to its place within the European Employment Strategy. Later, the rising interest among the academicians has been underlined in terms of analyzing the effectiveness of the measures taken. In this chapter, the aim is to concentrate on the implementation of the active measures in relation to the question of women’s status in Turkey. Following a historical overview of the main outlook towards the issue and the adopted strategies, the study will move onto a portrayal of some of the key institutions involved. Although the focal point here is the labour market status of women, the issue can not be handled separately from the developments in the women’s rights in general in the country. To that regard, before a more detailed overview of the related areas, it should be recognized that there has been a sustained effort by the women’s movement in Turkey since the 1980s with an overall aim to improve their social conditions, which was encouraged through the increasing initiatives of certain international organizations like the UN (Özdemir, 2013). Therefore, the steps concerning the women’s presence in the labour market should also be considered as a part of the larger picture of establishing gender equality in the society.

3.1. The chronological evolution of the strategies to promote the labour market presence of women

Here the main goal is to track down the evolution of the overall strategies to advance the status of women in the labour market in Turkey and to identify the recent tendencies in the pursuit of the reforms in the social policy regarding gender equality in the field. Although at times a subject-based approach is employed, the fundamental inclination is firstly to follow a chronological lead in order to identify the key determinants behind the developments. Before moving further on the issue, it should probably be noted that Turkey lacked a general employment strategy for decades. Thus, let alone a specific attention paid towards a disadvantaged group like the women, the country has not dealt with the labour market and related policies, by and large, separately from other macroeconomic concerns. To that regard, despite of the fact that they suffer from vague wordings, the five-year development plans can serve as effective means to detect the prevalent orientations concerning the country's prioritized questions and the championed solutions in the past decades. Such a chronological approach should reveal the period when the interest in women as an essential component of the labour market emerged and therefore the possible reasons behind that interest.

3.1.1. The period before the 1980s

Initially, the country's labour market performance was considered to develop in line with its macroeconomic performance; in other words, as a consequence of the economic growth (Gündoğan and Biçerli, 2004). The early five-year development plans indicate this assumed link between the growth and employment rates, which constitute the essential reason for the lack of a specific labour market policy then. For instance, in the second plan (1968-1972), it is specifically expressed that employment-creation will be dealt within the framework of rapid economic growth

and not as an independent cause in itself. Another orientation to be marked concerning the earlier approaches is the lack of differentiation among the various groups constituting the labour market. The employment-related questions are handled with no evident sensitivity to the mostly disadvantaged people while a contrary tendency can be identified as one of the key attributes of each employment strategy formulated today. The central problem underlined for the planned period is rather the promotion of non-agricultural employment and the preservation and encouragement of the qualified labour force in the country for the whole population in general.

Besides the lack of a specific interest in the labour market policy, the neglect of the female employment can be analysed in relation to the essential roles cast for women in the society which has been highlighted as one of the reasons for the low rates of labour force participation for women. In a nutshell, it is safe to suggest that the premises of the Turkish welfare regime basically depend on a family structure with a male breadwinner and a female housekeeper/caretaker. A brief overview in that sense may show that the “ideal woman” is defined as a wife or a mother (Dedeoğlu, 2012); therefore, through her duties to her husband or her children as well as possibly the elderly. Such perceptions are so firmly rooted in the social practices that it is not difficult to trace its representations in the formal documents. For instance, in the second development plan, the education of women is encouraged, which is still a viable policy to pursue considering that certain women continue to suffer from low levels of literacy. What strikes the attention in the plan is that for the non-formal education programs it is enshrined in relation to women’s conventional roles as “housewives and mothers”. The identification of the women’s “value” in the society with regards to the roles cast in the private sphere points to the prevalence of the mentioned model in the country.

A quite apparent indicator of this structure is that in the social security arrangements for a long time women constituted the receivers of the benefits as dependents on their husbands or fathers until the very recent reforms. The legal framework was formulated in parallel to the conception of women as the

“dependent” (Dedeoğlu, 2012). What basically underlies this is that women’s work, whether it is at home or in the labour market, is considered as complementary to the men’s. Therefore, they have been marginalized by the prevailing conception of the ideal citizen as the working man (Dedeoğlu, 2011). These portrayals regarding the specific roles attached to men and women seem to be so rooted that both the society and the women themselves can consider their family-related responsibilities to be a priority, which in the end may pander to certain prejudices. For instance, women’s assigned role as the main responsible parent for childcare, which means a large amount of time spent at home while much less for the job outside, in a way, augments the view that women tend to care more for their family than their work (Joekes, 1998). Besides the children, the care services for the elderly and the disabled seem to be on the shoulders of the female members of the family, who internalize these socially attached roles and actually feed into its persistence. As a consequence, even if they take up a spot in the labour market, the conventional formulas lead to their regarding their labour market status as of secondary importance. This vein is so embedded in the societal conducts that it is possible to track down its considerable influence in the policy-making level, which sometimes consolidates the present formulations. For instance, there are supports for the families who assume the responsibility of caring for the disabled; in that case, the relative or the guardian receives a minimum wage each month. What should be borne in mind is that such an approach reinforces their status as the “dependent” (Buğra and Candaş, 2011). Through handing over the responsibility to the families, the settlement can be considered as another sign for the running welfare regime in Turkey in which the state’s role is kept to minimum; therefore, the family emerges as the key institution for the operation of the welfare system (Grütjen, 2008) and the women’s role in its sustenance is certainly indispensable. While the welfare system prevailing in the country does not seem to allow for a marked increase for the number of women in the labour market, the fact that women adopt the roles cast means less demand for changes in the system (Dedeoğlu, 2012).

Until now it has been raised that the welfare regime in the country and the low rates of labour force participation of women can be considered as two factors nourishing each other. As a consequence, the lack of a female employment strategy for decades does not assert itself as a surprise. As argued before, the labour market questions were initially handled rather in general with an underlying conception that the efforts for a sound economic growth would bring about a functioning labour market. For instance, in the third five-year development plan (1973-1977), the rapid industrialization is linked to the employment question and in parallel the documents focus on fostering employment in the non-agricultural sectors besides the prevention of an unbalanced process of urbanization, the inclusion of more workers within the social security system and the emigration of workers to the foreign countries. With respect to the labour market, one of the first instances of a gender-based presentation of statistics is in the fifth plan (1985-1989). Although the document points to the unemployment statistics for the female population aged between 15 and 19, it is still not possible to find a special strategy articulated as a solution. The only exception to that extent can be the reference to the need for childcare facilities which, according to the plan, emerges from women's taking more part in the labour market.

3.1.2. The period after the 1980s

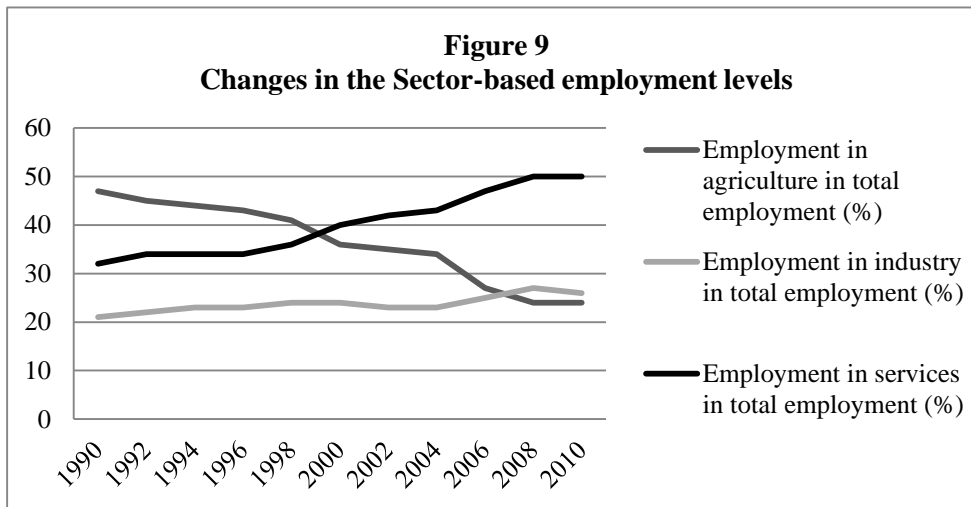
So far it has been argued that the governments have not formulated a general employment strategy for many decades and that it has been mainly perceived as a "by-product" of the efforts towards economic growth. However, after the second half of the 80s and especially in the 90s, the development plans suggest an increasing attention paid to the malfunctioning of the labour market. As the importance attached increases, the interest in the components of the labour market, especially the ones usually deemed as the disadvantaged like the women and the young, seems to rise also. For instance, a specific concern for female employment

can be detected in the sixth five-year development plan (1990-1994). Besides the attention paid towards the stimulation of non-agricultural employment through initiatives in educational opportunities, the document underscores that women face certain difficulties with regards to the labour market, like re-employment and vocational training, and that there will be measures taken in order to overcome these, like enhancing the childcare services. The end of the planning period for the fifth document, the year 1994, actually corresponds to the launch of one of the earliest projects in that sense. Between the years 1994 and 2000, a project was implemented in cooperation with the World Bank to improve the employment records of women in Turkey. A similar attitude can be identified in the following plans whereby the low rates of employment and labour force participation are accented with regards to the women's status in the labour market. In general, this increasing interest in the labour market and its components after the 80s can be analysed in relation to the neo-liberal wave sweeping over the country with the significant influence of the international organizations like the World Bank. As the neoliberal policies started to spread, the assumed connection between the economic growth and the good record of employment started to lose its basis. In the new phase of the global economy, most countries have been beset by the phenomenon known as "jobless growth"; therefore, the favourable performance in the growth rates could not be reflected on the employment rates. Actually, it is one of the commonalities experienced by the capitalist countries in the world; that is why Overbeek (2003) underlines it as "the norm rather than the exception".

The roots of the problem can be searched in the shift in the patterns of investment after the countries have undergone the process of neoliberal transformation through which they have been urged to espouse privatization, deregulation, flexibility as well as certain parallel changes in the central bank policies (Yeldan, 2007). The question here rests on the basic assumption of neoliberalism asserting that a good record of economic growth will bring about a favourable labour market performance. It has been expected that the steps towards financial liberalization will increase the savings and thus contribute to the overall

growth dynamics by increasing the amount of available loans (Yeldan, 2007). However, it is frequently raised in the literature so far that this does not reflect the reality. Instead, the result has been a “speculative-led growth” (Ercan, Taymaz and Yeldan, 2010). The patterns of investments have indicated a tendency towards the financial sector, rather than the real sector, which has resulted in decline of the loans for the industries and in the consequent emergence of a financing question for the firms (Mütevelliöđlu and Iřık, 2009). In relation to this, also, Epstein and Yeldan (2007) underscore the shift in the policies of the Central Banks with a focus on maintaining a low inflation rate, which has led to minimization of the employment creation as one of the major aims.

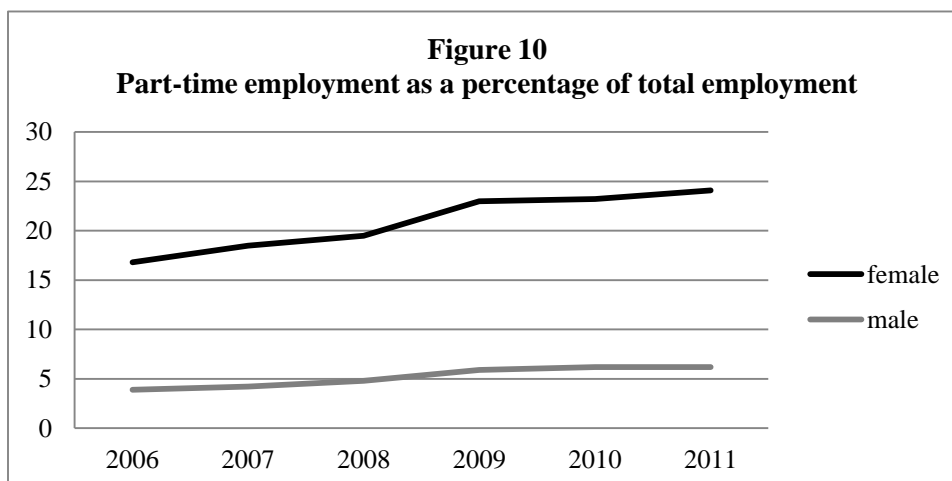
As a developing country that has been under the dictate of the international agencies like the IMF throughout its transition to a new economic model, Turkey has been under the influence of the same phenomenon, as well. In relation to the main topic of the study, the “employment-unfriendly growth” (Ercan, Taymaz and Yeldan, 2010) has aggravated the complications experienced after a large amount of labour has been shed from the agricultural sector. As can be viewed from the figure below, the share of agriculture in total employment has been in decline for years as a result of the implemented macroeconomic policies such as the cuts on the supports to the sector. It has been a component of the strategies pursued since the 80s by the governments within the framework of the integration into the global economy.



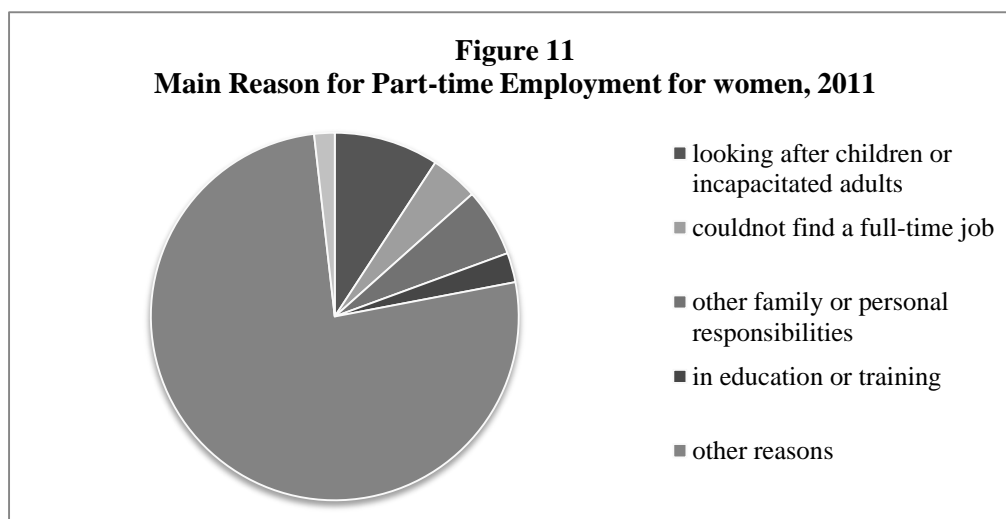
Source: World Bank Data, World Development Indicators (WDI) & Global Development Finance (GDF)

What complicates the picture is that the people whose means of survival has been undermined with the declining profitability of the agricultural sector have initiated a major wave of migration to the cities. However, the industrial sector which has been dominated by the impacts of the “jobless growth” could not accommodate the migrants in that when compared to the dramatic fall in the employment in agriculture, the parallel increase in the industrial sector is quite modest. Therefore, the outcome was the emergence of a substantial amount of “cheap unskilled labour” (Buğra and Yakut-Çakar, 2010) and they have mostly been attracted to the informal sector which presents poor conditions in terms of earnings and social security. For women, the informal sector usually entails the home production of goods, the provision of domestic services and the involvement in sub-contracting (Nisonoff, 1997). In Turkey, the statistics are found quite alarming in that more than 60% of women employed work informally (Ecevit, 2008). Some women, on the other hand, are found to have made a different choice and, as put forward earlier, lacking the necessary skills to find a job in the increasingly competitive environment of the labour market, they have chosen to stay at home to fully undertaking the reproduction activities at home.

Besides the jobless growth, it has been highlighted before that the labour market has been one of the platforms where the impact of the neoliberal wave could be observed most evidently. The major goals in the 80s when the country was going through the major transformation to an export-oriented growth model were to increase the competitiveness through decreasing the wages and to integrate with the global economy by switching the source of the demand outside the borders (Onaran, 2004). Therefore, in line with the neoliberal ideals, the labour market was to be re-regulated and to some extent to be de-regulated. In that sense, the urge for more flexibility in the labour market with respect to a variety of regulations ranging from working hours to wages started to be pronounced as a key to a functioning market for the country. Furthermore, in the previous chapter, it has been highlighted that such arrangements have been enshrined as a means for women to reconcile work and domestic responsibilities. For instance, frequently the part-time employment forms are put forward to enable them to work outside and also maintain their cardinal spot in the reproduction process in the household. The figure below indicates the increase in Turkey in the part-time employment for both men and women over the years, which suggest that it has been preferred by the latter more. In relation, the following figure identifies the main reasons presented by the Turkish women in taking part in part-time employment. Among the specified causes, one of the largest shares belongs to the responsibility that they bear with regards to taking care of the children, the elderly or the sick (9.2%).



Source: Eurostat



Source: Eurostat

With regards to the picture above, there have been several concerns raised as to how the promotion of such flexible forms of employment would affect women. To begin with, it is argued that the fervent encouragement of these conditions for a societal group which already face its own unique problems in entering and staying in the labour market may contain them in what has been identified as “periphery”, which means that a quite a large amount of women will have jobs with lower income, lower prospects of career and lower levels of social security (Koray,

2011). Moreover, the part-time employment in Turkey accommodates a large amount of women, like the European labour market, but is quite informal (Atasü-Topçuoğlu, 2011). Actually, in relation to this, one of the primary aims of devising the new Labour Law in 2003 was to provide a legal ground for flexible employment forms, which will be mentioned more in detail in the study later. That is why, some scholars like Koray (2011) believes that it has paved the way for the spread of such atypical and insecure work. However, there are also some who put forward that the firms would have resorted to such arrangements anyway, which would aggravate the informal sector in the country (Süral and Pennings, 2005).

As highlighted earlier, the initial attempts towards encouraging women's labour force participation and employment in the country can be marked with an influence of the international institutions like the UN and the World Bank. With a prime focus on employability and entrepreneurship within the framework of the active labour market policies, their outlook has been quite influential in the formation of the national policies. As these agencies have embraced and advocated the neoliberal policies, their prescriptions for the labour market have been quite in line with its basic premises on the primacy of the market and individuality. The focus has been shifted to the individuals who should keep up with the demands of the market and advance their skills accordingly in order to increase their employability or start up their own businesses through benefiting from the diverse sources of loans. Thus, as of these years, such active policies have come to the forefront in the country's agenda more. Furthermore, in terms of the impact of the international organizations, it should probably be mentioned that the formulation of certain strategic documents and the following initiatives have contributed to the rise of gender-related concerns in the world and country agenda. For instance, in 1979, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a convention concerning women's rights and the combat against various forms of discrimination (CEDAW—Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) which was adopted by Turkey in 1985 (to be followed by the adoption of the Optional Protocol in 2002). Moreover, in 2000, the UN set up a number of targets

to be achieved in a diversity of social policy fields. One of the eight goals established is the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women. Besides the educational and political indexes, the encouragement of more women to be employed in non-agricultural sectors is considered among the key indicators.

Within the framework of the efforts to improve women's labour market status, one of the earliest projects was conducted between the years 1995 and 2000 as a subcomponent of the Employment and Education Project co-financed with the WB. The key goal was to develop well-grounded policies in order to provide women with more and better job opportunities. Many researches were carried out to identify and challenge the factors discouraging women from taking an active part in the labour market (Ecevit, 2011). In the same years, also a project on women's entrepreneurship—Small Entrepreneurship Project—was initiated. Financed by the Japanese Grant Fund, the project covered seven cities and with the contributions of the WB again, it aimed to identify the hardships awaiting women who want to start up their own businesses⁵. As pointed out also in the World Development Report in 2012 (which was developed around the theme of gender equality and development) (WB, 2012) in most parts of the world there is a substantial discrepancy between the capacities of access to material and financial resources for women and men, which emerges today as a factor undermining female entrepreneurship, one of the championed means to combat female unemployment and low labour market participation. To that regard, the project aimed to examine the major difficulties experienced by Turkish women in accessing the available credits. Similarly, between the years 1993 and 2003, another project was conducted with the contributions of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Within its framework, twelve pilot projects were implemented to cover various income-generating activities ranging from manufacturing to livestock farming. Such attempts show that after the absence of a specific attention or strategy towards

⁵ The information on the completed projects has been accessed on 17.12.2011 from <http://www.kadinistatusu.gov.tr/tr/html/19155/Tamamlanan-Projeler>

women for a long time, the 90s mark the beginning of a new phase in which the interest shown to the issue increases.

A review of the above-mentioned projects attracts the attention to the role of these international institutions, which can be considered in relation to their immense influence on the overall economy and naturally the labour market. As Özar and Ercan (2004) point out, there was a close relationship between the investments and employment in the inward-oriented capital accumulation model prevailing in the pre-80s. Subsequently, however, the country aimed to integrate with the international economy and within that framework the protective arrangements in the labour market were accused of jeopardizing the employment and increasing the costs (Özar and Ercan, 2004). Although especially after the coup d'état in 1980 there were already significant changes in the labour regulations, followed by a substantial decrease in the power of the trade unions, the country continued the process of deregulation and flexibility in parallel to the neoliberal order that has been driving the capitalist countries in the world in a similar direction. At the beginning of the 80s, it started to implement economic programs recommended by these agents in order to accomplish the desired transition on the road to articulate with the global economy. Between the years 1980 and 1983, a standby agreement was made with the IMF and between the years 1980 and 1984, Structural Adjustment agreements were made with the World Bank, which functioned as means for integration with the world capitalism in the atmosphere of the relative stability provided by the military coup (Kaya Özçelik, 2011). For both contracts, the overriding concern has been identified as the desire to establish a running free market economy and what is known as the "24th of January decisions" has been depicted as the turn of the road in that sense. As of the early 80s, the country pledged to be under the guidance of these institutions for the course of the economic performance. Thus, the labour market policies also were formulated under their guidance and in parallel to the neoliberal pursuits in the overall economy, which was reflected as the rise of the active labour market policies.

3.2. The European Union as an influential actor

So far, the aim has been to follow a chronological order in order to observe the cultivation of the policy initiatives concerning female employment in Turkey and the increasing dynamism of the 90s has been underlined in line with the state's neoliberal experience under the guidance of the institutions like the IMF and WB. The momentum of this decade seems to continue in the mid-2000s with the influence of a different international actor. Since then, the area of female employment and more generally the labour market and gender equality has been handled within the framework of the membership prospects for the European Union. To that regard, it is generally acknowledged that the accession process has encouraged Turkey to undergo a series of reforms in various fields and without a doubt one of them has been the labour market. Although the European labour market is not without questions, Turkey seems to lag behind in most of the indicators displaying a functioning one. In general, the accession process of a candidate country is based on three criteria, famously known as the Copenhagen Criteria. Within this framework, the country is expected to harmonize with the EU in the following areas: the political criteria depending on democracy, human rights and rule of law; a functioning market economy; and the capacity to adopt the Acquis. For the first criterion, it is natural that the status of women in the society has been one of the frequently reported concerns for the European Commission. In that sense, actually, gender equality seems to be one of the key issues on the road to membership (Arısan Eralp, 2011). This is why the progress reports have been rich in references to the various forms of gender-based inequalities present both in the labour market and in the society in general.

3.2.1. The legal reforms

It is recognized that Turkish women face a number of difficulties in entering and staying in the labour market, one of which has been identified as the presence of legal regulations functioning as disincentives. The recent years can be marked with a desire to eliminate such obstacles in the first place. In the progress reports, which abound with prescriptions and recommendations regarding the women's status in the labour market, the legislative framework has been found insufficient in terms of harmonization with the EU for various times. For instance, in the first progress report received by Turkey in 1998, not much improvement is recorded with regards to the labour law in Turkey despite the ratification of some ILO Conventions. In the next year's report, the Turkish legislation in fields of "health, social security, labour and equal opportunities" is found to have a low degree of alignment with the EU Acquis. To that regard, it can be argued that from the very beginning the accession process served as a catalyst in the pursuit of gender equality especially in the work-related areas and also provided the government with a solid framework to emulate.

The candidate country has been expected to adopt and implement the gender equality legislation that has been developed in the Union throughout the years. In order to grasp what has been expected of the country, the related legal framework in the EU should presumably be reviewed in brief. Actually, the Union does not have exclusive competences in the field of employment or in wider terms social policy; however, it provides minimum standards for the member states to meet in certain areas which are believed to mark the essential qualities of the proposed European social model. In the White Paper named "European Social Policy: A way forward for the Union" in 1994, the lynchpins of this model are found in certain values like "democracy and individual rights, free collective bargaining, the market economy, equality of opportunity for all and social welfare and solidarity" (European Commission, 1994). The European Trade Union Confederation, in their website, associates the model with "full employment, good quality jobs, equal

opportunities, social protection for all, social inclusion, and involving citizens in the decisions that affect them”⁶. In spite of the possibility to come across different definitions, one can surely pinpoint the issue of gender equality as one of the crucial components of the suggested model.

The interest of the EU in establishing gender equality can be found in the earliest initiatives, which can be observed through the treaty articles, directives and other forms of legal instruments including also the rulings of the European Court of Justice. Since the 1960s, the EU has developed legislation to foster equality between men and women especially in the labour market. In addition to the key treaty articles, like the famous Article 119 of the Rome Treaty (concerning equal pay for equal work), the Union has issued directives to cover a variety of relevant questions. The most articulated ones are usually the first three directives: the *Equal Pay Directive* (75/117/EEC) in 1975, the *Directive on Equal Treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions* (76/207/EEC) in 1976 and the *Directive on the progressive implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security* (79/7/EEC). The related legislation in the EU is certainly not limited with these only; however, the extent can be hinted as the legal reforms in Turkey are tracked down later. All in all, the instances above can be interpreted as a clear indicator of the interest developed in gender equality by the EU since the early times. However, it should be noted that this growing interest then was not out of a pure desire to elevate the women’s status in the society through enshrining the human rights. The reason should also be looked in the member states’ concerns for fair competition among themselves. For instance, the motivations for the inclusion of the “equal pay for equal work” principle within the Rome Treaty, as well as the related directive afterwards, are usually sought to lie in France’s concerns that its adoption of such a principle alone can harm its competitiveness if the others continued to utilize the female labour force as a way of reducing costs (Burri and

⁶ <http://www.etuc.org/a/111> (last accessed on 27.05.2013)

Prechal, 2008). Thus, it should not be implied that the gender-related concerns are always at the centre of policy-making in the EU (Landig, 2011). Actually, there have been various criticisms voiced that the organization's gender-related policies have been overridden by the neoliberal occupations. Still, considering the substantial gap between the two, the standards set by the EU continue to be viable targets for Turkey in the formulation of the related policies and identification of the goals to be reached.

3.2.1.1. A brief review of the fundamental changes in the Constitution, Civil and Penal Codes

Dedeoğlu (2012) argues that there are two angles through which the influence of the EU's policies on gender equality can be observed: the legislative angle and the policy angle. It has been put forward earlier that the recent years have witnessed a process of major reforms concerning the legal regulations in Turkey. Now the study will briefly focus on these changes which have been called for to have an impact on the prospects of employment for Turkish women. To start with, legally, the equality between men and women is basically guaranteed under the Article 10 of the Turkish Constitution, which prohibits any discrimination based on factors like race or gender and in 2000s there have been amendments so as to reinforce it. It was added in 2004 that women and men are endowed with equal rights and that the state has related responsibilities. Also, in 2010 it was added that the measures taken in accordance are not in contradiction to the equality principle.

Since gender equality is a broad issue covering many fields, the reforms have not been limited to the Constitution alone and further changes have been introduced concerning the Civil Code and the Penal Code. For instance, the previous Civil Code used to set the man as the "head of the family" and required his consent for women to work (Dedeoğlu, 2012). Such an arrangement is surely a reflection of the welfare regime characteristics of the country. With the new Code, however, such regulations are lifted, which points to a crucial reform cementing the

freedom women should enjoy for an effective role in the society. Although not directly related to female employment, another important change brought about by the new Code is the regulation of the property acquired during marriage. Beforehand, traditionally all property would be registered in the name of the men, which actually used to aggravate the vulnerability of women within the family (Dedeoğlu, 2012). As mentioned earlier, the welfare structure is traditionally based on men being the breadwinner and women being the housewives. Thus, the property acquired in the course of marriage was considered to be a consequence of the men's efforts. In this respect, it also points to the conception of the housework and caring services performed by the women as having no significant value. Now, with the new regulations, the spouses are to share the properties acquired during the matrimony on equal terms. On the surface, the arrangement seems to lack a direct link to the labour market; however, it surely increases the voice of the women in the family. In a similar vein, there have been several changes attained with the Penal Code in 2005 so as to provide women with more security and improve the standards of gender equality (Özdemir, 2013) but the country still continues to suffer from honour killings, rapes and other forms of gender-based violence.

3.2.1.2. The introduction of the new Labour Law

In relation to the main subject of the study, one of the fundamental steps has obviously been taken with the adoption of the new Labour Law in 2003. Such a need had been raised in several earlier progress reports. For instance, in 2000, the country was criticized for not being involved in any efforts towards alignment concerning the Labour Law. Such a step was considered necessary to eliminate the “rigidities” in the law which are believed to function as handicaps for the development of the private sector and for achieving a higher level of competitiveness. The gender equality component of the newly formulated labour regulations was to be based on the European Union directives as a part of the

accession process and a quite marked improvement has been achieved although not without any questions. To start with, basically, through the article 5, the Law prohibits any discrimination based on factors like language, race or sex in the employment relationship. On that point, some concerns have been raised by several scholars. For instance, Acuner and İřat (2008) have pointed to the problematic nature of limiting equal treatment to employment relationship, which can exclude the process of recruitment. It has been frequently brought to attention that women in Turkey face diverse difficulties and forms of discrimination in all stages of their relationship to the labour market. In the EU's Recast Directive (2006/54/EC), the Article 14 under Chapter 3 specifically refers to non-discrimination in "selection criteria and recruitment conditions", "vocational guidance, vocational training, advanced vocational training and retraining" and "employment and working conditions". Therefore, in order to really enjoy equality between men and women and to fully harmonize with the EU directive, further adjustments are considered necessary to be made in the article. Moreover, with regards to the equal pay principle, which usually marks one of the fundamentals of gender equality legislation, the Article 5 of the Labour Code precludes any different payments for the same work or the work with equal value on the basis of sex. It also states that the implementation of special protective measures in relation to gender does not justify any lower payment.

The new Labour Code is also credited with regulating the "atypical" forms of employment which have been popularized further with the rising need for flexibility in the "globalized" world. Basically, it paves the way for the expansion of flexible and informal forms of work (Öztürk, 2010). Security in the labour market is primarily formulated for the employer, which is believed to contribute to the investments and increase formal employment, and actually this is one of the reasons why the Law is considered to cement the preference for "workfare over welfare" (Cořar and Yeęenoęlu, 2009). It has been put forward before that since the 80s Turkey has been involved in an effort to integrate with the global economy and that it has focused on the sectors that is based on financial competitiveness

(Özar and Ercan, 2004). In relation, the desire to cut on costs and foster competitiveness has been echoed in the labour market. Therefore, for decades now the aim has been to eliminate the protective arrangements in the labour market and the need for the candidate country to legally organize the emerging “atypical” forms of employment has been brought up frequently in the progress reports. In accordance, the equal treatment principle in the Labour Law contains non-discrimination to be maintained also between the full-time and the part-time workers or between the workers with fixed-term and the ones with permanent contracts if there is no essential reason. Although it does not seem to be directly related to gender equality in the first place, legislation regarding such employment forms can still be closely associated with the women’s status in the market, considering that flexible employment has been frequently put forward as a solution to unemployment and low rates of labour force participation for women. The main argument here has been that flexibility envisages women to be employed without having them forgo the responsibility of household activities (Öztürk, 2010). The strategy of encouraging such employment is also adopted by the EU in fostering a more favourable level of reconciliation of work and family life for both men and women. Thus, containing the desired changes, the new Labour Law in Turkey was also expected to increase the rates of labour force participation and employment for women in line with the abovementioned strategy (Dedeoğlu, 2012). Although it is crucial that such forms are regulated through the law, there are certain doubts cast upon the mentioned provision on part-time employment in the Labour Law, which can result in a further disadvantageous position for women. For instance, Ecevit (2008) underscores the need to identify what constitutes an essential reason to discriminate between full-time and part-time workers or between workers with fixed-term and with permanent contracts.

Now the study will briefly review some of the fundamental changes brought about by the new Labour Law of 2003. As one of the main motives behind the formulation of a new law has been the increasing need felt for further flexibility, the resulting document has involved various regulations to promote the newly

emerging forms of employment devoid of the strictly standard codes of the previous eras. The whole effort has been based on the perception that the flexibility in the labour market will sustain regardless of its being regulated by the law (Süral and Pennings, 2005). The neoliberal precepts dominating the global system advocate the flexibilization of the labour market regulations for the sake of further dynamism and attach poorer opportunities of employment for disadvantaged groups like women and the young in the case of strict protection clauses (Viebrock and Clasen, 2009).

The new regulations in the Labour Law have been based on the related directives in the EU Acquis (Süral and Pennings, 2005). The new forms of employment relations between the employers and the employees have been provided with a legal ground. One of the regulated forms of employment contract is the one with an indefinite term. As indicated in the Article 11 of the Law, these fixed-term contracts are based on an already determined period of time or on the development of specific circumstances like the fulfilment of the task. The same article also forbids the formulation of a fixed-term contract more than once except for an “essential reason” requiring a “chain contract”. Furthermore, the Article 12 outlaws a different sort of treatment for the employees with fixed and open-ended contracts.

The article 13 of the Labour Law clarifies the terms of another atypical form of contract: part-time employment. It has specifically been highlighted in the policies of the governments as well as the international agencies in presenting a favourable means of entering the labour market for certain social groups like the young. Moreover, it has been frequently maintained as a valuable channel for women to both participate in the labour market and simultaneously preserve their domestic roles related to the reproduction process. The article defines the part-time employment simply by underlining the quite reduced number of working hours on a weekly basis. Also, the Law rules out the use of the type of contract itself as a justified reason for discriminatory behaviour. The next article in the Labour Law (Article 14) addresses to the “work on call”, which refers to the fulfilment of the

task when such a need arises. Besides the general definition, the Law specifies the terms of the contractual relationship to be formed in such a situation. For instance, if the two parties have not decided on work time of the employee, the weekly duration is taken as twenty hours.

Furthermore, the Labour Law regulates the terms for employment contracts with a probation clause. In the Article 15, it is articulated that the duration of the probation should not be over two months. However, in the case of collective agreement, it can be increased to four months. One of the fundamental characteristics of such a contract is the ability of the employer to end the employment relationship within the designated duration without having to carry out the usual requirements in the termination of a contract. For instance, the employer is not obligated to make the compensation payment to the employee then.

Another form of flexible form of employment is the one with temporary relationship (Article 7). In that sense, flexibility can be enjoyed by the employer in transferring the employee to another division of the same company group or to a different employer. However, the contract between the employer and the employee remains. The Labour Law specifies that such an employment relationship cannot be over six months and can only be renewed twice. The payment of the wages is incumbent on the employer who has transferred the worker.

The Law also regulates the compensatory work that can be asked from the employees in extraordinary circumstances like the national holidays (Article 64). The Labour Law differentiates it from the overtime work and limits the extension of the daily compensatory work time with three hours. On the other hand, the flexibility in the working hours enable the employers to ask for overtime work or work at extra hours from the employees in case of urgent situations or national holidays and the like. Then, the hourly wage for the extra work is more than the usual wage by the ratio designated in the Law (Article 41). It is also possible for the employee to use it as extra free time rather than wage.

As the above-mentioned review indicates, the Law provides a legal ground to the newly emerging forms of employment relationships by defining the contractual

dealings and the terms of the proceedings. Furthermore, it aims to eliminate any discriminatory treatment based on the type of the contracts. As shown above, certain articles specify the improbability of the use of different contracts as grounds for discrimination between the employees. Besides the individual articles on the types of contracts, the Article 5 of the Labour Law (under the title of *equal treatment principle*) prohibits any discrimination, unless there is an essential reason, between the employees with part-time and full-time contracts as well as between the employees with fixed-term and open-ended contracts.

Moreover, the Law prohibits any different conduct based on sex or pregnancy in concluding, establishing the conditions of a contract and implementing or ending one; unless a biological reason or a reason related to the quality of the work require the otherwise (Article 5). This kind of a specification is crucial in providing a certain level of security for women. However, the second part of the clause casts a shadow. Acuner and İřat (2008) question the content of the “biological reasons” and deem it rather ambiguous. Such wording should be carefully defined within the legal framework in order to avoid an unintended abuse at the disadvantage of female workers. Furthermore, the same clause prohibits such discriminatory acts regardless of their being direct or indirect. A parallel intention can also be found in the EU directives but it is significant to specify the definition of these types of discrimination. However, the clause in the Law lacks any elucidation on what these refer to exactly (Acuner and İřat, 2008; Sural, 2010). The same need is also underlined in the in the progress report in 2008 as a shortcoming concerning the transition of the Acquis to the national legislation. In the Recast Directive of 2006/54/EC, direct discrimination is defined as “where one person is treated less favourably on grounds of sex than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation” whereas indirect discrimination is defined as “where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of one sex at a particular disadvantage compared with persons of the other sex, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim, and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary”. Providing such a

ground in the legal framework with an agreed upon definition will strengthen the content of the claim in case of alleged discrimination and ensure the desired equal treatment.

The Labour Law also provides some level of security regarding the termination of the contracts. As already mentioned above, the Article 5 precludes the use of sex or pregnancy as a justification. Furthermore, the Article 18 on the termination of contracts excludes reasons like sex, pregnancy and giving birth from the scope of valid factors. It should be noted here that in the Recast Directive (2006/54/EC) it is clearly stated that “unfavourable treatment of a woman related to pregnancy or maternity constitutes direct discrimination on grounds of sex”. Therefore, to that extent, the legislation seems to be in line with the Acquis. However, Acuner and Işat (2008) point to the limitation put under the Article 18 of the Labour Law which provides some level of security for the workers who are employed in places with thirty or more employees, who have length of service for at least six months and who have a permanent contract. Therefore, the scholars raise concern for exclusion of certain amount of women under these terms.

The Labour Law contains further regulation on pregnancy in order to establish equal grounds with men for women in the labour market. The Article 74 includes certain provisions on the pregnant workers, which allows for their employment in jobs more suitable to the health of the worker if necessary and denies its use as a cause for lower payment. It can be considered in parallel with the equal pay provision under the Article 5 which precludes the violation of this principle even if some special protective measures are granted. In 2004, also a directive was issued on the working conditions of pregnant and breast-feeding women (Directive no. 25522). In accordance with the related EU Acquis, it establishes taking the necessary precautions to ensure the protection of the women covered under the provided definitions. This directive has brought some requirements for the firms employing female workers with regards to the provision of caring services, as well. In that sense, it requires the firms which employ between 100 and 150 female workers to have a nursery room and firms which employ more than 150 female

workers to have preschool opportunities. While this seems to be a favourable initiative towards alleviating the burden on women's shoulders, it brings about other concerns. To begin with, in an environment where most women suffer from poor prospects for employment, such a clause can act in their disadvantage by leading the employers to consider female workers as extra costs. Thus, it can actually serve as a pretext for the employers to avoid hiring women (Ecevit, 2008). All in all, the implementation of the clause has been quite limited (Dedeoğlu, 2012), which results in the need for questioning whether it accomplishes what it has been intended for in the first place. The fact that the basis of the arrangement is laid on the number of female employees serves as a valuable indicator of how the conventional projections on gender roles exert an impact on the policy-making process. It verifies the rooted norms on women, not men, assuming the responsibility of the children and reproduces the patriarchy (Öztürk, 2010).

Another area which has been amended in the recent years is the night work arrangements for women through the Directive no.25548. To begin with, it should be noted that the previous Labour Law used to prohibit women from working at night but it was repealed with the new Law (Süral, 2010). In addition, with this Directive, the working hours for women are limited with 7.5 hours a day, which is equal to the time limitation identified for all workers in the Article 69 of the Labour Law. Also, it provides protective measures for the pregnant and breast-feeding women, stating that the employers cannot have pregnant women work from the confirmation of pregnancy with a doctor's report until the time of birth. Also, the breast-feeding women cannot be employed in night work for six months following the birth. To that regard, Kılıç (2008) indicates that the elimination of such protective arrangements can serve the employers much more than the women, with the former enjoying the further deregulated and flexible labour market.

Another issue to be brought up here is the maternity leave which is regulated under the Article 74 of the Labour Law. It is quite an important issue in that being a mother or the possibility of such a condition usually serves as a disincentive for the employers in hiring a female worker. The Labour Law grants the pregnant

women with a right to leave for eight weeks before and eight weeks after giving birth (a total of sixteen weeks) and also states that if demanded an additional (unpaid) leave for six months can be granted. All in all, it corresponds to an increase of four weeks (with the previous arrangements granting twelve weeks of maternity leave) (Kılıç, 2008). The issue is also handled as such in the Directive on pregnant and breast-feeding women. In the EU Acquis, on the other hand, the recent Directive on parental leave (2010/18/EU) gives men and women a right to parental leave until the age of eight and the time limitation is left for the member states and/or social partners to identify. It sets a minimum standard of four months and leaves the modalities of application to the member states to decide in accordance with their national legislation. The quantitative details of the parental leave legislation in Turkey are in accordance with the EU Acquis. However, so far, there has not been any regulation in the Labour Law regarding parental leave. As can be understood from the EU Directives, the Union is careful about establishing gender equality in the field of parental leaves also. Even the name used (“parental”) suggests that the ground should be levelled for both parents in the issues related to child-raising. It is viewed as a way to challenge the traditional portrayals of women as the sole caretakers through encouraging the men to take up the opportunity of parental leave. The legal regulation in Turkey, on the other hand, is a clear indicator of the prevailing conception of the women’s primary role as mothers. Theoretically speaking, a regulation to divide childcare responsibilities equally between the parents can increase female employment, considering that household responsibilities are one of the principal factors that deter women from taking an effective part in the labour force. Although its actual efficacy in a society with rooted convictions about gender roles can be questionable, such an arrangement can still discourage the employers from seeing pregnant women or newly mothers as inefficient workers to be avoided. In Turkey, a draft was prepared in order to grant unpaid parental leave for six months for both parents; however, it was objected by the Turkish Confederation of Employers’ Associations (TISK) on the grounds of being still “ineffective” in guaranteeing the fathers’ engagement in the

process and of Turkey's not sharing the concerns for an ageing society, which TISK proposes as the key reason for the EU to boost it in the first place (Dedeoğlu, 2012). Recently, with the legislation frequently denoted as the "package law" (no.6111), the right to parental leave has been granted to male civil servants; however, there is still no legislation for male workers to that regard.

Presumably, a final point to make here is the burden of proof related to discrimination cases. In the EU, the Recast Directive (2006) stipulates that to effectively enforce the equal treatment principle, it is crucial to endorse the rules on burden of proof. In that sense, the Article 19 assigns the member states with the responsibility to ensure that the respondent has the duty to prove the otherwise "when persons who consider themselves wronged because the principle of equal treatment has not been applied to them establish, before a court or other competent authority, facts from which it may be presumed that there has been direct or indirect discrimination". The Turkish Labour Law provides similar lines. For example, in terms of the termination of contracts, the Article 20 gives the burden of proof to the employer who must provide a valid reason.

3.2.1.3. A brief review of the reforms in the social security and health care system

Besides the new Labour Law, the recent years have also hosted reforms in other fields that influence the labour market status of women. For instance, there have been changes introduced in the social insurance and health care regulations. A new Social Security and General Insurance Law was adopted aiming to provide men and women with equal terms on welfare policies (Dedeoğlu, 2012). The reason behind the amendments is that the earlier social security system was considered to be too costly, rather "fragmented" and an impediment for the flexibility of the labour market (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2009). The central goal through the reforms has been to remove the health and social security system from the scope of the public services and articulate it to the free market structure (Öztürk, 2010). To that

regard, it can be considered as a step in the breakdown of the “regulatory state” which emerged as a result of the neoliberal policies pursued after the 80s (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2009). It has been mentioned earlier that the gender-based roles within the family constitute one of the lynchpins of the welfare regime in the country. According to the precedent arrangements, the women could benefit from the system through their fathers or husbands and the welfare structure mostly characterized them as the dependents; in other words, it rested on the conception of women needy of the “male protection” (Kılıç, 2008). Young women could enjoy the entitlement to welfare through their fathers with no age limitation while such a constraint was in effect for young men. With the new law, this regulation is eliminated, terminating the women’s lifelong right to benefit from health services through their fathers and the law foresees the retirement ages to be sixty-five for men and women both in 2048 (Dedeoğlu, 2012). The basic argument behind this change is the “aging population” which, for some scholars, does not assert itself as a critical question as the high unemployment rates for the population in general constitute a more acute problem (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2009). Furthermore, the increase in the retirement age can function as extra disincentives for women to participate in the labour market (Arat, 2010).

As a result of the reforms, it is believed that there has been a transformation in the portrayal of women as the needy (Kılıç, 2008; Dedeoğlu, 2012). However, women’s disadvantageous spot in the labour market leads to a reconsideration of the effectiveness of the reforms. Without achieving a substantial improvement in the their labour force participation or employment rates, the disposal of such protective measures can actually work against the benefit of most women. Kılıç (2008) warns that, with the low rates of labour force participation and the prevalence of informal work among women, requiring the payment of premiums for healthcare can result in further exclusion. Such a regulation may encourage some women to get married so as to enjoy some level of security through their husbands or to yield to undesired jobs with adverse conditions (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2009). Therefore, without effective policies to raise the levels of labour

force participation and employment for women, these reforms can merely mean a change in the person on whom they are dependent. In that sense, this step constitutes yet another instance of formal equality which tends to disregard the already existing inequalities (Öztürk, 2010). In sum, both the former and the present systems seem to foster the patriarchy while the latter is inclined to exacerbate the inequalities; thus, in the end, it is expected to augment the “feminization of poverty” (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2009).

From a holistic point of view, the circumstances prove to be somewhat double-edged. It has been put forward already that the previous regulations used to grant young women with a right to security through their fathers as well as other protective measures that can be considered as positive discrimination. Although the status of women in the labour market today prompts the maintenance of such arrangements, the risk of labelling women as “needy” and thus “inferior” should be borne in mind (Kılıç, 2008). The actual problem is that the new regulations do not introduce a citizenship-based right for social security either; they rather create a new system based on the employment status of people, which can be to the women’s disadvantage considering the alarmingly low rates of labour force participation and the high rates of informal work (Kılıç, 2008). Besides their unfavourable stance in the labour market, women’s labour at home is not within the scope of social security system, which exacerbates their exclusion. The right formula then should contain the inclusion of all sorts of labour by the women, the entrenchment of the equal pay principle and the provision of job opportunities (Öztürk, 2010).

3.2.1.4. An overview of the other kinds of related legislative steps

Recently, with the adoption of a new piece of legislation, frequently referred to as the “Package Law” no.6111 in 2011, there have been further legal changes concerning the women’s relation to the labour market. One of the areas that have been revised is the issue of parental leaves. The amendments allow for a ten-day

paternity leave for the civil servants in the event of the birth of his child. Although it is important to establish such rights, there have not been any improvements to that extent for the workers. Therefore, as the progress report in 2011 warns, this may lead to wider gender gap between the two groups. Moreover, although it is about public employment, it may be useful to add that with the Package Law, the existing arrangement with regards to the limitation of the child support with two children has been eliminated. Öztürk (2011) argues that it is an indicator of the conservative point of view aiming to contain women within the house, rather than foster their employment. A further notice here should be about the elimination of regulations regarding the home-based work in the draft, which would have increased the attention it receives and would have served to the advantage of the women, considering that it usually emerges as a viable option for them⁷.

In addition to these amended or initiated laws, a number of circulars have been issued by the Prime Ministry in order to foster female employment and to contribute to the establishment of gender equality in the labour market. For instance, in 2004 a circular about adherence to the equal treatment principle during recruitment was laid down so that women and men would own equal opportunities in the recruitment process in the public institutions. However, it has not been sufficient in hampering the occasional preferences for men over women in many areas (Dedeoğlu, 2012). Another initiative to mention was issued in 2010 in relation to increasing female employment and establishing equal opportunities. Most importantly, it envisages the foundation of a National Team for Coordination and Observation of Female Employment (Dedeoğlu, 2012) and aims to ensure the implementation of the laws and regulations on various grounds so as to achieve effective gender equality in the labour market. Institutionally, the country is expected to establish an equality board; however, it is found the desired efforts to that regard, as raised in the progress report in 2011.

⁷ Keskin, D. (2011) <http://bianet.org/bianet/bianet/128161-evden-calisanlarin-adi-yok> (last accessed on 27.05.2013)

So far quite a general overview of the legal reforms undertaken with regards to the relation of women to the labour market has been presented. Briefly, the major changes introduced in the Constitution, the Civil and Penal Code, and, most importantly, the Labour Law have been underlined. Since gender equality is an extensive issue covering various facets of life, it is not rational to entirely isolate certain policy initiatives and measures from others as a means to portray the women in the labour market. In that sense, the study has also included a quite brief reference to the reforms in the social security and health systems. The extent can surely be expanded to cover many other regulations that may have an impact on the women's status in the society; for instance, the latest years have witnessed an increasing focus on the domestic violence as the number of the incidents has increased and such efforts will surely impact the social conditions of women. However, the main inclination here has been to limit the content with the reforms with a clear direct influence on their relationship to the labour market.

3.2.2. The policy framework adopted within the scope of the candidacy process

Besides the amendments in the legal structure, there is another related effort that needs to be underlined, which can cast a light on the strategies championed by the EU to be adopted in the harmonization process. At the beginning, it has been put forward that the country lacked a labour market policy for decades and it is established that the accession process is one of the critical elements behind the formulation of a separate employment strategy. In addition to the presence of such an endeavour as the formulation of a National Employment Strategy, a similar effort in relation to the main theme of the study can be marked as the formulation of a National Action Plan on Gender Equality for the period between 2008 and 2013 so as to address a variety of concerns regarding the inequalities between women and men. It was formulated within the framework of the Twinning Project

with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment of the Netherlands. Such a practice is one of the channels of integration in the EU, through which the states have the opportunity to benefit from each other's experiences in administrative and legal proceedings (Landig, 2011). Through this document, which is also in line with the ninth development plan (2007-2013), it is possible to pinpoint the key objectives and policies championed by the government with regards to the major questions in the labour market for women (see Table 10).

Table 10⁸
National Action Plan on Gender Equality (2008-2013)
Strategies to achieve an increase in women's employment

- 1 Training opportunities to foster employability and entrepreneurship
 - 2 Employment-guaranteed courses
 - 3 More and accessible care services
 - 4 Parental leave opportunities
 - 5 Initiatives to challenge the persistent mindsets on conventional norms
 - 6 Further opportunities for female entrepreneurship
 - 7 Inclusion of home-based working women in the social security system
 - 8 Training opportunities for men and women both so as to incorporate the gender equality principle
 - 9 Efforts to combat informal employment and to encourage employment opportunities with social security
 - 10 Encouraging the enrolment of more women in the primary education
 - 11 More representation of women in the trade unions
-

The Plan concentrates on various aspects surrounding the question of female employment since women's status in the labour market is too complicated to be reduced to the usual policies to promote employment. However, even a cursory glance suggests that the active labour market policies stand out as the primary

⁸ The table is the authors' own wordings based on the content of the Action Plan.

instruments, including measures like investments in education and training in order to foster women's employability, as well as entrepreneurship. Through the first strategy, for instance, the related institutions are invited to intensify their efforts so as to foster higher labour force participation and employment rates for women. The country also pursues passive policies in the labour market, like the unemployment insurance initiative; however, for a number of reasons such as the financial constraints and the international preferences, there is an overriding tendency for adopting an active approach. Besides this mainstream course, the document also refers to other types of gender inequalities present in the labour market, like the wage differences and the existence of additional difficulties that the women face in the economic life. For instance, a stronger position in the organizations and also a more balanced distribution of responsibilities concerning the care services are underlined. However, what ends up being determinant is the extent to which the envisaged policies have been put into practice.

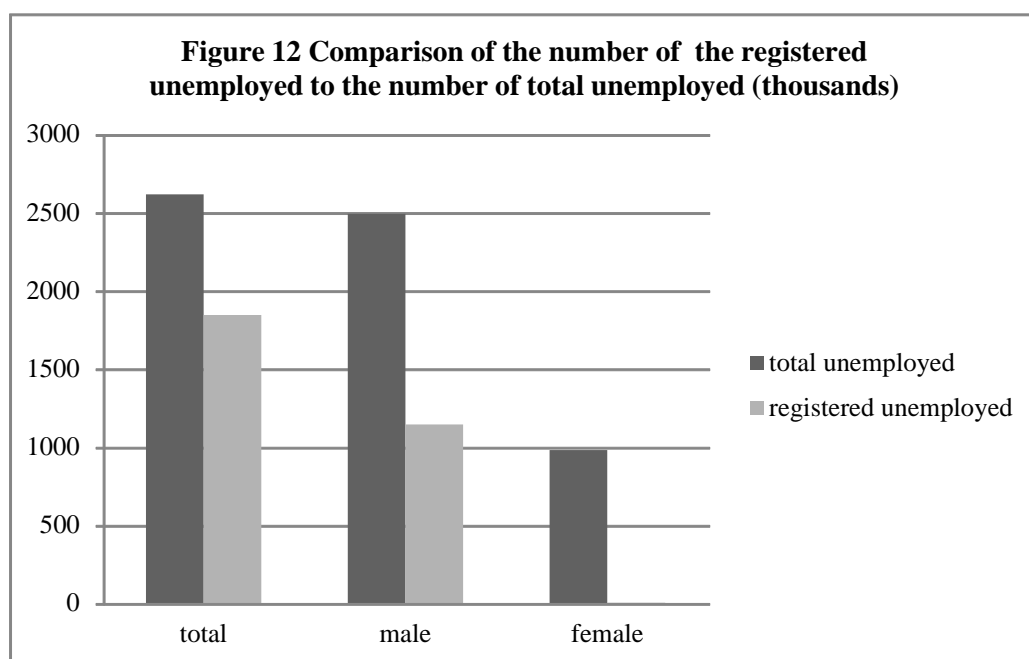
3.3. The Active Labour Market Policies in Turkey

In reviewing the country-specific experiences, it has previously been discussed that since the 1980s and specifically the 1990s, the country has witnessed a rise in the efforts towards the formulation of policies for an effective labour market under the influence of international agents. In that sense, the active measures have been on the domestic agenda for many years now and the key institution then has been the Public Employment Agency. The first such Agency in Turkey was actually established in 1946 with the classic assignment of matching the labour demand and supply in the market, which is deemed as one of the essential duties of a public employment agency. The Labour Law of 1936 would grant this authority to the public sphere by barring the performance of the private agencies⁹; therefore, the agency had a major influence on the labour market for a long period of time. For

⁹ <http://www.iskur.gov.tr/KurumsalBilgi/Kurum/Tarihce.aspx> (last accessed on 10.04.2013)

instance, *Is ve Isci Bulma Kurumu*, as it was named then, was the institution that dealt with the labour migration prevalent in the 60s. Due to the changing circumstances, it grew incompetent to address to the emerging needs and it was restructured under the name of ISKUR (Turkish Public Employment Agency) since the recent years have attached further responsibilities to the public employment agencies like the implementation of the active and passive labour market policies. Now even the conventional matching services are not in the monopoly of the public agencies and the number of private agencies providing a similar service is increasing. However, this does not trivialize the role of the public institutions since there seems to emerge a difference between them in terms of the groups that they address to. It is usually asserted that while the public agencies focus on the disadvantaged societal segments, the private ones tend to address the people who have professional qualities (Betcherman, Olivas and Dar, 2004). Considering that women constitute one of the most disadvantaged segments in the society, it is easy to figure out why the Turkish Public Employment Agency has major significance in elevating the their status in the labour market.

As identified in the Ninth Development Plan, the institution is a key agent in promoting the women's labour market status. One of the essential functions of the Agency is the implementation of the active labour market policies and the main measures employed can be summarized in relation to Bonoli's (2010) typology as incentive reinforcement, employment assistance and especially human capital investment. Accordingly, it has been in charge of the provision of the unemployment benefits as a passive labour market policy as well as of the active measures like placement, counselling and training programs. The figure below indicates the number of the unemployed registered in the Agency in comparison to the general unemployment rates. The difference between the two indicators actually emerges as one of the factors crippling its effectiveness in functioning as a wide-reaching institution responding to the various questions of the labour market.



Source: Data compiled from the Turkish Statistical Institute and the Public Employment Agency

A related point to make here in relation to the main topic of the study is how much the Agency addresses the female population. For instance, the female population at the working age (15-64) amounts to more than 25 million in 2011; however, the Agency's Statistical Yearbook in the same year suggests that female registered labour force is close to 800 thousand. Thus, there is a large amount of women that is out of the reach of the Agency. For women, the unemployment rates may not be enough for evaluation since there is a considerable amount of women who do not actively search for a job but are ready to take up when presented the opportunity. In that sense, the statistics on the reasons of exclusion from the labour market provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute may be useful in elucidating the situation. Here the Institution points to this group of women who have been identified as rather passive in the search for a job but are ready to work. In 2011, the related statistics showed more than a million women who have been discouraged or have other reasons to stay out of the labour market but are ready to work. This suggests that the Agency actually has a larger audience to address when

dealing with the questions of women's unemployment and labour force participation.

Table 11 Job Placement Efforts of ISKUR

		Women	Men
2005	Application	136431	380272
	Placement	12743	68942
2006	Application	147890	416498
	Placement	16424	69458
2007	Application	169368	487601
	Placement	23400	87975
2008	Application	347539	928135
	Placement	25011	84584
2009	Application	512780	922244
	Placement	29453	88825
2010	Application	458620	759316
	Placement	49697	155534
2011	Application	538149	860206
	Placement	101708	261964

Source: Public Employment Agency (ISKUR) Statistical Yearbook (2011)

As a public employment institution, one of the critical duties assumed has been defined as the process of matching the labour supply with the labour demand. The table above shows the job placement efforts of the Agency within that framework. In that sense, one of the goals set by ISKUR is to ensure that 35% of the job placements are women by 2015. The statistics presented indicate that the ratio is around 20% for women in 2011. Actually, the comparative statistics in the table show that there has been an increase in the rates for both men and women; however, the gap between the two sets of data catches the attention. The large difference between the applications and the placements actually points to the grave nature of the jobless growth model which has been previously handled in the study

and the fact that the problem is not only on the side of the labour supply but also the demand. A similar question can be raised for the difference between the statistics on the placement efforts for the participants who have completed the courses successfully, as indicated in the table below.

Table 12
Job placements by means of courses in 2011 by ISKUR

	Male	Female	Total
	55.270	25.914	81.184
Total job placements in 2011			
	Male	Female	Total
	261.964	101.708	363.672

Source: Turkish Public Employment Agency (ISKUR) Statistical Yearbook (2011)

As hinted above, another fundamental active policy managed by the Agency is the training programs. In the following table, the statistics regarding the vocational and entrepreneurship courses which have been offered within the framework of the ALMPs by ISKUR are presented. The numbers suggest that women tend to show more interest in augmenting their employability by adding to their skills and also that a considerable number of women participate in the entrepreneurship courses.

Table 13 Training Programs implemented by ISKUR in 2011

	Number of courses	Male participants	Female participants
Entrepreneurship courses	872	13002	10312
Labour force training courses	3864	35559	52121

Source: Turkish Public Employment Agency (ISKUR) Activity Report (2011)

In general, a review of the activity reports should reveal the main policies pursued by the institution. To begin with, it is responsible for the passive labour market policies prevalent in Turkey, which basically includes the provision of the

unemployed with benefits for a certain period of time. However, most of the institution's initiatives can be evaluated within the framework of the active labour market policies. In that regard, the vocational courses have been one of the evident services of the institution as an effort to contribute to the employability of the individuals whose skills face the danger of becoming obsolete in the rapidly changing circumstances today. The increase in the number of the courses is established as one of the priorities of the institution. Besides the regular vocational courses, the institution provides the individuals with opportunities to avert the harsh conditions of the unemployment spell through engaging them in the public works. In spite of the fact that it is a short-term comfort, the individuals are still presented a way to earn a living while the institution assumes the social security payments. Another distinct feature in the policies is that they are specifically formulated in accordance with the target group to which they are intended to address. In parallel with the diagnosis of the most disadvantaged segments in the labour market, the institution organizes special programs to eliminate the central obstacles. For instance, the disabled and the convicts or the ex-convicts, who seem to be excluded from the market for different reasons, are among the focal ones.

To clarify how the institution determines the details regarding the implementation of the training programs, its organizational structure should be viewed. An overview of the agencies' bodies reveals the presence of a decentralized structure based on the coexistence of central and rural entities. Besides the General Board which includes representatives from the Ministries and the public institutions like the State Planning Organization, there are the Administrative Board and a range of departments specialized in the implementation of a policy area. For instance, the Department of Active Labour Force Services is responsible for the organization of the training and rehabilitation services. Furthermore, the Agency has opted for decentralization and has established branches in the provinces. These Provincial Employment and Vocational Training Boards have been assigned with the identification of the labour market problems and needs at the local level so that the services can be delivered more effectively

and fast. One of the common points as to the decision-making process of the Agency is the involvement of the social parties at both national and local levels. For instance, the General Board accommodates representatives from the three largest Workers' Confederation and from the Employers' Confederation. A similar organization is also maintained at the local level with representatives from both sides at the Provincial Boards. According to the Activity Report of the Provincial Employment and Vocational Training Boards in 2011, the meetings have been attended by representatives from the Confederation of the Turkish Trade Unions (TURK-IS), the Confederation of the Turkish Real Trade Unions (HAK-IS) and the Turkish Confederation of Employers' Association (TISK) as well as from the women's non-governmental organizations. These Boards have a crucial role to play in the determination of the vocational courses in that the annual labour force training plans are prepared by taking into consideration the needs of the local labour market (identified through researches), the available funds, the views taken from the cooperating institutions like the trade unions and the suggestions made by the voluntary and contractors. Then, the resulting plan is confirmed by the General Board; however, under the conditions identified in the related regulation, the Provincial Boards still have the authority to make changes or open up courses which have not been a part of the original plan. The responsibility of the employment of the participants is delegated to the contractors. If the courses are conducted in cooperation with the employers, at least 50% of the participants who have successfully completed are to be employed within a month following the date of final examination. The rate is specified as 20% if the courses are conducted in cooperation with other contractors. The monitoring of these employed individuals is assumed again by the Provincial Boards for at least a year.

Although the duties legally formulated for the Boards are vast, this picture could not be put into practice. A study by Mütvellioğlu and Aksoy (2010) shows the major difficulties experienced in the achievement of the goals. The authors trace the origins of the organization to the year 2000 since which its configuration has been exposed to many legislative changes. Despite such steps, the structure of the

institution was found ineffective and dysfunctional. The analyses in the study are mainly based on the personal observations of one of the authors who have worked as a part of one of the Boards and discussions with other members. For instance, according to the regulation, the members of the Boards are to meet four times a year (in months of January, April, July and October) and these meetings supposedly take a few hours (Mütevelliöđlu and Aksoy, 2010). In that sense, the study puts forward that the composition, currently vested authorities, available supports, resources and structure of the Boards are quite insufficient to thoroughly fulfil the legally formulated expectations.

One of the main problems raised by the authors is the lack of a structure of complementary nature at the macro level such as the nonexistence of a definitive employment strategy and the institutional complications experienced by the Turkish Public Employment Agency itself, as well as the financial restrictions and the insufficient number of staff (Mütevelliöđlu and Aksoy, 2010). Also, the authors point to the presence of the Board meetings held merely perfunctorily and thus without efficient outcomes. One of the basic functions of the Boards is the conduct of an inquiry into the local labour market so as to effectively plan and carry out the vocational training courses to be held. In that sense, the study underlines the uncertainty around the efficiency of the inquiries in terms of the lack of a definite framework as to the financial resources to be used and the specialists to be benefited to that cause. Another significant function expected to be assumed by the Boards is the coordination of the training measures implemented by not only the Public Employment Agency itself but also a number of other institutions including the municipalities, foundations and non-governmental organizations. However, the legal arrangements are not found to substantiate the claim due to the already mentioned insufficient levels of resources available to the Board. Moreover, the study emphasizes the ineffective member composition of the Executive Committee in the Board which seems to be composed of individuals who are already engaged in demanding duties elsewhere. In addition, in more general terms, the present composition and operation of the Boards are deemed short of the required capacity

to effectually fulfil their role in the formulation of the local policies in the combat against the labour market complications and the authors are careful to characterize such a process as one requiring the involvement of a professionally specialized crew (Mütevelliöđlu and Aksoy, 2010).

Although in general the capacity of the Public Employment Agency is crippled by numerous factors like the insufficient number of staff and a shortage of budget for a country of huge population and high numbers of unemployment and low rates of labour force participation, especially for certain groups, its initiatives are piling up. Some of the projects which have been presented as examples so far indicate the pivotal role it assumes. Being the key institution in the implementation of the main policies in the labour market, the attitude adopted by ISKUR is crucial in reaching the intended goals. An important note to make here is that in 2006, the Employment Agency adopted an instruction (no.9644) preventing any gender-based discrimination in the job-matching services, unless any biological reasons or reasons related to the nature of the work require so¹⁰. Therefore, seemingly, it tries to promote gender mainstreaming and to take decisive steps to achieve the outcome intended in the strategies.

Previously it has been suggested that the accession period has seen both the legal reforms and the continuation of the projects towards improving the labour market status of women. In that regard, like the World Bank and the other institutions' impact in the earlier decade, the accession period can be marked with the financial and technical aid of the EU in the related efforts besides the continuing support of the others, which have been put into effect by several domestic agents including the Public Employment Agency. Financially, Turkey started to receive aids from the then European Community after the establishment of the association relations via the Ankara Agreement in 1963. For decades now Turkey has benefited from the Union's financial aid programs arranged for the

¹⁰ Süral, N. (2010) http://tiskweb.com/isveren_sayfa.asp?yazi_id=2790&id=123 (last accessed on 27.05.2013)

candidate and potentially candidate countries. For the current period, the most relevant financial aid is the Instrument for Pre-accession (IPA) which is to cover the period between 2007 and 2013. The instrument has five key components, the last three of which are for the candidates only: support for transition and institution-building, cross-border cooperation, regional development, human resources development, and rural development. As the name suggests, the fourth component is closely related to the labour market malfunctioning in the candidate country and within this framework, the fundamental aims are identified as addressing the high unemployment rates and the predicament of job creation, as well as the questions like the skills gap and the women's low labour force participation rates. It is indicated that the funds will be allocated as follows: 40-50% for employment, 30-40% for education or training, and 20-25% for social inclusion.¹¹ All in all then, it can be suggested that the presence of the funds has encouraged the implementation of the active labour market programmes designed to foster a more desirable economic status for women. In terms of the functioning of the funding program, such an outcome for women has been one of the focal areas and also gender mainstreaming has been integrated as a crucial component to be observed (Landig, 2011).

For instance, one of the crucial projects indicating this cultivated relationship and the presence of the EU as the cardinal partner is the Active Labour Market Measures Project which was put into effect in 2003 and completed in 2006. It was co-financed by the European Commission and the Turkish government and overall had three components, one of which contained the grant programmes for the implementation of the active labour market measures. Under its rubric, the EU and the Public Employment Agency (ISKUR) cooperated and provided funds for 245 projects with a total budget of 32 million Euros¹². Of all the projects, thirty were

¹¹ <http://www.avrupa.info.tr/eu-funding-in-turkey/2007-onwards/ipas-components.html> (last accessed on 27.05.2013)

¹² <http://www.iskurabprojesi.org/grant.html> (last accessed on 27.05.2013)

directed towards women who were specified as one of the target groups of the project among others like the unemployed young people and the ex-convicts. The projects were to cover training in many fields ranging from tourism to childcare. Thus, the main hopes cherished for the project were to increase the employment rates of those targeted groups through focusing on their “employability”; however, the impact remained limited (Ercan, 2007). Vos (2008) indicates that the final evaluation of the project showed the lack of a genuine effort to ensure the women’s access to the expected benefits of the project. Nonetheless, a second round of the project was initiated in 2008 and continued until 2010 with the main goal of helping the candidate country in the process of alignment with the European Employment Strategy and was directed at the women and the young this time. Similarly, the Agency has also been involved in the Operation on Promoting Women’s Employment which was funded by the EU, as well. Overall, 131 grant projects have been supported and the target groups have been identified as the women who have been unemployed for a long time or have not participated in the labour market yet due to elderly or childcare responsibilities and the women who have been cast out from the employment in the cities. The results of the grant component completed in 2011 have been declared as a project summary¹³. Accordingly, 9856 women are reported to have participated in the vocational courses and 914 women to be employed in the end. Besides, it is indicated that 780 women have participated in the entrepreneurship courses and 113 have started their own businesses.

The instances can surely be increased and in spite of the fact that the National Action Plan presents a broad spectrum of policies to encourage women, it is evident there is an inclination to focus on the active labour market measures; that is to say, to centre on what the supply side of the market can do so as to increase their employability or to set up their own businesses. Taking into consideration the main points raised so far, it can be argued that there is actually no significant change to

¹³ [http://www.kadinistihdami.net/Portals/0/Leaflet\(ENG\).pdf](http://www.kadinistihdami.net/Portals/0/Leaflet(ENG).pdf) (last accessed on 27.05.2013)

underline between the periods before and after the candidacy process. The outlines of the employment strategies suggested by the international financial institutions and the EU show a high level of resemblance. Fundamentally they all champion an active orientation in the formulation of labour market policies; therefore, they attach a great importance to entrepreneurship and employability within the framework of what has been cited as the Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) in the efforts towards increasing the female employment and labour force participation levels. The brief review of a number of projects run lately reveals that they have been the prioritized means to achieve the goal for Turkey, as well. It also can easily be detected that similar orientations exist in the European Employment Strategy which is put forward as an ultimate aim for the candidate countries to achieve.

Besides the policies focusing on the supply side of the market, recently there have been efforts trying to address the employers, as well. In 2008, the government introduced the Employment Package (Law no. 5763) which contained several changes to the existing legislation, aiming to provide an incentive to increase the employment levels of some societal groups like women and the young. The overall goal is to promote employment, to lower the labour costs and to combat informal employment (Akgül, Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2008). The basic idea behind the incentives in the package is the coverage of the employers' share in the social security contributions by the Unemployment Insurance Fund for the certain groups which are identified as the young between the ages of 18 and 29 and the women without any age limitation. The law envisages that the Fund will cover the whole share of the employers if they hire such an employee within a year following the entry into force of the legislation. The extent to be covered decreases by 20% as the years progress; that is to say, in the fifth year the Fund will cover 20% of the share. One of the crucial points to highlight here is the presence of positive discrimination for the women through the lack of age criterion; therefore, for the individuals aged above 30, hiring a woman will constitute a more advantageous deal (Akgül, Dinçer and Kolaşın, 2008). However, there still have been doubts raised about the

effectiveness of the initiative. For instance, in the progress report in 2008, the European Commission warns that this legislation is unable to impact other factors blocking the employment of these societal groups. Moreover, it may run the risk of implying that women's labour is "less valuable" and that they are "not so advantageous" to hire in the first place (Atasü-Topcuoğlu, 2011). The same incentive has also been indicated in the Package Law indicating that the premiums will be covered by the Unemployment Insurance Fund if women older than 18 and men between the ages of 18 and 29 are employed. The extent of the time that the premiums will be covered increases with the qualifications of the employees. For instance, it is forty-eight months for the ones with a professional competence certificate, thirty-six months for the ones who have had secondary or high education or who have completed a course by the Public Employment Agency; and it is twenty-four months for the ones who lack the above-mentioned qualities. The arrangement holds until the year 2015 but it is noted that a five-year extension can be provided.

3.4. The neoliberal and conservative outlook of the governing Justice and Development Party

In addition to the scholarly suggestions based on the international experience, the domestic circumstances constitute a key factor underlined in the literature. Politically, one of the salient features of the latest period is the presence of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) as the ruling party; thus, its approach to the labour market and the status of women in the society has been highlighted as a crucial factor by many scholars. It came to power in 2002 and has been in power ever since; therefore, both the legal and practical initiatives taken lately have been under its control. The critical issue here is that the origins and affiliations of the party have brought about some concerns as to the effectiveness of these gender equality reforms. Basically, the origins of the party are found to lie in the National

Outlook Movement and this is why it has been interpreted as the indicator of the increasing influence of the political Islam (Ilkcaracan, 2012). However, despite frequent references to its genesis, the party has underscored its divergence from the movement (Çitak and Tür, 2008). One of the crucial differences in that sense has been the commitment to the membership prospects for the EU. It has been argued that the presence of the process, which has been stimulated after the pronouncement of the candidacy status and thus the launch of the accession negotiations, has served the party in a number of ways. As already put forward, it is argued that the fact that the party undertook the process vigorously by maintaining and accelerating the course of change induced by the former government has contributed to its establishing an identity that is different from the movement it drew from and an indicator of this tendency has been the formulation of a party program in line with the liberal conceptions which also included a commitment to adopt the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Arat, 2010). Similarly, since the elite has seen the EU candidacy as the extension of the modernization process led by Western ideals (Tocci, 2005), it emerged as an opportunity for the party to use as a way to spare itself from the criticisms based on its Islamic origins. In that sense, it served as an effective means to establish its legitimacy and its commitment to Western-oriented reforms, as well as to clear up the doubts (Bingöl McDonald, 2011). Within the framework of the Copenhagen criteria, the country has been expectant of comprehensive reforms in a variety of fields; therefore, the presence of such an external factor has facilitated the path to change by averting a fierce denunciation. Moreover, Tocci (2005) argues that the EU process also meant a ticket to survive for the party, considering that its predecessors had been dissolved by the Constitutional Court on the grounds for accommodating extreme Islamist ideals.

Besides the party-based concerns, the accession process has also provided the country with a solid path to follow. The beginning of the reformist steps can actually be traced back before the announcement of the candidacy status in 1999; however, the initiatives until then did not bring about a thorough change (Tocci,

2005). Especially, the steps taken in the first AKP government for the sake of a better record of democracy and human rights are ascribed to the EU (Arat, 2010). In the first term of office, the AKP government was anxious to carry on the legal reforms initiated by the former administrations, which constitute the foundation of most of the amendments that have been touched upon so far. It is argued that the content of the reforms has been attached importance as much as the outcome itself and that such a perception has even prompted some of the party elite to refer to the Copenhagen criteria as the Ankara criteria (Tocci, 2005). With regards to the main subject of the study, also, since 2002, when the party came to power, both the legal and practical initiatives with regards to the women's status in the labour market have increased. In spite of the numerical and formal progress, the complementary reforms (or the lack of ones) as well as the discourse of the party elite have caused concern as to the genuine intentions and thus the efficiency of the policies, like the pronouncement of the three children as a goal, as well as the party elite's remarks on the feminist movement (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011).

The party's conception of the role of women in the society is closely related with the identity that it tries to formulate or has formulated. Therefore, firstly, it should be healthier to review the components of the intended identity of the AKP. In general, it has been considered to be in line with the Christian Democrats of Europe (Bingöl McDonald, 2011). As placed in the centre-right of the political spectrum, the party enshrines conservatism, the free market structure and the nationalistic sentiments (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011). Furthermore, as put forward previously, it proved to be anxious to separate itself from the characteristics of the Islamist movement that forms its origin and avoided a self-identification based on Islam. As it aimed such a divergence, one of the prominent features has been conservatism (Çitak and Tür, 2008). In parallel, its conception of the role of the women in the society has been influenced by the conservative formulations of the male breadwinner model. Therefore, in line with the welfare structure in the country, the women's role in the society has been essentially identified as a mother and a wife.

Actually, the issue of women has been underlined as an indicator of the difference between the tendencies in the first and second terms of office for the party. Although there are scholars like Coşar and Yeğenoğlu (2011) who trace the liberal tendencies in AKP's reforms with regards to the accession process but underscore that women's rights seem to constitute an exclusion, it is still possible to find such a differentiation in the literature. For instance, Bingöl McDonald (2011) suggests that before 2006 AKP seemed to act as a liberal party on matters of gender equality through encouraging women to become more active outside the house. However, it is generally underlined that in the latter the government has turned to the promotion of more traditional role for women besides maintaining a liberal discourse championing more women involved in the economy. Öztürk (2010) suggests that the enshrinement of motherhood in the society has been a key factor to that regard, as well. The fact that women embrace this role is crucial for the desired social order with established moral values based on the Islamic precepts (Çitak and Tür, 2008). Here an instrument that is preferred by the party and that needs to be highlighted is the charity. Actually, Coşar and Yeğenoğlu (2009) find a connection between the party's populism and such initiatives which are usually garnished with Islamic motifs. It has already been indicated earlier in the study that the family holds great importance for the maintenance of the welfare structure and as the responsibilities with regards to the household seems to be divided based on the gender, the role assigned to women emerges as a vital component. To that regard, Buğra and Yakut-Çakar (2010) refer to the characterization of the women as the "deserving poor" for the assistance provided to the families. The authors underline that it is basically assumed that women will utilize the support more efficiently for the whole family. Considering this fundamental understanding, it is not hard to identify what actually lies behind: the women are the primary responsible individuals for taking care of the family and the house (including the children and the elderly). It has also been raised that the use of charity as a means to welfare proves to benefit the party politically (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2009).

The first AKP government seemed to promote reforms guided by the EU and also accommodate a combination of neoliberalism economically and conservatism socially (Buğra and Candaş, 2011). The party's staunch advocacy for the neoliberal principles has been frequently highlighted. The formulation of the new Labour Law in 2003 with an overriding tendency to establish the neoliberal concerns for further flexibility has been nominated as one of the prime examples to that regard (Coşar and Özman, 2004). Surely, the reforms pursued in the social security system can be considered to be on similar lines. For the social policies, the family has mainly been the focus and thus the policies for women have been devised in relation to the family (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011). The initiatives of the party displays the emphasis made on the strength of the traditional family structure. To that regard, Coşar and Yeğenoğlu (2011) associate the period of AKP government with the emergence of a new form of patriarchy to rule in the society. Surely, the prominence of men and the traits attributed to masculinity has already been a part of the Turkish society. For instance, the republican patriarchy is ascribed to the early Republican period when a number of essential rights for women have been promoted and when the basic understanding was to free women of the constraints imposed by the Ottoman and the Islamic legacy (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011). The authors point to the fact that then this vision was claimed by the whole nation within the framework of the wide-ranging reform series. However, the AKP has formulated its own way of handling the women's issues, which is underlined by the authors as the "neoliberal patriarchy". In this way, the party seems to encourage women both to take up a more active spot in the labour market and to maintain their household-related duties, especially with regards to childcare.

3.5. The role of the local governments in the implementation of the active labour market policies

As the National Action Plan on Gender Equality shows, the Public Employment Agency is not the only institution in charge with the provision of training programs. To that regard, in line with the global tendencies of decentralization, one of the underlined agents is the municipalities and it has been pointed out in the beginning that one of the complementary aims of the study is to gain an insight into the channels through which such measures are implemented in the country. Although generally the central governments are marked with the cardinal role at all stages, the area of social policy actually connotes one accommodating a variety of actors involved in the different stages of policy-making ranging from planning to implementation. In that sense, in the literature it is possible to observe that the recent years have been frequently associated with an inclination of localization through which certain functions and authorities are transferred from the centre to the local. While analysing this tendency, surely one must point to the wider theoretical framework in which this decentralization can be placed in relation to the more general transformations in the capital accumulation regimes worldwide coupled with parallel changes in the social policy field. Within this framework, a fundamental emphasis should presumably be put on the impact of neoliberal policies and globalization in the re-identification of the roles of the nation-state. For instance, Jessop (2002) characterizes the change in the main scale of policy-making as one of the featured points in differentiating between the Keynesian Welfare National State and the Schumpeterian Workfare post-National Regime. Although the author warns that the transformation does not signify a complete dissolution of the role of the nation-state, he underlines that there emerges an orientation towards the upper and lower levels in terms of policy-making.

In relation, it is frequently put forward that the nation state commonly comes under the major impact of many other agents in such areas as social policy which has traditionally been sanctified as purely domestic matters and these fields have

become susceptible to the forces of globalization and localization (or *glocalization* as proposed by some). The term decentralization or localization can be basically defined as the enhancement of the duties assumed by the local governments and in some policy areas the transfer of central authorities to the local unit. Therefore, briefly, it can be delineated as the inclination of meeting the demands of the local community at the local level through the closest administrative unit (Köse, 2004). All in all, it can be argued that the decentralization in the field of social policy has been embraced as a viable strategy by many European cities; however, it is a rather novel tendency for Turkey (Seyyar, 2008). It is possible to detect efforts to that regard, especially for the municipalities which seem to be associated with an essential and more active role in terms of pursuing a local development project with heightened sensitivity towards the issues of social justice, which is accompanied by a growth in the scholarly interest.

In the conceptualization of the decentralization tendencies in the country, the parallel developments in the global scene should be highlighted above all. In other words, in Turkey also, the nation-state's capacity of social policy operations have been crippled (Yüksel, 2007). This is identified as one of the factors prompting the local governments to assume a responsibility to promote social wellbeing within their efforts towards local development. Moreover, it is argued that generally the nature of the social complications today is multifarious attracting and frequently requiring the involvement of actors of different levels (Yüksel, 2007). Considering the Turkish case in particular, the grave impacts of the urbanization process coupled with a series of wide domestic migration waves should be accentuated. As a result, the urban population has increased and the demographic composition of the cities has become quite complex. This resulting complexity and complication of the composition of the cities and the problems of the citizens are believed to render the central governments mostly ineffective and dysfunctional as agents able to come up with a solution (Köse, 2004). In that sense, the local governments are expected to fill in to ensure a favourable urban atmosphere. Another pertinent factor here is the accountability of the municipalities which constitutes the mainly

held responsible body by the urban citizens for any development in the city (Göymen, 2004). Since they are directly elected bodies that are closest to the citizens, they may constitute one of the immediate addressees in the emergence of a problem, which eliminates any possibility for them to ignore these novel roles.

The local governments have long been a component of the political systems; however, there has been a significant expansion in their authorities and functions in parallel with the abovementioned factors. Conventionally, they have been assigned with responsibilities concerning the immediate necessities of the designated neighbourhood. A brief overview of the previous Law on Municipalities (no.1580) dated 1930 reveals the dominance of references to such activities. For instance, since the beginning, the construction works and the road-building have been among the essential responsibilities assumed by the municipalities. Notwithstanding, such administrative units now shoulder further responsibility, extending beyond the provision of such services, and become more engaged in the efforts towards local development (Göymen, 2004). Actually, they have assumed a crucial role in the alleviation of the social questions for a long time already and have been a key part of the welfare system since the 1980s but the initiatives were mainly confined to the provision of social support such as charity and aid-in-kind (Grütjen, 2008). Nevertheless, within the framework of the orientations away from such passive measures towards an active attitude, a parallel transformation has been aimed with regards to the duties of the municipalities. As raised previously, they have increasingly been designated as effective agents of local development and of providing an optimal solution to the questions of social welfare. In general, it is possible to identify four factors through which the municipalities can play an effective role in local development: economic development, social comprehensiveness, political participation, and cultural pluralism (Göymen, 2004). That is to say, they are expected to boost the investments in the region, to assume an intermediary role and to encourage an atmosphere of cooperation (Göymen, 2004). In particular, there is an increasing interest shown by local governments in the fields of social support, combat against poverty and employment (Seyyar,

2008). As mentioned before, this has been in parallel to an increase in the related literature as well, which now includes some authors like Mütevelliöđlu and Aksoy (2010) who indicate that the field of labour market policies should be decentralized due to the presence of significant differences between localities in terms of labour market characteristics, which will be underlined as one of the main arguments *for* the promotion of such tendencies in the following stages.

The new roles of the municipalities have also been grounded through reformed legal documents. For instance, under the Article 14 of the Law on Municipalities dated 2005, the essential duties of these local units have been pinpointed, which seem to expand their influence. Mainly, the municipalities are charged with conventional functions like water system and transportation as well as a more active approach for social development like organizing vocational training programs and employment initiatives. In that sense, the Article 77 briefly points to the main benefits expected from the involvement of the local governments, which are highlighted as ensuring the participation of the local people into the process and elevating the level of effectiveness, economization and efficiency. It can be seen in the following stages of the study that these points constitute the foundation for the main advantages outlined in the literature, which will be briefly reviewed later so as to help clarify why they hold a significant potential in elevating the labour market status of women.

To begin with, quite generally, the local governments enjoy a critical spot in terms of identifying all kinds of resources existing in the locality. Thus, they constitute one of the most important agents that can develop a much more immediate and effective strategy to achieve local development and to address many issues perplexing the daily lives of numerous citizens. Within that framework, in relation to the local development arguments, it can be seen why they are highlighted in boosting the economic role of the women and promoting their participation in the labour market so as to make use of the human capital available in the region. Thus, revisiting Göymen's (2004) four-dimensional analysis of the role of the municipalities, a lack of special attention for women's economic status

can undermine the road to local development for municipalities particularly in terms of economic development and the social comprehensiveness. As a consequence, a larger role seems to have been cast for them in terms of the empowerment of women especially by means of augmenting the labour market and educational opportunities.

Within that framework, the National Action Plan on Gender Equality (2008-2013) constitutes one of the clearest indicators for the new role assumed by the municipalities concerning social policy in general and women in particular. The document spots the local governments as a key agent charged with a variety of roles ranging from the organization of educational activities to the promotion of labour market initiatives. Earlier, it has been recognized that the lack of required knowledge and skills constitute a serious obstacle to women's participation in the labour market and enjoy better employment opportunities, which has been substantiated with statistical information (despite the important improvements experienced lately in the enrolment rates for the female) and also highlighted by many politicians. To that regard, it has been argued that there is an alarming rate of illiteracy among women and that the young girls still face certain difficulties in continuing higher levels of education. Here the local governments are expected to assume a significant part as one of the formal institutions within the immediate reach of the households of all income levels. Thus, the municipalities can be of great value in the detection of the women most in need of such educational support and in the efficient provision of training courses to address the shortcomings.

While the provision of opportunities for the young girls to attain higher education remains to be of key importance, another significant addressee is the adult women, as underlined in this study, who lack the necessary qualities to enjoy a more favourable place in the labour market and face further difficulties when coupled with the advancing age. It is common for the municipalities to be engaged in the delivery of courses on skills ranging from handicraft to foreign language learning. Relevant to this point, actually, Hanbay Çakır (2011) points out that the statistics for the year 2009 present the municipalities as the institution that has

offered the highest number of courses. Furthermore, in terms of elevating the women's status in the labour market, such local governments are considered among the main cooperating agencies in the National Action Plan which attaches paramount importance to the provision of employment-guaranteed courses by taking into consideration the characteristics and needs of the locality.

Moreover, another fundamental reason distancing women from an active participation in the labour market is their traditionally attached primary role concerning the household duties, especially with regards to the care of the dependents such as the children, the elderly and the disabled or sick family members. The dominant patriarchal arrangement in most parts of the world, as well as in Turkey, allocates this duty to the women many of whom characterize it as their natural duty, which in the end confines them to the private sphere. To that regard, the provision of care services by the public institutions is quite critical in reaching the goal of raising the number of women in the labour market. It is frequently put forward that in Turkey there is not enough number of centres to provide all with such services and most are financially inaccessible (Ecevit, 2008). Consequently, it is also in the National Action Plan that the local governments should assume a role in extending such an opportunity to all the women in need.

It has been put forward earlier that the decentralization inclinations in the social policy and in particular the labour market policies have been associated with a number of advantages in the literature. One of the frequently identified factors is the correct identification of the structure of the labour market like the needs and demands at a regional/local level (Mütevellioglu and Aksoy, 2010). It is argued that since the municipal office is one of the closest bodies for the citizens, it can formulate a much more effective strategy by taking into consideration the characteristics of the locality and the economic and social priorities which can show sharp regional distinctions. Therefore, the local governments, on the other hand, are expected to benefit from their physical closeness and their already existing familiarity with the region.

In relation to the point made above, it is possible to highlight another frequently raised advantage to be gained from the involvement of the local governments, namely the minimization of the costs (Yüksel, Çevik and Ardiç, 2008). It has been pointed out above that in terms of local development dynamics the decentralized forms of governments enjoy a closer position to the citizens through which they can identify the needs and demands more accurately (Mütevellioglu and Aksoy, 2010). For instance, with regards to the issue of matching the labour demand and supply, the municipalities can assume a crucial part in pinpointing the sectors or firms which are in such a demand and in upskilling the potential labour force accordingly. When guided by a detailed analysis of the composition of the local labour markets, such agents can significantly elevate the effectiveness of the implemented policies. Within the scope of the literature review concerning how effective the training measures are, one of the key concerns shared by most scholars has been identified as whether they are effective enough to cover the high levels of costs involved. Therefore, the increased role by the local units which act upon an intricate reading into the local market can play a crucial role in promoting the cost-effectiveness of one of the key measures available to the policy-makers. On the one hand, this can preclude any waste of time and employment opportunities by the individuals and reduce the possibility for the emergence of a multitude of educated unemployed who cannot translate the skills acquired into marketable and economically satisfying activities and for them to possibly become discouraged. On the other hand, as underlined earlier, it can contribute to the most effective use of the already limited funds at the macro level.

Besides the economic benefits involved, the local governments can be of crucial use in terms of the integration of certain specifically disadvantaged societal groups. As mentioned earlier, the urbanization process and the extensive waves of internal migration have complicated the social development dynamics in the cities where it is possible to identify a variety of groups shunned for different reasons. Especially, for the migrants, the municipalities constitute one of the first addressees that they can seek help from, which can prevent the emergence of grave social problems to

arise from extreme poverty, like a rise in the rates of criminality (Yüksel, 2007). A similar point can be raised for the women in the cities who constitute one of the largest groups beset with various forms of economic, societal and political discrimination. The general domestic migration dynamics show that the women are usually driven out of the labour force due to a lack of required qualifications (Ercan, 2007). Consequently, devoid of the educational background to acquire a spot in the labour market and surrounded by a different and assumingly “insecure” new environment, they are frequently urged to stay within the house and fully take on the role cast by private patriarchy. In reaching out to such individuals, an active approach adopted by the local governments can itself provide an effective solution or enhance the effectiveness of the policies already pursued by central governments. Taking into consideration the distance between the individuals and the centrally organized agents, an expectation for them to reach all may prove to be in vain. Therefore, when it cannot provide services in the field of social policy at the expected level of sufficiency or extend the perfectly sufficient service to the ones in excessive need, the local governments can have a complementary role (Seyyar, 2008).

Despite the presence of such advantages frequently highlighted in the literature and the accentuation of these functions in the legal documents and the strategic formulations, there are many factors that seem to hamper the potential effectiveness of the local governments in that sense. To begin with, although there is a growing literature and an increasing number of references to decentralization, in Turkey the social policy field is still dominantly handled by the central government. This is why authors like Pektaş (2010) argue that there is a need for a higher level of involvement by other actors like the local governments and the non-governmental organizations. Also, resulting from the novel character of the process, there seems to be problems as to the designation of the areas of authority and influence (Seyyar, 2008), indicating the presence of multiple actors to address to the same question. Although some may associate this with further competition, and thus more effectiveness, such a complication on the sharing of the roles can

bring about a kind of inertia where each leaves the resolution of the issue to the other (Seyyar, 2008). Relevantly, the perception of the local governments as to their role in the social policy and in particular of the municipalities as to their designated potential is crucial. To that regard, some municipalities may hesitate in taking an active role since they attach this role fundamentally to the central government (Seyyar, 2008). All in all, it can be suggested that the interest developed in that sense can change in accordance with general viewpoint of the administrative unit, the characteristics of the locality as well as the resources available. For instance, when the political gains are prioritized, an already hesitating local actor can easily be diverted to easier measures like social support mechanisms. In that sense, the municipalities can be encouraged further to take on a more involved role in the social policy field rather than the implementation of the easily applicable and politically rewarding activities (Pektaş, 2010).

With regards to the financial matters, Seyyar (2008) argues that the financial share of the municipalities in the public sphere is quite limited; thus, the local social expenditures remain much more limited despite recent increases in the budget. As underlined before, the latest arguments have frequently put forward the involvement of the local governments in order to secure an effective use of the funds. However, as long as they have small budgets, their contribution will fall short of the expectations. Lacking the necessary means to assume a more active role, the local governments can be urged to pursue much more short-term and season-based projects which will not have a direct negative bearing on the balance of their budgets (Seyyar, 2008). Furthermore, although it has been identified as a key factor for the effectiveness of the policies that they probe into the composition of the local economy and labour market structure, it is found that such inquiries are not carried out sufficiently, which can undermine the route to many other advantages related to economic and social investments (Pektaş, 2010).

It has been underlined earlier for several times that the local governments, in particular the municipalities have been increasingly involved in the implementation of certain active labour market policies; in that sense, this has constituted one of the

key channels of provision of such services as job placement and training programs. As identified in the introduction, the field work in the study has included interviews with the a number of authorities from the Cankaya Municipality in Ankara so as to gain an insight into the rising level of its related activities and to familiarize with their perceptions and attitudes concerning the issue. To that regard, one of the highlighted factors is the “new community-oriented municipality” principle publicly declared to guide the Municipality and in line with this the Municipality seems to assume an active role in the implementation of labour market policies in the region. Overall the municipality’s goals formulated under the perspective of what is named under the principle are itemized in the website¹⁴. In that sense, the main ideals picture a locality where the *economic, cultural, political, social inequalities* are challenged and where a *participatory, democratic and libertarian* management is enshrined with a dedication to human rights and equality. It declares to combat *poverty, unemployment, hunger and deprivation*, in addition to *social segregation* and all forms of discriminatory act. In relation, it claims to embrace gender equality and a woman-friendly approach, and sometimes even positive discrimination, especially with regards to the labour market measures.

One of the major indicators of the Municipality’s increasing interest in the labour market policy as a part of their commitment to the “new community-oriented municipality” is the establishment of a specific unit to develop and implement such policies. Since it was founded in 2010, the Jobs and Employment Centre has functioned as a headquarter for the employment-related activities of the Municipality. The issue, firstly identified as a country-wide concern, is focalized to the Çankaya district as an urban area beset with labour market problems troubling especially for the young and the women. In the meeting on the projections for the to-be-founded centre in 2010, Perihan Sarı , as the coordinator, outlines the fundamental goals of the centre, which are condensed in the table 14 below.

¹⁴ http://www.cankaya.bel.tr/oku.php?yazi_id=7126 (last dat of access: 08.04.2013)

Table 14

The main goals of the Jobs and Employment Centre of Çankaya Municipality

- 1 To spread and implement policies which expand the area of public services and embraces a community-oriented, solidarity-based model encouraging the producer and productivity, instead of individualistic and competition-based policies
- 2 To organize measures like access to job, vocational training, re-skilling, on-the-job training and entrepreneurship as a public service
- 3 To create job opportunities to increase the quality of the labour force and to plan activities with a potential for employment creation at the local level by taking into consideration the regional and urban integrity and interaction
- 4 To improve the qualities of the present vocational courses in accordance with the needs of the economy and labour market, to develop projects and provide consultancy services on the issues of jobs and employment, to contribute to empowerment and protection of the ones in need of a job by equipping them with suitable characteristics
- 5 To support the activities towards the future sectors with a potential of job creation and the enterprises in that direction
- 6 To provide periodic support conditional upon employment creation to entrepreneurs and to mediate for credit opportunities in the public sectors
- 7 To develop the issues of information, informatics, software as an area of employment and a “business school” by observing the information production potential of Çankaya through cooperation with the academia and industry, innovation and R&D activities, technoparks, technocities, fairs of informatics and technology.
- 8 To formulate and implement social policies towards employment, to cooperate with institutions, agencies, non-governmental organizations and universities active in the area of employment, to develop the conditions convenient for shared projects, to ensure coordination and to realize an institutional structure based on the principles of public benefit, common interest, entrepreneurship and protection of labour.

Source: Sarı (2010), preliminary presentation in the First Meeting on the Çankaya Centre of Jobs and Employment (the author’s own translation)

A brief review of the projects assumed by the Municipality since the foundation of the Centre in 2010 reveals that there have been efforts to solve the mismatch between the labour demand and supply. One such initiative was the launch of a four-month course on the nursing of the ill and elderly in 2011. In coordination with the Public Employment Agency, the Municipality has provided a training

opportunity and awarded twenty-one successful attendants with a certificate. Of all, twelve individuals were employed in private nursing homes. Similarly, the Centre initiated a course on child development for the high school graduates of the same program. Consequently, the successful participants received their certificates and nine of them were employed in the day care centres of the Municipality itself. Besides, the Centre was eager to form cooperation with various sectors, displayed by the protocol made with the clothing industry of Ankara. The idea rests on the provision of training opportunities on executive assistance, public relations and designing and as a result their employment through the efforts of the cooperating industrialists. Moreover, the Municipality has promoted one of the instances of the foundation of marketplaces for women's handicraft. Concerning this attempt, the authorities have underlined the importance it carries for women not only as an opportunity to sell their work but also to step outside the houses and participate in such environments of solidarity. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the Women's Shelter of the Municipality also contains support in terms of guidance and job placement. In the table 15 below, the monthly-based job placement statistics are shown for the Women's Shelter.

Table 15

Job placement statistics for the Women's Shelter (2012)

January	2
February	3
March	3
April	-
May	-
June	3
July	4
August	9
September	9
October	2
November	2

Source: Personal communication with Women's Counselling Centre and Women's Shelter of Cankaya Municipality (13.12.2012)

The literature review provided so far on the decentralization tendencies as well as the brief portrayal into the related practices of Cankaya Municipality concerning women's status in the labour market implies the presence of diverse channels of provision of training programs.

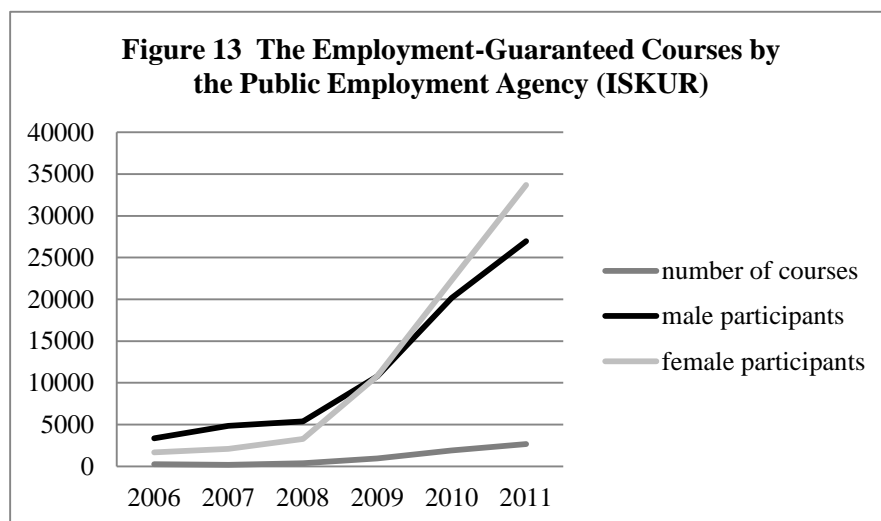
3.6. The concerns related to the implementation of the active labour market policies for the improvement of women's status in Turkey

When it comes to evaluating the effectiveness of the active measures for women, the complications put forward previously in consideration of the general expectations seem to be complicated further by the presence of conditions specific to the status of women in the society. In other words, the impact of the policies on women is determined by both the neoliberal precepts of today's world and the deeply-rooted patriarchal elements. In the analysis here, Moser's (1993) analysis of the gender needs [based on Molyneux's (1985) classification of women's interests

and gender—practical and strategic—interests] can serve as a wider platform. Molyneux (1985) (as cited in Young, 1997) classifies the gender interests as practical and strategic: the former being based on the daily responsibilities of the women while the latter being based on their inferior positioning in the society in general. Similarly, Moser (1993) suggests that a planning process for women can derive from two kinds of gender needs: practical and strategic. By the practical, the author suggests the attention paid to the rather “immediate” needs of the women. In that sense, the active labour market policies designed to uplift their status in the labour market can be interpreted as a response to the practical gender needs like the want of an income. On the other hand, by the strategic, Moser (1993) refers to the needs diagnosed due to women’s lower status in the society in comparison to the men. In that sense, the essential factor to differentiate between the two is the latter’s urge to question the socially rooted practices of discriminatory nature for the women. Consequently, it is put forward in general that in an effort to empower women, the strategic gender needs should also be addressed. Young (1997) defines “empowerment” as an increase in the individuals’ control over the course of their lives and identifies the goal of transforming the practical needs to strategic needs. Similarly, Toksöz (2011) condenses it as the process of elevating one’s inner strength, identifying one’s own choices and being able to realize them, as well as transforming these individual acquisitions into a collective gain.

Consequently, the effectiveness of the essential active labour market policies pursued today in Turkey can be evaluated on the grounds of whether or how much they address to the practical or strategic gender needs. To begin with, it has been identified that training programs have been one of the cardinal strategies employed today to elevate women’s status in the labour market. However, there have been some doubts as to the true impact of the courses on the labour market status of the individuals. It has been questioned whether such activities provide the participants with an employment prospect or they just contribute to their human capital without a desirable impact in terms of the labour market. Taking into consideration the additionally vulnerable status of women in the society, such ineffective outcomes

may result in women further retreating themselves from the labour market. The patriarchal division of labour in the society attaches the duty of earning a living to the men; therefore, such an impact of discouragement may not be the same for the men who may continue to search for an active spot in the market regardless. Thus, whether the training courses fulfil the practical gender needs is dubious. In that sense, one of the points to be underlined here is the implementation of employment-guaranteed courses which are held in cooperation with the private sector. As the table below shows, there has been an increase in both the number of courses opened by the Agency as well as the number of the participants. Particularly, the interest of women has grown over the years even to surpass men's.



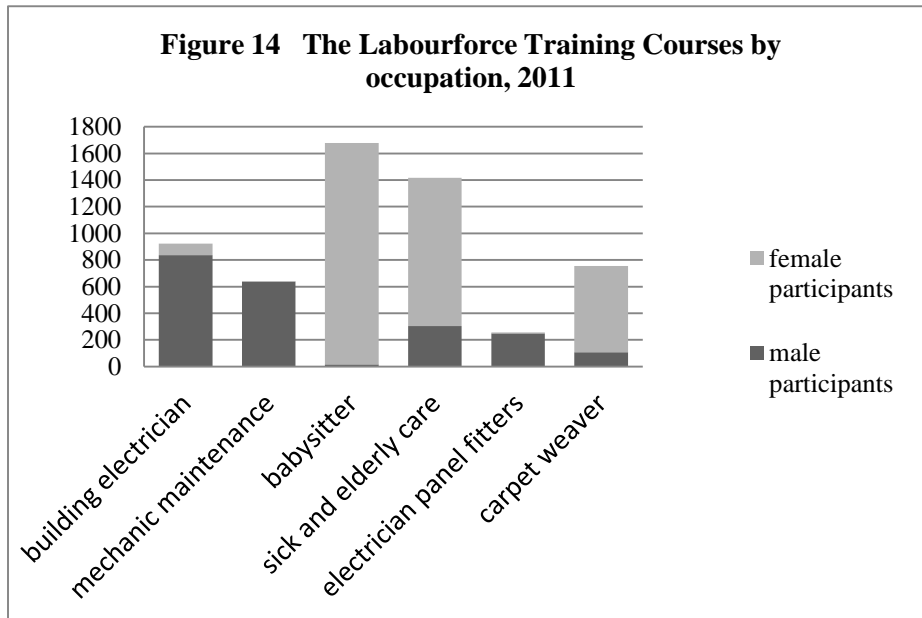
Source: Data compiled from the annual activity reports of ISKUR

These courses guarantee the employment of half of the participants who have completed the course successfully. The duration is identified as three months of full-time job in the related regulation. However, it has been raised that once the stipulated period is over, the women have been laid off (Erdost, 2011). Therefore, in order to expect that these training programs can meet the practical needs of the women, the Agency should monitor the following process and encourage the sustainability of the employment. Moreover, overconcentration on the practical

needs by the women can result in undermining the actual outcome desired for the labour market. To elucidate, some women may attend these courses just to acquire the allowance provided by the Public Employment Agency (Erdost, 2011). Therefore, they may not be interested in pursuing an improved position in the labour market and the training courses may merely serve as a relief for the immediate needs of the women without any long-term expectations.

Another dimension to consider is in which areas the courses are opened. The table below contains some of the courses by occupations in 2011. They have been particularly selected from a wide variety of programs since they are among the ones with the largest gender gap. It can be clearly seen that the gender-based participation dynamics are in line with the conventional labelling of the work done by men and women. As argued before in the study, both the private and the public spheres accommodate a certain kind of gender division in terms of the work to be done. A close inquiry into the patterns of participation in the courses suggests that this division is replicated, which in the end aggravates the already-existing discrimination in the society. For instance, the statistics in the Figure 14 show that 637 men have participated in the program on mechanic maintenance whereas merely 4 women have done so. Similarly, the course on babysitting has involved 1663 women but 16 men. Overall this confirms that the patriarchal configurations in the society tend to be reflected in the individuals' choices of occupation. This can be analysed in terms of both the practical and the strategic gender needs of women. To begin with, it is critically articulated that women are inclined to cluster in jobs that offer lower income and lower social security benefits (Koray, 2011). Thus, the perpetuation of the division as such may limit the income prospects of women. Furthermore, the conservation of the traditional gender paradigms contradicts what has been identified as the strategic need by Moser (1993). In order to establish gender equality and truly empower women in the society, the gender segregation in the labour market should be challenged. Another point to raise here is the possibility of some courses to direct women into informal work. If they are

not provided with opportunities in the formal sector, they can turn up to informal work so as to earn a living.



Source: Public Employment Agency Statistical Yearbook, 2011

In spite of the concerns raised above, considering that the women's disadvantageous position in terms of attainment and continuance of educational life is underlined as a critical barrier for an active role in the labour market, it seems to be rational to expect important gains to be yielded from the implementation of training programs in a variety of aspects. On grounds of the international findings pointed in the previous chapter, it can be assumed for the Turkish context that the women constitute one of the societal groups with the highest potential to obtain a favourable outcome from the implementation of training programs. To that regard, Ercan (2007) highlights that as long as their financing and sustainability are ensured, they can deliver quite positive outcomes for the women. However, the expectations do not go without doubts. For instance, it is frequently raised that the country is still beset with illiteracy as a crucial problem although the educational attainment levels of especially newer female generations have proved to be in

parallel to the male. Therefore, in order for the assumed potential not to be undermined, initially an extensive effort may be required to promote the extension of the basic education to cover the young girls who face various problems in attending the school ranging from the family pressure to the insufficient infrastructure. Especially regarding the current adult female population in the country, the adoption of an active policy to integrate all into the labour market may not work for some who suffer from such rooted shortcomings. Consequently, an emphasis similar to the sixth recommendation by Descy and Tessaring (2007) can be made here in that for certain groups, the labour market training measures should be complemented with more drastic and far-reaching educational initiatives.

A recent study by Işığçok and Emirgil (2009) points to another point that requires the attention of the policy-makers, based on the evaluation of impact of the four job-guaranteed courses provided by the Public Employment Agency in 2007 in Bursa. The findings suggest a higher rate of participation for men but the authors warn that this might be closely related to the sectors (automotive) in which the training is implemented. Therefore, it is identified as a significant factor that the cooperation is developed with different sectors so as to eliminate the gender segregation. Also, it is highlighted that the majority of the participants who were placed in the jobs is the high school graduates, showing the difficulty faced by the primary school graduates in terms of acquiring a favourable spot in the labour market. In that sense, it is also underscored that the demand by the employers is for the individuals with at least a degree from high school. Therefore, the women of lower educational backgrounds may not enjoy quite positive impact from the labour market trainings, which may necessitate a more radical measure as pointed above.

In that sense, it may be important to review a related study by Kağıtçıbaşı, Gökşen and Gülgöz (2005) on the empowering impact of a literacy program run in Turkey for women (Functional Adult Literacy Program). In opposition to the scholars' expectation and the main direction built in this study, the results have

shown no significant increase in the rate of labour market participation for the women who have taken part in this course. The study finds that the women interviewed have emphasized the lack of further, more qualified skills as a reason for not being able to participate in the labour market. In that sense, the scholars are careful to indicate that for such women who lack any school degree it is quite difficult to find a decent job with favourable conditions in the labour market. Usually, they can find (if they can ever) jobs with low wages, low security, low chances of career and quite possibly in the informal sector. Therefore, it is argued that the rather poor connection established between the literacy course and labour market prospects can be related, first of all, to the profile of the interviewees, which points to a group of women aged 40 (on average). Therefore, considering their background marked with a lack of even basic educational attainment and the number of years that they experienced without acquiring an effective opportunity to enter the labour market (or that they have not felt the need to do so due to the presence of pressure from their families), the findings may not be so surprising. Furthermore, the reference to their lack of further and much more marketable qualifications is believed to suggest the need to incorporate such initiatives with certain active labour market policies like training programs to increase their employability.

Significantly, one of the latest studies to mention here is by Güray (2012) who aims to question the empowering capacity of the training programs for the women. Resting on the interviews with the trainees in the programs of Public Employment Agency, it is found that there are other factors that hamper women's labour force participation or employment besides the level of their qualifications, like the lack of job opportunities for all and the discriminatory attitude dominating various aspects of work life. Another point raised is that certain factors like the provision of an allowance and a certificate, as well as an opportunity for a job and socialization, play a crucial role in terms of encouraging women to take part in such courses. Furthermore, the study shows that the interviewees appreciate the implementation of such policies but still expect more political effort and it seems that apart from

the economic empowerment opportunities, the participants attach quite positive social and psychological gains to the experience like new friendship opportunities and elevated self-confidence levels. In conclusion, the author highlights the significance of the presence of other measures like the provision of accessible childcare services in order for such training programs to yield effective outcomes in terms of increasing the rates of employment for women. This thesis aims to build upon the results of this recent study by providing a more detailed analysis of the profiles, experiences and expectations of the women in such programs. Moreover, it intends to explore whether the provision of labour market training programs through both central and local governments increases their added value for the women concerned.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE PROFILES OF THE WOMEN ATTENDING THE LABOUR MARKET TRAINING PROGRAMS

The sections so far have pointed out that there is a distinct orientation towards the adoption of active labour market policies in Turkey for more than two decades now and that the human capital investment programs have been a key part of it. To that aim, many projects have been launched in cooperation with the international organizations and the EU so as to increase the employability of the disadvantaged segments of the society. Since the possession of inadequate levels of market-related skills is frequently identified as one of the key reasons for the low rates of employment and importantly labour force participation for women, it has also been a major component of the related strategies. In order to substantiate the theoretical arguments developed until now, an evaluation of the series of interviews which have been conducted with trainees both from the Public Employment Agency and the Çankaya Municipality in Ankara will be provided. The main goal to that regard has been formulated as to have an insight into the profiles, experiences and expectations of the participants regarding the economic, psychological and social yields.

As put forward before, one of the essential goals of the study is to enquire into the profiles of the women that participate in such programs through analysing the conducted interviews in terms of their main characteristics that will be relevant to the study. The general picture reveals that the interviews have covered a range of women with different traits and from different backgrounds. However, to have an opinion about the coverage of the courses and to make a rational link with the comments to come, it is rational to draw a brief portrayal before moving onto more detailed analyses.

Table 16**The number of interviewees in terms of age groups**

	ISKUR (NETIS)	Municipality
18-30	7	3
30-45	7	6
45+	3	-
Total	17	9

The table above shows that such programs can attract women of different age groups ranging from 18 to 50. In that sense, the interviews have mostly covered women from younger and middle-aged women and that the elderly women have been in the minority. Here the widest range is from the manicure course which included interviewees aged from 19 to 50. On the other hand, the smallest range seems to be from the program on sick and elderly care accommodating mostly middle-aged interviewees from 30 to 42. It can probably be argued that especially for the younger women the courses by the ISKUR (manicure, cooking and pastry assistance) seem to be more attractive. The overall range of age for the interviewees has enabled to grasp the differences in the perceptions, needs and demands of women of different age groups within the framework of the study.

Table 17**The number of interviewees in terms of the marital status**

	ISKUR (NETIS)	Municipality
Single	9	1
Married	7	8
Divorcee	1	-
Total	17	9

Another important factor for the study is the marital status of the interviewees. It is commonly acknowledged that marriage constitutes one of the reasons why women

quit the labour market and stay out for years. Although the patriarchal pressure can not be restricted to originate solely from the husband, it proves to be a crucial point to consider while probing into the general dynamics of women's relationship to the labour market. Later it will be pointed out that the fact that the interviewee is married seems to play a crucial role in her decision regarding whether to participate in the training program and also in the labour market, as well as the conditions under which she is willing to participate. Displayed in the table above, it can be put forward that the majority of the interviewees are married.

Table 18

The number of interviewees in terms of the educational background

	ISKUR (NETIS)	Municipality
Primary school	3	4
Secondary school	4	-
High school	8	5
Associate degree	1	-
Bachelor's degree	1	-
Total	17	9

Taking into consideration the scholarly emphasis on the deficiency in human capital as one of the fundamental reasons for the low rates of labour force participation and employment for women, the educational backgrounds of the interviewees surely constitute a critical point to incorporate into the analysis. It can be observed that the most of the interviewees are graduates of high school. This ratio should also be considered in relation to the fact that the program on childcare has been limited to women with related high school education, which points to a majority in the share by the Municipality. However, in the general sense, it can be discussed that a wider variety attracts the attention with interviewees of backgrounds ranging from primary school to bachelor's degree. In that sense, it can be put forward that such training programs usually attract women who have enjoyed certain level of formal education earlier. For instance, the Public

Employment Agency offers such programs to individuals who have successfully completed at least the primary school. Also, here the Municipality constrains the access to women who have attained a high school degree in the related field. Therefore, it should be highlighted before any further analysis that the data compiled is not representative of the country in general. Actually, the requirement for minimum pre-conditions regarding the educational degree proves to be one of the factors limiting the access of the measure to a large amount of women, as the country still suffers from alarming rates of illiteracy and drop-outs.

Table 19

The number of interviewees in terms of the presence of any experience in the labour market prior to the course

	ISKUR (NETIS)	Municipality
Yes (outside the field of training)	11	3
Yes (also in the field of training)	3	4
No	3	2
Total	17	9

Table 20

The number of interviewees who were working during the course period

	ISKUR (NETIS)	Municipality
Actively working	3	1
Not working	14	8
Total	17	9

One of the crucial components of the research is to see which women such training courses attract in terms of the previous labour market experiences; in other words,

whether these programs can function as an instrument for promoting higher rates of labour force participation besides the commonly assumed role for unemployment. The data presented in the tables above suggest that a variety of women are attracted to such courses with different motives. There are women who have already been in close contact with the labour market and are motivated by a desire to work due to different reasons. Of the interviewees who were not working during the term of the interview, some mentioned that they wanted to work prior to the course due to financial hardships and this was the main reason for their attending the course. However, there are also certain trainees who express that they attended primarily to train themselves on the specific field. Moreover, it catches the attention that there are also interviewees who had not been involved in an active job searching activity at the time. In that sense, for them, the principal motivation to attend seems to be related to the psychological or social contributions expected. This is probably why all the interviewees provide an affirmative response to the question whether they would participate in the course if there was not any job-guarantee. Furthermore, as the table above indicates, there are women who are currently employed in a similar position in the labour market and are driven to the training program for different reasons like the job security to result from the possession of a certificate. And finally, there are women, although comparatively small in number, who have not worked before owing to the reasons mainly related to the roles attached in the household in relation to the patriarchal order. It has been observed through the interviews that the training program may not be considered to directly lead to a labour market opportunity, which can actually be the main factor behind the motivation for these women to participate. For instance, some of them state that the reason why they attended the course is to acquire the skills taught in relation to the conventional roles that they are expected to fulfil and did not consider working until after completing the program.

Based on the tables above and the other data collected from the interviews, it can be put forward that the interviewees are from lower socio-economic background. As mentioned earlier, most women have low levels of education,

except for a few cases with higher degrees or current enrolment in the open education system. Furthermore, it attracts the attention that the majority of the women seem to enjoy the presence of another source of income in the household; that is to say, there are other family members who have a job. Frequently these members prove to be the father or the husband, which points to the prevalence of the male breadwinner model assigning the duty of earning a living fundamentally to the men. In relation to this, an analysis of the women's past experiences in the labour market indicate the general orientation towards the informal jobs or house-based work through which their access has been denied to high levels of regularly paid income or social security benefits. The interviewees' characterization of their labour market experiences as one with breaks after getting married and having children and one with confinement around such jobs seem to confirm the women's dominant identification as the "secondary" source of income in the house. In other words, except for few cases where the women assume the primary role of maintaining the house, their relationship to the labour market proves to be inconstant and identified mainly as contribution to the family budget. Even in the exceptional cases, it is either undermined as temporary or complained by women that they would prefer that their husbands would have an income adequate to discharge them of the duty. Moreover, it can be put forward that although most women interviewed do not constitute the main breadwinner in the house, the other working members of the families usually did not have a high level of income to accommodate a higher standard of living, which in a way seem to urge these women to work. As a result, mostly the interviewees seem to dwell in the suburbs, which proves to be another indicator for the low socio-economic characterization. Probably, it can be assumed that it is a common trait for the women who take up such programs; however, it should not be taken for granted. For instance, there is an exceptional interviewee who has had a bachelors' degree in arts teaching but decided that she favours to work as a cook more. Comparatively, she is of a higher socioeconomic background and is not beset with an obligation to work in any job that she is offered.

Moreover, the majority of the women interviewed seem to be first or second generation migrants. Therefore, especially for some who came to the city after they got married, there proves to be a grave question of integration to the society. As pointed out in the previous sections, it is regarded as a common outcome for the migration waves that the men are urged to look for a job outside as the breadwinner of the family and mostly end up being a part of the informal sector while the women mainly choose to or have to stay at home. Their domestic role contained through the private sphere is cemented in a way through the limited labour market opportunities that they have since they are usually of low educational backgrounds. Also, the new environment seems to fuel a sense of fear in women and the families and, as a result, stimulate the patriarchal urge to protect women's chastity by keeping them within the household with minimum contact to the public sphere. Even when these women are promoted to have a complementary income to support the household budget, they are usually involved in informal jobs with quite adverse conditions or home-based work which does not offer any better conditions but does not challenge the desired order where the women are preferred to stay at home and take care of the household duties. Being a migrant in that sense can strengthen a woman's already excluded status with regards to their presence in the public sphere.

Furthermore, it can be seen that the training courses can address a variety of women of different labour market statuses and experiences. In terms of how the Public Employment Agency functions, such courses constitute a way to find a decent job for the ones who have already been registered with the institution and been involved in an active search. In that sense, some of the interviewees, as a part of their pursuit of a job, have been in contact with the Agency which channelled their efforts to the training program. However, there are also some interviewees who made their initial contact with the Agency after they heard about the launch of such a course. Therefore, such programs can serve to widen the number of members of the institution by registering the ones who are interested in taking a course in the field but have not interacted with the Agency yet. In that sense, the

Agency can expand its sphere of influence and help the ones in need by providing a more effective job search. Besides the Agency, it has been put forward that such programs can be carried out by different institutions, one of which is the municipality. Therefore, it should be taken into consideration that such courses can attract women who do not intend to be involved in an active job search. Observing the data portrayed above, it can be seen that several interviewees did not have an intention in working but participation in such courses can in the end encourage them to participate in the labour market.

Another important point to make here is that for the majority the course did not constitute their first encounter with the labour market. As can be deduced from the table above, only a limited number of women have never had any such experience. For the rest, they have already had working experiences, whether formal or informal, or are already working somewhere. Taking into consideration the married majority, and as hinted previously, it can be suggested that what can be identified as a female life cycle dominates how women's labour market experiences are formed. It seems that all women tend to work and have some sort of labour market experience before they get married. However, after the marriage and especially after having children, mostly they tend to break their links to the labour market. At that point, they fully assume the patriarchal role conventionally attached to the women in almost every society and focus on fulfilling the tasks identified under the labels of a wife and a mother. This status is not frequently challenged much since it is also supported through the welfare system in the country where the social policies are formulated on the basis of women's performing such duties which are then encouraged through various means resulting in a high level of internalization by the women themselves. Consequently, the women's contact to the public sphere remains limited to a close circle including merely the immediate relatives and the neighbours in most cases. Therefore, they are denied to a variety of opportunities to lead a fully-fledged life through assuming an active stance in diverse aspects of the society. As pointed out previously, it can be observed that, except for a few interviewees, even if women continue to work, it frequently rests on house-based

work, which concurs with the enshrinement of the domestic role of women via wifehood and motherhood.

However, especially in the recent years, women have increasingly felt the need to re-establish a link with the labour market and thus work due to the need to support the household budget. In parallel, it is underlined by many interviewees that the single income provided by the men is not enough today to get by. Therefore, for those women in particular, the dominant inclination of leading their lives in the light of the traditional roles has been counteracted by the need or the desire to overcome the financial difficulties crippling the family. It is widely acknowledged now and has been frequently observed in the interviews also that the model of single male breadwinner started to become extinct. The preservation of such an order is even characterized as “selfish” by an interviewee. In relation, the perception of the society regarding the image of working women seems to have changed, as emphasized in the interviews, and it has become more “normal” and even “desirable” for women to work.

In this chapter, the findings regarding the profiles of the women attending the labour market training programs have been analysed. To that regard, it has been found that the majority of the interviewees belong to lower socio-economic background and are first or second generation migrants. It has been identified that most have low levels of educational attainment, mainly high school degree or lower, however, this is not representative of the country in general, taking into consideration that the programs have related preliminary requirements. Furthermore, it has been found that although for the majority this is not their first encounter with the labour market, the previous experiences are usually composed of informal or house-based work. In that sense, it should be mentioned that, although comparatively smaller in number, few interviewees lacked such experience and mentioned that they did not consider participating in the labour market before the program. Thus, it has been argued that such measures can have a potential in raising the rates of participation in the labour market for women. Moreover, the portrayal of the women’s relationship to the labour market has

revealed that they usually constitute the secondary source of income in the household, cementing the male breadwinner model. In general, it has been observed that there is a female life cycle including career breaks as a result of marriage or childbirth and returns with alleviated domestic responsibilities or increased financial needs.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIENCES AND EXPECTATIONS OF WOMEN ATTENDING THE LABOUR MARKET TRAINING PROGRAMS

It is possible to analyse the data collected from the interviews in the light of several questions that can be formulated in parallel to the literature developed so far. The questions directed to the interviewees can be organized under these fundamental themes drawn from the basic issues handled in the literature so far. Accordingly, the main intention has been to pinpoint the common tendencies among women in terms of their contact with the labour market opportunities in general and the labour market training programs in specific. A related aim in that sense has been to see if certain similarities and differences of significance can be detected.

The general framework in the questions has been to underline what kind of a contribution that the women expect and actually achieve from such an experience on the basis of the empowerment arguments which seem to predominate over the recent discourse both in the domestic and international arenas. To that regard, certain elements have been drawn in relation to the generally assumed goals of such an active labour market measure in the literature. Now, the study will focus on the significant inclinations that can be deduced from the interviews in relation to what has been pointed out above.

5.1. What are the factors that facilitate the women's access to the labour market training programs?

This appears to be one of the fundamental questions to raise within the context of this research. Under the framework of the theoretical arguments developed previously as to the patriarchal dominance over how women lead their lives, the

educational choices they make or the availability of such options seem to be confined. Although the impact can vary, it can be suggested that such codes and resulting concerns influence how and when a woman decides to continue or quit her education. To that regard, although it has been argued briefly so far that these courses can provide quite important benefits to the women, it should be kept in mind that most women whom these programs are developed to attract are contained by the traditional patriarchal dictates ruling almost every aspect of their lives. Therefore, it can be assumed that there are certain conditions that facilitate women's participation in such programs or motivate them in the first place. By means of the interviews, it is possible to draw up a number of factors related to the patterns of women's participation into such programs.

5.1.1. The presence of the family's approval and support

One of the vital elements influencing a woman's decision to participate in such training programs is the presence of an approving or supporting family. Here the related decision or the "ability" of the women can be evaluated in association with the theoretical arguments on private patriarchy. Namely, within the household, women seem to be subject to the control of the male head or members of the family, which ensures the exploitation of women's labour through breaking of their contact to the public sphere (Toksöz, 2011). Therefore, the activity of taking part in such a program depends on how willing the relevant men are to allow them to participate in the public sphere. As pointed out earlier, the interviews contained both single and married women; therefore, the most influential people in that context can be seen as the father and mother for the former and the husband and the immediate relatives for the latter. Most of the interviewees suggested that they had the approval and support of their families and it has been emphasized in a numerous occasions that it has actually provided certain conveniences for them to take part in the program.

For instance, it is put forward frequently in the literature that the women's involvement in the public sphere, especially through labour market activities, does not necessarily mean a delegation of the household responsibilities. In that sense, for a woman to have such an approval can provide her with family support in terms of taking care of the children during the course hours. For several women with younger children requiring care, to seek for the help of the female relatives proves to be a viable option. Thus, in their cases, it is important that the members of the family (in particular the extended family) approves and supports them. Therefore, the presence of such acceptance by the family can yield benefits of practical results enabling or facilitating a woman's participation in such a course in the first place. Another channel available for the women to that regard is the use of the childcare centres during the course hours. However, the availability of such an option for most women is questioned frequently by many scholars due to the financial costs involved. Accordingly, one interviewee stated that she had her child registered in such a centre and that she needed his husband's financial support in doing so since the allowance delivered by the Public Employment Agency during the term of the course was not adequate to cover it (Interview 1).

In relation, another yield to result from the approval of the family for women can be identified in that it seems to play a key role in terms of overcoming the possible financial liability of participating in the course. Although most of the courses covered in the study have been supported with an allowance by the Public Employment Agency, it has been expressed for a number of times in the interviews that the women have felt the need to ask for external support from their families. One of the occasions in that sense results from the problems related to the late delivery of the allowance by the Agency, which in a way illustrated the importance of having the approval of the family in order to have a financial support. Most of the interviewees had to take two buses to reach the educational centre, which signified a high amount of travel expenses to be assumedly covered by the allowance. To that regard, the majority of the women stated that they did not have any problem in asking for the support of their families, which played a crucial role

in their ability to remain in the program. On that issue, it has been pointed out that some women had to drop out of the program since they could not financially afford the expenses themselves. Furthermore, the childcare training program within the scope of the study was mainly assumed by the municipality since the cooperation with the ISKUR at the beginning could not be maintained, as clarified by the authorities in the Municipality. As a consequence, the trainees could not be provided with an allowance. In that sense, the support of their families proved to be of even greater significance for these women since they had to rely completely on their financial help during the course. Here most of the interviewees suggested that they sought for the support of the members of the core family, mainly the father or the husband. However, for some women, the approval and support of the extended family can be of paramount importance. For instance, a woman remarked the keen support of her father-in-law in that he was the one who provided her with an allowance during the course (Interview 22).

The significance that the support or approval is present for the women becomes clear when they have pointed to the cases where there was a lack of one. For instance, one interviewee expressed the unwillingness of her family concerning her participation in the course (Interview 4). She stated that she has faced such pressure in pursuing higher levels of education and in taking part in the labour market. Therefore, her developing an interest in the program meant that she had to overcome extra barriers. Although she states that she has the will to pursue her goals anyway and that she tries to pull down the walls, it may not be the case for every woman. For instance, it has been mentioned in one interview that a trainee had to quit the course since she was about to get married and that her fiancée did not approve (Interview 18). This case actually shows how significant it can be to have the approval of especially the male members of the family and that the patriarchal roles to be expected of a female partner starts from the early steps of marriage and the pressure is exerted on women from head start.

In general, through an analysis of the interviews, it can be put forward that there are certain conditions that facilitate or ensure the family's or husband's approval of

the women's participating in the courses. One such condition is the place where the course is organized. A woman remarked that she wanted to go to another course but her husband did not approve since it was held in OSTIM (Organized Industrial Zone) (Interview 14). Also, the fact that the courses are mostly designed to eliminate any extra financial liability to arise for the women by means of the delivery of the allowance is quite an important factor, which will be handled later. To mention quite briefly though, it can be suggested that in an instance of calculation of the benefits from women's taking up the course and spend the day outside and from women's staying at home and take care of the household duties, the presence of an allowance can tilt the balance in favour of the former.

The interviews reveal that one of the fundamental motivations behind the approval or support of the families is naturally the expectation for a potential contribution to the household budget afterwards. However, apparently, it is not the only one. It is of common nature that the women are encouraged to participate in such programs in order for them to "feel better", to "free the mind" and that "it will be good for her". Therefore, such training programs do not always address women who do not have a clear intention to work or who do not prioritize the search for a job. In other words, it can be a facilitating factor for the families that there is the possibility of women's not working at the end of the course. Within that regard, actually, the prevalence of the courses designed for taking up or improving one's hobby or language-learning and the like can be a factor in the normalization of women's participating in such programs. It is common now for many women to participate in such courses, especially on needlecraft, which they mainly benefit from to improve their own skills and seldom translate it into an income-generating activity, which mainly constitutes a house-based work with lower potential for economic empowerment. It has been mentioned for various times in the interviews also that they had friends or neighbours who attend such courses. As a consequence, behind the family approval and support may lie a lack of expectation of consequent labour market activity. To that regard, the potential of such training programs to function as a smooth transitory means should be highlighted especially

for women who do not consider working as an immediate option or for the families who do not approve of their working outside in the first place.

5.1.2 The trust built for the institutions or the mediators

Based on also what has been articulated so far, it can be suggested that for the women, especially the ones who have been out of the labour market for a long period of time, the lack of such experiences can feed into the hesitancy felt by most, which can turn into a state of complete inactivity. To that regard, they may feel the need to have some kind of a mainstay to reassure them about the future experiences being of favourable characteristic. Thus, for those women who have not had any contact with the labour market in years or have not had one at all, the institutions involved can be motivational in their taking up and pursuing a program. A presumably related factor to consider here is that women determine certain conditions for them to consider working in a place. In the interviews, it has been frequently raised that there is a clear difference between how men and women can take the available labour market opportunities. For instance, an interviewee pointed to the wider range of opportunities for men.

“A man can easily go and work in the industry, in OSTIM. But it is not like a woman can work anywhere, do anything. For example, a man can easily work overtime but a woman can not. People will gossip if she works overtime for two days in a row.” (Interview 25)

In conclusion, women feel the need to be pickier in terms of the work they can do or the conditions they can work under, which should probably be also analyzed in relation to women’s characterization of their income-generating activities as a secondary source or a contribution for the family budget while the key role of breadwinner continues to be assumed by the men. Within the context of the portrayals of the conditions that women are willing to work, most interviewees

pointed to the trust or admiration that they feel for the institution or the mediator, which can function as a point of support. Here, it is possible to identify a number of different sources of trust for women. To begin with, the involvement of the Public Employment Agency and that the course was organized in cooperation with it has been highlighted as a significant factor by many. Although there are a number of different channels by which the women are notified about the launch of such a program, the direction of the Agency is one of them. Even if women are registered after they decided to participate in the course, the presence of such a course in the process is found reassuring.

“It is important that the ISKUR directs us, it provides a sense of confidence. We can go and look for a job ourselves but it is good that it makes the placement.”
(Interview 14)

Besides the Agency itself, the mediator institutions are quite crucial since for many women the first contact with the Agency is through the participation to the course. Therefore, it is most likely that their communication with the institution providing the education will be of further importance for the women. In that sense, the perception with regards to NETIS and the trust felt for the centre play a crucial role and actually have been emphasized by several women.

“I was nervous when I first came to the course. But even the attitude of NETIS on the phone is quite nice. I now can’t wait to come here.” (Interview 11)

“The label of NETIS is important. They said that they want to place us in decent jobs. I myself heard one of the executives saying ‘as long as you want to work’.”
(Interview 4)

Some women may be beset with additional obstacles for their entrance to the labour market. For instance, the older women interviewed were more hesitant in

comparison to the younger ones in terms of their adaptation to the conditions that they may be offered. In that sense, the reassurance of the institutions involved serves as a key factor in their deciding to participate in the program in the first place.

“I went to ISKUR to look for a job. This is how I heard about the course. I am not sure if I will find a job because of my age. I said I would attend the course if I can find a job and they said it was not a problem.” (Interview 5)

In addition, for the courses organized by the Municipality, the involvement of such an institution has been underlined as a crucial element by several women. They have built a certain level of trust that it will offer them decent opportunities in the labour market. For instance, an interviewee who had to leave the job that she entered after the course due to family-related reasons expresses her trust in the continuing support of the Municipality.

“It gives trust that it is organized by the Municipality and that it is employment-guaranteed. If I go now, they will place me in a job again.” (Interview 24)

It has also been observed that it has been quite important to overcome the hesitation as to what kind of conditions they will encounter once they are placed in a job. Most of the trainees of these courses identified the involvement of the Municipality as a motivational factor due to their belief that it will present them decent jobs.

“It gave me confidence that the Municipality organized it. I wanted to participate more. I thought the conditions and the wages will be better.” (Interview 18)

Furthermore, for the participants in the childcare training program, it was clear that they would work for the centres of the Municipality. Therefore, some women

mentioned that knowing where to work and the present decent conditions was crucial in their decision to come in the first place.

“I had heard about the childcare centres of the Municipality from a friend earlier. I thought the job would be good.” (Interview 21)

“I knew that the centres of the Municipality were good so the fact that it organized the program meant that the working conditions would be good, the job would be good.” (Interview 18)

As pointed out earlier, the trust for the institutions is developed not only by the trainees themselves but also by the families. Since the municipality constitutes one of the closest political units to the individuals, it can be observed that a similar viewpoint is owned by the acquaintances of the trainees; therefore, they can develop a certain level of trust, as well.

“When they heard that I was going to participate in the course, they said that the Çankaya Municipality is good. In fact, there were people who felt enthusiastic about whether they can come too. They wondered if there were going to be any other course. Everybody thought that municipality is a solid place to work.” (Interview 26)

It is also possible that the Municipality can be a trustworthy institution itself due to alternative reasons. For instance, a woman who had previous experiences of physical abuse had sought comfort in the Women’s Shelter expressed a rather personal bond with the Municipality and a resulting sense of trust.

“The fact that the Municipality organized the course gave me trust. I knew that they would not leave me in the lurch. And I had developed a special trust for the Çankaya Municipality in particular since I was in the Shelter before.” (Interview 25)

Furthermore, it has been recognized that for certain women the political affiliations can serve as a source of trust. Regardless of how the municipal authorities approach the issue, the women and their families can feel close to the associated political party and therefore feel confidence. Such a source of trust can actually serve as a reason for family approval and support as well if there is a family-wide tradition of affiliation to a political party.

“It gave me confidence that the Municipality organized the course. And it was influential in my decision-making politically that it organized it. My father-in-law saw the notice in the bureau of the party.” (Interview 19)

“It was important for me that the Republican People’s Party was organizing this. If it were organized by a right-wing party, I would not participate.” (Interview 20)

Another related factor in terms of the different sources of trust is the interpersonal relations to be developed with the intermediary agents. Similar to the one assumed by NETIS, it is possible to point to the importance attached by women to the dialogues they have developed with the authorities in the Municipality. This is why it proves to be significant that such programs are provided through different channels so as to increase the access to more women. Resulting from the distance to the labour market due to career breaks or similar factors, which has been identified previously as a part of the female life cycle, it has been established that the women may seek trust in their connection to the labour market and these sources may show variance in accordance with what the women themselves prioritize, such as partisanship, acquaintance with the institution, the fact that the mediator is a public institution and the like.

“The lady from the municipality showed great interest in us. I can call her whenever I need, we have each other’s phone numbers.” (Interview 23)

“She was really helpful in the process. She searched the workplace, she called after I started to work to control and contacted the place to have them start paying my insurance premiums.” (Interview 20)

“She was very helpful. Recently she has called and said that there was an available job and asked if I wanted to work.” (Interview 25)

Moreover, another factor to be highlighted here is the impact of the teachers on the trainees, which appears to be one of the sources of trust in the interviews. Most of the women have pointed to how good the teachers were and how helpful they were in both the lessons and the problems regarding their private lives. Naturally, one of the contributions of the teachers is the field-related information they provide. In that sense, several women have pointed out their gratitude to the competency of the teachers on the field and highly appreciated their practical experiences in the field, which seem to encourage women to try to have a place in the sector and square up to the difficulties they may face. To that regard, the high level of approval for the communication developed with the teacher shows that the presence of the emotional support is of paramount importance for the women.

“The teacher has also had experience in the sector. She transfers her experiences in addition to the general information. She warned us that we may have to do all kinds of work in the sector. She gave advices and said that such experiences make one stronger. Actually, she is one of the reasons why I stay in this course.” (Interview 4)

Besides the sector-related guidance, the teachers are reported to provide valuable insight into the personal problems of the interviewees. Such a close relationship developed with the teachers then proves to be a significant element behind the trust for the institution. Most of the women argued that they had an admiration for the teacher, which seems to cement their positive perception for the agents involved.

“Sometimes I would have problems about my personal life and I would get sad. Then the teacher would call me and want to talk to me in private. I easily get obsessed and exasperated about things. I can’t stand crowded places. I got over most of these with the help of that teacher.” (Interview 20).

“The teachers were quite good. One of them was the head of the shelter that I stayed in. We still keep in touch.” (Interview 25)

All in all, it is safe to suggest that the bond that women develop with the institution and the resulting trust is one of the fundamental factors that stimulate their participation in the training program. Within that framework, particularly the interpersonal relationship with the authorities and the teachers can function as a crucial source of support that the women need.

5.1.3. The job guarantee offered by the institutions

One of the common features of the courses analysed in the study is the job guarantee, which means that a previously determined share of the successful trainees will be placed in jobs. Taking into consideration that many women participate in such programs due to economic difficulties with a goal of reaching a decent job opportunity, such a guarantee constitutes a significant point of motivation. It was made apparent by several of the interviewees that this intention and the need to work mark the basis of their motivation.

“When I started to go to the course, the biggest contribution that I expected was to find a job. My husband had health issues as well as problems with where he was working. So I needed it.” (Interview 19)

It has actually been mentioned by one interviewee from the childcare training program that she had expected direct job placement initially (Interview 26). Since

the program was organized for women who already had high school degrees from the same field, she thought that she would be offered a job. Before the course started, the municipality organized a meeting and clarified the procedure which involved the direct employment of the three most successful trainees, which seems to be the key cause behind the participation of many women. Therefore, the link to a job for the trainees was crucial. Furthermore, such a link can actually serve as an influential factor in accustoming the families, especially the husbands, to the idea of women's working.

“My husband did not approve my working. After the course, it was said that it was mandatory to work for three months. I in a way used the job found as an excuse to have his approval.” (Interview 20)

Taking into consideration that the difficulty of integration to the labour market seems to be in positive correlation with age, it can be assumed that such a guarantee will be of greater importance especially for the older women. Related worries have been expressed by the interviewees especially over the age 50 that they will have slim chances in the labour market. Consequently, such programs can function as a key means of integrating with the market. In that sense, it can be suggested that the job guarantee constitutes one of the essential factors stimulating women to take part in the course. Otherwise, it is quite likely that they will be discouraged by their worries that they will be confined to rather unqualified jobs with unfavourable conditions through which their labour will be exploited, which can result in their complete retreat from the market. However, the job guarantee, coupled with the trust for the institution involved, can be the key stimulant for women's participation in the course. For instance, a 50-year-old interviewee expressed her concerns over the difficulties of finding a job at her age and her desire to have a profession (Interview 5).

5.1.4. The importance of accreditation

Another important factor that motivates women to take part in such programs is the provision of a certificate in the end. The accreditation actually can entail different meanings for the trainees. Mostly it is seen as a means to ensure a way to overcome the financial difficulties faced. In that sense, it can be argued that it serves as a valuable instrument in job search and employment security. In the conditions of the labour market, the possession of a formal document validating the presence of the skill may be a requirement even if women already possess it. For instance, it has been mentioned by several trainees that they are already acquainted with culinary skills.

“I was searching for the available cooking courses. Normally, they are too expensive. This one was an attractive option for me since it was free and in the end you get a certificate. It is one of the biggest contributions of the course.” (Interview 2)

Furthermore, it is stated that the ones who have already been employed in the sector may face pressure to obtain a certificate. Therefore, it can also serve as a means of job security. It has been mentioned by the interviewees that now due to the related regulations, many have had to quit their jobs and attend such courses. Similarly, women some of the interviewees have already been familiar with the field but attended the course anyway primarily to obtain a certificate. For instance, an interviewee has been working in a hairdressers’ and explicitly mentioned that she already knows what is taught in the course (Interview 8). In that sense, she identified her main goal as the certificate.

“I was already working in a nursing home and the manager there notified me about the course. I participated to obtain the certificate. Having such a document gives me confidence.” (Interview 23)

Besides the expectation for increased opportunities for employment or job security, the certificate can also be a means for self-employment in that it is seen as a primary step to pursue one's desire to open up her place. Therefore, it can also be critical in terms of women's self-actualization.

“I wanted to have a cooking certificate. It is my dream to open up my own place. I think this course as a first step to that aim. You can also use somebody else's document to open up a place but you have to pay a rent. I thought ‘why should I pay for it while I can get it myself?’.” (Interview 14)

“I see the certificate as one of the contributions of the course. In a way, we are like apprentices and after this first step we can move onto opening our own place.” (Interview 1)

5.1.5. The monthly allowance delivered to the participants

The participants of the courses by the Public Employment Agency are supported through a monthly-based allowance. It is of paramount importance for women that the course is delivered without charge and that the process will not entail further expenses. As pointed out earlier, one of the factors with a clear impact on the participation of women in such programs is the approval or support of the families. To begin with, then, it should be put forward that the presence of the allowance, in other words the fact that the process will not constitute an additional financial liability for the family, is one of the crucial factors in receiving the approval of the family.

“The allowance helped a lot in covering my travel expenses. I had to take two buses to get to the course. Also, in my husband's approval, it was important that

this would not be a financial burden. If there was not any allowance, maybe I would not go in the first place.” (Interview 25)

Within the framework of the interviews, it has been mentioned by several trainees, as well as the authorities of the Municipality, that the allowance itself can be the main reason why some women attend. In other words, some may see the course as a way to obtain such a short-term income to support their family budget without an intention of finding a job in the end. Although the potential of the allowance in terms of the economic empowerment of the women in that sense will be questioned later in the study, it is useful to point out now that most of the interviewees characterized it as a facilitating factor which barely covered the expenses. However, it should be emphasized that many women have expressed their gratitude for the presence of such an allowance especially to cover the travelling expenses. Most had to use two buses to arrive at the educational centre; therefore, at the end of the day there did not remain much for them to feel more empowered economically.

“The allowance is beneficial to cover the travelling expenses. It is barely enough for the daily expenses. We take 20 liras daily and it already takes 10 liras to arrive at the centre. The rest is spent for food and beverages during the day.” (Interview 14)

“We spend eight hours a day here. In that sense, the allowance is beneficial. But it is not enough by itself.” (Interview 2)

“The allowance helped me a lot. Especially about the travelling expenses. I could arrive at the centre by taking two buses.” (Interview 19)

“The allowance was very helpful in general but it was delivered irregularly and it was not enough. I was also selling my needlecraft so I did not suffer much.” (Interview 20)

“The allowance was very important for travel expenses. Actually, it was barely enough to cover that. If there was not any allowance, it would be hard for me to go.” (Interview 24)

In addition to the fact that the allowance was found inadequate, most participants were beset with its being delivered late. As it was mentioned earlier in relation to the family support, the majority women have had to seek for external help in order to remain in the program. Most of them could solve it through the support of the ones in the closest circle but there surely were some trainees in the course who could not handle it. Thus, although its potential for economic empowerment can be questioned, the lack of one seems to cripple the existing power of women both economically and socially. The majority of the interviewees have expressed the discomfort resulting from the consequent dependence on someone else or the need to allocate one’s own earnings to it.

“I had problems because the allowance was delivered late. I had to borrow from my neighbour because my husband was out of town. Everyday the travelling expenses take 8 liras and if we assume that 5 liras are spent on food and beverages, we can only spare 5 liras. But usually we can not spare it either. For example, they want us to buy materials for the course. Then the allowance is not enough.” (Interview 12)

“The allowance was delivered after a month and a half passed and it was a problem. I had to work in the weekends and spend that money to come here.” (Interview 6)

“We could receive the money only after one and a half months. It was not a great problem for me but there were some who could not find any money for travel so had to quit the course. Even the 20 liras delivered as a daily allowance is meaningful because then the women can have their own money.” (Interview 1)

Consequently, although it has mostly been found inadequate by women, the presence of an allowance has still been highly appreciated as a source of economic power. It has especially been identified as a way to spare women from depending on someone else for related expenses.

“The allowance eliminates the need to ask from somebody else or to depend on somebody else. So it eliminates the possibility of not coming in a way. For example, if it were a hobby course, there could be some who could not come because some families can not spare money for this.” (Interview 14)

The significance of the allowance manifests itself particularly in the quotations of the women who have lacked such a financial contribution. In the childcare training program, since the municipality had problems in cooperating with the Agency later, the participants could not receive the allowance. Therefore, they had to rest on the support of their families during the process but all put forward that it would be much better if they had their own allowance.

“First it was told that there would be allowance but then it was cancelled. It was a problem because for all those months I had support from my husband for expenses of travel and food. He was very supportive. He did not mind it but it would be much better if there were an allowance.” (Interview 26)

“In the meeting before we started the course, we were told that we would get an allowance but we were not. We had to buy books for the course, for example; the allowance would be helpful for that.” (Interview 22)

Taking into consideration the quotes presented above, it can be argued that despite certain criticisms about the amount and delivery of the allowance, it proves to be a vital cause promoting women to take part in the course and ensuring the approval

of the families. It particularly functions as a key factor in their continuous attendance in the course without depending on another one's charity.

5.2. What are the factors that facilitate the women's participation in the labour market?

One of the questions directed to the interviewees was aimed to probe into which factors influence or facilitate their decision to participate in the labour market. Since women's lives are interwoven with patriarchal codes in manifold ways, it is only natural to find convergences with the first question. Actually, through the interviews, a diversity of answers has been obtained; however, several common points can be drawn so as to obtain a general picture. As they are analyzed, it can be observed that the women's approach is quite in line with what is mostly put forward in the literature so far.

5.2.1. The presence of the approval and/or support of the family

One of the primary elements to influence a woman's decision on whether to work or not is the perception of the family with regards to the working women. In general, it is argued that most women are urged to stay at home and focus on the household duties by the men (the father, brothers or the husband) since the idea of a woman's taking up a job outside the home is scorned. Sometimes it is even seen as a cause of shame socially. Even if the case is not that extreme, mostly women need to have the approval and support of their families in their labour market activities. Similar to the arguments concerning the participation in the training programs, there is a high number of women who are contained in the private sphere in which their primary social roles as the wife and the mother are defined. As previously underlined, the private patriarchy is mainly preserved by maintaining the women within the limits of the household with the least possible contact to the

public sphere. Therefore, the labour market opportunities, as one of the fundamental ways of connection to the public sphere, are denied to the women as a part of their confinement in the private. Although the recent years have witnessed an increase in the rates of labour force participation of women, it is still common that they do not have an active role due to this patriarchal pressure. The quotations below show how it shapes whether the women work or when and how they work.

“When you’re married, you can face pressure from the husband. You take care of the children. I got married when I was 16. Your husband can say ‘I already earn a living, it is enough, what will you do by working?’.” (Interview 5)

“My husband did not let me work much. His first wife had had bad experiences in work. She experienced bad things because she did not how to read and write. So it was more like ‘once bitten twice shy’. The biggest obstacle for a woman to work is her husband, family or the environment. It is thought that women do not work; men work and bring the food and the women eat it. A woman’s working is even reproved.” (Interview 20)

“My first husband was very jealous. He used to earn minimum wage so he would want me to have a job at first. But then the longest period he let me work was for a week. And it was a cashier job in a supermarket.” (Interview 25)

“I have not worked yet. My parents did not want me work. I have had pressure from my family in that sense but I have overcome these to a great deal. I try to overcome it” (Interview 4)

As previously argued within the framework of the factors facilitating women’s participation in the training courses, the family’s support regarding particularly childcare can be a determinant factor. Partly due to the financial unavailability of the care centres and partly due to the enshrinement of the women’s full-time assumption of the motherhood role, the help that they can receive in that sense may

be the most critical point. The fulfilment of the related duty by the other female members of the family emerges as the most common solution to allow for the mother's more active engagement with the labour market opportunities. However, it can not be assumed for all women. For instance, an interviewee has pointed out that she preferred to raise her child herself since she did not want to depend on them (Interview 26). In relation, it is also put forward by the interviewees that the patriarchal pressure does not always originate solely from the husband or one's own father. It is quite possible for the extended family to have such an influence on the women. Thus, it is common that to overcome the patriarchal pressure, the women may have to face a multifaceted battle.

“There were some people in the family who did not want me to work. For example, my husband's grandfather said ‘No way that our bride will work, no way, she can never work’. My husband was also unwilling at the beginning but he consented later. It was important to have an additional income.” (Interview 21)

“I did not have such a problem but sometimes the mothers-in-law do not let the women to work. They tell them to stay at home and look after the children. It did not happen to me. My father-in-law was actually quite supportive.” (Interview 22)

“There can be a view from the outside that ‘the distaff side’ should not work. But my husband and our families always supported my working. It is very important that women have the support of their families.” (Interview 24)

The male breadwinner model underlining the labour market dynamics of most households serves as a crucial source of the power enjoyed by men in both the household and the public in general. As a consequence, women's participation in the labour force and assuming a capacity to gain economic power may bring about fears of its undermining the male dominance. It can be observed that the women can have the approval or support of the family particularly if they suffer from financial difficulties and need some kind of contribution to the budget.

Furthermore, similar to the approval for the participation in the training courses, the conditions of the workplace such as the closeness may constitute an influential factor to grant the approval for working.

5.2.2. The trust for the agents involved

It has been put forward earlier within the framework of the first question that the sense of trust that the women develop for the institutions involved are of paramount importance in their decision to participate in the training programs. Quite similarly, their decision to participate in the labour market is facilitated by their trust in the institutions involved. It is common that women face a variety of adverse conditions in their previous labour market experiences or that they may feed into further worries due to a lengthy break. Thus, women may need to develop trust for the intermediaries that they will be offered decent opportunities. It has already been pointed out how such a trustworthy relationship with the agents like NETIS plays a key role in encouraging women to retain the link between the course and the labour market.

“I would not want to work in a small place, I think I can do better. In that sense, it is important that the ISKUR provides some direction. It gives me trust.” (Interview 14)

A similar perception has been identified also in the courses organized by the municipality. It has been observed that the interviewees believed that the jobs to be offered by the municipality would be decent. It is generally acknowledged that the public sector provides the most desirable jobs for women with definite working hours and decent and standard wages. Thus, the involvement of a public institution may provide an additional motivation in that sense.

“My biggest motivation in participating in the course was to find a job, to enter the job of the Municipality. The fact that the Municipality was involved gave me trust that the job would be good.” (Interview 21)

“I trusted that the job offered by the Municipality would be good. It gave me confidence that the Municipality stood behind us and we personally talked to their authority.” (Interview 20)

“The main reason why I participated in the course was to find a job. I wanted work in the childcare centres of the Municipality. I know how the working conditions are in the private sector from my apprenticeship period. It is hard to work there. I wanted to have a regular wage and a good working environment. I feel safe while I am working here.” (Interview 22)

“The fact that the course was organized by the Municipality gave me trust. I thought the wages and other conditions would be more just. I wanted this more.” (Interview 18)

“I did not think much after the course that I would have a certificate and so I could find a job myself. I always wanted the job in the Municipality and I thought that I would have it.” (Interview 26)

It can also be seen that some interviewees had developed earlier contact with the main institutions regarding their intention to reach more labour market opportunities. For instance, although some women told that they registered in the Agency after they heard about the course, some had already contacted it for finding a decent job much earlier. Similarly, a number of women had contacted the Jobs and Employment Centre of the Municipality prior to their participation in the course. Therefore, some women may have developed earlier trust in the institutions regarding their ability to place them in favourable jobs.

5.2.3. The working hours

One of the key factors that influence the women's participation in the labour market is the working hours. Generally women feel the need to reconcile their working life with their conventional responsibilities at home. Therefore, even if both man and woman participate in the labour market and have a job, the resulting picture seems to be different in that the women's work is not limited to that and continues afterwards through household duties. As the primary member responsible for handling such work and taking care of the children, the women seem to try to bear a double burden when they work. The related conventional portrayal of a woman with regards to her place in the private and public sphere can also function as a reason for the patriarch to prohibit a woman from participating in the labour market or working in a specific job.

“I can not be too flexible about my working hours. I have elder brothers so I have to be at home at a suitable hour. For example, I can work between 8 in the morning and 6 in the evening.” (Interview 4)

In that sense, it can also be observed that it is not necessarily a salient pressure from the patriarch that directs women to accept certain jobs under certain conditions. It is explicit how women themselves internalize it so as to prioritize the assigned conventional roles over the empowering mission associated with work.

“The job of pastry assistant can be challenging in terms of the working hours. It may require working six days a week and for long hours, also extra work in special days. As a woman with children, it can be hard and if it gets too hard for me, then I may not prefer working in such a job.” (Interview 1)

“I can not work in the weekends. I can not work after six in the evening. My husband earns enough. So I will not work under such conditions just to satisfy myself.” (Interview 14)

To that regard, it has been suggested by some women that as a general policy the promotion of favourable working hours can function as a factor increasing the labour force participation rates.

“If the state provides the stay-at-home women with jobs with convenient hours like from nine to five. I can consider working if the conditions are favourable. If the conditions are like this, no one will stay at home. I do not want a high wage...I would like to spare some time for my husband, my home. If it is for eight hours, I do not want to work more.” (Interview 13)

On the contrary, some women have pointed out that they could work for flexible hours under certain conditions. To that regard, one such concern in the forefront is the need for trust in the workplace and the colleagues. Thus, for instance, women need to feel a certain sense of safety for the workplace in order for them to stay at later hours. If they believe that they are safe, they can prioritize their desire to work where they can improve their skills.

“The job must be satisfying for me. I can work for flexible hours if the place is safe.” (Interview 16)

As clarified previously, usually the jobs similar to the functioning of the public sector jobs have been highlighted as the most favourable. However, some interviewees have remarked exceptional cases, especially in the elderly care training program, which also seems to arise from a similar motive of fulfilling the household responsibilities.

“In the first three months, I worked in the afternoons. Then I had only one day for leave and on that day I could not rest enough. Now I work for twenty-four hours by shifts and it is better for me. In this way, I can take care of the home.” (Interview 20)

As a consequence, it is quite possible that the similar conditions may not be preferred by another woman for actually the same reasons. For instance, an interviewee stated that she had been worked in a nursing home offered by the Municipality under the mentioned conditions but had to quit.

“I was working for twenty-four hours by shift but it was hard for my six-year old daughter. She got depressed. So I had to quit. I do not want to work like that. But I can work if it is eight to five.” (Interview 24)

“I was working for twenty-four hours by shift but it was too tiring for me. My health worsened. And I could not help my children. I worked in the nursing home for a month but it felt like a year.” (Interview 25)

Although it proves to be a significant factor for most women in deciding to participate in the labour force or take up a job opportunity, it can still be observed that in some cases the need for an extra income for the family can be persuasive enough for the families in order to accept conditions that they would not otherwise.

“I work for twenty-four hours by shift. First my husband was not happy about this but then he left the choice to me.” (Interview 19)

5.2.4. The working conditions

Another important factor that seems to influence the women’s decision to participate in the labour market and work is the working conditions. It can be put forward that throughout the interviews the women were anxious to state that this is quite crucial for them and that they can not go and work in any job whereas the men can enjoy more freedom to that regard. Since it is a rather general term, here, to be specific, the mostly pronounced conditions will be mentioned. First and

foremost, it should presumably be put forward that usually women prioritize the conditions that have been neglected of them in their previous experiences, thus leading to a certain level of exploitation on their part.

One such condition is the presence of the social security benefits and whether the job will offer a regular payment of the fees. It is usually identified as one of the indispensable features of the demands of the women regarding what kind of a job they would like. It can be put forward that for the elder women, the presence of the social security benefits is an especially important issue. As they believe that they are no longer able to work in any job and that they are closer to retirement, they may feel the need to have an insured job more.

“I worked in different jobs before. I worked as a genitor in a school for example. They did not pay my insurance fees regularly. Working here in the nursery is more regular in that sense; there is no problem with the payment of the premiums.”
(Interview 23)

“I have done many jobs before. I cleaned the stairs, took care of children. I am not strong enough now; I wanted to have a job with social security benefits. It is important, not only for health benefits but also for retirement.” (Interview 5)

It can be put forward that the women’s expectations to that regard are usually in parallel with the conditions prevalent in the sector in question. For instance, several interviewees in the course on manicure pointed to the difficulties of finding a job with social security benefits in the sector. Thus, it may not be prioritized accordingly.

“I can work if it does not have the benefits. It is not that important. There are not many such jobs in the hairdressers. If we can find any job, I am not sure if it will be insured.” (Interview 7)

Another frequently pronounced factor is the presence of a definite job description. It was actually one of the common problems raised by the interviewees concerning their previous experiences in the labour market. In the literature, it is signified as one of the consequences of the flexibilization experienced in the labour market. In addition to the changes with regards to conditions like the working hours and wages, the present conditions in the market usually require the workers to have a certain level of flexibility as to the job that they will assume; therefore, they are expected to be multifunctional. Although it is a problem suffered by most workers and can not be restricted to the women alone, it can be suggested that women are exposed to such demands more frequently and intensely, which mostly results in the aggravation of their exploitation. It has been mentioned by an interviewee that even before she started to work, the employers asked for extra qualities which are not related to the essence of the job.

“They wanted a certificate when I was working as a cleaner. They even wanted me to know how to use a computer because at times you may work as a secretary.”
(Interview 25)

Some women mentioned how such experiences became quite exploitative for them. Many mention how tiring it was for them to try to fulfil all the duties charged and that eventually they had to quit.

“I worked abroad also. Once I got that discipline, I worked here that hard, as well. Then the employers exploited my labour. I started with a job but I was charged with other tasks. When I first started, I took care of the kitchen until afternoon and then of the office tasks later. Then everything including the financial tasks was given to me.” (Interview 12)

“In one of the places that I worked before, they just kept charging me with more duties. I got exhausted. So I had to quit.” (Interview 5)

“In the private place that I worked, there was no job description, I was responsible for everything. Here you do what you are assigned for in the beginning. In that sense, it is much better.” (Interview 21)

It may be possible to argue that for female workers the line between their job outside and the traditional duties associated with a woman can become blurry. In that sense, the employers can expect a woman to take care of the cleaning and the cooking besides the job she was hired for. Therefore, in general, it can be suggested that the expansion of the women’s duties in terms of these flexible terms of the market usually progresses to the conventionally female areas.

Besides the references to the importance of the presence of social security benefits and a definite job description, the most pronounced condition with a dramatic impact on women’s decision to participate in the market is the fear of sexual abuse. It has been present in most of the interviews that women made reference to their desire to work somewhere “safe” with “decent, moral” people. Sometimes such references have been grounded with past experiences of abusive behaviour, which confirmed that it is one of the grave concerns of the women in common, which will be analyzed later. In the interviews, even if this concern was not always pronounced directly, it was highlighted in the preferences of women in terms of under which conditions they would like to work. Many expressed their worries about working in a male-dominant workplace and indicated their preferences concerning working in bigger, more disciplined and institutionalized workplaces which could minimize their chances of encountering such problems.

“It is an advantage for a woman to work in a nursery home like this because it is more organized and disciplined. So there will be no incidents like molestation. It is important that your boss acts like one. He should value your honour as he values his.” (Interview 20)

“I do not want to work in a small sector because it may be problematic, considering molestation etc. I want to work in a good, big workplace.” (Interview 13)

“One of the advantages of working here is that all the workers are women. So it is comfortable to work.” (Interview 22)

It may be rational to expand the abuse that women may encounter beyond the sexual molestation. It is possible that women may face discrimination and abusive behaviour on the basis of their being a woman.

“Mostly the chefs are men. So they may look down on women. It depends on how much the women can bear.” (Interview 2)

Moreover, it has been observed throughout the interviews that the general problems in the labour market distressing the already employed create a certain kind of discouragement for the women. Combined with their further distance to the labour market, the dismal conditions that already hurt the male workers seem to worry them.

“Under the conditions in Turkey, it is hard for women to work. The working hours are too long in the private sector, the workers can not claim their rights. Such conditions are the biggest obstacle for women to work. These are hard for men too. My husband goes to work at 06.30 and comes at 8 or 09.30. His manager attends a meeting and does not send him home. For all this work, he only earns a thousand liras. Then they talk about rights, law and Muslimism. When men are working under such conditions, how can a woman work? My family and friends told me to work several times, my sister told that she could look after the kids but how could I work under such conditions?” (Interview 13)

As a consequence, it is fair to suggest that women tend to have considerable concerns as to the conditions that they think they can work under. To that regard, they seem to differentiate between how women and men can work. In accordance with the male breadwinner model and the male-dominant characteristic of the market, the men are believed to enjoy more independence in terms of their activities in the labour market. On the contrary, the women feel that they are constrained to a more limited number of options due to the patriarchal codes and the worries based on the gender discrimination in the overall society.

5.2.5. The geographical proximity

One of the critical points facilitating the women's participation in the labour force and take up a job is the closeness of the workplace. It has been involved by several as a characteristic of what kind of a job they will prefer to work in. Several interviewees have pointed to certain difficulties that they have experienced to that regard in their previous jobs. In general, it can be considered within the patriarchal pressure that women find themselves in. They feel the need to take into consideration at what hours they will arrive home after work owing to the desire to fulfil the household duties fully and on time. In that sense, also the approval of the families and the perception of the neighbourhood may have an impact on women's decision. Therefore, the closeness of the workplace may be critical in determining the time when the women will be home. Moreover, they try to abstain from the possibility of spending a large portion of their earnings on the travel expenses.

“While searching for a job, the closeness of the workplace (so the travel expenses), the wage and the working hours are important for me. The closeness is important. My father pays attention to the working hours. We live in a kind of shanty town, I can not even dress as I wish.” (Interview 18)

“I used to work in a food factory. They would not pay me, there was not any insurance. I had to come and go four times a day and I used to spend the whole wage for that.” (Interview 15)

5.2.6. The payment of the wages

A related factor, as can be deduced from the interviews, is the wages. Usually most women tend to characterize their desired job as one with a good wage and social security benefits. In several cases, these two have been prioritized over other conditions. Here what should be emphasized is also that the regular payment of the wages is attached higher importance than the amount. Especially the women who provide the main source of income for the household seem to regard the regular payment of the wages as one of the indispensable factors for them to work. Furthermore, it has been particularly articulated by the older women who may need further incentive for them to step into the labour market after a long period of inactivity.

“We will be inexperienced, and also I am not young. So there should be tolerance and respect in the workplace. And the wages should be satisfactory.” (Interview 5)

Thus, it can be suggested that as the women get older, their exclusion from the market may have got deeper. In that sense, they may have further hesitation in participating in the labour market. Therefore, their expectations can be more since there may be further need of persuasion. Despite its significance, it has been observed throughout the interviews that the wage can be of secondary importance for some women in comparison to certain conditions like the social security benefits and the presence of a safe workplace.

“It is important for me to work in a peaceful environment. The wage is less important when compared.” (Interview 18)

Such a preference can also be identified through an analysis of the previous experiences of the interviewees. For instance, one interviewee specifically stated that once when she entered a job, she did not ask for any special terms on wage but social security benefits (Interview 12). Here it may be useful to raise the question why women can be inclined to prioritize other conditions over wages, which can be evaluated in relation to the male breadwinner model. The majority of the interviewees has an income by their husbands or fathers and thus considers their earnings more as a contribution for the budget. In parallel with these configurations, the general characterization of the women appears to be one of a secondary source of income in the household and a reserved army in the labour market in general.

5.3. What are the prevalent perceptions of women regarding the working life?

One of the questions of the research is to evaluate how women perceive the working life and what significance they attach to work in their life cycle. The fundamental point to make here is obviously a sense of economic freedom to arise. Mainly women refer to the yields of owning one's own income and the positive impact that it brings or they expect it to bring. The families of the majority of the interviewees have other working members; however, they underline a number of factors which make their income-generating activities additionally significant. In general, a woman's participation in the labour market and employment is signified as the basic source of economic empowerment.

“A woman should work as long as her health allows. No matter how much she earns, she should work. She should have an economic freedom.” (Interview 17)

Such freedom to be enjoyed by the women is also associated with a more effective place within the household (Gaur, 2006). Therefore, the economically empowering potential of the work can be deemed as the first step to the enhancement of their role in other fields. In parallel, an interviewee points to how working strengthens her say in the decision-making processes in the house.

“When you work, you have a say in the house also. It is not like the men decide everything. When you make a contribution to the budget, the decisions are made together.” (Interview 22)

“A woman should work. Most simply, it is exciting and pleasing that you can step outside and spend you own money. For the first time in my life, I went to the seaside this year after I started to work” (Interview 26)

As seen from the quotation above, working is also associated with a boost in the self-confidence and freedom for women. Besides these, the interviewees have made certain specific attributions to what working means for them. Despite the instant association with ideal of economic empowerment, labour force participation and work can function as an effective means to challenge the conventional. For instance, quite basically, one woman regards work as a way to overcome the inferior status of women in the society in general.

“Women are born impotent, their bodies are physically weak. Working keeps them on their feet, increases their self-confidence.” (Interview 9)

In that sense, it is believed that the working women are respected more in the society and have a strong and positive image. Thus, as pointed out earlier, the economic power resulting from work can trigger a certain level of social empowerment, as well.

“Working gives a woman self-confidence. When she works, she will feel strong and feel more comfortable in the society. And the women who work and earn their own money will be respected more in the public.” (Interview 2)

“Working gives women a lot. It helps her to form her character. It increases her self-respect. She will also be respected in the society more.” (Interview 17)

“A working woman is respected in the society also. The housewives look up to them. Actually such women used to be reproached. My sister is a teacher, she earns 2500 liras a month. I expend great effort to send my kid to a private educational centre while she can send hers every year.” (Interview 13)

“When a woman works, the viewpoint of the others changes. She will have a strong image and can go beyond what she is able to do. Then you will not depend on your family to decide whether or not to do or buy something. And there is peace and comfort in your family also when you work.” (Interview 18)

One common point made by all the interviewees is how working bolsters their self-confidence. In that sense, a related factor is highlighted as the desire to free oneself of an additional feeling of gratitude and dependence. The majority associates the

otherwise with a kind of impotency underlining the patriarchal dominance in the society in general.

“Once you start earning your own money, you get used to that feeling. When you ask for money from someone else, you feel degraded. When you work, your mood changes.” (Interview 9)

“A woman should work. I feel stronger when I work. While I was not working, I depended on my husband. He could call me to account for the five liras he gave me. Now it is not like this.” (Interview 19)

“Women should work. They should not depend on their husbands. I worked in my own place but I had my economic freedom. There are many women who are oppressed by their husbands because of this dependency.” (Interview 17)

Similarly, it has been emphasized by the women that one of the reasons why they should have their income is the presence of needs and spending patterns different from men's. Several women have raised that they have special needs that men have hard time understanding. For instance, an interviewee states that a woman may need a dress or a lipstick, which can be rejected by a man on the basis that “she already has one” (Interview 11). In parallel, here what dominates women is the related worries regarding what future may bring. To that regard, economic dependence on the husbands, for instance, is believed to reinforce the impotency of the women in the relationship and to constrain the available options based on their mercy.

“We do not know what life will bring. For example, one can have an unhappy marriage and want to divorce. Then if she is working, she can leave her husband more easily. Otherwise, she may have to bear.” (Interview 1)

“In the future, when one gets married, she may be unhappy. She may get a divorce or her husband may die. Then a woman should stand on her own two feet.” (Interview 4)

“I can not know what will happen tomorrow. So why should I not have some kind of security? A woman should have her own income, social security benefits. I had to divorce from my first husband because of his mother and sister. With such an experience, I believe that a woman should stand on her own two feet.” (Interview 25)

Quite significantly, the quotations provided so far have revealed that most women associate a high level of boost of psychological improvement and motivation for them. Frequently, working and having a job outside the home have been characterized with a boost in self-confidence, sense of freedom and power.

“Working gives a woman financial freedom and self-confidence. For example, when I want to go somewhere, I can. I say I am working anyway. I but what I want to buy, I do not wait for later.” (Interview 26)

“Working gives a woman self-confidence. If something goes wrong in the future, at least she will have economic freedom. One’s self-confidence increases as she works. I did not think that it would be that much. Now I do not withdraw myself from anything.” (Interview 22)

“A woman should work and take care of herself. Now I say that the years that I did not work have gone to waste. I gained self-confidence; that is the most important thing.” (Interview 24)

“A woman should work, it gives you power. Then she can have her own money and buy her children whatever she likes.” (Interview 20)

Here one of the issues that strike the attention is the patterns of how women prefer to spend their earnings. Usually, it has been put forward that women tend to spend their money for their families, especially their children, and to contribute to the relatives or close acquaintances. Thus, the actual potential of work in terms of economic empowerment can be questioned to that extent. However, besides the economic freedom and confidence associated with working, the interviewees pointed to the evocation of quite positive feelings in their psychological state when they are working. They have remarked the changes in their daily routines, which seem to increase their self-esteem. In relation to how they perceive work and working life as a positive contribution to how they live their lives, the disciplinary form attached to it is usually appreciated as a positive contribution, as well.

“For example, you get up in the morning, you get dressed. It makes you feel better. When you are not working, you feel uneasy as you go the bed at night. But when you are working, it is a good feeling even to think about what to wear tomorrow.” (Interview 9)

“At home, you end up being a woman with sloppy clothes, pyjamas. But now when you go to work, you get prepared, get dressed.” (Interview 26)

“When you go to sleep a night, you feel that you have a goal. It is such a good feeling.” (Interview 8)

In relation to this, it can be detected that usually women tend to adopt a binary comparison between work in the house and work outside. Frequently specified as a critical point in the feminist literature, the work assumed by women at home, which is labelled as reproduction, does not formally hold value equivalent to the activities in the labour market. It is criticized that the formal readings into the market does

not take into account the household labour by the women and its significance for the productive activities. It can be seen that in parallel with this characterization of housework with lower value, women seem to attach further value to the work to be assumed outside in the labour market. This perception can be detected in certain characterizations of women regarding their roles in the house and their desire to work outside. For instance, an interviewee associates her work in the house with “consumption” whereas her attempt on the labour market as a desire to switch to “production”.

“I have not worked before. I raised my children. When they became old enough, I wanted to produce for myself. I want to work if I can find a decent job. I thought I should go from consumption to production.” (Interview 13)

Taking into consideration the quotation above, it can be suggested that the undervaluation of the housework in the labour market sense can result in the internalization of this conviction by women themselves also. The conventional roles attached to women seem to be characterized as a part of the “consumption” circle, not as a part of the production. Thus, the value attached by women to the housework may be quite lower in comparison to taking part in the labour market.

“When I do not work, I see myself as nothing. When you only do housework, what kind of a contribution can you make to the humankind? If you depart this life, no one will feel your absence.” (Interview 1)

In addition, a similar tendency of a binary comparison has been detected in a different sense in relation to freeing oneself of the need to depend on someone else. As mentioned earlier, the dependency has been mainly considered by women in terms of their relationships to the male members of the family. However, a woman attaches a more general sense of value to working in the face of depending on someone else.

“Sometimes I see a beggar woman or she comes to my door. I see that she is better dressed than I am. She likes it that way; she likes to beg, to collect. I did not do anything like that in my whole life. I did not beg from anyone. I like working.” (Interview 23)

Regarding how women it can be suggested that the interviewees attached a high level of value to it also as a way to socialize and in general take part in the public sphere. It has already been argued before that although a definite direct link can not be taken for granted, it is usually assumed that the opportunities taken for economic empowerment fosters a woman’s role in the society as well. At any rate, it is regarded as an excuse for women to step outside the confines of the house.

“When you work, you have a chance to socialize. You meet different people and gain experience. At least you get out of the house and feel that you are breathing. I was really bored at home.” (Interview 22)

As a consequence, it can be suggested that actively participating in the labour market and in particular having a job is deeply appreciated by women within the framework of its potential for economic empowerment in terms of easing the patriarchal pressure resulting from the dependency relationship formed between the men and women. Despite this assumed connection between work and economic empowerment, the patterns as to how women prefer to spend their earnings hold paramount importance in terms of assessing the empowering potential here. In relation, before conducting the research, in parallel with the feminist literature, it has been formulated that women’s control over their income is a crucial factor in determining how empowering their activities in the labour market are and accordingly the interviews included questions to obtain a related insight. In that sense, the main tendency is to maintain their control and assume an equivalent position with the husbands in a common decision-making system with regards to

budgetary decisions. However, there are several exceptions where the women express that they hand their earnings over to the male head of the household, which is regarded as “normal” or “natural”. To that regard, one of the young interviewees state that she has handed her payment card to her father since her family suffers from financial difficulties and she wants to repay her father’s efforts for her (Interview 18). Similarly, some women have pointed out that they have specifically chosen to give their income to their husbands since they are more “prudent”. However, all these women have clarified that they have a say in the allocation of the household budget and have access to a certain amount of their income in accordance with their wishes.

A conspicuous exception to the main tendency in that sense is an interviewee who hands her income in her unemployed husband. She clearly states that she gives her earnings to her husband since it is not “easy” for a man to stay at home and take care of the children (Interview 24). This case provides a clear manifestation of how the male breadwinner model works. In the dominant patriarchal system, the women are characterized as the main caretaker while the men are assigned with a duty to earn a living. Thus, even a male member assumes the domestic role of the women, they try to compensate it through handing over the chief control over the budget to the men. Similarly, an interviewee points to a change in her preferences in that she used to do as portrayed above but does not do so any more (Interview 11). All in all, it can be suggested that women attach a high level of significance to having control over the money they have earned. Some express their wish that a part of the income would be spared for them exclusively and that even feeling the presence of that money in one’s purse would be meaningful. In relation, several women specifically point to their control over their income and that handing it over to their husbands would be equal to have not worked at all.

“I do not give my earnings to my husband. I spare some for myself and make contributions to the family budget with the rest. Why should I work for a month

but give the money to my husband like I have not worked? No way. My husband can not even question the money I earn.” (Interview 19)

“I do not give my income to my husband. I have a say over where to spend it. I prefer to spend it mostly for my children. I want them to be able to do what we were not. Why should I give it to my husband after I have worked for a month?” (Interview 20)

The quotation above also hints at how women tend to spend their earnings. The majority of the interviewees who are married and particularly have children is inclined to allocate a large portion of their earnings to their children.

“My daughter had needs. I let go of myself and focus on her. I do not want her to feel like a loser in any way.” (Interview 26)

Consequently, it can be suggested that the general picture seems to show that the income earned by women can serve the reproduction of the conventional roles of women within the family while the individual empowerment ideal may be undermined. Thus, it is obscure as to whether the income earned by women through work function as an effective instrument for their true economic or social empowerment. Nevertheless, the interviews reveal the positive impact experienced or expected by women regarding their active engagement with the labour market and it is evident that women enjoy the presence of a choice. The majority of the interviewees associate the image of a working woman with higher self-confidence and self-esteem in addition to a stronger place in the society. Owing to these positive attributions, several women express their personal wish to set an example particularly for their daughters. Most of the trainees who have children point to their strong desire to lead them to pursue higher education and try to have good jobs to refuse any form of dependence on their husbands. All in all, then, although the spending patterns of women can raise doubts as to their empowerment as an individual, the outcome is still to be appreciated.

5.4. Self-reports on the impact of the labour market training

One of the main components of the interviews is to enquire into the impact of the course on the women. The responses to the question have revealed that the experience of participating in a labour market training program has influenced their lives in a number of ways. An obvious impact expected of such courses is an improvement in the human capital endowments. However, it has been observed that they also function as effective means of boosting women's lives to a greater extent especially if they are restrained within the dictates of the patriarchal social order. Now the study will recapitulate the main impacts that the women have pointed during the interviews.

5.4.1. Skills development

One of the evident impacts for women is the improvement of the skills and field-related capacities of women through the course. It has been pointed out before theoretically that the main argument for the enhancement of training within the framework of measures to increase labour force participation and employment for women is the need to invest more in the human capital. It is found that the women lag behind the market conditions and do not possess the level of skills and qualifications demanded by the employers. Therefore, the basic expectation from such a measure is an increase in their skills so as to become "employable" in the market. The majority of the women underline how much they have learned through the course. In general, the interviewees appreciate that they have acquired new skills or enhanced the previously existing ones and that they have had a chance to practice and see how they do themselves. Thus, for women who develop their first contact to the field and the occupation through the course, it is certain that the education constitutes a valuable opportunity of skills development.

“The information I learned here is very important. It is a profitable skill. There were many wrong things that I knew as right. With the practice, I got used to the job. Previously, I have worked as a salesperson in a shop. And of course there was not any course for that. When one enters a job like that, you feel anxious. Now we have learned many things. My self-confidence increased, I think I can find a job.” (Interview 9)

“There was not anything missing in the education. They even taught more. For example we learned many things about hygiene and medicine. Sometimes I can warn the nurse that she is doing something wrong.” (Interview 20)

“I am very content with the education. I did not have any experience in this field. I had not looked after any relatives etc...We learned everything in the course. For example, I make use of what I learned about medicine in my own personal life also.” (Interview 24)

Moreover, in particular if women attend courses in parallel to their conventional responsibilities in the house, they may enjoy a certain level of competence already. Therefore, the expectations or the level of learning from a course seem to change in accordance with what the trainee knows prior to the program. For instance, the interviewee mentioned below tends to prioritize her search for a job and the program’s inclusion of a variety of pastry to teach since “they make such things more or less at home”.

“With the course, I got more practical. We learned to make different kinds. My hand skills improved a lot.” (Interview 12)

Even though the women may feel close to the field due to its similarity to the conventional roles mainly assumed by women, the courses may function as a way to equip them with a professional outlook. Thus, it may serve as a way to translate their skills, most of which may be previously possessed, into marketable

qualifications. For instance, they may become more acquainted with the professional wordings prevalent in the sector.

“The course has been a positive experience for me. I had a chance to learn what I did not know both in theory and in practice. I learned new terminology, new types of food.” (Interview 2)

It has been seen that for several women the skills development may be the essential aim in participating in the course over the jobs search or the certificate. They may have related expectations regarding the skills encompassed in the program.

“My biggest motivation was not to find a job. I may not have worked after the course. I thought you can not know what tomorrow will bring and you may have to take care of your parents. I did not want to do it ignorantly.” (Interview 20)

It can be observed that the programs attract diverse women with different backgrounds. This is one of the bases of the difference among the trainees; in other words, for some the course may constitute the point of initial contact with the field whereas for some it may primarily be a secure channel to reach a job or a reliable accreditation of the already possessed skills. In that sense, the course may be a way of learning for the former and a way of a more secure labour market status for the latter. In the interviews especially with the trainees of the childcare training program, the latter case has become evident. Since it was organized for women who have already had a related high school degree, most have already had a good command of the field and took part in the program so as to have a decent job. Even in that case the course is believed to bolster their human capital endowments. Besides, especially for the women who have been out of the formal educational system for a long time, the process seems to have a special significance to remind them of what they have learned and introduce them to novelties if there is any. Thus, within that context, the programs can function as a way to smoothen the

labour market transition for the women who have already been involved in the field previously.

“The education was very good, very fun. The teacher was really good. Even if it was not job-guaranteed, I would come and take a chance. I remembered things that I have forgotten, I learned different things and made friends.” (Interview 21)

“I would go to this course even if there was not any job-guarantee. I would have gone to learn more; I am open to learning. I had not done anything in this field after high school.” (Interview 22)

“I don’t think that there was any deficiency in the education in the course. The teacher was very good. They gave the education of three years only in three months. I can say that I have not learned anything in high school. Even I could not have found a job, I would have participated in the course anyway. The scores for this field in the universities are very high and the private educational centres are very expensive. So I participated in the course to improve myself.” (Interview 18)

As the quotation above manifests, for some women such programs can constitute the only way to improve oneself in a subject with a view to self-actualization. Due to certain hurdles like financial distress, the road to skill enhancement within the formal educational system may be closed for them. On the contrary, for certain women who have already been working in the field or have acquired a satisfactory level of education, what is taught in the course may not be a prioritized goal or contribution. However, the training can still improve their faculties in fulfilling the job more aptly. Consequently, the same opportunity may be valuable also for the ones who have already had experiences related to the field.

“In the course I learned what I had already known, it was not very different for me. They taught how to treat the elderly, how to bathe them.” (Interview 23)

“Actually I already know more than what is taught in the course. My main aim is to get the certificate.” (Interview 8)

“The education was very good. It is beneficial for me even when I am helping with my children’s homework. Although I had worked as a caretaker for the elderly before, I saw that I had deficiencies.” (Interview 25)

5.4.2. Interpersonal skills development

One of the essential goals of the interviews has been to assess how the training programs contribute to the women’s personal lives, their personalities, their communication skills and their overall adaptability to the working life. It has been frequently underlined by women that the courses have provided them with a significant opportunity to socialize and meet new people. It can be argued that especially for those women who tend to live in a relatively closed circle and not to have an active role in the public sphere, the courses seem to emerge as a unique way to engage in social encounters. Apart from a few exceptions who seem to attend the course with their friends or to prefer to regard it as a mainly professional opportunity, the women are quite content with the opportunity for socialization it provided and actually characterize it as one of the essential contributions of the program. In fact, some suggest that it is the first time that they have experienced such friendships, which helps them lift their spirits. Even the women who have had doubts as to what kind of an environment they would find were quite thrilled about the friendships developed, which seems to have had a valuable impact on their personalities.

“When I first came, I did not have the purpose of making friends. But luckily I had a great class. I made many friends. I was surprised actually.” (Interview 2)

“At first I thought the atmosphere was kind of menial but then I got used to it a lot. I think it is great. Now I worry about what I will do when it is over.” (Interview 1)

Except for the comparatively solid connection formed with the labour market, the interviewees cultivate a high level of appreciation of the training programs as an “excuse” for them to get out of the house and mingle with other people. It can be considered as a part of how the training programs get women closer to the public sphere and help them get out of the relatively close circle that they are otherwise mostly bound to. In the interviews, it has frequently been highlighted that the course has enabled them to meet different people and improve their skills about how to assess and communicate with them.

“We developed many friendships and the course atmosphere was great. We still see each other. A positive impact of the course was that I did not stay at home doing nothing. I had fun and spent time with the teachers and my friends there.” (Interview 18)

“Thanks to the course, I met people from different places. Now I can figure out someone’s personality more easily.” (Interview 20)

“Thanks to this course, my personality improved. I met different people. I had different experiences.” (Interview 19)

“I do not have much of a social circle in Ankara. The ones close to me are working. I do not have many friends here. I get lonely. I left all my friends in Izmir. When my son came here for education, we came here also since my husband got retired. So this course was an excuse for socialization for me.” (Interview 17)

Furthermore, it has been commonly suggested that the skills taught in the course in order to increase their employability in the market prove to be useful in their personal relations. In that sense, many interviewees point to the improvements

triggered in their own personalities that influence how they interact with others. For instance, there are several women who highlight the role of the course in losing their shyness to a certain extent.

“One of the contributions of the course for me is that it made me more tolerant. Normally I am quite quick-tempered and easily get irritated. For example, sometimes I can not bear what my mother-in-law says. Beforehand I used to get angry more quickly; now I act more tolerantly and calm.” (Interview 20)

“I benefit from the course in my personal life also. I have a visually impaired aunt. Now my mother looks after her. When she has a problem, she calls and asks me. Beforehand I could only make small talk with her. Now I can understand how she feels or what she perceives...A sick or an old person is like a child actually. So we learned more or less about childcare also. I make use of what we have learned about communications to my husband and children. Sometimes I notice that I am doing something wrong and stop myself.” (Interview 25)

“The course had a positive contribution in any way. It increased my self-confidence and my courage. Beforehand I used to stay at home doing nothing. I felt I was not serving for any purpose.” (Interview 24)

“I made many friends in the course. I overcame my shyness. The atmosphere was great and we had a lot of fun. I am so happy that I have participated in it. I was quite bored at home. Now I tell all the housewives to do so also.” (Interview 22)

The interviewees regard this experience valuable also as a way to alleviate their personal problems and recover their morale. As highlighted earlier, they are mostly of relatively lower socioeconomic background and lead lives embedded in the patriarchal configurations. Thus, most prioritize their relationships with the family members and their related responsibilities, which can prove to be too overwhelming to maintain. Since they end up going through the same routine

surrounded by the same people, they may lack the psychological support they need. In that sense, the training programs may function as a “therapy session”, as put into words by an interviewee.

“We met different people. We shared our problems, worries. When you listen to others’ problems, your own ones seem little. If you had seen us, you would have thought that we were probably childhood friends. When my husband got sick, my biggest support was my friends from the course.” (Interview 25)

“I am psychologically relieved as I come to this course. Actually we learned a lot but I think we have not noticed it that much yet. All the trainees’ eyes here shine with joy. We can overcome menopause easily. We do not care about the children in puberty or the men in andropause.” (Interview 12)

“One of the benefits of the course is to share your problems and socialize with women in the same boat. It is like going to a psychologist. The friendships I made here is one of the biggest contributions of the course...An acquaintance of mine told me that my eyes looked dull before and that now they shine. There is a clear positive impact even for an objective person.” (Interview 1)

Similarly, one of the positive attributes of the courses for the women is signified as a chance to relive their years at school, which is deemed as an exciting experience. The school years seem to be characterized with a high level of joy and happiness coupled with the sense of freedom enjoyed individually. This enthusiasm is commonly put forward as a critical point in their appreciation of the training program as a whole.

“I noticed that I missed that school atmosphere. We were like naughty children. I can say that we threw pencils at each other while we were waiting for the teacher...I will go again if it reopens. The atmosphere and friendships were great.

Of course there were also some fights but I even miss them. We, such old women, were like children there. It was like childhood for us.” (Interview 25)

“The friendship in the course was very good. We still see each other. The whole experience was very exciting for me. It was like going to school after all this time since the primary school.” (Interview 23)

“We support each other. For example, when someone comes here feeling sad, we share her problem. I do not want the weekend to come, I miss here a lot. I am like a student in the primary school.” (Interview 4)

As mentioned earlier, the women have pointed to the contributions of the training programs in terms of their adaptability to the working life. In particular, for the women who have had limited experience in the labour market or have been out for a lengthy period of time, the transition can be challenging in terms of accepting a different routine. Since the number of women that these women interact with may also be limited, they may be beset with a high level of hesitation as to what they may face once they enter a job or their interpersonal communication skills may be poor as to engender that hesitation. In that sense, for some, the atmosphere of the course is highly appreciated as an archetype of what they may encounter later.

“This course was a positive experience in terms of the human relations and what we can encounter in life. Here we saw what we can see in the working life.” (Interview 9)

“Also I have a more organized life now. I make plans thinking about the time. When you are at home all day, you do not do so. When you work, you become more organized and disciplined. In that sense, the course is like going to work.” (Interview 17)

Probably a final point to make here is that the training programs raise women's awareness as to how a decent workplace should be. It has been frequently raised by the trainees in the cooking and pastry courses that they have gained an insight regarding the conditions to be expected of a desirable atmosphere in compliance with the regulations. Similarly, an interviewee, who has successfully completed the course and been placed in a job afterwards, has pointed to her experience of having to leave the first place that she started to work due to its nonconformity with the formal requirements.

Taking into consideration the ideas above drawn from the interviews, it is safe to suggest that the training programs generate a means for social and psychological empowerment. The interviewees fervently argue for the positive impact of the courses on their overall spirit by uplifting their morale and increasing their self-esteem and self-confidence. Moreover, the majority attaches importance to the programs as a singular opportunity for socialization and development of interpersonal skills through an increased number of encounters with different people in a different atmosphere. All in all, such programs seem to elevate the women's perception regarding themselves and their capabilities and help them acquire a more active and favourable spot in the society.

5.4.3. Greater hope for economic empowerment

It has been pointed out previously that one of the factors mainly stimulating women to take part in the training programs is its function to facilitate their entry into labour market. As mentioned earlier, the employment guarantee characteristic of the courses proved to be a significant factor in women's deciding to participate. In that sense, it can be suggested that most women consider this as a way to find a job with the desired qualities. It is believed that through the skills development and the granted certificate, they are presented with an effective way to grasp job opportunities. For instance, an interviewee states that she is glad that she has

participated since now she can find a job whenever she likes. It is also possible to witness the social and psychological impacts associated with having such a link to the labour market. Therefore, quite basically it can be argued that there is a positive correlation between the human capital endowments and the level of confidence in oneself.

“My self-confidence increased with this course. I have never worked before but coming to this course felt like going to work...I believe that everyone from this course can work easily. We acquired that capacity.” (Interview 13)

“Now I feel very confident that I will find a job. The other day some tension broke within the family. I told them that I loved myself and that I will open up my own place. Beforehand I have worked for years but never in my life I had such confidence.” (Interview 11)

“I feel ready to work already. We have learned a great deal in two months and when the course is over, I mean three months later, we can be even better and I think I will feel ready. Although I am a confident person already, my self-confidence increased more with the course. Previously, I have worked as a waitress temporarily. I did not see it as a life-time job. Now I have started to think seriously and I think I am talented in cooking. I believe I can make money this way.” (Interview 2)

In contemplation of the excerpt above, it is obvious that the training programs constitute an effective means of integration with the labour market in the related field or sector. For the women who think that they can work and be successful so, these can provide a reliable link to the market. As contended previously, it is commonly assumed that there is a link between employment and economic empowerment. In other words, so as to enjoy a certain level of economic power, the women should be active in the labour market and have a job. In line with the high level of connection formed between “work” and “independence” by women, it

can be suggested that the training programs are utilized as an instrument to achieve this. However, it should presumably be highlighted that the qualities of the job assumed have a clear impact on the level of empowerment to be enjoyed. In that sense, it can also be put forward that the programs offer a more favourable spot in the market to some women. Consequently, the trainees who have experience in the same field and actually know the job may look for a better job opportunity with more decent conditions through participating in the courses. For instance, an interviewee differentiates between the conditions of the informal house-based work and the formal sector of the same job and highlights the possible adversities to be encountered in the former.

“Some of our friends in the course have had experiences of taking care of the old at home. They said that they were accused of stealing. We are talking about old people here who have either Alzheimer’s or dementia. They do not even know what they say.” (Interview 24)

Similarly, as detected from the interviews, some women may be currently employed in the field but due to discontent they may see the course as a means for reaching the better. Especially for the trainees of the manicure course, who were already employed in certain hairdressers, this was the main motivation behind their participation.

“I am working in a hairdresser now. I think I can find a better chance for higher income. I do not earn much now but I hope that I can find a better job with social security benefits.” (Interview 6)

To that regard, it can be deducted from the interviews that they consider such courses as a way to integrate with the formal labour market. In parallel with what is frequently laid out in the literature as well, it has been observed that the women who have rather lower educational background and lack the necessary

qualifications of employability end up in the informal sector. As a result, they are crippled by quite adverse and harsh conditions of work coupled with irregularly paid and low levels of wages and a lack of social security benefits. Thus, it is of common nature that in particular for women with such socio-economic backgrounds the courses provide a means to reach the formal market enabling much more decent conditions and thus further economic empowerment.

“I have worked in different jobs before. I worked in the offices serving tea, I worked as a caretaker for the elderly. These are hard jobs. The employer can easily lay you off. I wanted to have a profession. I thought I would have a job and financial security. I participated in such a course fourteen years ago. Then I thought I was young and that there were many job opportunities. I regret it now. If I had started then, I would be working for fourteen years now...The course has been positive both for social relations and for the hope of finding a job.” (Interview 10)

Taking into consideration the quotations above, it can be argued that particularly the women of older age seem to appreciate more the opportunity provided by the training programs as a means to reach formal and decent jobs. Most of them harbour deep worries as to their marketable skills and their adaptability to the work life. Especially if they suffer from poor educational qualifications and a lengthy break from the market, it is probable that they will have harder time to integrate with the labour market than the younger and more educated women. If they decide to work, it is quite likely that they will find jobs mostly in the informal sector where their labour will be exploited. This is one of the main reasons why it is possible to detect a high commendation of the public sector vis-à-vis the private. It is apparent from the interviews that women have a considerable regard for the jobs in public sector due to the security and decent working conditions. For instance, this is also why several interviewees indicate their aspirations for their daughters to be employed in the public sector. Actually, this inclination can also be detected in

the motivations of the trainees in the courses by the Municipality since they associate similar benefits.

“It is hard to work in the private sector. They made me work like a slave. There was no job description and I was responsible for everything. Here I do what they have assigned me. It is much more comfortable in that sense. In the private place that I worked, they did not pay the premiums for my social security benefits at once, they told me that they would try and see how I do and also the wages were low.” (Interview 21)

Besides the age, there may be other elements limiting the labour market opportunities available for women. In addition to its impact on deciding to work, the patriarchal concerns can influence the terms that women are willing to work under. In that sense, they may have fewer options based on a variety of factors. For instance, two interviewees have pointed out to the fact that the characteristics of the job that they assume are quite crucial since their husbands are members of the military. In line with the strict expectations related to the social label of “a military wife”, they have expressed the need that they feel in terms of choosing a decent job (Interview 1 and 14). Moreover, the related probability of assignments to different cities seems to further contain women to a number of limited choices.

“Because of my husband’s job, we have had many assignments to different places. So working in the private sector is not a viable choice for me. The employers usually look for someone to hire for long periods of time. This is why I have always wanted to work in the public sector. But it has not been so yet... Sometimes my husband worked in small towns. Then there were times when I did not work. As a military wife I could not work anywhere. Because it would not be appropriate.” (Interview 1)

To that regard, the self-employment is highlighted as a desirable option, which is believed to be facilitated by the training programs. Similar discussions have been

made previously, which have proposed the significance of the courses as a way to self-actualization and economic empowerment. The possession of the certificate and a good command over the related skills constitute the essential goal for the women with such an ideal. Then, the courses can even hinder the women's further economic dependency to acquire a certain level of economic power. In other words, the lack of a certificate can make them rely on someone else and actually require them to make certain payments to use it.

It has been mostly highlighted that the course has brought about an increase in the self-confidence and self-esteem of the women. Most have pronounced a definite change in their conviction as to their ability to find a job. Besides the high level of appreciation for the involvement and support of the main agencies like the Public Employment Agency and the Municipality, it has been observed that the women have acquired a certain level of confidence in their own abilities that they will be able to find a decent job. As a consequence, they link this economic empowerment to a certain level of social empowerment as well, which in the end seems to break the conventional bonds of dependency between men and women.

“Even if we can not find a job in the end, we can create one. For example, recently I have earned 50 liras by baking soufflés for my neighbour. I think I will frame it since it is the first money I have made. I told the whole apartment. What we buy from outside is not healthy. I tell them that I can bake whatever they want. I can even bake for free.” (Interview 12)

“The certificate that I got from the course gives me confidence. Now I can get by on my own, with my children, even if I get separated from my husband.” (Interview 23)

It should probably be emphasized here that some of the interviewees have pointed out that participating in such a course did not actually increase their self-confidence or hope regarding their ability to find a job. However, their main concerns here are related to factors other than their human capital endowments. For instance, an

interviewee points to her worries about how she will be received or whether she will be welcomed in the workplace and remarks that these undermine her feeling completely ready to work (Interview 26). Another interviewee, on the other hand, underlines the macroeconomic questions crippling the labour market in general.

“I did not get more confident about finding a job after the course. Everybody has a problem in finding one today. Even the university graduates can not find a job. It is hard these days.” (Interview 18)

In relation to the points made until now, the labour market training programs equip women with marketable skills, which functions as a means for economic empowerment through increased opportunities either for employment or entrepreneurship. Besides, the activity of participating in such a program and the resulting improvement in human capital boosts women’s self-confidence and elevates their assessment of their capacities. Consequently, the training measures seem to increase their hopes regarding a more favourable bond to the labour market.

5.4.4. Greater integration into the urban life

Until now, the main contributions expected of women’s participation in the training programs have been underlined. Besides the increased opportunities for economic empowerment, it has been argued that they provide women with a unique chance to socialize and improve their interpersonal skills in a way to empower them psychologically and socially. The social impact, in that sense, can actually be extended beyond the expansion of the friendship circles as a part of the supportive environment of the courses and the development of their personalities. It has been detected from the interviews that the training programs constitute a significant way of integration with the public sphere for many women. In particular, the interviewees who migrated to Ankara after they got married pointed to the

problems that they had in terms of integration and orientation to a totally different city. In the literature, the domestic migration dynamics are usually portrayed as one driving men to the informal sector and women inside the borders of the house due to a lack of the qualities prevalently demanded in the market. Therefore, such societal waves can be regarded as aggravating the patriarchal constraints for women. As women's chastity serves as the most effective way of managing the independence enjoyed by women (Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004), it is rational to expect only an increase in the pressure to be exerted on them in a totally different environment. In that sense, taking part in such activities may provide a constant and safe link to the public sphere, contributing to their social integration.

“When I first came, I could not go out for several years. I could not have the courage. When I went to the course, I overcame this feeling...When I first came, I could not get on a bus. I was scared of getting lost. Now I easily go wherever I want.” (Interview 24)

An interviewee who have had similar experiences pointed to how “empowered” she feels when compared to other women who still harbour such fears.

“When I first moved to Ankara, I could not talk to anyone. I was too shy. I overcame this by taking my children to the school and by talking to their teachers. Later I even served as the head of Parent-Teacher Association of the school...Now I can easily go wherever I want. I know everywhere. I can go alone. For example, my sister-in-law can not. Until now she has gone everywhere with the help of my mother-in-law or her husband by car. If you leave her in the middle of Kızılay, she can not know how to return home.” (Interview 20)

Even for the women who have lived in Ankara all their lives, the programs may present an opportunity to break free of their confinement in the private sphere which seems to constitute a large portion of their lives if they do not work. For instance, an interviewee who has lived in the city for a long period of time points to

a similar impact on her independence and self-confidence related to her contact with the public sphere.

“When I was at home, I even could not go to Kızılay. I could not go on my own. Now I have learned many places. Beforehand I used to think if I would get lost if I went to Kızılay.” (Interview 19)

To that regard, it can be suggested that the programs function as promoters of self-confidence in different ways, as well. They prove to be quite effective mechanisms of integrating women to the public sphere, especially for the ones who have been beset with a sense of estrangement to the urban life due to moving to a new city and/or being further contained in the private sphere. It has been seen that the courses stimulate the women’s orientation to the routines of the urban life. In particular, the married women who have been out of the labour market may lead their lives in the light of their roles as mother and wife, which does not necessarily require them to be engaged in an active interaction with the public sphere. Thus, especially when they are crippled with the worries and ostracism resulting from migration, it is quite possible that they will retreat more to the private sphere. In parallel with the theoretical discussions, one of the common consequences of domestic migration may be the further withdrawal of women inside the boundaries of the house, therefore gradually breaking their bonds to the public sphere. An interviewee who has not worked until then due to the assumption of the responsibility of full-time childcare highlights how she started to pay attention to the numbers of the buses showing their routes and she acquired the habit of reading them all (Interview 13). Consequently, the programs can function as means of regular interaction with the public sphere and alleviate the transition process for both themselves and their families.

5.5. General evaluations concerning the impact of the labour market training based on the interviews

A general review of the interviews basically shows that the courses attract various women with different goals to reach. Some seem to attach merely pragmatic or practical motivations, mainly in relation to their pursuit in finding a job largely due to the economic difficulties that they face and the course seems to be a legit choice by means of its job guarantee. Others seem to attach a different kind of value in terms of self-fulfilment by seeing it as a means to achieve their “dream job” or to specialize in that field. In that sense, several women specify how long they have waited for such a course to be launched or how much they have always wanted to attend. Thus, for them, the urge for self-actualization stands out rather than the urgent need for earnings. Especially, in the pastry or cooking program, some interviewees underline that they have cherished such a dream from the beginning.

Besides the underlying motive, the profiles of the interviewees reveal that there is a great variety concerning the labour market experiences of the women attracted. In that sense, some of the trainees have already been in favour of working and a highly active position in the labour market considering the benefits of working regardless of their need. These women have already been in search of a job and thus this course has been identified as an opportunity to that regard. Some women, on the other hand, have had limited experience and had to or chose to give a lengthy break. In that sense, one of the factors that have compelled attention is the perception of women, although constituting a small percentage of the total interviewees in the study, who have never worked before but somehow decided to take part in the program and the fact that all of them plan to or have actually started to work after attending the course. The remarks of these interviewees hint at the reasons why the labour force participation rate is quite low in Turkey in comparison to the members in the European Union, which is commonly pronounced as a central issue requiring the urgent attention in the progress reports. In parallel with the theoretical arguments, the fundamental reason for their

estrangement to the labour market seems to be the patriarchal social order impelling them to assume certain roles within the household. Most state that they have not taken part in the labour market since they have focused on raising their children or that their husband has encouraged them to stay at home claiming his income would be enough. Therefore, in some cases the women have pointed to a clear pressure from their families constraining them within the borders of the house. In the others, though, they have themselves chosen to do so even if their husbands have encouraged them to work, therefore aggrandizing the male breadwinner model. This picture shows that the containment of the women within the borders of the households may not specifically result from the pressure from the patriarch but from the internalized conviction on what they *should* do. Furthermore, it has been observed that one of the results of the intermittent relationship with the labour market is the trust need to be felt for the authorities involved. This is why it is highlighted that the provision of such services through various channels (central and local) can increase the level of participation by addressing different women.

The literature on the active labour market policies, in particular the training measures, as well as the main emphasis on the policy-making level, mostly signify them as one of the key measures to combat unemployment. Taking into consideration the fact that participation in a course, especially if it is offered by the Public Employment Agency, necessitates an initial step of registration with the institution as an unemployed person looking for a job, the process seems to require the individual to be active to a certain extent. Considering the constraints surrounding women and the hesitation they harbour with regards to their connection to the labour market as a key component of the engagement with the public sphere, it is possible to deduce that there may be women for whom it may not be a viable or an attractive option. Therefore, participation in such a training program can function as a means of smooth transition to a more active role in the labour market. Through an analysis of the interviews, it is possible to conclude that women attending such courses pursue various goals. As framed earlier, some of the interviewees have had clear intentions for acquiring a secure place in the labour

market through utilizing the skills that they have learned or the certificate granted afterwards for a more favourable one. However, it has been observed that not all women have a prime labour-market-related motive. Since most of the programs studied within the framework of the research correspond with the areas traditionally labelled as female job, several women mention that their key intention to take part in the program has been to improve how they fulfil such responsibilities. For instance, a number of interviewee have declared that through the attending the course they aim to master their skills in cooking or taking care of the elderly.

To that regard, as elucidated earlier, many women suffer from a high level of hesitation and resulting concerns about assuming an active part in the labour market. In that sense, the fact that the training programs may not necessarily bring about employment can itself be an encouraging factor for the women and their families. As distinct from other types of active labour market policies like consultation and job placement, training seems to be the one that can be characterized with a rather indirect link to the market. Actually, it is theoretically identified as one of the key concerns regarding the effectiveness of training as a labour market policy. Many scholars have raised their concerns as to its potential to merely elevating the educational levels of the unemployed without an impact on their labour market status and thus underlined the significance of a market connection. However, the singular condition of women within the social configurations can turn this into a facilitating factor. As mentioned, this lack of a direct connection to the labour market can serve the benefit of the women who have not ever participated in the labour market or who have been out for a long period of time.

Furthermore, this also facilitates the approval of the families for the women's taking up such a course. As an interviewee points out, participating in the training can be used as a kind of "excuse" for pursuing a more active spot in the labour market in the later stages (Interview 20). In that sense, for the families, a differentiation can be made between the approval for taking part in the course and

the approval for taking part in the labour market. To that regard, another point to be considered is the previously mentioned prevalence of the hobby courses among women. Recently, it has become quite common for women of all backgrounds to participate in the courses offered by several institutions including the municipalities. Consequently, it may be much easier for the families to approve a woman's participation in a training program and the presence of a positive and successful experience can persuade both them and their families for further engagement in the labour market.

Taking into consideration the points made above, it can be argued that such programs can constitute a more effective measure for women than assumed. Besides the presumed impact of upskilling and job placement, they seem to promote the otherwise discouraged or hesitant women. In that sense, the potential for economic empowerment holds major importance. Nonetheless, the interviews with the trainees also reveal the profound influence on their personalities and ability to interact with the public sphere. Therefore, the training programs also constitute an effective instrument for them to take an active part in the social life by stepping out the house. It has been expressed by many interviewees that the resulting change in their daily routines and having a reason to get out of the house is to be appreciated on its own. Then the programs may present a reasonable cause to challenge the private patriarchy and probably as a result crack the public patriarchy. Basically, then, the positive image of the working woman in the eyes of the interviewees and the attributes that they tend to associate with it shows in parallel to the literature that a certain link can be assumed to exist between economic empowerment and social and psychological empowerment. As one of the main conclusions of the study is the positive image drawn for the "working women" through emphasizing the independence and power enjoyed, it can be argued that the training programs function as instruments for the acquisition of the latter while they promote the former.

Similarly, the training programs seem to elevate the level of self-confidence of the women. First of all, the fact that they take part in the public sphere and have a

chance to socialize and meet new people seems to improve their communications skills and boost up their self-confidence in their interactions. Moreover, the most obvious impact of the training as the increase in human capital endowments clearly builds up the self-esteem of the trainees. The majority of the interviewees point out how their level of knowledge regarding the field has developed during the course and consequently they increasingly become to trust themselves. It has been frequently mentioned that as a result of the course and what they have learned they started to feel more confident that they will find a job. The interviews have also manifested that the women have also built up confidence with regards to their ability to find a “decent” job with favourable conditions. Most of the women have mentioned how adverse conditions they have faced so far even if they worked previously. Taking into consideration the impacts mentioned so far, the majority of the women have been eager to express their gratitude and gladness that they have participated in the program. In that sense, the fact that the study enabled interviews with the current trainees as well as the ones who have already completed and actually got placed in a job has served to obtain a more detailed picture regarding what they have expected and what they have encountered.

Another related factor to that point is the potential for a domino effect. It can be expected that the increasing number of women showing an interest in such programs can lead to the normalization of the activity in the society. Some of the interviewees to that regard underline how they encourage the women in their close circles, particularly the housewives, to take up such courses. In terms of such efforts, women tend to emphasize the impact of the courses with regards to what has been conceptualized as psychological and social empowerment. For instance, a woman suggests that she encourages her friends to participate in such courses to free their minds and relax if nothing else (Interview 13). Also, regarding the increasing level of activeness by the women in the labour market, a certain level of change can be expected at the societal level as to how the working women are perceived by the wider public. Actually, the interviews manifest that there is a contradictory view regarding the image of working woman. It has been underlined

by some that the working women are respected more in the society since they have a stronger spot in the public sphere and earn their own income. However, some tend to warn that the working women can still be scorned in the public, which can actually contribute to their locking themselves in the house. Usually, the negative portrayal of the working woman is substantiated through the conventional ideal of the chastity of women who should be protected within the borders of the house with minimum social contact to men outside the family. In that sense, also the interviews hint at the significance of the conditions that women work. Differently from the men, there seems to be a patriarchal pressure as to how women “should” work or else they are scorned. For instance, many women express their worries regarding the resulting perception of the public if they settle for flexible working hours. In that sense, the conviction about how a woman can or should work seems to be a part of a larger web of patriarchal links requiring women to obey the rules laid by the society as to how to act, to dress and also to work.

Furthermore, a close reading of the interviews shows that the older women seem to appreciate the opportunity offered through the course more and to attach a higher level of significance to its potential yields. In deliberation on the estrangement of many women to the labour market due to the already mentioned constraints, the older women suffer from the problems arising from a further distance to it. As a result, they may be beset with deeply rooted concerns which may cripple them to the point of lack of doing anything to change it. Most explain their decision to take part in the course through their children’s growing up. Since they are commonly gripped by a sense of fear related to what they may face or if they can manage to fulfil a job, they may need further persuasion regarding the impact of the training. Similarly, their expectations for the afterwards and the conditions that they demand with regards to how they are willing to work are higher in comparison to the younger trainees. In that sense, they seem to lay considerable emphasis on the issues like the regular payment of the social security premiums. To that regard, the younger trainees have been associated with an ability to act “bolder”; therefore, most of them do not insist on such conditions. Related to this, an interviewee

argues that she actually took part in such a course years ago but did not seize the opportunity since she thought that she was young still and that she would have many more to come. In the interviews, the older women frequently point to their hesitancy as to whether they will be welcomed in the market or accepted by potential employers. Coupled with this, they harbour a high level of concern for working in a decent job with a regular wage and benefits since they do not have longer years to work healthily.

All in all, based on a reading into the expectations and experiences of the interviewees, it can be discussed that such training programs can have significant influence on women. To begin with, through the skills enhancement and the job guarantee, particularly the women with lower educational levels can be presented with opportunities to economic empowerment. In addition to the human capital endowments, the acquisition of a certificate proves to be a significant factor in their labour market prospects. It can even function as an instrument for job security for the ones who are already employed in the field. Similarly, the prospects for higher income emerge as one of the hopes cherished by the interviewees. Taking into consideration that the majority has had adverse experiences in the past regarding how they were exploited in terms of the provision of wages or social security benefits, participation in a training program with a formal and institutionally-promoted link to the market is appreciated as an important way. In relation, for many women, these programs seem to function as a means to find a favourable spot in the formal market and to free themselves of the adverse conditions of the informal sector. In that sense, especially for the older trainees, the concern for a regularly paid wage and social security premiums seem to stand out as they assume they will not be able to work much until they become physically unable to a large extent.

The literature review regarding the impact of training measures on the individuals' labour market prospects has actually revealed mixed outcomes and led to further questioning of its cost-effectiveness for the policy-makers. However, the women as a specific group in Turkey can prove to be a case in which such

programs yield positive results. Although longer-term impacts remain to be seen, the interviews show that the programs have cultivated women's employability in the market and augmented their self-confidence. Important to elucidate here, all of the studied courses has had connection the market through the provided job guarantee; however, many interviewees state that they have gained enough skills to support their self-confidence in that they will be able to find jobs themselves, as well. In particular for women who have suffered from a serious deficiency in educational attainments and who have remained outside the market for a lengthy period of time, the use of such programs can be observable.

Furthermore, regarding the overall effectiveness, an important issue has been to inquire into the perceptions of the trainees about the nature of the program. In relation to the core aim of the training measure, the ultimate goal here has been to question the extent to which women can benefit from the opportunity in order to expand their human capital endowments. All the courses studied have components of both theory and practice; therefore, the questions have enquired into the perceived effectiveness of each. A vast majority of the women remark that they have benefited greatly from both. Mostly the interviewees indicate that they are content with the education provided and that accordingly they trust in themselves more. However, almost all have underlined the opportunities to practice the skills taught, which seems to come to the forefront more for certain courses. Especially regarding the programs that require making use of limited amount of material or resources, such as pastry and cooking, the trainees point to the inadequate capacity in the centre to accommodate them to offer them a chance to practice all the time. Therefore, they devised a system through which they form groups and take turns. Although the majority declares their content, the system is still criticized since all of them can not benefit from an opportunity to practice themselves what has been taught. In that sense, several women express some kind of disappointment resulting from this experience being different from what they have expected.

“I think the practice is more beneficial. But we can not practice enough. Beforehand I thought we would take orders from outside and prepare them. But it did not happen. In the classes, one can take a turn only once a week. It is not enough to get practical.” (Interview 1)

As a result, an interviewee mentions that after the course ends she will wish that they have done more practice. As a solution, another interviewee suggests that the Agency should take steps in order to elevate the effectiveness of the learning environment.

“For practicing, sometimes one can not take the turn. It would be better if we all had a chance to do it ourselves. This can be arranged by the ISKUR. It should keep the standards high. For example, it can be like a competition, everyone can cook. We can race against the time.” (Interview 14)

The courses by the municipality have offered some kind of internship for the trainees, which is highly appreciated by the women. In the childcare training program, the women have been offered a chance to visit a fairytale room nearby and to practice what they have learned with the children there. In the elderly care program, the trainees have been provided with a more organized form of internship through which they have had a chance to visit several centres and gain experience. The interviewees from the course attach a high level of significance to the yields of attending it, which in a way supports the arguments drawn within the framework of the literature review concerning the positive impact of the presence of a market connection. Some interviewees underline that their current working place is the one from their internship. Since both sides were content, they decided to turn it into a formal employment relationship. Furthermore, it is observed through the interviews that these opportunities help women overcome the hesitation about whether to work or not. Especially for the women who have not worked or had to give a

lengthy break, the internship seems to boost their self-confidence and reaffirm their desire to work.

“We had both theoretical and practical education. We were sent to internship. It was actually very helpful. When I went there, I thought that I could do this job and that those people need me.” (Interview 19)

“I am very content with the education provided. I did not have any experience in this field before. I did not take care of any relatives etc. When I first went for the internship, I thought I would not be able to do this job. But I got used to it. Now I feel like I have doing this for years. I am very pleased.” (Interview 24)

Concerning the perception about the education provided and the importance of practice, several interviewees also point to how much one learns while working.

“There were some parts missing in the education in the course. But we keep learning while working also. For example, when I first started to work, they asked me to change the sheets of a bedridden patient. I said I could not do it on my own. They said that I had to and I would not always have another person around to help me. Also the bathing technique taught in the course and the one used in the workplace are different. So I continued to learn also after I started to work. Actually in the course you learn the half of life and when you work you learn the other half.” (Interview 25)

Therefore, it can be suggested that the ability to practice constitute a key element underlying the level of content of the women regarding their perception of the course. The more they are presented with an opportunity to practice, the more they trust in the education's being of high quality and as a result in their ability to handle the job.

Another significant feature of the training programs that attracts the attention is the provision of a monthly allowance to the trainees. The interviews with the authorities in the Municipality have hinted at the possible use of the courses as a way to earn a short-term income through this allowance. The same issue has been underlined also by some of the interviewees. For instance, one clearly mentions that some women have come to the course in order to obtain the allowance but that she does not have such an agenda and that she wants to have a job which will provide her with a longer-term chance to earn a living. As a result, the potential of the allowance for the economic empowerment of the women has been questioned. As previously raised, the allowance seems to have instrumental value for the women in order to obtain the approval of the family. It is crucial that their participation in the course will not bear any more financial liability for the family, which is why the late delivery of the allowance led to some quitting altogether. However, the remarks of the trainees reveal that the allowance provided is far from economically empowering them. The conclusion is that the amount is barely enough to cover the travelling and daily expenses. Therefore, it can be defined more as a facilitating factor. If we define economic empowerment as a rise in the material standard of living for the women, then the inadequacy of the allowance to that regard becomes clearer.

A critical point to make here may be that the lack or the late delivery can actually result in the disempowerment of the women. It has been put forward earlier within the framework of the significance of family approval and the functionality of the allowance that many trainees have still resorted to the support of their families even in the presence of the allowance. Therefore, the amount or the timing of the delivery may be associated with a deepened sense of “neediness” for the women. The increasing dependence on the other family members, mostly the men who are the ones to earn a living, seems to intensify the patriarchal bargain. This, in the end, constitutes a further block in the way to social empowerment. Besides the family support, several women indicate that they have had to allocate their earnings to be able to come to the course. Therefore, the lack

of an allowance or the problems regarding its delivery can nullify the economic empowerment potential of the income-generating work assumed outside. In that sense, the picture can result in economic disempowerment, as well.

Taking into consideration the points made so far, it can be suggested that in line with the theoretical configurations portrayed in the beginning in the literature review, the women in Turkey as a societal group who has been suffering from a dismal record of labour market experience in general seem to be able to benefit from the provision of the training programs in various ways. Although certain doubts have been raised by some scholars so far, which have been briefly pointed out earlier, the recent years show that such measures constitute a key component of the policy packages adopted to improve the conditions. This study has focused on the factors that facilitate the women's participation in such programs, as well as their main expectations or perceptions regarding the overall impact in terms of their status in the labour market, as well as in the society in general.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this study, the main aim has been to inquire into the profiles, experiences and expectations of the Turkish women who participate in the labour market training programs. It has caught the attention that such measures constitute one of the fundamental policies adopted within the candidacy process as a remedy for the question of women's inferior status in the labour market. In the beginning, a brief comparative analysis of the EU in general and Turkey has been presented, revealing the severity of the issue, particularly in relation to the quite low rates of labour force participation and the main reasons. Subsequently, the study has focused on the development of active labour market policies as a part of the neoliberal transformation experienced in the world and in Europe and within the framework of supply-side management perspective. An overview of the related literature has suggested a variety of typologies; however, taking Bonoli's (2010) approach as the basis, the study has identified incentive reinforcement, employment assistance, occupation and human capital investment as components of the activation approach. Centring around the training programs, it has concentrated on the last one which is highly championed by international organizations as a remedy for the labour market questions. So as to shed a light on the related efforts of Turkey in the candidacy process, a similar inquiry has been made concerning the employment policies in the EU especially within the framework of the development of the European Employment Strategy. In the third chapter, the attention has been forwarded to a brief chronological analysis of the labour market policies of Turkey, suggesting a noticeable change since the 1980s. Within the framework of the neoliberal transformation, the impact of certain international agencies like the World Bank has been underlined in order to point to

the rising activation and it has been seen that similar lines have been maintained through the candidacy process also through legal and practical steps; thus, the active measures, of which the training programs constitute a key component, have marked the policies implemented for years now in order to elevate the women's status in the labour market.

In order to complement the arguments underlined so far and to serve the purpose of the thesis, a field study has been carried out, which rests on a series of interviews with women who were attending or had already completed a labour market training program at the time. To have an insight on the diverse channels through which the training is provided, both a centralized (ISKUR) and a decentralized (Cankaya Municipality) provider have been chosen, which is one of the points differentiating this study from the earlier researches like Güray's (2012). As underlined numerous times before, such programs designed to enhance the human capital are characterized as "slow burn" (Meager, 2009); therefore, the study could not pursue an impact analysis which would not be attainable considering the time limitations of a masters thesis. Instead, in line with the established goal, the questions have been formulated to inquire into the profiles, expectations and experiences of the trainees. To that regard, the following two chapters have been dedicated to the evaluation of the related findings.

The analysis into the profiles of the interviewees has shown that the labour market training programs attract women with different characteristics in terms of age, marital status or level of educational attainment. A general evaluation has revealed that the majority belongs to lower socio-economic background and actually is first or second generation migrants. Moreover, it has been found that almost all enjoy the presence of another source of income in the family which proves to be the male members to a large extent. In terms of their connection to the labour market, it has been identified that most of the interviewees have worked before; however, a comparatively smaller number of women have put forward that this would be their first attempt to take part in the labour market. With regards to their previous experiences of earning an income, it has attracted the attention that

there is a tendency towards informal jobs and house-based work. The general picture then has manifested that they have had an inconstant relationship with the labour market; in other words, they have been inclined to give breaks to their careers once they got married or had children. It appears that the fundamental reason driving women to work is the financial need felt since the other sources of income are not found enough to cover the expenses. Taking into consideration the points made so far, in line with the feminist arguments, it has been established that the women are placed within the family as the secondary source of income and their earnings are classified mainly as a contribution to the budget. Therefore, the general evaluation on the profiles has substantiated the existence of a female life cycle, suggesting career breaks to result from the patriarchal responsibilities.

In the fifth chapter, the study has concentrated on the exploration of the findings on the interviewees' experiences and expectations in the training program as well as the labour market in general. In that sense, the study has been complementary to the recent research by Güray (2012) although the sample has been more diversified both in terms of the participants in the labour market training programs and the channels of provision. Inquiring into which factors facilitate women's participation in such courses, it has been deduced that the approval of the families is quite crucial and that the lack of one constitutes a major hurdle in attending and continuing a program. To that regard, it has also been found that most women appreciate such support also for practical reasons like the help for domestic responsibilities or financial needs. In relation, the allowance offered by the institutions has been underlined and also been signified as one of the main sources for the family approval. Furthermore, many women have identified the provision of accreditation so as to reap the yields of the program later in the labour market. Similarly, it has been underlined by many interviewees that the presence of a direct connection to the market through a job guarantee is one of the main reasons for their participation. It has also been observed that particularly for the women who have not been a part of the labour market for some time, the trust that they harbour for the institutions and agents involved serves as an important means to overcome

the hesitancy, regardless of the underlying reason which seems to vary from the institutions' being a public agency to political partisanship. Furthermore, exploring the main elements influencing women's participation in the labour market, it has been seen that the support and the approval of the family, as well as the trust for the intermediary agents, play a crucial role here also. In addition, the concerns for the working conditions, hours, payments of the wages and the closeness of the workplace have been raised by many interviewees. To that regard, it has been found that sexual abuse and other forms of gender discrimination constitute a critical issue for most women also.

Moreover, the interviews have contained questions to assess the women's perception of the working life and the level of significance that they attach to it. In that sense, almost all have characterized it as a means for further economic freedom and more say in the household. In addition, it has been highly emphasized that working increases their self-confidence and frees them of the sense of dependence on others. It has been put forward by many that the working women are respected in the society more and it has attracted the attention that there is an underlying binary characterization by the women concerning their work outside and inside the house. While the former is associated with being productive, a much lower value is placed on the latter seen as a part of consumption. In relation, it has been seen that the concerns for what future may bring is one of the main reasons for women's high level of appreciation of working women and their desire to break off the dependence on others. Although an observation of the spending habits of women, suggesting a primary focus on the children and the close relatives, has led to questioning how truly empowering this is for the women themselves, the economic potential of working has been underlined numerously throughout the interviews.

With regards to the interviewees' perception of how the training programs have made an influence on their lives, a number of factors have been drawn. Surely, a common point here has been the skills development, in parallel to the main goal behind the implementation of such measures in the first place, and many women have underlined their appreciation for gaining a professional outlook and

increasing their employability as a result. Moreover, similar with the findings of Güray's (2012) study, many women participating in such programs emphasized that these programs contributed to the development of their personalities and social lives. It has been frequently suggested that they have become more confident about themselves and learned to get over their shyness and mastered their ability to interact with other individuals. Also, the courses have been commonly identified as a valuable opportunity for them, especially for the ones who lead a comparatively contained life limited to the private sphere, to step outside the confines of the household and to meet new people and socialize. Similarly, participation in such programs has been associated with further integration to the public sphere. Especially the women who migrated to the city after they got married seem to have had serious orientation issues and highly appreciated it as an opportunity for social integration. Furthermore, the interviews have revealed how the majority of the women extolled the friendly environment in the centres and how interacting in such an environment has helped them alleviate personal distresses.

Although the Public Employment Agency seems to be the primary provider for such services, it has been established that the local units, like the Municipality of Cankaya in this study, have shown an increasing interest. In order to underline the importance of the presence of alternative channels, the study has also included interviews with women trained in the Municipality's courses as well as with the related authorities in the Municipality. By setting up the Jobs and Employment Centre, the Municipality's labour market activities have increased through job placements and human capital investments. The trainees have identified the image of the Municipality and their relationship to it as one of the sources for their trust, which has been pinpointed as critical. Although certain disadvantages to be experienced by such local governments have been theoretically pointed out, such as the lack of sufficient financial resources and the lack of a detailed analysis of the market, it has been seen that diversified channels of provision expands the access and trigger different mediums of trust.

Taking stock of the findings of earlier studies on the subject, it can be proposed that the training programs yield better outcomes when they are focused on a specific group and when they have a connection to the market. To that regard, it can be argued that the job-guaranteed courses implemented for women have high potential in terms of elevating women's status in the labour market. Although one of the concerns raised frequently about the human capital investments in the related literature abroad is the possibility for leading to the growth of an educated but still unemployed group, this study proposes that such programs are promising in the Turkish context. This is because for many women who have hesitations due to a lengthy break or do not consider working as an immediate option, these programs provide a smooth transition to the labour force for the women concerned. Given the low labour force participation rates of women in Turkey, this holds valuable potential. To that regard, the study concludes that the trust developed for the intermediary organizations plays a crucial role in encouraging women to participate in such labour market training programs. This is why the involvement of other units in provision, especially the ones close to the individuals such as the local governments, can increase the possibility for reaping positive results.

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Interviews with the Trainees

- Interview 1 (aged 36; pastry chef assistance course) held on 30.11.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 2 (aged 26; cook assistance course) held on 30.11.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 3 (aged 19; pastry chef assistance course) on 30.11.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 4 (aged 26; cook assistance course) on 30.11.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 5 (aged 50; manicure course) on 03.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 6 (aged 19; manicure course) on 03.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 7 (aged 23; manicure course) on 03.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 8 (aged 20; manicure course) on 03.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 9 (aged 19; manicure course) on 03.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 10 (aged 52; manicure course) on 03.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 11 (aged 38; pastry chef assistance course) on 04.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 12 (aged 48; pastry chef assistance course) on 04.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 13 (aged 42; pastry chef assistance course) on 04.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 14 (aged 39; cook assistance course) on 04.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 15 (aged 38; cook assistance course) on 04.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 16 (aged 43; cook assistance course) on 04.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 17 (aged 45; manicure course) on 04.12.2012 in NETIS
- Interview 18 (aged 24; childcare course) on 17.01.2013 in the childcare centre where the trainee works
- Interview 19 (aged 30; sick and elderly care course) on 18.01.2013 in Kızılay
- Interview 20 (aged 37; sick and elderly care course) on 19.01.2013 in Kızılay

Interview 21 (aged 31; childcare course) on 22.01.2013 in the childcare centre where the trainee works

Interview 22 (aged 23; childcare course) on 22.01.2013 in the childcare centre where the trainee works

Interview 23 (aged 42; sick and elderly care course) on 23.01.2013 in the nursery home where the trainee works

Interview 24 (aged 39; sick and elderly care course) on 24.01.2013 in Kızılay

Interview 25 (aged 31; sick and elderly care course) on 24.01.2013 in Kızılay

Interview 26 (aged 38; childcare course) on 25.01.2013 in Kızılay

Interviews with the Authorities from the Çankaya Municipality

Interview 27 (an authority in Jobs and Employment Centre in Çankaya Municipality)

Interview 28 (same authority in Jobs and Employment Centre in Çankaya Municipality)

Interview 29 (the Director of the Social Support and Aid Department)

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<http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/>

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR TRAINEES¹⁵

- Profiles of the Trainees
 - Name
 - Age
 - Level of educational attainment
 - Place of birth
 - How long have you been living in Ankara?
 - Where do you live in Ankara?
 - Marital status
 - Are you married? How long have you been married?
 - The number of the dependents (children, the sick or elderly) that you are responsible for taking care of
 - Are you the only working member of the family? If you are married, does your husband work?
 - Does any other family member have a regular income?
- Experiences of the trainees
 - Previous labour market experiences
 - Have you ever worked before?
 - Yes
 - How did you find that job?
 - Have you had any difficulties in searching/finding the job?

¹⁵ The questions in the interviews with the authorities in the Municipality are not presented here since they were formulated specific to the context.

- Were you content with the working conditions?
- Have you faced any difficulties in your previous jobs? Were there any conditions that you were discontent about?
- Why did you quit that job?
- Did you start looking for a job immediately after you quit? Or did you feel the need to give a break for some reason?
- No
 - Why did not you work before?
 - Why do you want to work now?
- Experiences about the course
 - How did you get informed about the course?
 - Who did you consult before you started the course? Who supported you? Did anyone close to you oppose?
 - Is there any factor that prevents you from regularly attending the course?
 - If you have any children, how do you solve the problem of childcare?
 - Does the allowance provided to you during the term facilitate your participation in the course?
 - (For the trainees from the Municipality) Have you ever benefited from a similar service by the Municipality? Is there a specific reason for you to prefer this course by the Municipality?
 - How is the education in the course? Does it cover both theory and practice?
 - Which one do you find the most entertaining or the most beneficial?

- Do you think that there are some parts missing in the education provided in general?
 - Are you content with the education provided so far?
 - Do you feel ready to work in this field now?
- Expectations of the trainees
 - Expectations about the course
 - Why did you prefer to attend this course in particular?
 - Were there any other courses that you would like to attend?
Did you have any other course on your mind?
 - What is the greatest contribution that you expect to gain from this course?
 - Expectations about the labour market experiences following the course
 - Do you expect to find a job after the course?
 - Yes
 - What are the advantages of working in this field?
 - Is there anyone in your circle who works in this field? Did anyone give recommendations to that regard?
 - Will it be a problem for you if there is long working hours?
 - No
 - What do you think is the biggest problem that a woman can face when she wants to work?
Or which factors facilitate a woman's search for a job?
- Aspects for economic empowerment
 - Do you believe that women should work?

- What is/was the greatest contribution of working/having a job for you?
- Does/did working make you feel good?
 - Do/did you feel stronger about earning an income and meeting your own needs and the needs of your close circle?
- Can you make a contribution to the household budget while you are working?
 - Do you think that you have more say about the household budget while you are working? Who makes the decisions on how to spend the money that you earned? Do you have a say in that?
- Aspects for psychological and social empowerment
 - Do you feel more self-confident about finding a job after this course?
 - Did you make any friends during the course? Do you meet them apart from the course hours? Do you think that your friendship will continue after the course?
 - How do you feel about having attended such a course, experiencing it? Do you think that there have been any positive contributions to your life apart from developing a skill?
 - Are you content about having attended the course? Even if you can not find a job in the end, do you think this has been a positive experience?

APPENDIX B

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: