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**EUROPEAN INSTITUTE
JEAN MONNET CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE**

**“WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN GERMANY
AND TURKEY
- A COMPARISON”**

VERENA NIEPEL

DOUBLE DEGREE MA IN EUROPEAN STUDIES

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**GENDER EQUALITY
IN THE LABOUR
MARKET IN EUROPE
AND TURKEY**

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Abstract

The gender inequality in the labor market is not just a topic since the #metoo debates. In times of growing anti-democratic notions in countries such as Russia, the USA, Turkey but also in Germany there is a revival of traditional values. This changes also the role of the woman, since with this package of nationalism and traditionalism also questions of motherhood and job segregation come. A historical overview will show how the role of the women on the labor market changed in Germany and Turkey. Woman who are in leadership positions are rare in both countries. Therefore, those women also fulfill the picture of a role model. Especially in politics the leading position and the role model go hand in hand. Two case studies of women will exemplify the situation of women in Turkey and Germany. After elaborating those, there will be a short section with possible solution about how to approach the difficulties the two woman face.

Keywords: women in leading positions, labor market, Germany, Turkey, Emine Erdoğan, Claudia Roth, discrimination

1. Women in the labor market since the Second World War in Turkey and Germany

The trends of women in the labor market in Germany and Turkey show great differences. This can be explained by looking at the post war period in those two countries. In most parts of the western hemisphere the economic situation and the general notion of individualization and emancipation lead to a stronger integration of women in the labor market (Howes and Singh 1995, Busch 2013). In the USA the share of working women increased by 10% between 1970 and 1980 and in Sweden for example the labor force participation rate (LFPR) rose from 60% to 75% in the same time span (Howes and Singh 1995). This development was also valid for Germany (Busch 2013), although the economic boom did not necessarily lead to better working conditions for women after the war as this research will show (Kriwet 2014). In Turkey the economic and political conditions were in contrary not that stable and therefore, especially the numbers of Turkish women who were working did not follow the rising trend (Howes and Singh 1995). An elaboration of the historical context is important to understand how to understand the situation of women in leadership positions in those both countries.

Although Turkey did not join the second world war, this did not mean, that no men were recruited. The Turkish state still mobilized all its forces to be prepared. But unlike the situation in countries which actually participated in the war, not the women, but children were used to fill the labor force gap. This was the reason why the situation for women after the war in Turkey did not change remarkably (Doğan 2011). The agricultural and the traditional sector were still dominating the labor market in Turkey (Doğan 2011). In this time, women were mostly considered as unpaid family workers, in rural areas the percentage was 93.5% and 52.2% in urban areas (Doğan 2011). In the cities women preferred to work in the service sector. This was connected to more prestige than the agricultural or the industrial field (Doğan 2011). In the 1970s other factors can be added to analyze the situation of women: Education and migration were two important points to be considered for the agricultural based society. Also, those factors meant more segregation between

the sexes (Doğan 2011). For men, education was more accessible, since women, according to traditional values, getting married was more important. Even if a woman and a man had the same level of education, the men were preferred in the labor market (Doğan 2011).

In the cities the situation was slightly different. Women had generally a better status than those in the rural areas (Doğan 2011). They had more possibilities to work not in the agricultural sector and escape unpaid family work. This increased their welfare and meant that they had social status with more prestige (Doğan 2011). As an excursus, it is worth to mention that those women who were able to migrate to Germany in the 1960s and in the years after, also experienced their new life as a possibility to get rid of traditional bounds. Most often though, new liberties, like going out alone, were surveilled by family networks who migrated with them (Hunn 2001).

In the 1950s until the 1970s an import substitution strategy was adapted. The focus on the domestic market strengthened the model of the “one-earner family”. In this logic the man was taken as a reference point. Even though many labor unions developed since the introduction of the multiparty-system, they were dominated by male opinions (Touraj 2009, Doğan 2011).

In the 1980s the market opened up for international export, which supported the textile and food industry. The demand for women LFPR rose, but the real wage levels decreased which stabilized the position of men as the family provider. Adding to this the whole agricultural sector changed due to mechanization. Those who could afford it, moved to the cities. The rest in the rural areas though, became poorer (Doğan 2011).

In the context of the migration from rural to urban areas İlkkaracan offers to look at the women in the labor market in three groups. First, there are the rural women, whose LFPR is high, because they work in the agricultural field as unpaid family workers. Second, there are urban women whose LFPR is high as well, because they have a high education and stem from high income families. In the middle there are those women, who move to the cities, but who have a low financial income and who have a low level of education. Those most likely end up as housewives in their urban life (Doğan 2011). The withdrawal of women out of the labor market showed, that women as other eastern European countries did not experience the feminization trend (Figure 1, Doğan 2011).

Another trend thought supported women in the labor market. The number of higher education between 1990 and 2009 has doubled in Turkey (Figure 2, Doğan 2011).

The increasing education level of women, especially in urban areas also lead to a higher LFPR (Dayıoğlu and Kırdar 2009). Many studies show a positive correlation here (Doğan 2011; Dayıoğlu and Kırdar 2010). Education not only gives women the intellectual background to work, but also helps to overcome patriarchal thinking (Toksöz 2007).

In most cases though, the labor for women was reduced to labor intensive and low wage jobs, therefore the informal labor sector was an alternative (Doğan 2011). In 1988, out of 5,9 women in labor force, 4.3 million were not registered under social security institutions (TURKSTAT, Labor Statistics). Another factor that destabilized the labor market, was that due to the migration to urban areas the job opportunities were limited. Although, in the 1980s, industry and the service sector increased rapidly due to political incentives, the unemployment in the private sector rose (Buğra and Yakut-Çakar 2010).

For female workers the development of new production techniques changed their job situation as well (Dedeoğlu 2004). In more conservative families the woman could now work home based, since industrial work could also be done in smaller scales now (Doğan 2011, Çınar 1994). Those women who worked at home were most often regarded as supplementary to their husbands (Doğan 2011).

The economics destabilization in the 1990s caused high unemployment rates (Doğan 2011). Also, the trend of informal work continued, in 2009 still more than 50% were employed in the informal sector (Figure 3, Doğan 2011). In the home-based jobs most women are paid under the minimum wage. They are not under the shield of security protection and in many cases they are exposed to gender-based discrimination and sexual abuse. Since they are not included in statistics either, they are not accounted as labor force (Doğan 2011).

The precarious working conditions were also reflected in the wages. After 1980s the wages of women were adjusted to that of man as a world-wide trend. The rising numbers of women in the labor market created a demand for more wage equality. In Turkey though, the opposite happened.

The gender-wage gap in manufacturing for example showed almost the same levels between men and women, the wage women received out of the male wage was 98.5% in 1982 and 100% equal in 1983 (World Bank Statistics). Later in the 1980s though, the gap widened. The reason was, that Turkey changed its economic orientation to a stronger focus on exports: The labor demand rose, but the wages declined (Doğan 2011). In 2006 the wages in manufacturing of women were 79.2% of that of men (Figure 4, Doğan 2011).

Noticeable in connection to this is the gender gap of educational levels. The share of women who finished Highschool was 66.2%, opposed to 48.7% of all men in 2006 (TURKSTAT). That the education level of women is significantly higher than that of men, leads to the conclusion, that the declining wages of women are due to gender-based discrimination.

The gender-wage gap is further deepened by the miss social and economic institutions or unions which represent women's interests. In the process of alignment with the European union, Turkey declared to fight against gender inequality (Labor Code no. 4857). Although this is declared constitutionally there is no adequate legislation (Töksüz 2007). Furthermore, there are regulations which protect motherhood. For example, women can't be employed eight weeks before and after birth, while it is just 14 weeks in the EU. In reality though, they do not function and simply represent the gender bias in a patriarchic society (Töksüz 2007).

Over all, education is nevertheless the most important factor when it comes to the gender-wage gap. Another factor is the security of tenure and intermitted working life. Lived traditional role models in Turkish families often pass on the trend of keeping women from working life. Anyway, there is a demographic change happening in Turkey which shows a move away from the family which is focused on reproduction. While a women in Turkey gave birth to seven children in 1955, in 2005 it was only two (Klaus 2008, 221).

Children are considered to be less useful for the individual. The main reasons are that there are less valued as contributing to one's comfort. This attitude can also be explained by changes in society, like better education and better access to socio-economic sources, a general rise of

prosperity and a structural change of the labor market. There are now faster ways of satisfying one's needs instead of using children indirectly as factors of production (Klaus 2008).

To give a framework to draw a comparison between Turkey and Germany, the following section looks at the position of women in the German labor market since the end of the II World War.

Gender inequality in jobs also exists in all western countries. There is a horizontal and a vertical segregation (Busch 2013). The horizontal segregation means that there are gender differences in matter of what kind of jobs are done and vertical segregation displays the hierarchical differences. Most often jobs, which are done by women are paid less and have a lower prestige. Segregation is a historical process, as it was already shown with the case of Turkey. One thesis why the notion of gender inequality appeared in the labor market is given by Ulrich Beck. He writes about the "Thesis of Individualization" (Busch 2013). He states that with the welfare state there happened a change in society. This led away from traditional norms to an orientation towards institutions and society, therefore the individual focused more on working life. In this model the idea of reproduction as a task of the female and gainful work as a task of the male is an outcome of western capitalism (Busch 2013). This meant a move away from traditional norms and values to more social values, like division of labor and a new institutionalism. The sociologist Émile Durkheim explained this as a move away from a mechanic to an organic solidarity and more social community building (Busch 2013). A contradiction was formed: reproduction and labor force had to be united somehow. Therefore, the life was segregated in private and public life, with the woman belonging to the private life and the man belonging to public life. This segregation was at first, exclusive for the higher class but then, it was more and more established as an accepted structure. This paradigm is still dominant today in the legislative dimension. Most often in a family there is one full labor force and one who is there for reproduction. In this model the man often was the provider for the family (Busch 2013).

Therefore, women have a disadvantage on the labor market. Also, often "female skills" are seen with less importance on the labor market (Busch 2013).

The thesis of Beck is criticized for placing segregation just in modern times, although also in the beginning of the industrialization the separation of private and public life was an issue. The development of perception of social inequality changed though, what explains the upcoming of different opinions after 1970. Values like integration, self-realization and emancipation became more important. Before the 1970s economic arguments dominated the discourse, this changed with the welfare state (Busch 2013).

Growing prosperity lead to a demand of labor force and therefore the integration of women in the labor market. Nevertheless, there are two problems. First, the lack of labor forced was filled with cheap workers from other countries and second the jobs that were given to women, were mostly low paid jobs which were not enough to finance oneself. This notion was also supported by the state which was not having a service sector-oriented policy. Also, the jobs provided for women were not as much professionalized as the ones for men (Busch 2013).

This development has to be seen in connection with the role of of the family. Until 1970 the women had to get the permission of the man to work. Also, today the picture of the traditional family is still supported by politics, one example is the splitting of taxes for unequal paid couples, but only if they are married. But due to the fall of birthrate and the higher numbers of divorces the politics started to distance itself from this traditional picture and focused more on the harmonization of family and job (Busch 2013).

The problem of handling the family and the job became more relevant in the lase years. It rose between 1998 and 2003 by 3 percent (Bischoff 2010). Also, in Germany there are some regulations to support families. There is a law for example, that guarantees a place in child care taking organizations from the age of 1-3 (Kinderfördergesetz 2010). Still there are not enough capacities (Federal Statistical Office of Germany 2010). Working part time is also supported, but in praxis this is often not possible in leading positions (German ministry for Seniors, Women and the Youth 2010). Although both parents can use the part time regulation, only 5% of men do it compared to 70% of the women.

When looking at the labor segregation in Germany, one also has to see the differences between east and west. In east Germany the woman was better included in the labor market due to socialistic politics. In between 1950 and 1985 the share of women in the labor market had increased from 45% to 90% (Busch 2013). Nevertheless, woman still occupied mostly jobs in the service sector or so called “women jobs”. So far a short historical overview on the activity of women in the German labor market. In general, the legitimization and functionality of the horizontal segregation of jobs can should be questioned, the woman should have equal chances and also be able to finance herself. With today’s politics it is not realistic though, that the gender roles will change.

In 2010 the gender-based job segregation was still at 40 point and did not change remarkably since 1993 (Busch 2013). The majority of women (57%) work in typical female jobs, but it can’t be said if this is due to the breaking away of what could be defined as typical men-jobs (Busch 2013). The ongoing segregation is remarkable since more and more women were integrated in the labor market. It is worth to point out that 100% of the change of segregation that happened in favor of women is due to a change in the structure of labor not due to the choice of a job (Busch 2013). A different structure in the labor market means, that there is a growing number of mixed jobs unlike in the time after 1989, where many industrial, men-dominated jobs on the one hand and service-oriented-women jobs on the other hand were created (Busch 2013).

Especially in higher job classes the reduction of job segregation took place, because women showed to be oriented more to better jobs. One can define the criteria for diminishing job segregation as a steady demand with no gender-based discrimination.

Especially for MINT jobs though, jobs which are related to the fields of mathematics, natural science, technical science and informatics, the criteria don’t apply. Women are considered as culturally bothering in those men-dominated fields (Busch 2013).

In management jobs though, there are more women now, the number rose for about 40 percent compared to 1993, most of them work in public service.

In 2000 anyway, the government even worsened the situation by deciding on new regulations that should attract skilled foreign workers for IT jobs, instead of making them more attractive for women (Busch 2013). This leads to a structure, where more women work in less jobs and there they are highly concentrated. In those jobs, like in the field of cosmetics or in textile, the share of women is 90%. The chance to be promoted is low and they have a low authority (Busch 2013).

Until now the historical development and the current situation of female labor in Turkey and Germany has been shown. It became clear, that in Turkey traditional family models are still more relevant and are connected to every part of the life. This can be recognized by looking at the deep relation between family and working life. In Germany on the contrary, in the move of more self-realization and individualization and due to a totally different economic development after the II World War, women were more integrated in the German labor market and dared to strive for more independence. Nevertheless, the legislation of state regulation does not satisfy the need of families in Germany yet. In Turkey the traditional “one-earner” model is still so much manifested in society, so that the possibilities of women have to be thought in a different framework. It can be stated though, that education plays an important role. Anyhow one can find female role-models in leading positions in both societies. In the next chapter, the concept of the female as a leader will be elaborated and then two examples will be given.

2. Women in Leading positions

The general worldwide trend does not favor women, the number of leading positions, that are occupied by females is still low. As leadership one can define the aimed influencing in a social structure (Kleinert et al. 2007). Those kinds of positions occupied by women can be mostly found in politics, private economy and the public sector (Skálová 2010). Since both examples of women in leading positions will be elaborated later on, the focus of the introduction to the concept of female leadership will be on the political field. Also, this field was where leading positions were the most visible for the public. The first woman in German politics for example

was Elisabeth Schwarzhaupt as a minister in 1961 (Ministry for Seniors, Female and the Youth 2010).

One aspect, why women occupied leading positions in politics first, was that there were women quotas introduced in the political parties. This quota was already introduced in the 1980s, firstly by the green party in 1979 (Frauenpolitik.Bündnis90/Die Grünen 2010). Until today all other parties followed this example, but the CDU which has a non-quota regulation but a guideline to support women (Wiemken J.SPD. 2010, Constensen 2010).

How does the situation for women in politics look nowadays? In the German “Bundetag” the share of women sank to 31% from the 37% in the year before (ZEIT ONLINE, AFP, vu 2018). A new law for equality was signed in 2001 (Ministry of Seniors, Women and the Youth 2001).

“The quota regulation is often formulated in a way, that in the case of the same qualification, a female applicant should be preferred to the male applicant until a number x in the matching committee is reached. It is most often the regulation that is pushed through. For a few feminists this regulation is not far reaching enough, because according to them the conditions of same qualification leaves too much room for free interpretation and in many cases this leads to employ the female candidate only when she is clearly higher qualified”

(Constensen 2010, 110-111)

The main aspects of this law also concern the phase of job application. It explains, that family obligations and child care should not be considered as an exclusionary element when choosing an applicant (Law of implementation of women and men of the Ministry of Seniors, Women and the Youth 2010). According to empirical material the qualification though is the biggest challenge for women. This concerns the choice of study subject or more general, a missing self-consciousness to express those qualifications. A wider context, like the economic situation of a company, is considered as less relevant (Bischoff 2010). It has to be pointed out though, that the trend that there are challenges for women at all in Germany is downward facing (Skálová 2010).

Other than education, as a factor which hinders women to be in leading position, networks play an important role (42%), the failing political support of family and job is making 87% and 83% of women are not satisfied with part time working regulations. There is also the factor of the “glass cloth”. It is an invisible border, that many experience, but which is not further definable. 90% of politicians say it’s there is a “glass cloth” that hinders women to go into leading positions (Skálová 2010).

One other argument Skálová states is that women are not strong enough in implementing their opinions and ideas. It is said, that they can’t share their perspectives clearly and loud enough (Skálová 2010).

It is necessary to move away from the political context though to understand leadership in a more abstract way. Bisaso argues that generally, women behave better as leaders, due to a woman’s character which is labelled with adjectives like patience or empathy (Bisaso 2016). They became more important in shaping the futures, since they seem to be more realistic when making discussions. This notion, just as statements of characteristics are hard to prove though (Ercetin, Acikalin 2016). The most relevant characteristic according to Conner (2014) is that a good leader should have the “critical strength in strategic perspective and vision”.

When Ercetin and Acikalin state that “women have the natural ability to oversee and grow systems effectively”, how can one explain the unequal representation of women in high jobs though?

Certainly, certain skills are needed, like consciousness, networking, self-organization for example (Ercetin, Acikalin 2016). It can be assumed that the following case studies of women in leading positions inherit those characteristics. Unfortunately, the literature on women in leading positions was limited, so the case study will be elaborated in relation to the more general framework of the development of female labor.

The two examples are Claudia Roth from the green party ad Emine Erdogan, Turkey’s first lady. Both women display really different role models for different societies. It should be interesting though to have a closer look in what kind of picture of a woman they embody. This will be the first concern. Second, the challenges they face will be shown.

Claudia Roth was born in 1955 in Ulm. She studies Theater studies in Munich and worked at the theatre and a band manager. She joined the green parliament as a press spokesperson when the party was in the parliament for the first time. She then worked in the field of human rights, before she became the leader of the green party in 2001 until 2013. Since then she is Vice president of the German Bundestag and since 2014 she is responsible for the victims of torture in the treatment center in Berlin. Also, she shows engagement in many gay organizations (Claudia-roth.de 2018). In an interview in the German newspaper ZEIT she speaks openly about the role as a female politician. If she were a man, she said “her life would be less exciting” (Hildebrandt, Stuff 2018). She points out that the women’s rights, which there are now, are object of a constant fight. She comes from a part in Bavaria, which she describes as “conservative and patriarchic” (Süddeutsche 2010). For her the biggest excitement in being a woman, means being able to hold against present conditions and to act “unorthodox” (Hildebrandt, Stuff 2018, Süddeutsche 2010). She makes abortion a subject and speaks in favor of doctors who want to promote to get informed about the procedures, while the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan declares abortion for something that should not be present in muslim families (Süddeutsche 2010, Guardian 2016). She reacts on these kinds of comments indirectly by criticizing: “Above all men seem to know how women feel about their bodies” and she generalizes this by explaining that especially people like “Putin, Trump, Erdogan” promote an anti-feminist agency with their anti-democratic ideas (Hildebrandt, Stuff 2018). Although she also thinks that women’s rights are not implanted in Germany as well, she speaks for state action to realize gender equality since it is not something “that happens voluntarily” (Süddeutsche 2010). Motherhood seems to be an emotional topic for her and she blames the revival of traditional role allocation to the nationalistic and conservative developments in society and politics: “When I was twenty, in the mid-eighties, it was almost obligatory to give a reason why I don’t have a child. Then it was calm over years. [...] It was clear that being without a child can also be a decision and that you don’t have to question it all the time. Now I begin to realize more often again, that I am asked about this more often again: Why don’t you have a child?” As an example she gives the name of one of her colleagues from the CSU, Günther Beckstein, he

asked her in a Talkshow on the topic of family: “Why do you want to talk about this? You did not fulfill your role actually. You don’t have a child.” (Hildebrandt, Stuff 2018). As a woman she is not only object of those kind of comments for not having a child but hate-speech reaches her on social media much more frequently. Examples were printed with the interview: “You fat bug, you dirty turk-bitch, you will be fucked by a monkey-driver” or “You and your mother should be gased and all, who mess around with the German folk”. In Later in the interview she describes, how the reactions she gets affect her, not only psychologically but also physically. Shortly after happenings in Cologne, where refugees were blamed to have violated women’s rights and Claudia Roth made a public statement for which she received many hateful comments on social media she noticed: “Then I sat in Berlin on the couch, I will never forget this, and pulled a blanket around me, closer and closer. I noticed, I want to protect myself.” (Hildebrandt, Stuff 2018). The conversation with Claudia Roth seem to be really emotional and this shows how difficult it is to approach women’s right on a political level. Family and motherhood are also strong topics for other women in a leading position.

Ermine Erdogan is the current first lady and wife of the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan who is leading the AKP (Justice and Development Party). His wife is the last child of a family from Siirt, a city in south-east Turkey, which is known for its multicultural population. Like Claudia Roth she was born in 1955, but in Istanbul. She has been involved in many social activities from her early ages on, for example, she was a member of the Women’s union, the Idealist Association of Science and Culture, but there is no secured information about her education. Wearing a Hijab in a public position was not allowed, so she provoked a discussion which saved her the support of religious-conservative women in Turkey (Spiegel ONLINE 2004, FOCUS 2012). Even the style of doing the Hijab was seen as modern and sophisticated (Alimen 2018). Many admire and respected her as a “role model and leader” (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 10). She even presents herself as a protector of those woman, when she says: “Formal conditions imposed to exist in the public domain, particularly for veiled women were utterly compelling. Religious women who wish to be visible in social life while having certain values faced obstacles in public sphere.” (Erçetin, Açıklan

2016, 11). In an interview in a book by Şule Yuksel Şenler, she shares her opinion about equality and describes the relationship with her husband. In her speech it becomes clear that she thinks of Recep Tayyip Erdogan as someone who makes her something more: “He always gave value to my consciousness” (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 13). For her it is important, that there is a harmonic relationship which is defined by the separation of certain tasks between them, but, she says “conditions that modernity brought to us disturbed the balance between men and women.” (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 11). By this she means the double role of the women as being a mother and working. For Emine Erdogan this creates an imbalance since, “her workload was increased” (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 11). This shows how she sticks to traditional values, she often underlines the value of family and children in that interview (Family as a companion”) (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 12). To present herself as a modern woman too, she also talks about her independence as an intellectual being “While trying to enhance myself intellectually [...] I tried to make an extra effort in the fields, where I can contribute to society” (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 12). In connection to the topic of gender she mostly talks about how religious-conservative women were oppressed and now have more liberties under the rule of her husband, she even speaks of a new “status of the woman in the family” (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 16). Connected to this is also the freedom of women in academia. What is interesting is that she persists on the rise of numbers of women in the academic field, but she does not differentiate between head-scarved women and non-head-scarved women in her speech (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 17). Adding to this she sees women as a possibility to collect the votes of the men: “Reaching the women also means reaching the men and the children in the community” (Erçetin, Açıklan, 16). She also mentions the regulation of the government, that have been done in the framework of the EU Acquis. “The government made the female subject a priority”, she says and brings up the “woman and men equal opportunity act” (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 16). What she leaves out is to talk about the implementation of this act. The comments of her husband are often criticized for not promoting the quality. In the Turkish government for example there is just one female minister (Guardian 2017). Another point that she promotes is the fight against the violence against women, even though in Turkey there don't even exist public

statistics for abuse and violation of women (Erçetin, Açıklan 2016, 17). More on the fight for women's rights and also how Claudia Roth deals with violations against her person will follow in the next chapter. Overall one can see, that the role of the women in the public in Turkey and Germany differs very much. In Turkey the traditional picture of the woman as being responsible for reproduction exists stronger than in Germany, although also Claudia Roth is confronted with the question of motherhood. Since the AKP is leading the country, there are more freedoms for religious-conservative people which gives conservative values in general a higher position. Whereas in Germany the topic of gender follows the exact opposite paradigm in the public discourse, where the focus is on the unity of family and working life.

3. Civil fight against gender inequality

Ermine Erdogan and Claudia Roth were chosen to demonstrate gender inequality, because they act as a role model since they are in political leading positions. This makes them objects of critic and hate-speech at the same time. That there is inequality in Germany and Turkey is not the question. It is also difficult to directly compare the situation of those women. But what about the reactions? How politics approach the gender topic in both countries has already been elaborated. It has also been stated that the implementation of women's rights through politics fails. The question then is, how the situation of gender-inequality is perceived in both countries on a non-political level?

After the hate-speech that has been expressed towards Claudia Roth on the internet, she presented the hateful comments in the context of a "hate-poetry slam" organized by the green party. She noticed that "The E-Mails men read were almost harmless in comparison to that what we women received in perversion and violence." The "hate-poetry slam" is a constructive example to reflect on the literal violence women receive through the internet. Also, this kind of reflection includes men. Whereas many feminist organizations reduce themselves to promote women's rights, but they don't support the dialogue with men. So, it is expressed by a spokesperson of the women's

organization in Ankara, who answers on the question if they are interested in an exchange between men and women:

“We fight against gender inequality and violence against women. In doing that our aim is women's empowerment through the formation of solidarity. We don't work with men, we do not organize activities directed to men (only exception is university panels that we organize for both young men and women). Our priority is always women. We want men to accept the fact that they are not superior to us, and they do not have the right to control our bodies, our labor, our sexuality, and our lives in general.”

(Niepel 2018)

The topic of gender inequality nevertheless gets more and more attention in Turkey. Almost 40.000 women joined the nightmarch of 2017 for example (Karaksoğlu 2017). Karaksoğlu did a research that focused on breaking with the pattern of just looking at “western-oriented” cities like Istanbul when it comes to women’s rights. She observes that in the 1990 there was a crisis of feminist movements which is due to the fact, that they became more diversified into Kemalist, socialist, queer, religious-conservative, alevi, armenian and disabled feminist movements. Especially since the AKP came into power the topics of religion, politics and gender changed in connection with neoliberal politics and the EU negotiations. Most often women’s organizations are in the opposition towards the AKP, but this can’t be generalized since there is also the religious-conservative women’s movement (Karaksoğlu 2017). In contrary to that the spokesperson of the Ankara feminist movement acts like there is not such a plurality:

The feminist movement in Turkey has worked towards changing sexist laws and regulations and achieved many changes so far. However, the main problem in Turkey regarding especially the laws on domestic violence is the problems with their implementation. Turkey is the first signatory country to the Istanbul Convention and has national laws on fighting domestic violence. However, everyday we are hearing and witnessing of cases where the law is not being

properly implemented. This is because of the mentality of the legislators and implementors who do not see those as women's rights, so they show reluctance in implementing the laws and regulations.

(Niepel 2017)

One problem that she also mentions is that violence against women is not grasped by official statistics: “Although it is not possible for us to give exact numbers, since the state does not keep statistics either on femicide cases or on violence cases; we can guess accurately from the cases that are picked up by the media that it has increased.” What happens here with the identity of the woman is that it is put in a passive position. The state decides what is communicated with the public and the men decide how what kind of role the woman is supposed to fill in (Binder 2017). This is also expressed by the Ankara women organization: “However, in almost every aspect of life they meet with obstacles. These obstacles arise from the notion that control over a woman's life belongs to her family, her husband, and the state. In conclusion, it should be the obligation of the public, including the men to make gender inequality a discussion. The “hate-speech slam” or media, like interviews in newspapers and academic work are a good approach.

To sum up: The historical development of women in the labor market differ much since after the end of the II World War. Turkey did not follow the trend in western countries towards more individualism and female independence. Instead the women who tried to free themselves from family obligations and showed orientation towards a western live style in choosing an urban life ended up as housewives in many cases. Another group had to stick to hard bodily work and family obligations and a small privileged group was able to live and educated, somehow independent life in the cities. The latter case though happened most often in rich families. In Germany the model of a new family, where both, men and female should be able to earn money and take care of children, was not successfully implemented. Although the discussion about the unity of family and job already came with the development of the welfare state, until now, there has been no satisfying

political solution. Examples of women leading positions, like that of Claudia Roth and Emine Erdogan have shown, to what kind of criticism they are exposed and how the role of the women is perceived. A short excursus has showed different kind of solutions to fight against anti-feminism on a civil level.

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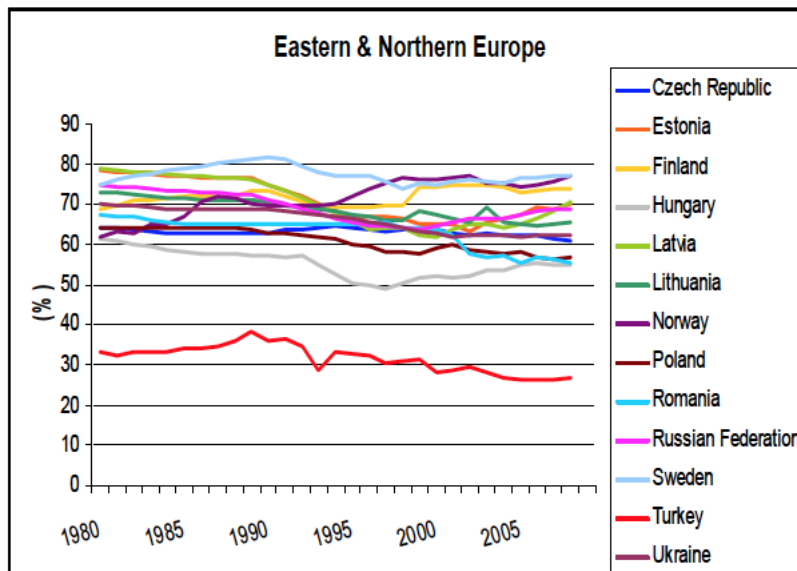
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Appendix:

Figure 1: Female labor participation in selected countries between 1980-2009



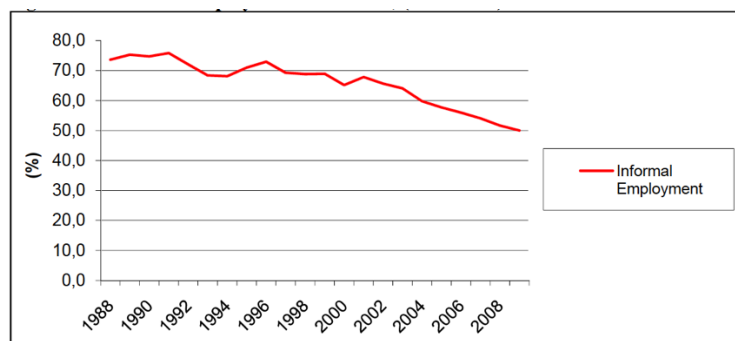
Countries are grouped according to World Bank Classification
Source: World bank gender statistics

Figure 2: Female labor force status by education level (15+)

	Illiterate	Less than High School	High and Vocational School	Higher Education	Total
TOTAL					
1990	30.2	55.8	9.3	4.7	100.0
1995	21.5	59.7	12.0	6.8	100.0
2000	20.6	53.5	14.7	11.2	100.0
2005	13.4	51.5	18.6	16.5	100.0
2009	10.5	50.0	18.7	20.9	100.0
URBAN					
1990	10.1	47.4	27.1	15.4	100.0
1995	7.0	41.6	31.3	20.1	100.0
2000	4.3	37.9	31.4	26.4	100.0
2005	5.1	40.3	27.7	27.0	100.0
2009	3.4	38.4	26.4	31.8	100.0
RURAL					
1990	37.1	58.6	3.2	1.0	100.0
1995	27.9	67.7	3.5	0.9	100.0
2000	30.8	63.2	4.3	1.7	100.0
2005	24.0	66.0	6.8	3.1	100.0
2009	20.9	67.1	7.2	4.8	100.0

Source: TURKSTAT, Household labor force survey

Figure 3: Informal employment of women, (1988-2009)



Source: TURKSTAT, Household Labor Force Survey

Figure 4: Female-to-Male wages in Manufacturing (per cent)

Years	$W_f / W_m * 100$	$(W_f - W_m) / W_m$
1983	100.0	0.00
1993	88.4	0.12
2006	79.2	0.21

Sources: World Bank Gender Statistics, and 2006 Structure of Earning Survey of TURKSTAT

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VN: What does your organization provide?

A: The Foundation for Women's Solidarity is a feminist women's organization providing direct support to women. We provide free of charge social, psychological and legal counseling to women who experience gender-based violence. We also organize workshops, trainings where we meet with students, women in neighborhoods, with members and volunteers of other CSOs for awareness raising.

VN: How big is the organization?

A: Our organization has around 90 members; however some of these members are not active any more. We currently have around 30 active volunteers who pretty much do all the work. If you ask financially, our organization's budget depends on the projects being implemented. We unfortunately do not receive a lot of donations. The current financial resources allow us to keep our Women's Counselling Center; however, most of the work is done by volunteers.

VN: Do men also work for your organization?

A: No, only women work and volunteer in our organization, and we also provide services to only women.

VN: What do you do to support the dialogue and the understanding between men and women here in Turkey?

A: We fight against gender inequality and violence against women. In doing that our aim is women's empowerment through the formation of solidarity. We don't work with men, we do not organize activities directed to men (only exception is university panels that we organize for both young men and women). Our priority is always women. We want men to accept the fact that they are not superior to us, and they do not have the right to control our bodies, our labor, our sexuality, and our lives in general.

VN: In what way does Turkish law regulate the life of women in Turkey?

A: The feminist movement in Turkey has worked towards changing sexist laws and regulations and achieved many changes so far. However, the main problem in Turkey regarding especially the laws on domestic violence is the problems with their implementation. Turkey is the first signatory country to the Istanbul Convention and has national laws on fighting domestic violence. However, everyday we are hearing and witnessing of cases where the law is not being properly implemented. This is because of the mentality of the legislators and implementors who do not see those as women's rights, so they show reluctance in implementing the laws and regulations.

VN: What should change for women to make their lives more independent?

A: The deeply rooted ideas regarding the legitimacy of gender inequality has to change. Women want their lives to be independent, and act accordingly; however in almost every aspect of life they meet with obstacles. These obstacles arise from the notion that control over a woman's life belongs to her family, her husband, and the state.

VN: Did the violence against women increase in the last years?

A: Yes it did. Although it is not possible for us to give exact numbers, since the state does not keep statistics either on femicide cases or on violence cases; we can guess accurately from the cases that are picked up by the media that it has increased. We also believe that as women start to take the control of their lives more openly, men react in a more violent way, in order not to lose their privileged status.

VN: How does the state of emergency affect your work?

A: The state of emergency affects all civil society organizations. A number of women's organizations were closed down by decrees; which creates an atmosphere of uncertainty for all organizations in which we don't know if the same thing will happen to us too or not. The activities of LGBTI organizations are completely banned by the Governate in Ankara. It is not possible to organize street protests and marches, especially in Ankara, since this is the state's capital and all the state and government offices are based here.. But we are still working, and trying to plan the future.

VN: What are you planning for womens day?

A: Our office is closed on March 8, so the staff can go and join any activity or macrch they want. We did not organize a specific activity, but we participated in other activities, protests and marches on the day.