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Gender Equality in the Labour Market in Turkey as a Candidate Country of the European  
Union

Genderová rovnost na trhu práce v Turecku jako kandidátské země Evropské unie

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4. Gender Equality in Turkey's Labour Market in Comparison with Selected Member States of the European Union
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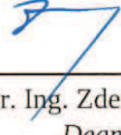
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**Declaration of Honour**

“I hereby declare that I have elaborated the entire thesis including annexes myself. I have supplemented the provided annexes No. 1, 2 and 3 myself.”

Bath dated 12 July 2018

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Nikola Miksová". The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal dotted line underneath it.

Nikola Miksová

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## 1. Introduction

Gender equality is one of the fundamental principles and values the European Union has been founded on. Even though, women in Europe won the same rights as men over the last century, there still prevails women's double burden – housework, motherhood and childcare and traditional view on gender roles, which restricts them in the labour market. Yet, gender equality has been enshrined in the Treaties of the European Union since the Treaty of Rome. In addition, the promotion of equality and equal access and opportunities between men and women are reflected in the pre-accession negotiations when the country wants to join the European Union and become a Member State.

When Turkey became the candidate country at the Helsinki Council in Finland in 1999, the country also committed itself to introduce and implement legislation and reforms related to deepening gender equality. Nevertheless, Turkey started challenging gender equality already in the 1920s, when the Republic of Turkey was founded, and its modernisation and democratisation process started. Turkey has implemented many reforms and laws in the last three decades to harmonise national legislation on women's rights with the body of EU law, *Acquis Communautaire*, however, it is still a country with traditional religious roots, which reflects in the household duties and in the labour market for women.

During processing of this diploma thesis, one goal and one sub-goal has been set out together with a corresponding hypothesis. The main goal of this diploma thesis is to find out and explain differences of gender equality in the labour market in Turkey and the seven selected Member States, Finland, Sweden, Slovenia, Croatia, Cyprus, Malta and Hungary. To this main goal, the three hypotheses have been set out. The first hypothesis is that in the Turkish labour market, women face discrimination based on gender biases, which leads to their 50 percentage points lower engagement in the labour market. The second hypothesis is that pay gap between men and women is between 30.0 % and 40.0 % in favour of men, the reason for that is women's lower educational level, which makes it harder for them to find better paid jobs and for the reason of gender biases in the labour market. The third hypothesis is that educational attainment level of girls is lower than boys mainly because of cultural norms and beliefs, which prevents girls reaching higher level than primary level of education.

The sub-goal is to find out if Turkey is close to fulfil the Copenhagen Criteria to become a Member State of the European Union and how the country fulfils criteria related to gender equality. Turkey has been candidate country for almost two decades, which is the longest time

any country has ever had a candidate country status; thus, it will not be able to fulfil the criteria set out in Copenhagen nor achieve gender equality. Especially in view of the latest changes in Turkish policies turning the country closer towards dictatorship and limiting human and civil rights together with restricting freedom of speech. Which is not in accordance with the EU laws nor its goals or values.

The diploma thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is an introduction and the last chapter is a conclusion. In the second chapter human rights, gender equality and the European Union's enlargement policy are described. This chapter is focused on the complex process of enlargement, conditionality and Europeanization, the concept of human rights and gender equality and its legislation and strategies within the European Union.

The third chapter describes gender equality in Turkey itself in the context of country's accession to the European Union. This chapter focuses on Turkey's road towards the European Union's membership since the 1950s and its current political development. Further, here is examined the chapters of the *Acquis Communautaire*, the political, economic criteria of Copenhagen and the economic obstacle for Turkey's membership in the European Union. Moreover, this chapter is focused on Turkish strategies for equality between men and women in the labour market and education.

The fourth, analytic chapter contains an analysis of gender equality in education and examines the reasons for unequal education enrolment, gender equality in the labour market as well as in part-time employment, wages and salaries between Turkey and the seven selected Member States of the European Union. The analysis is based on the Eurostat statistics. The employment rate and part-time employment rate is based on statistics for the year 2017. The gender pay gap is compared for the years 2006, 2010 and 2014, all of which is the only data in recent years available. Last, this chapter contains a comparison of the Global Gender Gap sub-index Political Empowerment for all eight countries comparing the years 2006 and 2017.

The fundamental analytic methods, which were used in the diploma thesis is a quantitative research, literature review, description and comparison of gender equality in monitored areas between Turkey and the seven selected Member States, Finland, Sweden, Slovenia, Croatia, Cyprus, Malta and Hungary.

## **2. Human Rights, Gender Equality and the European Union's Enlargement Policy**

The enlargement of the European Union (EU) is one of vital importance and yet very challenging task for the European integration process. The EU has started as a community of six countries, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, to prevent bloody wars between European countries especially after the World War II and the World War I, wars, which have shaped the face of Europe today.

The aim of European Community was to promote social, economic and political cooperation between the Western European countries and to secure peace and prevent other bloody and destructive conflicts in Europe. The reasoning for closer cooperation was that those states, whose economies are interdependent, are less likely to engage in conflicts. In order to ensure that, it was always open community for any European state to join in.

Even though human rights were not involved in the first treaties of European Communities, it has since become an important and determining factor for further enlargements and international agreements with external partners. However, human rights, the rule of law and democracy have always been a priority for the European Union and its Member States.

### **2.1. The European Union's Enlargement Policy**

The enlargement process is complex, ever changing process, which differs between the enlargement of each country<sup>1</sup>. The project of European integration has seen enlargement as very important; the Schuman Declaration from May 1950 promoted the thought of a united Europe, this declaration initiated the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the predecessor of the European Union. The ECSC was founded by signing the Treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community on 18 April 1951<sup>2</sup>. After six years of so called Treaties of Rome were signed, the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC) were established and the EEC Treaty legally opened the

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<sup>1</sup> KOCHENOV, Dimitry. *EU Enlargement and the Failure of Conditionality: Pre-accession Conditionality in the Fields of Democracy and the Rule of Law*. Wolters Kluwer International, 2008. 400 p. ISBN 978-904-112-696-2.

<sup>2</sup> GATEVA, Eli. *European Union Enlargement Conditionality*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 254 p. ISBN 978-1-137-48242-6.

possibility for any other European country to join in the Community<sup>3</sup>. All treaties of the EEC and later the EU addressed the question of enlargement. From the six founding countries today's EU further twenty-two countries have since become Member States.

Due to the nature of the Community and its future visions for the European Communities there was the need for merge of existing treaties, the Treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community and Treaties of Rome, which established the Euroatom and the EEC. For this purpose, the Merge Treaty also known as the Brussels Treaty was signed in 1965. This Treaty has created the single Council and Commission for the now newly renamed European Community (EC) and has merged all three treaties.

Since then, many treaties have been signed and ratified: The Single European Act from 1986, the Treaty on the European Union known as the Maastricht Treaty from 1992, the Treaty of Amsterdam from 1997, the Treaty of Nice signed in 2001 and the Treaty of Lisbon from 2007. The purpose of these treaties was to reform the institutions of the European Communities, and later the EU, to prepare for membership of other European countries and to make additional need changes and reforms<sup>4</sup>.

However, one of these treaties was the bearer of big changes for the European Community, the Treaty on the European Union also known as the Maastricht Treaty, which was signed in 1992 and came into force on 1 November 1993. This Treaty established the European Union<sup>5</sup>. The Maastricht Treaty also prepared the EU for Monetary Union and established elements of political union including European citizenship, common internal and foreign policies<sup>6</sup>.

The accession to the EU is regulated by article 49 of the Treaty on European Union<sup>7</sup>. The article states: *“Any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 and is committed to promoting them may apply to become a member of the Union. The European Parliament and national Parliaments shall be notified of this application. The applicant State shall address its application to the Council, which shall act unanimously after consulting the*

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<sup>3</sup> TREATY OF ROME (EEC). In: Eur-Lex.europa.eu [online]. 2017 [15. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv%3Axy0023>

<sup>4</sup> EUROPEAN UNION. *EU treaties*. [online]. [15. 11. 2016]. Available on: [https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en)

<sup>5</sup> TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION (CONSOLIDATED VERSIONS). In: Eur-Lex.europa.eu [online]. 2012 [15. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12012M%2FTXT>

<sup>6</sup> EUROPEAN UNION. *EU treaties*. [online]. [15. 11. 2016]. Available on: [https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en)

<sup>7</sup> KOCHENOV, Dimitry, ref. 1

*Commission and after receiving the consent of the European Parliament, which shall act by a majority of its component members. The conditions of eligibility agreed upon by the European Council shall be taken into account.*

*The conditions of admission and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the Union is founded, which such admission entails, shall be the subject of an agreement between the Member States and the applicant State. This agreement shall be submitted for ratification by all the contracting States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.*<sup>8</sup>

The article 49 refers to article 2 of the same Treaty which states the values on, which the EU is founded, such as respect for human rights, equal rights of minorities, human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and that Member States are connected with common values: gender equality, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice and solidarity<sup>9</sup>. The candidate country has to fulfil the Copenhagen Criteria on the road to the EU membership and went through the whole accession process, which will be described in following chapters.

### **2.1.1. The Copenhagen Criteria**

The Copenhagen Criteria was established in the EU summit in the capital city of Denmark, Copenhagen, in 1993. To open the way towards EU membership for Central and Eastern European countries including former Communist countries freed in 1989 and Baltic States after collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991<sup>10</sup>. These European countries, which joined the EU in and after 2004, went through structural changes in political, economic and other sectors of the state. That was why the Copenhagen Criteria have been established, to cover political and economic areas and legislative alignments of former Communist candidate countries<sup>11</sup>.

The country requiring membership in the EU has to, according to the Copenhagen Criteria, fulfil political criteria: having stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, functioning rule of law, protecting human rights and respecting minorities; economic criteria: functioning market economy and having the ability to cope with competitive forces and pressures within the Union and Internal market. The last area covered by the Copenhagen Criteria is legislative criteria: being able to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims

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<sup>8</sup> TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION (CONSOLIDATED VERSIONS), ref. 5

<sup>9</sup> TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION (CONSOLIDATED VERSIONS), ref. 5

<sup>10</sup> VACHUDOVÁ, Milada Anna. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. 354 p. ISBN 978-0-199-241-194.

<sup>11</sup> WELFENS, J.J. Paul. *EU Eastern Enlargement and the Russian Transformation Crisis*. Springer, 2012. 153 p. ISBN 978-3-642-64299-9.

of economic, political and monetary union<sup>12</sup>. However, there is also a fourth, less known and less formal criterion for EU accession, called good neighbourliness. This fourth criterion exists to prevent importing problems with the foreign policy<sup>13</sup> of Balkan countries, mainly a requirement for states to resolve disputes and ensure good relationships with their neighbouring states and was added to existing criteria in the Helsinki European Council in 1999<sup>14</sup>.

Until 1997, the Copenhagen Criteria had no legal grounding, that came with the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997, where the Criteria were written into principles common for Member States and anchored to Article 6(1) of this Treaty<sup>15</sup>.

### **2.1.2. The Acquis Communautaire**

The Acquis Communautaire is the body of EU law; it consists of all regulations, directives, decisions, recommendations and opinions, which were adopted by the EU and its Member States under the Treaties. It also consists of the content, principles and political objectives of the Treaties and judicial decisions of the Court of Justice as well as all secondary legislation<sup>16</sup>. The aim of the Acquis Communautaire is to unify the law in all EU Member States.

Candidate countries have to accept the Acquis in order to join the EU. The new Member State has to adopt EU law as a part of their national legislation. Adoption of the Acquis is the crucial part of accession negotiations. The Acquis currently has 35 Chapters; each chapter is devoted to different specific issues in different areas, the content of all Chapters are available in the annexes of this thesis. Every candidate country has to carry out reforms in order to accept Acquis. It differs from state to state, which Chapters need to be open, but all of them have to be closed so the candidate state can become a Member State of the EU. Every Chapter can be opened and closed only if all EU Member States agree with it<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> FIERRO, Elena. *The EU's Approach to Human Rights Conditionality in Practice*. Kluwer Law International, 2003. 448 p. ISBN 90-411-1936-1.

<sup>13</sup> VACHUDOVÁ, Milada Anna, ref. 10

<sup>14</sup> HILLION, Christophe (ed). *EU Enlargement: A Legal Approach*. Hart Publishing, 2004. 208 p. ISBN 1-841-13265-9.

<sup>15</sup> VACHUDOVÁ, Milada Anna, ref. 10

<sup>16</sup> TATHAM, Allan F. *Enlargement of the European Union*. Kluwer Law International, 2009. 595 p. ISBN 978-90-411-2463-0.

<sup>17</sup> LINDSTROM, Nicole. *The Politics of Europeanization and Post-Socialist Transformations*. Palgrave Pivot, 2015. 99 p. ISBN 978-1-137-35217-0.

The Acquis Chapters are reviewed and evaluated regularly during the process of screening. The screening process is an analytical examination, which is done by the EU Commission along with the Candidate country<sup>18</sup>. Every Candidate country has to harmonize its national law and legislation with the legislation of the European Union in all Acquis Chapters<sup>19</sup>.

### **2.1.3. Conditionality and Europeanization**

The terms conditionality and Europeanization has been used mainly in connection with Central and Eastern European and Balkan enlargement of the EU. The term Europeanization has no uniform definition, but Olsen<sup>20</sup> outlined five possible dimensions of this term.

The first dimension involves territorial aspects that Europe becomes a single geopolitical space with unified political aspects and a unified system of governance. So, Europeanization can be understood as a change of territorial borders, which is made through the enlargement process of the EU.

The second usage of the term Europeanization can be understood as the development of governance institutions in the European scale. This means that a certain degree of coherence and political coordination is established by formal-legal institutions, based on overarching constitutive principles, practices and structures. This has the ability to make it easier to enforce binding decisions and to impose penalties for non-compliance and at the same time to constrain them. Europeanization can also be seen as an adaptation of national and lower levels of governance systems to a European political centre and pan-European norms.

The forth way how the term Europeanization can be used is that Europeanization does not concern only Europe but also relationships with non-European actors and institutions. Europeanization is the way in which Europe is able to find its place in the world order. It is an export of forms of political organization and governance, which are typical for Europe, outside of its territory.

The last dimension of the term Europeanization is seeing Europeanization as a political project aiming for Europe to become unified and politically stronger. However, it does not

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<sup>18</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Screening of the acquis*. [online]. [15. 11. 2016]. Available on: [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/screening\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/screening_en)

<sup>19</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Chapters of the acquis*. [online]. [15. 11. 2016]. Available on: [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/chapters-of-the-acquis\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/chapters-of-the-acquis_en)

<sup>20</sup> OLSEN, Johan P. The Many Faces of Europeanization. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. [online]. 2002, December [16. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://eu-wb.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/olsen-2002.pdf>

necessarily mean that there has to be positive correlation between four dimensions of Europeanization and politically stronger Europe<sup>21</sup>.

The conditionality is creation of some condition or sets of conditions, for example, to create an access. Regarding the EU enlargement, the term conditionality is setting a democratic rules and practices by the EU, which are necessary to adopt in order to have an access for either financial assistance or institutional association or the membership<sup>22</sup>.

#### **2.1.4. The Process of Enlargement**

The process of accession to the EU has three stages: first country becomes an official candidate country. At this point, the country's formal negotiation process has not started yet. The second stage is moving the official candidate country to formal membership negotiations, this stage will be described furthermore below in this chapter. The third stage is when all the negotiations, reforms – made in the country in order to adopt EU law – are completed and both sides, the EU and the candidate country, mutually agree when it has been decided that the candidate country can join the EU.

Membership negotiations start when the Candidate country applies for the membership. The European Council then decides whether it accepts the application or not. During the negotiation process, all the 35 Chapters of the *Acquis Communautaire* have to be closed and it is up to Member States to unanimously decide whether or not to close the Chapters. Member States should always consider the Council's recommendations for each Chapter of the Candidate country. All decisions of this process, together with opening and closing Chapters, are declared at the Intergovernmental Conference (ICG). The whole process consists of:

1. Accession negotiations – concerns the ability of the Candidate country to take on obligations of the membership. The negotiation is focused on the timing and the terms of adoption, implementation and application of the EU law. In this stage, the Candidate country and the EU Members States have to agree on the way in which adoption and implementation of EU law will be done.

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<sup>21</sup> OLSEN, Johan P, ref. 20

<sup>22</sup> TEKIN, Ali and Aylin GÜNEY (eds). *The Europeanization of Turkey: Polity and Politics*. Routledge, 2015. 302 p. ISBN 978-1-138-83994-6.



2. Screening process – the European Commission goes through a detailed examination of each Chapter of the Acquis along with the candidate country. This detailed examination is carried out to determine how prepared the country is and how it prepares the screening report. In the conclusions of this report, the European Commission either recommends opening the negotiations directly or suggests setting the conditions – opening benchmarks – that should first be met by the candidate country. An open Chapter can be closed only after all Member States unanimously agree and are satisfied with the progress of the Candidate country. The decisions are taken based on the Council’s recommendations.
3. Reporting and monitoring – the candidate country is monitored during the Accession by the Commission, which regularly informs the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union about the Candidate country’s progress.
4. Accession treaty – after closing all the Acquis Chapters to the satisfaction of both sides, the Candidate country and EU Member States, the draft of the Accession Treaty is formed. The Accession Treaty is signed and ratified by the Candidate country and all EU Member States. Nevertheless, before the signing process, the European parliament has to give its consent by voting.

During the negotiation process, the European Commission is responsible for monitoring the candidate country’s progress, as well as the implementation of the commitments accepted by the candidate country in order to become a Member State. The Commission regularly informs the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament. The European Parliament, among other things, provides regular reports, strategic documents and other information related to the negotiation process.

To conclude the negotiation process, all the Chapters have to be closed. The Accession Treaty, the document, which agglutinates the candidate country to the EU, contains terms and conditions of EU membership as well as all details of financial arrangements, safeguards clauses, transitional arrangements and deadlines. The Accession Treaty is legally binding in the moment when the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and the European Commission support it. The Treaty has to be signed by the Candidate country and all Member States of the EU and ratified by the candidate country and each of the Member States individually, according to their constitutional rules.

After all parties ratify the Accession Treaty, the candidate country becomes an Acceding country. The country is then expected to become a full member of the EU. Before the ratification of the Treaty is done, the Acceding country acquires “active observer status”. This status gives entitlement to the country to comment, but not to vote in any matter<sup>23</sup>.

## 2.2. Human Rights

Human rights have become a very important issue, especially after the Second World War, during which atrocious violations of human rights and human dignity occurred<sup>24</sup>. After the War, human rights became very important moral and political issues, which led most of the Western democratic countries to start dealing with human rights on a legal level and apply them into legislation worldwide<sup>25</sup>. The United Nations (UN) adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. However, human rights were not known in general international law until the year 1945, when the UN was established on 24 October as a replacement of the ineffective League of Nations<sup>26</sup>. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights became a model for national constitutions of many world countries as well as for the international governmental and non-governmental organizations<sup>27</sup>.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the first document of its kind in the history of human rights protection, recognition and preservation. The UDHR sets up the common standard of achievements for all nations and all people. The UDHR declared that equal human rights and dignity are inherent and inalienable, which is the basis of freedom, peace and justice all over the world. It also reaffirmed the UN’s faith in fundamental human rights, dignity and in the value of human beings and last but not least in gender equality. By adopting the UDHR, all Member States committed to achieve all pledges of this Declaration in cooperation

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<sup>23</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR COMMUNICATION. *Enlargement Extending European values and standards to more countries*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2015. 16 p. ISBN 978-92-79-49191-7.

<sup>24</sup> KOLB, Robert. a Gloria GAGGIOLI (eds). *Research handbook on human rights and humanitarian law*. Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, 2013. 704 p. ISBN 978-1-84980-035-8.

<sup>25</sup> GOODHART, Michael (ed). *Human Rights: Politics and Practice*. Oxford University Press, 2013. 496 p. ISBN 978-0-19-960828-7.

<sup>26</sup> WETZEL, Jan Erik (ed). *The EU as a "Global Player" in Human Rights?*. New York: Routledge, 2012. 264 p. ISBN 978-0-415-58705-1.

<sup>27</sup> CRUFT, R., S. M. LIAO and M. RENZO (eds). *Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights*. Oxford University Press, 2015. 720 p. ISBN 978-0-19-968863-0.

with the UN. The commitment of Member States relates to the promotion of universal respect and preservation of human rights and fundamental freedoms<sup>28</sup>.

Issues of human rights have accompanied humankind and societies for centuries and have a very rich history, even though the understanding of human rights in the past centuries have been different than, as it is understood today. This work will address the post Second World War concept of human rights.

### **2.2.1. The Concept of Human Rights**

The term human rights is widely known, yet not that easy to define. There are many ways to understand and explain the term human rights. The two main approaches, which can explain what human rights are, are a philosophical approach and a pragmatic approach. However, we can also divide human rights into three categories; fundamental rights, human rights and civil rights. Nevertheless, parts of human rights are also economic, social and cultural rights. This subchapter will address all of the approaches, categories and parts of the human rights mentioned above.

The philosophical approach: the idea of human rights is that they are universal; they are inalienable, natural and inherent. In the terms of inalienable, nobody can divest the human rights of their holders. The human beings possess rights by the fact that they are human beings. Being a human means that person has awareness of its substance and its actions. Inheriting human rights is based on the very nature of human beings, beings, who have awareness of themselves and their actions. The thought of the philosophical approach is that all human beings are essentially equal. The pragmatic approach perceives human rights as any right, which has to be valid and legally defined through some process or institution<sup>29</sup>.

Human rights can be understood as exclusive rights belonging to human beings. There is a distinguished difference between fundamental rights, human rights and civil rights. Fundamental rights can be understood as the rights explicitly adapt in national or state constitution or international treaties<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> UNITED NATIONS. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. [online]. [18. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

<sup>29</sup> ZANKAR, Vaishali D. and Shefali R. PANDYA. *Human Rights in Teaching Practices*. Partridge India, 2016. 336 p. ISBN 978-1-4828-7183-8.

<sup>30</sup> MAK, Chantal. *Fundamental rights in European contract law: a comparison of the impact of fundamental rights on contractual relationships in Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, and England*. Kluwer Law International, 2008. 396 p. ISBN 978-90-411-2671-9.

Human rights are the most fundamental rights; these include the right for life, education, freedom of speech, torture protection and fair trial. Some of these rights are included into civil rights but they are seen as the very basic needs of human existence.

The civil rights on the contrary, are granted to the person on the basis of citizenship of the nation or state. Civil rights exist for citizens to be protected against discrimination, grant some sort of freedoms depending on each state or nation. In addition, it is the state or national law, which grants the rights to their citizens<sup>31</sup>.

Economic, social and cultural rights are human rights, which are related to the workplace, social security, family life, participation in cultural life and access to housing, food, water, health care and education. Economic and social rights, which are related to the work place, play a role in protecting workers from forced labour; people are granted the right to choose work freely according to their own will. Workers also have rights to be fairly paid, and paid equally for equal work, to have healthy and safe work conditions. They also have rights to join and form trade unions, and to strike. People also have rights to social security and social protection and rights to access health facilities. Among these rights, also belong the right and access to education and compulsory primary education and rights of parents to freely choose a school for their children. Cultural rights include the right to participate in cultural life and to share and benefit from scientific advancement. Cultural rights also protect authors and their material and moral interests from literary, scientific or artistic production.

Defining economic and social rights is important for understanding how gender is relevant for these aspects of human rights. There are some differences in experiencing economic, social and cultural rights for women and men. For example, if there is lack of regulations of working conditions for hard manual labour, this will affect more men than women. On the other hand, neglect in the protection of rights of workers in the informal sector or domestic work affects predominantly more women than men. Other existing differences can be seen in school dropout. In some countries, the rates of school dropout are significantly higher among young men. The reason is expectation of parents for boys to economically support and help their own family, meaning that the boys are expecting to go to work or to help with their family's business rather than go to school. Nevertheless, sometimes, in some countries young women find themselves in situations when they have to drop out of school. The reasons behind

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<sup>31</sup> UNITED NATIONS. *Human Rights*. [online]. [10. 07. 2018]. Available on: <http://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/human-rights/index.html>

higher rates of young women dropping out of school are early marriages and pregnancies. All these differences in rights must be given the appropriate attention in drafting strategies, policies, legislation and monitoring mechanisms. If these differences were overlooked then it may lead to unequal enjoyment of all the three rights, economic, social and cultural<sup>32</sup>.

Education and access to education is crucial for everybody, citizens and state. Without the right to have equal access to education, the economic, social and cultural part of human life would be negatively affected. Furthermore, it would exclude some people and make enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights unequal. According to the World Bank's study of Dollar and Gatti<sup>33</sup>, there is evidence, which suggests that insufficient investments in girls' education is an ineffective economic choice. To a certain extent, gender inequality in schooling, education and other areas, can be explained by religious preferences and extent of civil liberties. However, these claims of economic effectiveness in the under-investment of girls' education are simply false. According to this study, there are econometric evidences showing that gender inequality leads to slower development. Nevertheless, some countries and societies are actually willing to pay the price of gender inequality in form of slower economic growth, because they just prefer gender inequality in economic and social life for their religious and social preferences.

This study also shows that if per capita income increases, this leads to reductions of gender inequality. It is clear that gender equality and economic development goes hand in hand with economic growth and is mutually reinforced<sup>34</sup>.

### **2.2.2. Human Rights in the European Union and European Legislation on Human Rights**

The rule of law and human rights belongs to the fundamental principles of the EU itself. However, human rights were not involved in founding treaties of the European Community until the 1970s<sup>35</sup>. At that time, human rights involved in the national constitutions of Member

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<sup>32</sup> OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. Frequently Asked Questions on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. *Human Rights Fact Sheet No. 33*. [online]. 2008, December [18. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/ESCR/FAQ%20on%20ESCR-en.pdf>. ISSN 1014-5567.

<sup>33</sup> DOLLAR, David and Roberta GATTI. Gender Inequality, Income, and Growth: Are Good Times Good for Women? *Policy Research Report On Gender And Development Working Paper Series*. [online]. 1999, May. No. 1 [18. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://darp.lse.ac.uk/frankweb/courses/EC501/DG.pdf>

<sup>34</sup> DOLLAR, David and Roberta GATTI, ref. 33

<sup>35</sup> WETZEL, Jan Erik (ed), ref. 26

States, were sufficient measures for all included<sup>36</sup>. The European Community started as an economic integration community, not as a protector of human rights. After the Second World War, it was supposed to be the Council of Europe that will protect human rights in Europe and worldwide. Nevertheless, the European Commission and the European Court of Justice (ECJ) had to deal with objections that the European law does not sufficiently reflect the principles of human rights protection<sup>37</sup>.

The development of human rights protection in the EU has been set in two layers: ECJ rulings and the EU legislation. The first layer: the doctrine of human rights protection was developed based on ECJ rulings. This method of protection has become very flexible and able to keep up with the constantly changing needs of the EU and its Member States. The second layer concerned the adoption of EU legislation, which has included human rights issues into the EU law<sup>38</sup>.

The first initial role of human rights protection belonged to the European Court of Justice. The common discussion started in the 1970's. Initiative of the European Commission led to an adaptation of Joint Declaration of Fundamental Rights in 1977. This Declaration committed the countries of the European Community to respect fundamental rights in the exercise of their powers. In 1989, the European parliament wanted to proclaim the Declaration of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms as a legally binding document however, this effort was unsuccessful.

Nevertheless, after the adoption of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997, the European Parliament brought again the discussion to adopt the Charter of Fundamental Rights as a legally binding document for all Member States. It had been adopted but this document was a non-binding character. The Maastricht Treaty brought changes long called by the European parliament. The Treaty gave birth to the European Union and created the European citizenship. The key part for human rights was the article 2 of the Treaty on the European Union<sup>39</sup>. It states the values on which the EU is founded such as respect for human rights, equal rights of minorities, human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and that Member

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<sup>36</sup> CALLEWAERT, Johan. *The Accession of the European Union to the European Convention on Human Rights*. Council of Europe, 2014. 107 p. ISBN 978-92-871-7852-7.

<sup>37</sup> FABBRINI, Federico. *Fundamental rights in Europe: Challenges and Transformations in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford University Press, 2014. 352 p. ISBN 978-0-19-870204-7.

<sup>38</sup> NEUWAHL, Nanette A. and Allan ROSAS (eds). *The European Union and Human Rights*. Kluwer Law International, 1995. 354 p. ISBN 90-411-0124-1.

<sup>39</sup> EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. *The Charter of Fundamental Rights*. [online]. [19. 11. 2016]. Available on: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU\\_1.1.6.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_1.1.6.html)

States are connected with common values: gender equality, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice and solidarity<sup>40</sup>. By adoption of the Lisbon Treaty, the Charter of Fundamental Rights has become, after more than a decade of the Parliament effort, a legally binding document in 2009<sup>41</sup>.

### 2.2.3. Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union

The Charter of Fundamental Rights contains civil, political and social rights. It covers chapters devoted to issues of human dignity, freedoms and equality, solidarity and citizenship rights. The Charter is a legally binding document, which means that they are applying to the EU institutions and to the Member States only in the cases when they are applying EU law and not otherwise<sup>42</sup>. The reason for adopting the Charter of Fundamental Rights by the EU was that EU countries established and adopted their national fundamental rights in different periods, ways and forms and the EU felt the need for its clarification and unification within all EU countries.

Parts of the Charter are all case law of European Court of Justice, freedoms and rights preserved in the European Convention on Human Rights and other rights and principles resulting from the common constitutional traditions of the EU Member States and other international instruments. The Charter also includes protection against new threats to fundamental rights also known as third generation of fundamental rights, such as protection of data, transparent administration and also bioethics guarantation. The Charter applies to all EU institutions regarding the principle of subsidiarity<sup>43</sup>.

The next chapter will focus on gender equality, which is part of The Charter of Fundamental Rights. Gender equality is specifically addressed in the Charter in Articles 20, 21 and 23. The Article 20 simply says that everybody is equal before the law. The non-discrimination Article 21 states: “1. *Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any*

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<sup>40</sup> TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION (CONSOLIDATED VERSIONS), ref. 5

<sup>41</sup> EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. *Respect for fundamental rights in the Union*. [online]. [19. 11. 2016]. Available on: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU\\_2.1.2.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_2.1.2.html)

<sup>42</sup> FEDERICO, Giacomo Di (ed). *The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights: From Declaration to Binding Instrument*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2011. 340 p. ISBN 978-94-007-0155-7.

<sup>43</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *EU Charter of Fundamental Rights*. [online]. [19. 11. 2016]. Available on: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/fundamental-rights/charter/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/fundamental-rights/charter/index_en.htm)

*other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited.*

*2. Within the scope of application of the Treaty establishing the European Community and of the Treaty on European Union, and without prejudice to the special provisions of those Treaties, any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited.”*

In the Article 23, the gender equality is defined as: *“Equality between men and women must be ensured in all areas, including employment, work and pay. The principle of equality shall not prevent the maintenance or adoption of measures providing for specific advantages in favour of the under-represented sex.”*<sup>44</sup>

### **2.3. Gender Equality**

Gender equality has been in the centre of interest of the general population and political representatives for nearly a century in most parts of the world. It is based on the fact that women and men are equal and should have equal rights. Even though that, for example the right to vote is now seen as a matter of course, the right to vote has not been granted to women till the past century in most of the world.

The EU and its Member States know that the equality between men and women is crucial not only on the economic scale but also political and social. The equality between the genders is one of the EU founding values. The EU itself is aware of the fact that there are still areas in which the gender equality is not sufficient. It is still working on the progress, and the progress has been made significantly in the past years. The EU adopts legislation, which is based on equal treatment, gender mainstreaming and by making specific measures for the advancement of the rights of women.

Over the years, progress has been made. The trends show that the number of female workers in the labour market has increased. There has been made a progress in provision of training and education for women. Nevertheless, gender gaps still remain. Women are over-represented in lower paid positions and sectors and their representation in decision-making, managing positions is lower than representation of the opposite sex<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. In: Eur-Lex.europa.eu [online]. 2012 [19. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12012P%2FTXT>

<sup>45</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Gender equality*. [online]. [19. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/>



In last decades, there has been an expansion of participation in the educational system and an increase of significance in training and educational qualification in allocation process of the labour market. However, the demand for qualified workers has increased<sup>46</sup>. In this economic environment, skilled workers are essential, the equal opportunities in the labour market and access to education is highly needed and should be promoted and developed. Equality in access to education, training and the labour market is essential not only from the social point of view but also economic. The equal economic conditions for male and female generally leads to economic growth and welfare<sup>47</sup>.

### 2.3.1. Concepts and Definitions of Gender Equality

Gender equality applies to equal rights regardless of sex. It refers to equal opportunities and responsibilities between women and men. Gender equality means that all rights, opportunities and responsibilities are granted and not depending on whether someone was born male or female. It takes into consideration that different groups of men and women need interests and priorities. Equality between males and females is seen as a human rights issue as well as an indicator and precondition for sustainable development of society.

If gender equality refers to equal rights, what are the differences between genders and what does the term gender even mean? Gender is part of a broad socio-cultural context, which contains class, level of poverty, race, age and ethnic groups. It is learned and determined through the process of socialization. It refers to socio-cultural features, opportunities and the relationships between women and men, which are different depending on the culture; they are time related and changeable in time<sup>48</sup>. Gender can be understood as having multidimensional character, Lips<sup>49</sup> defined two dimensions of gender, gender identity and gender role. “*Gender identity: thinking of oneself as male or female and gender role: behaving in ways considered appropriate for women or men in the surrounding culture*”<sup>50</sup>. Talking about gender, there must

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<sup>46</sup> IANNELLI, Cristina. Parental Education and Young People’s Educational and Labour Market Outcomes: A Comparison across Europe. *Arbeitspapiere - Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung*. [online]. 2002. [19. 11. 2016]. Available on: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/671b/79e8335f4237bb1d4698847d00ea4a169893.pdf>. ISSN 1437-8574.

<sup>47</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Gender equality*, ref. 45

<sup>48</sup> EUROPEAN INSTITUTE FOR GENDER EQUALITY. *Concepts and definitions*. [online]. [20. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/concepts-and-definitions>

<sup>49</sup> LIPS, Hilary M. *Gender the Basics*. Routledge, 2014. 272 p. ISBN 978-0-415-68950-2.

<sup>50</sup> LIPS, Hilary M, ref. 49

be explained the differences between gender and sex. Sex are biological characteristics, based on these characteristics we define humans as female or male.

Gender discrimination is understood as any differentiation, exclusion or restriction, which are made based on sex. It is a disruption of getting the same human rights and fundamental freedoms in economic, political, civil, socio-cultural and in other fields. Discrimination can occur not only based on sex but also based on religion, race, ethnicity, class, age etc. There are two types of discrimination, direct and indirect.

Direct discrimination is different treatment, which is based explicitly and directly on differences between genders and cannot be objectively justified. Indirect discrimination refers to conduct when seemingly neutral provision, criterion or practice discriminates against or favours person of one sex over another<sup>51</sup>.

There is another widely used term: glass ceiling. Glass ceiling represents invisible but real barriers. These kinds of barriers prevent a person or group of persons to reach next level or advancement of social and work status even though the person deserved it or is qualified for an advance. It is generally illegal, to use such practices, however, their use still prevails. Glass ceiling barriers exists due to the created or inherited prejudices based on gender, age, ethnicity, religious et cetera<sup>52</sup>.

A widely inflected term in the context of gender equality is gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming can be described as the effort of institutionalisation gender equality by inserting practices, norms and processes, which are sensitive to gender issues and to environment of public policies<sup>53</sup>.

When it comes to gender equality, gender discrimination or gender mainstreaming, there cannot be forgotten one of the aspects of equality, which determines equality between men and women in social and economic areas – gender pay gap. Gender pay gap is the differences between earning of women and men. The size of gender pay gap reflects discrimination and inequalities in the labour market<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> EUROPEAN INSTITUTE FOR GENDER EQUALITY. *Concepts and definitions*, ref. 48

<sup>52</sup> RYAN, K. M., M. T. SCHMITT and M. BARRETO (eds). *The Glass Ceiling in the 21st Century: Understand Barriers to Gender Equality*. American Psychological Association, 2009. 334 p. ISBN 978-1-43380-409-0.

<sup>53</sup> DALY, Mary E. Gender Mainstreaming in Theory and Practice. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*. [online]. 2005, November. [20. 11. 2016]. Available on: [http://uaf.edu.pk/faculties/social\\_sci/courses/gender\\_and\\_development/05.pdf](http://uaf.edu.pk/faculties/social_sci/courses/gender_and_development/05.pdf)

<sup>54</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Gender pay gap*. [online]. [20. 11. 2016]. Available on: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-pay-gap/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-pay-gap/index_en.htm)

### 2.3.2. European Union Legislation on Gender Equality

Equality between males and females is one of the aims and main principles of the European Union. The principle of gender equality has been strengthened over time by the improvement of EU legislation. The application of the EU law on equality between genders was based on EU legislation, case law of European Court of Justice and changes in EU Treaties.

The principles of equality of any kind as well as specifically gender equality is enshrined in the Treaties of the European Union<sup>55</sup>. The first Treaty in which gender equality has been included was the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community in 1957. There was only one provision in Article 119 of the Treaty, the principle of equal pay for men and women. This provision had purely economic character, elimination of distortion of competition between Member States.

With ratification of the Amsterdam Treaty, the European Union should have worked on the elimination of inequalities and support equal treatment between men and women. After the adoption of the Treaty of Amsterdam, the Union had to take into account the aim of gender equality, while formulating and implementing laws, regulations, policies, provisions of administrative characters and other activities. The Treaty also gave the EU the competences to combat with appropriate measures with discrimination based on sex, race, ethnicity, religion, disability, age or sexual orientation.

Undoubtedly, an important part in EU legislation was the adoption of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union in 2009, the Charter is described in the previous subchapter 2.3.2 The Lisbon Treaty confirms positions and opinions on gender equality guaranteed in previous Treaties. The promotion of equality is still one of the main and founding goals<sup>56</sup>.

In 2010, the European Commission has adopted a political declaration called A Strengthened Commitment to Equality between Women and Men: A Women's Charter. Through the Declaration, the European Commission reaffirms commitment of the EU to attain equality between genders, and not only in its Member States but beyond the EU. The Commission emphasizes that gender equality should be taken into account in all of the EU's

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<sup>55</sup> EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. *Equality between men and women*. [online]. [30. 11. 2016]. Available on: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU\\_5.10.8.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU_5.10.8.html)

<sup>56</sup> BURRI, Susanne and Sacha PRECHAL. *EU Gender Equality Law. Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities*. [online]. 2008, September [30. 11. 2016]. Available on: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/your\\_rights/genderequalitylaw2008\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/your_rights/genderequalitylaw2008_en.pdf)

policies. The Charter proposes five specific areas of action; these actions can be found in the next subchapter 2.3.3 the European Union Strategies for Gender Equality, because the strategy is following the same action plan as the Charter<sup>57</sup>.

### **2.3.3. European Union Strategies for Gender Equality**

There are two main strategies, which focus on gender equality in the EU and legislation drafted to ensure the equality between genders in social and economic life. This subchapter will focus on the last strategy, the Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019, published in 2015 by the European Commission.

The Strategy states that promoting gender equality belongs to its main objectives and activities. Gender equality is also very important and closely tied to economic growth. The Strategy has five key areas for action.

1. equal economic independence for both genders,
2. equal pay for work, which has equal value,
3. equality in decision-making processes,
4. dignity, integrity and ending violence based on gender,
5. promoting gender equality outside of the European Union.

The Commission set up its key actions and priorities for 2016-2019 in which it wants to promote equality between men and women. There are together five areas of priority:

- to increase number of female workers participating in the labour market and the equal economic independence of both genders,
- reduction of gender pay gap, also gaps in earning and pensions and therefore reduction and fighting poverty among women,
- to promote gender equality in decision-making processes,
- to fight gender-based violence and to support and protect its victims,
- to promote Gender equality and women's rights worldwide.

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<sup>57</sup> STRENGTHENING THE COMMITMENT TO EQUALITY BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN: A WOMEN'S CHARTER. In: Eur-Lex.europa.eu [online]. 2010 [30. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/DA/TXT/?uri=URISERV:em0033>

The EU provides funding in the amount of EUR 6.17 billion to achieve all the targets and objectives set up in this Strategy<sup>58</sup>.

#### **2.3.4. The Global Gender Gap**

The World Economic Forum publishes the Global Gender Gap Report annually since 2006. In 2016, this Report quantifies the extent of gender disparities and tracks 144 monitored countries' progress over time. The Global Gender Gap Report focuses on the gaps between genders in four key areas; education, economy, politics and health, together they present the Global Gender Gap Index (GGI Index). The Index consists of four sub-indexes: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment and 14 indicators belonging to the sub-indexes.

Economic Participation and Opportunity – this sub-index consist of three parts: the participation gap, the remuneration gap and the advancement gap. The participation gap follows the differences between genders in labour force participation rates. Second concept, the remuneration gap uses two indicators; fixed data indicator, which estimates the ratio of female-to-male earned income. The second indicator belongs among qualitative indicators, using data collected the World Economic Forum's Executive Opinion Survey, and the data contains information about equal salary for equal work. Finally, the advancement gap uses hard data statistics, which follows the ratio of women to men among legislators, senior officials and managers, and the ratio of women to men among technical and professional workers.

Educational Attainment – this sub-index captures the gap in access to primary, secondary, and tertiary level of education between women and men. Part of this sub-index is the proportional rate of female literacy to the male literacy rate and the country's ability to educate females and males in equal numbers in a long-term view.

Health and Survival – this sub-index shows an overview of the health differences between females and males using two indicators. First is the sex ratio at birth, specifically aiming to capture the phenomenon of “missing women”, which prevails in countries where the preference for male descendants still exists. Second indicator follows the differences between genders in healthy life expectancy. It estimates the numbers of years that are expected for

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<sup>58</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019*. European Union, 2016. 48 p. ISBN 978-92-79-53451-5.

women and for men to live in good health by taking into account the years lost to diseases, malnutrition, violence and/or other relevant factors.

Political Empowerment – this sub-index is measuring the differences between the genders at the highest level of political decision-making positions. Political empowerment sub-index uses the ratio of females to males in the highest political functions on the minister level and the ratio of women to men in parliamentary functions. This sub-index does not include the differences in participation of females and males at the local level of government, which World Economic Forum, who creates the report and indexes, finds as a clear drawback of this sub-index.

The Table 2.1 shows the ranking in the Gender Global Gap Index of the 28 Member States of the EU and 5 Candidate countries. The Gender Global Gap Index converts all data to female-to-male ratios, for example if a country has 20.0 % of females in ministerial positions then these will get a ratio of 20 to 80 males and therefore the country will get a value of 0,25. This is made to ensure that the index will capture gaps between females and males.

The scale of Gender Global Gap Index is from 0 to 1 and it ranks 144 countries. The score 0 is the lowest score in following indexes and the score 1 is the parity, the highest score country can achieve. However, two sub-indexes sex ration at birth and healthy life expectancy does not have score 1 as parity. Sex ration at birth parity is 0,944 and healthy life expectancy's parity score is 11,06<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017*. [online]. [30. 05. 2018]. Available on: [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR16/WEF\\_Global\\_Gender\\_Gap\\_Report\\_2016.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR16/WEF_Global_Gender_Gap_Report_2016.pdf)

**Table 2.1 Global Gender Gap ranking of EU 28 and Candidate countries**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Ranking in Global Index</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Ranking in Global Index</b>
<b>Finland</b>	3	<b>Croatia</b>	54
<b>Sweden</b>	5	<b>Austria</b>	57
<b>Slovenia</b>	7	<b>Romania</b>	58
<b>Ireland</b>	8	<b>Luxembourg</b>	59
<b>France</b>	11	<b>Slovakia</b>	74
<b>Germany</b>	12	<b>Greece</b>	78
<b>Denmark</b>	14	<b>Italy</b>	82
<b>UK</b>	15	<b>Czechia</b>	88
<b>Bulgaria</b>	18	<b>Cyprus</b>	92
<b>Latvia</b>	20	<b>Malta</b>	93
<b>Spain</b>	24	<b>Hungary</b>	103
<b>Lithuania</b>	28	<b>Candidate country</b>	<b>Ranking in Global Index</b>
<b>Belgium</b>	31	<b>Albania</b>	38
<b>Netherlands</b>	32	<b>Macedonia, FYROM</b>	67
<b>Portugal</b>	33	<b>Montenegro</b>	77
<b>Estonia</b>	37	<b>Serbia</b>	40
<b>Poland</b>	39	<b>Turkey</b>	131

Source: THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017*, own processing

### **3. Gender Equality in Turkey in the Context of its Accession to the European Union**

The history of modern Turkey starts in 1923 when the country leading by Mustafa Kemal, also known as Atatürk, was proclaimed a Republic and won independence over occupation forces of France, Italy and Greece. The modernization of Turkey, led by Atatürk, meant democratization, breaking the Imperial chains and delivered wide-ranging reforms, social, legal and political together with creating a secular state<sup>60</sup>.

Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the gender question has been the core theme, when it came to the project of the country's modernization<sup>61</sup>. The EU membership was a natural implication of westernization and modernization, which started by Atatürk and political and military elites. However, the finishing line of Turkey's road to become a Member State of the EU is still far from reach. Nevertheless, there is still a political will to hold on to possible membership of Turkey on both sides. Turkey still seeks to become a Member State to acquire the benefits of EU membership, such as free visa travel for Turkish nationals and deeper trade and economic ties. Also, the EU does not want to lose Turkey as a partner, especially now in the times of refugee crisis, when Turkey is helping the EU to stop streams of refugees into the Member States. Although, the EU is divided on the issue of Turkey becoming a Member State, which undermines the political will of the EU as a whole<sup>62</sup>.

#### **3.1. Turkey's Road Towards European Union Membership**

Turkey's road to the European Union started already in the late 1950s, when it was the first country outside of the Community, who wanted to participate in the integration process with EEC countries<sup>63</sup>. In 1959, Turkey officially applied for an Associate Membership to the EEC<sup>64</sup>. Nevertheless, the Association Agreement, also known as Ankara Agreement, was

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<sup>60</sup> ALEXANDER, Y., E. H. BRENNER and S. T. KRAUSE (eds). *Turkey: Terrorism, Civil Rights, and the European Union*. Routledge, 2008. 782 p. ISBN 978-0-415-44163-6.

<sup>61</sup> DEDEOĞLU, Saniye and Adem Y. ELVEREN. (Ed.) *Gender and Society in Turkey: The Impact of Neoliberal Policies, Political Islam and EU Accession*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012. 320 p. ISBN 978-1-78076-027-8.

<sup>62</sup> INDEPENDENT. *Turkey still wants 'full membership' of EU, Erdogan says*. [online]. [10. 05. 2018]. Available on: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/erdogan-turkey-eu-full-membership-european-union-commitment-president-a8274166.html>

<sup>63</sup> NAS, Çiğdem and Yonca ÖZER. *Turkey and the European Union: Processes of Europeanisation*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012. 300 p. ISBN 978-1-4094-4529-6.

<sup>64</sup> GUERIN, Selen Sarisoy and Ioannis STIVACHTIS (eds). *On the Road to EU Membership: The Economic Transformation of Turkey*. Brussels: Institute for European Studies, 2011. 375 p. ISBN 978-90-5487-861-2.



not signed until the year 1963. This Agreement promised a possible future membership in the EEC<sup>65</sup>. This Agreement established the trade union with the EEC, which meant that Turkey could trade agricultural products and goods with no restrictions<sup>66</sup>. The Ankara Agreement set down the basic objectives of the EEC and Turkey's relationship. One of these objectives was an ongoing and balanced strengthening of the economic and trade relationship between the two entities. Another of those objectives was to set the free movement of workers as well, which could not be accomplished for socio-economic reasons<sup>67</sup>.

Turkey continued negotiations with the EEC, later the EC, regarding possible membership in the EC in the 1970s and 1980s. Although, the economic situation in Turkey was dire during this period of time and led to the economic crisis. The Turkish Government had to deal with monetary and economic stress, which did not improve until after the Oil crisis in 1973. All this distress together with political instability resulted in a military coup, coup d'état, in 1980<sup>68</sup>. Although that, the relationship between Turkey and the EC worsened, the EC never discouraged Turkey from aspiring to become a member of the EC<sup>69</sup>.

In the second half of the 1980s, Turkey wanted to move closer to the plausible EC membership and reactivated the Ankara Agreement. With this political attitude, Turkey officially applied for EC membership on 14 April 1987<sup>70</sup>. However, the application was rejected in 1990, due to the unpreparedness of both EC and Turkey to begin accession talks, because of the continuing economic and political instability. In 1997, at the Luxembourg Council, Germany and Greece were against granting candidate country status to Turkey. This led to a new crisis of the EU-Turkey relationship because at the Luxembourg Council, some of the Central and Eastern European countries had been granted the status of candidate country, the majority of which were neither economically nor politically developed notably more than Turkey. After that, Turkey announced that they would disrupt political dialogue with the EU.

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<sup>65</sup> TEKIN, Ali and Aylin GÜNEY (eds), ref. 22

<sup>66</sup> DELEGATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION TO TURKEY. *EU and Turkey's History*. [online]. [30. 11. 2016]. Available on: <http://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/eu-and-turkeys-history-711>

<sup>67</sup> TURKEY'S PRE-ACCESSION STRATEGY. In: Eur-Lex.europa.eu [online]. 2005 [09. 02. 2017]. Available on: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Ae40113>

<sup>68</sup> GUERIN, Selen Sarisoy and Ioannis STIVACHTIS (eds), ref. 64

<sup>69</sup> BAEHR, P., M. CASTERMANS-HOLLEMAN and F. GRÜNFELD (eds). *Human Rights in the Foreign Policy of the Netherlands*. Intersentia, 2002. 270 p. ISBN 90-5095-221-6.

<sup>70</sup> GUERIN, Selen Sarisoy and Ioannis STIVACHTIS (eds), ref. 64

### 3.1.1. Turkey as a Candidate Country of the European Union

Despite political obstacles and the crises in the relationship between Turkey and the EU, Turkey was given formal candidate country status in the Helsinki Council in 1999. After this, Turkey started intensive reforms, which led to the opening of accession negotiations on 3 October 2005. Accession negotiations were open after the Commission Progress Report from 2004, whose conclusions were in favour of Turkey and its reforms that were implemented after 1999. The report stated that Turkey sufficiently fulfilled the political criteria.

Even though that the country was granted candidate country status, the accession negotiations did not go without any problems. The first problem was with Cyprus, the EU Member State since 2004, which Turkey does not officially recognise the Republic of Cyprus as a sovereign country. This is obviously a huge problem and it was a problem even before 2004, when Cyprus and Turkey both were candidate countries. The other problem for Turkey's membership was the disagreement with Austria<sup>71</sup>. Austria did not agree with Turkey being granted candidate country status and also that the EU blocked membership talks with Croatia, which is a country historically and politically closer to the EU<sup>72</sup>. Austria even proposed a Privileged Partnership with Turkey rather than full EU membership, calling it an alternative to EU membership<sup>73</sup>. Other problems with the Kurdish minority in Turkey, could not be forgotten<sup>74</sup>. Nevertheless, on 3 October 2005, the Accession negotiations started together with the screening process: a detailed examination of each Chapter of the Acquis.

In 2012, the new positive agenda has been unveiled by the European Commission and adopted by Turkey. The positive agenda aimed on political reforms, including new constitutions, further work on the Acquis, the Customs Union, foreign policy, enhanced energy cooperation, visas, mobility and migration and the fight against terrorism<sup>75</sup>. The positive agenda should have brought fresh dynamics into EU-Turkey relations<sup>76</sup>. Nevertheless, even though that

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<sup>71</sup> MACMILLAN, Catherine. *Discourse, Identity and the Question of Turkish Accession to the EU: Through the Looking Glass*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013. 200 p. ISBN 978-1-4094-5559-2.

<sup>72</sup> THE GUARDIAN. *Austria blocks Turkey's road to EU membership*. [online]. [30. 11. 2016]. Available on: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/sep/14/austria.turkey>

<sup>73</sup> EU OBSERVER. *Austria moots alternative to Turkish EU membership*. [online]. [10. 12. 2016]. Available on: <https://euobserver.com/enlargement/19752>

<sup>74</sup> GUERIN, Selen Sarisoy and Ioannis STIVACHTIS (eds), ref. 64

<sup>75</sup> MARTIN, Natalie. *Security and the Turkey-EU Accession Process: Norms, Reforms and the Cyprus Issue*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 282 p. ISBN 978-1-137-45002-9.

<sup>76</sup> MORELLI, Vincent L. *European Union Enlargement: A Status Report on Turkey's Accession Negotiations*. Congressional Research Service. [online]. 2013, August [10. 02. 2017]. Available on: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS22517.pdf>

the positive agenda was adopted, the prospect of Turkey's EU membership was unclear. At this time neither the EU nor Turkey were sure whether Turkey belonged to the EU or not<sup>77</sup>. However, some referred to the positive agenda as an "institutional trick" to evade Turkey's refusal to deal with some aspects of the EU and refusal of the Cypriot presidency beginning on 1 July 2012. However, many of the chapters of the Acquis remained frozen<sup>78</sup>. Since the years 2012 and 2013, the relations between the EU and Turkey, together with the geopolitical situation, started to change and took another direction. Turkey's road towards EU membership and current development of mutual relations will be described in following subchapter 3.1.2.

### **3.1.2. Current Political Development in Turkey**

The break in the global political environment came with the war in Syria. This war raised tensions between states, especially in the Western world. The Syrian civil war had a direct impact on Turkey as its neighbour, and the following refugee crisis affected Turkey, as well as the EU Member States.

Turkey got directly involved in the Syrian conflict after the Syrian mortar fire, which took place on the Turkish borders and killed five Turkish civilians in October 2012. Turkey decided to take military action inside Syrian territory<sup>79</sup>. In addition to that, Turkey is one of the countries where many Syrian refugees are fleeing to seek asylum. Gradually, many of these refugees left Turkey to seek asylum in EU countries, which led to the European refugee crisis and shaped the future relations between the EU and Turkey.

Nevertheless, in early 2013 the accession negotiations bear signs of positive re-launching. This re-launching of negotiations however remained slow thanks to the remaining issues, for example with Turkish and Cypriot relations, which until now remains problematic for their membership<sup>80</sup>.

The refugee crisis, which started after the Syrian war, showed major shortcomings of the EU. On 29 November 2015, the EU and Turkey activated the EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan related to stop streams of refugees coming to the EU through the hands of smugglers. This

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<sup>77</sup> AKÇAY, Belgin and Bahri YILMAZ (eds.). *Turkey's Accession to the European Union: Political and Economic Challenges*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012. 352 p. ISBN 978-0-7391-7981-9.

<sup>78</sup> MORELLI, Vincent L., ref. 76

<sup>79</sup> BBC. *Turkey profile – Timeline*. [online]. [10. 02. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17994865>

<sup>80</sup> SZIGETVÁRI, Tamás. EU-Turkey Relations: Changing Approaches. *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*. [online]. 2014, March [15. 02. 2017]. Available on: [http://rjea.ier.ro/sites/rjea.ier.ro/files/articole/RJEA\\_2014\\_vol14\\_no1\\_art3.pdf](http://rjea.ier.ro/sites/rjea.ier.ro/files/articole/RJEA_2014_vol14_no1_art3.pdf)

Action plan should not only stop the huge numbers of refugees and migrants coming to the EU but also stop illegal smugglers, who are taking desperate people fleeing from war and putting them on the dangerous and deadly paths across the Mediterranean Sea. The Action plan contains the deal to return some of the refugees and migrants who came from Turkey to be sent back. In exchange, the EU will liberalize visa requirement for Turkish citizens. For this cooperation between Turkey and the EU, the EU already allocated 1.85 billion EUR out of the agreed 3 billion EUR<sup>81</sup>. This deal could put the EU in the position of being easily blackmailed by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Nevertheless, the deal is working, and a significantly reduced number of people are coming to the EU from Turkey whether they were refugees or migrants<sup>82</sup>. The EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan agreement led to less criticism from the EU and its institutions towards Turkey's record of human rights. This is an unprecedented approach taken by the EU, which could contribute to loss of credibility regarding Turkey's enlargement process and the EU itself<sup>83</sup>.

In 2014, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, former Prime Minister, won the presidential elections. His presidency was a setback for the relationship with the EU especially in 2016 and 2017. The year 2015 brought additional changes for Turkey's political environment, the political party of current President Erdoğan: The Justice and Development Party, won the general election. In this year, the Turkish-Kurdish relationship suffered, because the peace process with the Kurdish minority broke down, which escalated in violence in the southeast part of the country<sup>84</sup>. Starting with the military coup attempt against the current President and the referendum in April 2017, which will change the Turkish constitution and will move Turkey slowly towards dictatorship. Both, the military coup attempt and referendum on amendments of the constitution are largely described in following subchapter.

The EU did not leave changes, caused by the Turkish referendum and military coup, without a response. After the coup attempt from July 2016, the Members of the European Parliament (MEP) called for a temporary freeze of the accession negotiations. MEP voted for

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<sup>81</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Factsheet on the EU-Turkey Statement*. [online]. [10. 02. 2017]. Available on: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-16-963\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-16-963_en.htm)

<sup>82</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Eu-Turkey Statement: Two years on*. [online]. [10. 05. 2018]. Available on: [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20180314\\_eu-turkey-two-years-on\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20180314_eu-turkey-two-years-on_en.pdf)

<sup>83</sup> AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. *TURKEY 2016/2017*. [online]. [11. 02. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/turkey/report-turkey/>

<sup>84</sup> HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. *Turkey Events of 2015*. [online]. [10. 02. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/turkey>

a resolution to freeze the accession talk with Turkey in November 2016, but the resolution was not legally binding. The EU Parliament's resolutions of any kind do not have any legislative nature<sup>85</sup>. The other reason for the call to freeze the negotiation talks was decreasing commitment of Turkey to the EU and its values. However, the European Council took very a pragmatic approach towards Turkey. The Council did not agree with the MEP's resolution on freezing the negotiation talk, they instead kept the process of accession negotiation alive. Nevertheless, the Council did not open any other chapters of Acquis, by which the EU de facto froze accession talks with Turkey. The referendum on constitutional amendments held in April 2017, raised the question among MEP's whether Turkey should continue its road to the EU membership rose again<sup>86</sup>.

In April 2018, the Council of European Parliamentary Assembly adopted reinstating of a full monitoring procedure against the country, which happened after 13 years. The reason for the Assembly to reinstate the monitoring procedure was their concerns of serious matter in the fields of human rights, the rule of law and democracy, which is continually getting worse under the current regime. The other reason was another extension of state of emergency after the coup in July 2016, which increases the presidential power and attacks basic civil, social and human rights. The state of emergency is giving a helping hand to the regime to shift deeper into the presidential system<sup>87</sup>. Another important development came, in April 2018, with President Erdoğan's unexpected decision to call for snap a parliamentary and a presidential election almost a year and a half before regular elections are supposed to take place. The Turkish President planned to use in his advance the favourable wave of nationalism and his popularity, especially in the shadows of very limited free media, which has been systematically eliminated in recent years by the President and his administration. This decision also caught the opposition

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<sup>85</sup> EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. *Freeze EU accession talks with Turkey until it halts repression, urge MEPs*. [online]. [15. 02. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/20161117IPR51549/freeze-eu-accession-talks-with-turkey-until-it-halts-repression-urge-meps>

<sup>86</sup> INSTITUT D'ETUDES EUROPÉENNES. *EU-Turkey relations in the aftermath of Turkey's constitutional referendum*. [online]. [17. 02. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.iee-ulb.eu/fr/actualites/2017/04/eu-turkey-relations-in-the-aftermath-of-turkey-s-constitutional-referendum>

<sup>87</sup> PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY. *Turkey: an adverse context 'will impede the conduct of genuinely democratic elections'*. [online]. [17. 06. 2018]. Available on: <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/News/News-View-EN.asp?newsid=7036&lang=2>

unprepared, which was in the current administration's advantage<sup>88</sup>. In June 2018, Erdoğan won the snap elections by 53.0 % of voters<sup>89</sup>.

Turkey is without any doubt a very important and strategic partner, but the EU must stand with its principles and values. The question is, will the EU continue with its pragmatic approach and carry on negotiation talks even if Turkey slides into dictatorship where the Fundamental human rights will no longer be protected?

### **3.2. Accession of Turkey to the European Union and the Acquis Communautaire**

The enlargement process of the EU has three stages as it is described in the subchapter 2.1.4. Turkey is now in stage two, moving to formal membership negotiations and going through the screening process. In this stage, The European Commission goes through a detailed examination of all 35 Chapters of the Acquis. This subchapter will focus on certain chapters concerning gender issues and their latest progress according to the Commission's Report on Turkey from 2018.

The first opened chapter was chapter 25: Science and Research, opened on 12 June 2006. This chapter is the only one, which was provisionally closed since then<sup>90</sup>. Provisional closing of a chapter means that some criteria has been met and progress regarding the chapter has been well advanced, though the chapter can be opened and screened again<sup>91</sup>. At this time, Turkey has opened 15 chapters. These are: Free Movement of Capital, Company Law, Intellectual Property Law, Information Society and Media, Food Safety, Veterinary and Phytosanitary Policy, Taxation, Statistics, Enterprise & Industrial Policy, Trans-European Networks, Environment, Consumer and Health Protection, Financial Control, Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments, Economic and Monetary Policy and Financial and budgetary provisions. The rest of the Acquis chapters have not yet been opened<sup>92</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> THE GUARDIAN. *Turkey to hold snap elections on 24 June, says Erdoğan*. [online]. [10. 07. 2018]. Available on: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/18/turkey-to-hold-snap-elections-on-24-june-says-erdogan>

<sup>89</sup> BBC. *Turkey election: Erdogan wins re-election as president*. [online]. [17. 06. 2018]. Available on: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-44596072>

<sup>90</sup> MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY. *Turkey-EU Relations*. [online]. [17. 02. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa>

<sup>91</sup> BAUN, Michael J. *A Wider Europe: The Process and Politics of European Union Enlargement*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000. 280 p. ISBN 0-8476-9037-7.

<sup>92</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Turkey*. [online]. [01. 03. 2017]. Available on: [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey_en)

Chapter 19 on Social Policy and Employment is one of the chapters, which remains closed in the screening process. According to the EU rules in the social area, there must be contained minimum required standards in labour law, health and safety at work, equality and non-discrimination. In the case of non-discrimination in employment and social policy, Turkey adopted the law on the human rights and equality institution. This law should have identified and prevented discrimination in accession to employment, social services and social assistance. However, the institution that should have been granted with a mandate to prevent discrimination is not currently operational. What is more, discrimination based on sexual orientation is not included in the law<sup>93</sup>. Nevertheless, the state of emergency declared in July 2016 after the coup attempt<sup>94</sup>, resulted in a strong decline of labour rights with many workers being dismissed or suspended. The state of emergency also led to the closure of entities based in Turkey extensively by the Turkish state.

The other field of this chapter is Turkey's progress in gender equality in employment and social policy. In Turkey, women are predominantly employed in low-skilled jobs, which is an ongoing trend in the country. The presence of female workers on the management level is low. The gender pay gap, according to the Commission's Report on Turkey from 2018, remains problematic for Turkey. Even though the country adopted legislation on part-time work for working parents, female workers are obstructed from employment due to gender bias. This bias is caused by the lack of services and institutions, which would help women to care for children and elderly members of their families.

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<sup>93</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. Turkey 2018 Report. *2018 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy*. [online]. 2018, April [24. 04. 2018]. Available on: <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20180417-turkey-report.pdf>

<sup>94</sup> BBC. *Turkey coup attempt: State of emergency announced*. [online]. 2018, April [24. 05. 2018]. Available on: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36852080>

**Table 3.1 Employment rate 2015 - 2017, age class 20 - 64 years, % of total population in Turkey**

Year	Total	Males	Females
2017	55.3	76.1	34.5
2016	54.4	75.5	33.2
2015	53.9	75.3	32.5

Source: EUROSTAT. *Equality (age and gender)*, own processing

The employment rate has slightly increased since 2015, from 53.9 % of the total population to 55.3 %, as well as the employment rates of males and females, which have also slightly increased as it can be seen in Table 3.1. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate has increased since 2014 and it is significantly higher for women. Turkey continues to provide state subsidies for employers to hire young people or female workers until 2020. However, despite these efforts to reduce unemployment of female and young workers there has been sharp growth of females under 29 years of age not employed either in education or training.

Chapter 23 on Judiciary and Fundamental Rights is another chapter, which is closed in the screening process. Since September 2015, there have been found one or more violations of the European Convention on Human Rights in Turkey. Some of the violations were related to the right to a fair trial, right to life, right to liberty and security, prohibition of torture, freedom of thought conscience and religion, the right to respect for private and family life, freedom of peaceful assembly, protection of property and prohibition of discrimination. The part regarding gender equality and non-discrimination of this chapter has been addressed above, in the Acquis chapter 19<sup>95</sup>.

From the Report on Turkey 2018 it is obvious that gender and fundamental rights issues did not make positive progress. There is still space to improve the situation in Turkey. The reason why chapter 23 and chapter 19 are not closed, is the insufficient progress in the fields of gender equality and fundamental rights. Turkey has wide gender gaps and violates human and fundamental rights, which is a clear sign that the country is not yet ready to become an EU Member State. There is large demand for progress in Turkey not only in these fields but also in many others, which are not analysed in this diploma thesis.

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<sup>95</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Turkey 2018 Report*, ref. 93



### 3.2.1. The Political Criteria of Copenhagen

This subchapter will cover the latest development in political criteria of Copenhagen in Turkey and the following subchapter 3.2.2. will cover the economic criteria of Copenhagen in Turkey. Both subchapters follow the latest Report on Turkey from 2018, published by the European Commission<sup>96</sup>.

One of the political criterion is having stable institutions quarantining democracy. One of the main institutions functioning in democratic regime is Parliament. Turkish Parliament adopted an ambitious government reform action plan for 2016, nevertheless, key pieces of this legislation were not in line with the standards of the EU. Moreover, some of the key legislation adopted by Parliament did not go through the proper debate and consultation within Parliament and stakeholders. After the coup attempt, the state of emergency was declared in the country, which led to a limitation of Parliament's role in the law-making process.

Furthermore, Turkey has not yet improved the process, which aligns the legal framework on elections and political parties with standards of the EU. The anti-terror legislation provides restrictions and therefore pose a direct risk to the freedom of expression for members of Parliament. Freedom of expression is an essential and indispensable part of democracy.

The government and the President are parts of the institutional system. The military coup and the latest referendum moved more power into President Erdoğan's hands and the country is sliding into autocracy and dictatorship<sup>97</sup>. The referendum, held on 16 April 2017, was about 18 constitutional amendments focusing on the executive and legislative branches powers. The majority of citizens voted for the constitutional amendments as proposed by the President. What changes will the amendments bring? First, according to the amendment, the office of the Prime Minister will be abolished. The President will appoint the cabinet and will have several Vice-Presidents. Parliament will no longer have the authority to oversee ministers, because they will be stripped off their power to initiate a motion of no confidence. Currently according to the Turkish constitution, the Turkish Presidents have to be neutral and not be able to maintain a relationship with their political party. As soon as the constitutional amendments will come into force, this will no longer be required, and the President can maintain a relationship with his political party, therefore, the President will not be a non-partisan President. Other changes in legislation include abolition of military courts, the possibility for

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<sup>96</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Turkey 2018 Report*, ref. 93

<sup>97</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Turkey 2018 Report*, ref. 93

Parliament to impeach the President will be more difficult and the President will appoint four out of 13 judges in the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors<sup>98</sup>.

Other political criterion is functioning rule of law. According to the Commission's Report from 2018, the judicial system of Turkey regressed the independence of the judiciary in the past years. The judicial system faces many threats to its independence, prosecutors and judges have been removed in some cases even arrested on allegations of conspiring with the anti-state Gülen movement<sup>99</sup>. The Gülen movement is a community named by Imam, Islamic cleric, Fethullah Gülen, who promotes a tolerant Islam highlighting modesty, altruism, education and hard work<sup>100</sup>. After the July coup, one fifth of the judges and prosecutors were discharged and their assets were frozen.

The last criterion of the political criteria is the promotion of human rights, respect and protection of minorities. In the past two years, Turkey backtracked in areas relating to freedom of expression<sup>101</sup>. Nevertheless, ever since Erdoğan has been elected President he has tightened his grip on freedom of expression. After the July 2016 coup, the situation got even worse and more dangerous for opposition activists and any journalist who reported critically against the current regime. Many editors face life sentences in prison for working, as it is called "against the state"<sup>102</sup>. More than four thousand public officials were purged; the country blocked access to Wikipedia and banned television matchmaking shows<sup>103</sup>. The negative impact on freedom of expression also has selective and arbitrary application of the law, mainly provisions on national security and the fight against terrorism. Nevertheless, there is fear and criticism towards Turkey in some aspects of human rights violation, such as freedom of expression, association and assembly. Moreover, over one thousand lecturers from different universities signed a petition, in which they criticized government policy in the southwest part of the country. These lecturers were targeted in President Erdoğan's speeches. Later, they were subjected to investigation for insulting the state of Turkey.

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<sup>98</sup> THE GUARDIAN. *Turkish referendum: all you need to know*. [online]. [17. 03. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/10/turkish-referendum-all-you-need-to-know>

<sup>99</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Turkey 2018 Report*, ref. 93

<sup>100</sup> BBC. *Turkey coup: What is Gulen movement and what does it want?* [online]. [18. 04. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36855846>

<sup>101</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Turkey 2018 Report*, ref. 93

<sup>102</sup> THE GUARDIAN. *Erdoğan v free speech: how does it feel to live in Turkey right now?* [online]. [18. 04. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/14/erdogan-free-speech-turkey-journalists-referendum>

<sup>103</sup> THE NEW YORK TIMES. *Turkey Purges 4,000 More Officials, and Blocks Wikipedia*. [online]. [20. 04. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/30/world/europe/turkey-purge-wikipedia-tv-dating-shows.html>

There are many allegations concerning the violations of the prohibition of torture and ill-treatment, related to the coup in July and people who were arrested on the coup ground by the government. This was a dangerous violation of human rights. Torture of people under arrest is against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, therefore against the values, principles and rule of law of the European Union<sup>104</sup>. This state of emergency was later used to suspend some of the non-governmental associations; some of them focused on children's rights, human rights and women's rights<sup>105</sup>. Under the state of emergency, which was extended until July 2018, certain civil and political rights were limited, such as rights for defence and the dismissal of public officials<sup>106</sup>.

The protection and respect of minorities is not sufficient enough in Turkey. Enforcement of non-discrimination is still not in practice nor in law. The European Commission finds that the violence based on gender, discrimination, hate crimes, hate speech and serious violations of human rights of homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender people continue and creates serious concerns. There is no doubt that the record of violations of human rights in Turkey, especially in the last years, is enormous. A country violating the fundamental human rights cannot be considered a democratic country, because these two things cannot exist without another.

### **3.2.2. The Economic Criteria of Copenhagen and the Economic Obstacles for Membership**

The economic criteria: functioning market economy and ability to cope with competitive forces and pressures within the Union and internal market; have also been monitored in the Report on Turkey from 2016. Overall, the country's economy is well advanced with a functioning market economy. However, Turkey's external deficit is still large and makes the economy vulnerable. The business environment is worsening as a result of targeting media critical of the government, political opponents and business people by actively using the tax authority, courts and the financial crimes unit against them. According to the Report, Turkey is in a good level of preparation to be able to cope with competitive forces and pressures within the Union and internal market. Turkey is integrated with the EU market in trade and in

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<sup>104</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Turkey 2018 Report*, ref. 93

<sup>105</sup> HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. *Turkey Events of 2016*. [online]. [22. 04. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/turkey#4b0997>

<sup>106</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Turkey 2018 Report*, ref. 93

investments as well. On the other hand, Turkey has significant problems with the quality of its education and with access to education for female citizens<sup>107</sup>.

Nevertheless, several economic obstacles may hinder the country from joining the EU. The European economic advancement could be an attraction for Turkish citizens in search of employment. There is a risk that cheap products from Turkey would affect European local products and their quality, which would be more widespread because of their price.

Turkey as a Member State could also attract and encourage investors from the EU to invest in the country because Turkey would be considered one of the biggest markets in the EU. Turkey has a good location; it is the gate between the East and the West, therefore it would be very attractive for many investors and companies. This has its downside, because there is a fear that the European investments would flow into Turkey rather than Eastern EU countries. This would lead to distortion of the EU economy as a result of parallel development in the EU. Obviously, these are some reasons why some EU Member States oppose Turkey's membership. To prevent negative economic impacts on the rest of the Member States of the EU there is a need for good economic conditions, which Turkey does not yet satisfy<sup>108</sup>.

### **3.3. Gender Equality in Turkey**

During the years 1924 and 1934, many reforms regarding gender and gender equality had been made. These reforms followed the Swiss Civil Code. One of these changes was emancipation of women in Turkey from shari'ah law. Women also gained a broader set of rights. Except emancipation from Islamic law shari'ah, women's educational opportunities were expanded, they gained inheritance rights, polygamy was abolished, and women gained voting rights in local and national elections. During the gender reform process, women were portrayed as secular and modern western women. Nevertheless, these reforms did not affect all women. The gender reforms did not focus on the existing patriarchal structures, which persist in Turkey's society, or on women living in remote and urban areas. These reforms mostly came as a response to the demand of elite women and women who politically supported Atatürk before, during and after the revolution.

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<sup>107</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. Turkey 2018 Report, ref. 93

<sup>108</sup> ALAHMED, A. Y. M., W. K. MUJANI and E. M. ABBAS. Turkey and European Union: Objectives and Obstacles. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. [online]. 2015, July [24. 04. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.mcses.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/viewFile/7032/6736>. ISSN 2039-2117.

Nevertheless, after the military coup in 1980, the newly established short regime ignored the women's movement, which was on the rise at that time. Even Turkish feminists saw the reforms, which were done until the 1980s as another women's subordination<sup>109</sup>. Turkish feminists saw these reforms as state-controlled feminism, which defined woman mostly as mothers. By this definition, women best suited nurturing positions in professional life. Because of the political development in the 1980s, the fear of terrorism and the threat of communism and the Soviet Union, Turkish generals restored Islam to use it as a religious wall against the Soviet Union<sup>110</sup>. Even though, in the 1990s, the position of women and gender equality improved, especially in public institutions, civil society and in the universities. In this decade the discrimination against women and the protection of women who survived domestic violence were improved by adopting several laws<sup>111</sup>.

Despite the promising progress, which happened since the revolution in 1923, women are still exposed to inequality. According to the UN Population Fund, women in Turkey are still exposed to violence; they are being abused and trafficked. They are being refused access to education, political participation and they are facing many violations of human rights<sup>112</sup>.

### **3.3.1. Global Gender Gap Index in Turkey**

According to Turkey's Global Gender Gap Index (GGI Index), progress has been made from 2006 to 2017. In the year 2006, Turkey's ranking was 105 out of 115 countries<sup>113</sup>. Turkey's ranking in 2017 was 131 out of 144 countries<sup>114</sup>. However, according to the index in 2006, the score was 0.5850, in percentage Turkey was ranked 91.3 %; in 2017, the index score was 0.625, in percentage Turkey was ranked 90.9 %; which shows improvement in the Gender Gap during the last eleven years by 0.3 pp, the parity of index is when the index equals one. The methodology of the GGI Index remains the same every year.

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<sup>109</sup> MARSHALL, Gül Aldikaçti. *Shaping Gender Policy in Turkey: Grassroots Women Activists, the European Union, and the Turkish State*. State University of New York Press, 2013. 173 p. ISBN 978-1-438-44771-1.

<sup>110</sup> SAFDAR, Saba and Natasza KOSAKOWSKA-BEREZECKA (eds). *Psychology of Gender through the Lens of Culture: Theories and Applications*. Springer, 2015. 410 p. ISBN 978-3-319-14004-9.

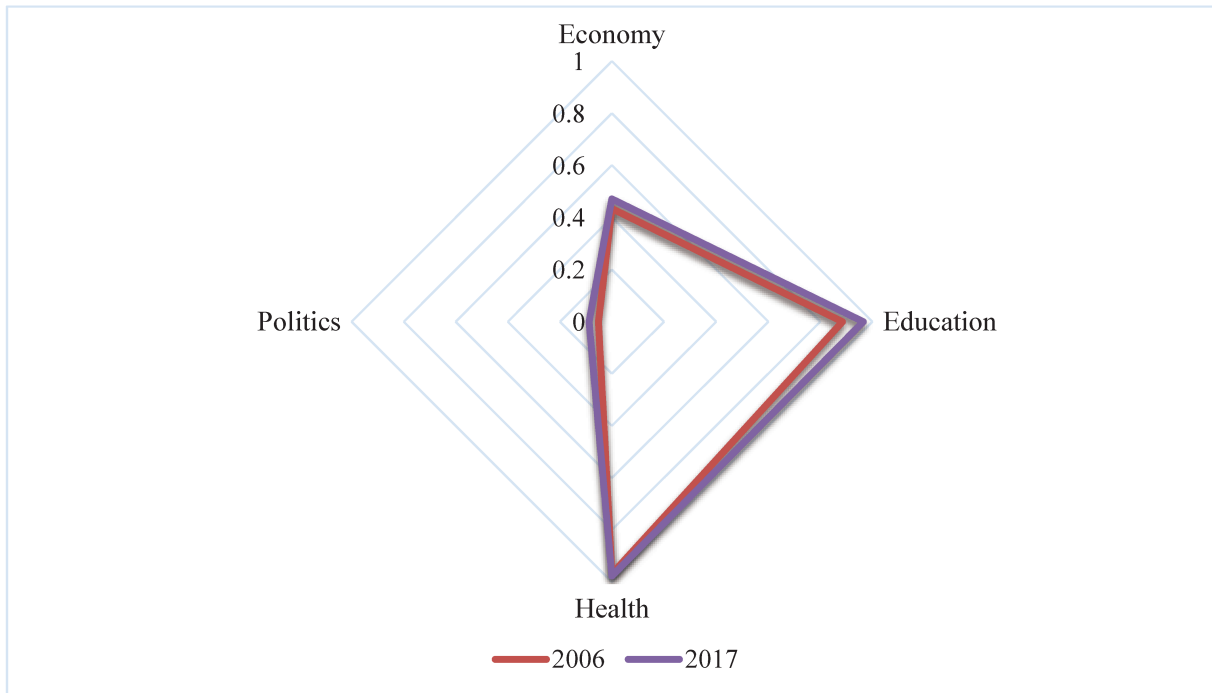
<sup>111</sup> UN WOMEN. *Turkey*. [online]. [28. 04. 2017]. Available on: <http://eca.unwomen.org/en/where-we-are/turkey>

<sup>112</sup> UNFPA TURKEY. *Situation in Turkey*. [online]. [28. 05. 2018]. Available on: <http://turkey.unfpa.org/topics/gender-equality-6>

<sup>113</sup> WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2006*. [online]. [30. 04. 2017]. Available on: [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GenderGap\\_Report\\_2006.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2006.pdf)

<sup>114</sup> WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017*, ref. 59

**Figure 3.2 Gender Gap Index - 2006, 2017**



Source: THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2006 and 2017*, own processing

Figure 3.2 shows differences in the Gender Gap Index between the year 2006 and 2017. These four sub-indexes: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment are portrayed in Figure 3.2.

There were only slight improvements in all four sub-indexes. The biggest improvement happened in the sub-index Educational Attainment. In 2006, the tertiary education successfully completed by 6.6 % of female population and 10.2 % of male population. In 2017, tertiary education was successfully completed by 15.4 % of women and 17.9 % of men, this fact had the most positive impact on this sub-index. The secondary level of education was successfully completed by 16.0 % of women in 2006 and in 2017 the percentage grew by 1.0 percentage point (pp). Furthermore, the succession rate of men completing their secondary level of education dropped by 1.0 pp between the years 2006 and 2017<sup>115</sup>. On the other hand, the women's literacy rate actually decreased by six pp from 2006 to 2017. This is a very interesting phenomena, because the number of students increased in general. However, the other sub-

<sup>115</sup> EUROSTAT. *Equality (age and gender)*. [online]. [01. 03. 2017]. Available on: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database>

indexes do not show significant improvement. Turkey has very low distance in parity in the Health and Survival sub-index. On the other hand, Turkey has a significant long-lasting gap in Political Empowerment, with very few women working in Parliament or in ministerial positions. However, the female-to-male ratio rose from 0.05 in 2006 to 0.17 in 2017, which shows slight improvement in this area.

In the sub-index Economic Participation, the gap between men and women is also significant, especially in labour force participation. Moreover, the increase of labour force participation rose from 2006 to 2017 only by 5.6 pp and only for female workers. In addition, the gender pay gap rose from 2006 to 2017. However, there was not any significant improvement nor decrease in any of those four sub-indexes in the last decade.

### **3.3.2. Turkey's Strategies for Gender Equality in the Labour Market and in Education**

This subchapter will focus on action plans and campaigns regarding women's employment and raising the numbers of women in education. There is a correlation between education attainment and employment. The higher the level of education attained, the higher the employment rate and lower the unemployment rate<sup>116</sup>. Many developing countries have issues in the quantity of women's access to education. Moreover, this issue is not sufficiently covered in education policies by national governments<sup>117</sup>. According to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), in most developing countries, women and young girls are still disadvantaged and excluded in educational systems<sup>118</sup>. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, includes Turkey among developing countries<sup>119</sup>.

From 2001 to 2005, UNICEF and the Turkish Ministry of National Education led a campaign called "*Come on girls, let's go to school!* ", in Turkey known as "*Haydi Kızlar Okula!*" The aim of this campaign was to create equal opportunities for girls in primary school

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<sup>116</sup> POŽEGA, Željko. Analysis Of Unemployment Rates By Education Level Of Unemployed. [online]. [15. 05. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.efos.unios.hr/repec/osi/journl/PDF/InterdisciplinaryManagementResearchIX/IMR9a26>

<sup>117</sup> YAZAN, Bedrettin. 'Come on girls, let's go to school': an effort towards gender educational equity in Turkey. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. [online]. 2013, September [15. 05. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13603116.2013.841774>. ISSN 1464-5173.

<sup>118</sup> UNICEF. *Education in emergencies*. [online]. [15. 05. 2017]. Available on: [https://www.unicef.org/education/bege\\_70640.html](https://www.unicef.org/education/bege_70640.html)

<sup>119</sup> UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT. *Country Classification*. [online]. [16. 05. 2017]. Available on: <http://unctadstat.unctad.org/EN/Classifications.html>

systems and to raise awareness of the importance of education for children and girls<sup>120</sup>. Before the campaign had been launched, the public awareness of the issue of girls' education was almost non-existent. In some provinces of Turkey, up to 40.0 % of girls were not attending schools. This campaign played a key role in helping Turkey's government to close the gap between girls and boys attending schools. One of the reasons why girls did not attend school in rural but also urban areas was lack of space in schools.

The Campaign "*Haydi Kızlar Okula!*" led to an increase in girls' attendance rates, empowering women and girls through education, especially the ones raised in traditional communities. The campaign also led to a reduction of child labour because more girls attended schools, promoting gender equality and equal opportunities<sup>121</sup>.

The International Labour Organization issued an Action Plan on Women's Employment to cover the period of the years 2016 to 2018; the Turkish Employment Agency is responsible for the implementation of this Action Plan. In Annex No. 2, there are nine specific actions, how to ensure that women's employment and access to the labour market in Turkey will increase. This Action plan also counts with support of women entrepreneurship by counselling and training, organising events to share experience of women entrepreneurs. In addition, the additional modules will be developed for women entrepreneurs<sup>122</sup>.

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<sup>120</sup> UN WOMEN. *Turkey*, ref. 111

<sup>121</sup> UN WOMEN. *Turkey*, ref. 111

<sup>122</sup> INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION and TURKISH EMPLOYMENT AGENCY. *Action Plan on Women's Employment*. [online]. [16. 05. 2017]. Available on: <http://esitizberaberiz.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Action-Plan-Women-Employment.pdf>



#### 4. Gender Equality in Turkey’s Labour market in Comparison with Selected Member States of the European Union

As it has been proved in previous chapters, gender equality is a premise of liberal democracy, socio-economic development and economic growth. According to the report titled Resource guide on gender issues in employment and labour market policies report, published by the International Labour Organisation<sup>123</sup>, if a country ensures equal access to education, employment and equal payment opportunities, it will lead to economic growth and a reduction in poverty<sup>124</sup>.

For the purpose of this thesis, in this chapter, Turkey as a candidate country of the EU will be compared with the selected EU Member States. These Member States were selected on the basis of GGI Index rankings as it can be seen in detail in Annex No. 3 and in Table 4.1. Three selected countries gained the highest rankings between the Member States: Finland, Sweden and Slovenia. The other three selected countries gained the worst rankings: Cyprus, Malta and Hungary. The seventh country selected for comparison is Croatia as the newest Member State, which joined the EU in 2013.

**Table 4.1 Global gender gap ranking of selected countries, 2017**

Country	Ranking in Global Index	Ranking (%)	Country	Ranking in Global Index	Ranking (%)
<b>Finland</b>	3	2.0	<b>Cyprus</b>	92	63.9
<b>Sweden</b>	5	3.5	<b>Malta</b>	93	64.6
<b>Slovenia</b>	7	4.9	<b>Hungary</b>	103	71.5
<b>Croatia</b>	54	37.5	<b>Turkey</b>	131	90.9

Source: THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017*, own processing

The indicators used in this diploma thesis to compare Turkey with the selected EU Member States are equality regarding education, employment rate, part-time employment rate, gender pay gap and political empowerment of women. These indicators display differences

<sup>123</sup> OTOBE, Naoko. Resource guide on Gender issues in employment and labour market policies: Working towards women’s economic empowerment and gender equality. *International Labour Organization*. [online]. 2014 [16.05.2017]. Available on: [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_emp/documents/instructionalmaterial/wcms\\_243015.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/documents/instructionalmaterial/wcms_243015.pdf). ISBN 978-9221-28363-8

<sup>124</sup> OTOBE, Naoko, ref. 123

between men and women and display the persistent existence of gender inequalities and disparities. The reasoning behind the selection of these indicators is very simple. By having the same equal opportunities, possibilities and access to education, women will have better opportunities in the labour market. Furthermore, to display the equality in the labour market between genders, the indicators of employment, part-time employment and gender pay gap, showed the greatest deviations. Finally, another analysed indicator is political empowerment of women. There is a positive correlation between the number of women in politics and governments and the number of women in the labour market, which was the reason to work with the sub-index of the GGI Index: The Political Empowerment.

#### **4.1. Gender Equality in Education**

Gender equality in the labour market and in education is the cornerstone of European law as well as one of the EU founding values. Each of these eight countries has a different historical, cultural and economic background, which influences the education enrolment of girls and boys. This subchapter will focus on gender equality in education enrolment and compare the possible inequality and reasons for them between selected countries. There are gender differences in the level of educational attainment between the selected countries. The detailed figure, which displays population by educational attainment level and sex, can be found in the Annex No. 4.

In Turkey, there are distinctive differences in educational attainment between rural and urban areas. Girls living in the rural areas are more likely not to continue their education in secondary and tertiary levels of education. However, if girls live in the eastern region of the country, there are higher risks for girls not to attend primary school at all or drop out before finishing primary education. Rural areas are also limited in accessibility of schools especially secondary schools and universities, which are usually located within urban areas. This is one of the reasons, why most of the population of both genders reach only primary levels of education. The situation is different in urban areas, where girls' educational attainment is higher and also they reach higher level of educational than boys. The other factors contributing to girls' low educational attainment, according to Duman<sup>125</sup>, can include household income, educational attainment of parents, profession and cultural norms and believes. Thus, children born into

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<sup>125</sup> DUMAN, Anil. Female education inequality in Turkey: factors affecting girls' schooling decisions. *International Journal of Education Economics and Development*. 2010, Vol. 1 Issue 3. 258 p. ISSN: 1759-5673.

families with higher income are more likely to undertake higher or university education and families with lower incomes are more likely to force children to enter the labour market rather than educate themselves in schools<sup>126</sup>. One of the factors why men and boys receive higher education is that parents perceive educating boys as more efficient and beneficial than educating girls. The reason behind this is that girls will get married and after marriage live with their husbands, but boys will more likely financially support their parents even when they get married. Cultural norms and beliefs are another reason for lower educational attainment of girls and women. Especially in the rural areas where families are more traditional, and society is more patriarchal than in urban areas. Families living by these norms and traditions do not want girls to attend the same schools as boys, mainly when girls reach adolescence. In addition, a significant role influencing education of children is the number of siblings. Children with more siblings are more likely not to reach a higher educational level because of limited resources of the family.<sup>127</sup>.

There is a gender gap in secondary educational attainment in Hungary. More male students reach the secondary educational level than female students do. On the other hand, more women reach a tertiary level of education. Hungary still maintains traditional gender roles for men and women in education. However, in the case of Hungary there are no studies that are publicly available, which would explain the reason for the slight difference in educational attainments between genders<sup>128</sup>.

Malta has a historical, cultural and religious background, when women and men were raised in a religious and patriarchal society. This background still influences education enrolment to this day, however, not to the extent that it used to, as it is stated in the study of the Maltese Ministry for Education and Employment <sup>129</sup>. Women are still more likely to be housewives, take care of children and do domestic responsibilities. Some women prefer marriage upon employment or achieving a higher education level. In Malta, more women reach

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<sup>126</sup> DUMAN, Anil, ref. 125

<sup>127</sup> SOYLU, Sebnem. *Gender Inequality in Turkish Education System and the Causes*. Philadelphia, 2011. Temple University.

<sup>128</sup> HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. *Education and Gender Equality*. [online]. [31. 05. 2017]. Available on: <http://ofi.hu/2-quality-education-for/2-1-education-and-gender>

<sup>129</sup> MINISTRY FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT. *Higher Education Strategy for Malta within the context of the Further and Higher Education Strategy 2020*. [online]. [20. 05. 2017]. Available on: <https://ncfhe.gov.mt/en/resources/Documents/Strategy%20Documents/Higher%20Education%20Strategy%20for%20Malta.pdf>

the tertiary educational level. It is given by the fact that men are more active in the labour market during their studies and thus are more likely to drop out of school for a job<sup>130</sup>.

In Cyprus, men have higher educational attainment in secondary education than women, but more women reach tertiary educational attainment than men. Women also tend to have better performance in tertiary education. Cyprus shows a similar trend as other countries in underrepresentation of women in fields such as engineering and science. This country also shows gender biases against women who are either working mothers, unemployed or women returning to the workforce after taking time off to raise children, the system of education is not open to women finding themselves in these situations<sup>131</sup>.

Croatia has inequalities between genders in educational attainment. More men are reaching the secondary level of education than women. Like Cyprus, more women in Croatia are reaching the tertiary level of education. Croatia has the same situation in fields of study. More women study fields such as medicine, pharmacy and humanities, while men tend to study fields such as mathematics, engineering and other technical fields<sup>132</sup>.

Slovenia went through a major improvement of gender equality in general as well as in educational attainment. Nonetheless, the differences between genders in educational attainment still prevail. Women in Slovenia still tend to choose fields of study, which are typically viewed as female fields of studies, for example health-care, education, social studies etc., while men are overrepresented in fields such as science and engineering. However, Slovenia shows a very similar trend to other countries. Higher educational attainment of men in secondary education and on the other hand higher educational attainment of women in tertiary education<sup>133</sup>.

The Swedish government highly protects gender equality in education and equal opportunities for both genders<sup>134</sup>. This is the same case for Finland, however, there are still slight differences in educational attainment between genders. In both countries, the study fields

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<sup>130</sup> MINISTRY FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT, ref. 129

<sup>131</sup> MEDITERRANEAN INSTITUTE OF GENDER STUDIES. Shadow Report Cyprus 2006. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. [online]. [01. 06. 2018]. Available on: [http://www.medinstgenderstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/cyprus\\_shadowreport\\_final3.pdf](http://www.medinstgenderstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/cyprus_shadowreport_final3.pdf)

<sup>132</sup> UNECE. *Report of the Republic of Croatia on the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. [online]. [01. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/Gender/documents/Beijing+15/Croatia.pdf>

<sup>133</sup> ROBNIK, Sonja. GENDER equality - the (still) unfinished story: review of developments in the field of gender equality in Slovenia 1991-2016. *Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs And Equal Opportunities*. [online]. [01. 06. 2018]. Available on: <https://www.dlib.si/stream/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-LQ88OFSZ/e991a933-420c-4e0a-92be-650975316890/PDF>

<sup>134</sup> SWEDISH INSTITUTE. *The Swedish Approach to Fairness*. [online]. [02. 06. 2017]. Available on: <https://sweden.se/society/gender-equality-in-sweden/>

chosen by women are traditionally viewed as “typically” female fields such as humanities, social or pharmacy and study fields chosen by males are technical fields<sup>135</sup>.

There are few things, which Turkey and the seven selected Member States have in common. It is the difference in representation of women in certain fields of study. They usually choose fields such as humanities whereas men tend to study technical fields, nevertheless, this is where the similarities end. Turkey is a country with huge disparities between urban and rural areas. Living in rural areas can influence the accessibility to education because of the distance of schools. Furthermore, factors concerning Turkey’s difference in education enrolment compared to the other seven countries include patriarchal traditions, religions, cultural norms and traditional views of women as mothers and wives. However, Malta also has a big influence of patriarchal traditions and religious norms. Women in Malta prefer to be housewives than to reach higher education enrolment. These reasons are not known to be in such great extent in the seven selected countries. Finland, Sweden and Slovenia are protecting and promoting equal access to education as well as Hungary. In all these four countries women reach a higher educational level than men do.

## **4.2. Gender Equality in the Labour Market**

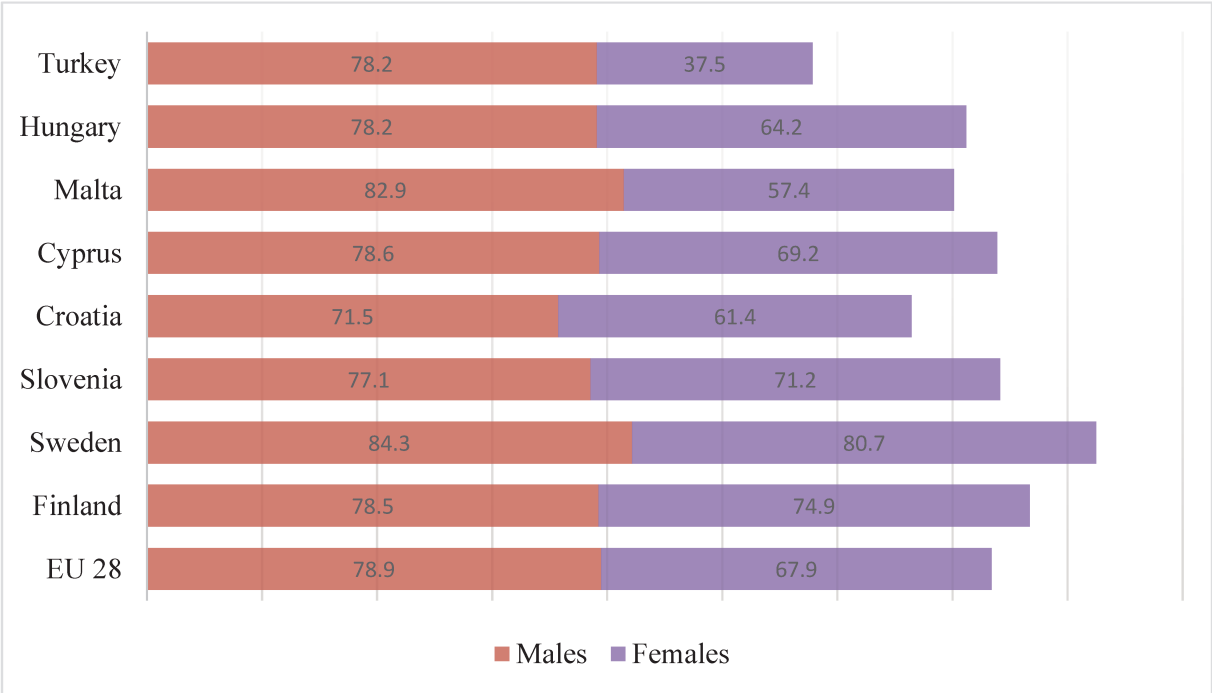
According to the Report on Equality between women and men in the EU, prepared by the European Commission, the employment gap has decreased between genders<sup>136</sup>. Nevertheless, there are still gender employment gaps. women still work in positions and sectors of lower salaries. Figure 4.2 indicates the gap in employment is still quite high.

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<sup>135</sup> SCHOON, Ingrid and Jacquelynne S. ECCLES (eds). *Gender Differences in Aspirations and Attainment: A Life Course Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 2014. 510 p. ISBN 978-1-107-64519-6.

<sup>136</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Report on equality between women and men in the EU*. European Union, 2017. 68p. ISBN 978-92-79-65777-1.

**Figure 4.2 Employment by genders from active population (%), age 15-64, 2017**



Source: EUROSTAT. *Equality (age and gender)*, own processing

The Figure 4.3 displays that Hungary, Croatia and especially Malta and overwhelmingly Turkey have the widest gender employment gap than the other countries.

**Table 4.3 Employment gap (pp), age 15-64, 2017**

Country	Employment Gap (pp)	Country	Employment Gap (pp)
<b>Finland</b>	3.6	<b>Cyprus</b>	9.4
<b>Sweden</b>	3.6	<b>Malta</b>	25.5
<b>Slovenia</b>	5.9	<b>Hungary</b>	14.0
<b>Croatia</b>	10.1	<b>Turkey</b>	40.7

Source: EUROSTAT. *Equality (age and gender)*, own processing

Women in Turkey suffer from a double burden. The low employment rate for Turkish women is caused by unbalanced labour in the domestic division, which is very restricting for women’s opportunities to find a paid job. Many women in Turkey do not engage in the labour market, simply because they prefer to be housewives. There is also discrimination towards women in the labour market especially in higher and better-paid positions. This discrimination

is based on prejudices, including prejudices of women's productivity and career breaks due to family/child care and pregnancy<sup>137</sup>.

Malta's labour market has strongly patriarchal structures. The catholic religion is very traditional in Malta, which also reflects in working environment and family life. This also affects the gender roles, women are seen as mothers, who should care for husbands and children and men are seen as providers for the family. These gender roles could be one of the reasons why women do not have larger influence on the labour market. Furthermore, this strongly patriarchate model in the working environment can potentially be very hostile for female employees especially if women want to reach higher positions in companies or organisations<sup>138</sup>.

In Hungary, the gender employment gap can be explained by educational attainment. Women in Hungary are underrepresented in primary and secondary education. Overall, women are less educated than men, which can lead to the fact that it can be than hard for women to find a job and are more likely to find work in lower paid jobs<sup>139</sup>.

Cyprus went through a big improvement during the last decades in women's employment. There is a shift from women working in low-skilled jobs to employment, which requires higher educational level<sup>140</sup>. Also, Cypriot women are expected to take the traditional role of women as housewives and mothers. Even though that this traditional view on women is fading away, there are still fragments of it remaining in the society<sup>141</sup>.

The gender employment gap in Croatia is the result of different chances for employment in different age groups. Young women and older women above 50 years have lower chances to find a job. Another reason for the gender gap in employment is educational attainment<sup>142</sup>.

The labour market in Slovenia is still segregated, women are more likely to work in traditional female fields. Even though, that Slovenia went through significant progress in gender

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<sup>137</sup> GLOBAL NETWORK PERSPECTIVES. *The Diverse Barriers to Women's Employment in Turkey*. [online]. [10. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://gnp.advancedmanagement.net/article/2017/03/diverse-barriers-women%E2%80%99s-employment-turkey>

<sup>138</sup> BEZZINA, F., R.M. AZZOPARDI and G. VELLA. Understanding and Assessing the Work Motivations of Employed Women: Insights into Increasing Female Participation Rates in the Maltese Labor Market. *SAGE Open*. [online]. 2013, July-September [10. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/2158244013502987>

<sup>139</sup> RAZZU, Giovanni (ed). *Gender Inequality in the Eastern European Labour Market: Twenty-five years of transition since the fall of communism*. Routledge, 2017. 276 p. ISBN 978-1-138-99985-5.

<sup>140</sup> MINISTRY OF LABOUR, WELFARE AND SOCIAL INSURANCE. *Equality in Employment*. [online]. [10. 06. 2018]. Available on: [http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dl/dl.nsf/page1f\\_en/page1f\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dl/dl.nsf/page1f_en/page1f_en?OpenDocument)

<sup>141</sup> MEDITERRANEAN INSTITUTE OF GENDER STUDIES. *General Information about Women in Cyprus*. [online]. [01. 06. 2018]. Available on: <http://www.feლოსsegvallalaser.hu/files/4814/4649/7282/Cyprus.pdf>

<sup>142</sup> VOJINIĆ, Perica. Woman at Work in Croatia. *University of Dubrovnik economic thought and practice periodical of the University of Dubrovnik*. 2011, No. 2. 299 p. ISSN 1330-1039.

equality and is the best in achieving it from the rest of the former Communist countries, there is still space for improvement. Even though, the stereotypes remain in the society, especially in the recruitment process. The other known reason for the employment gap in Slovenia from public research sources is, women choose to be home with their children as mothers or housewives<sup>143</sup>.

Sweden has a 3.7 pp employment gap. However, women in Sweden often have part-time jobs. In Sweden, many choose to care of their children and families<sup>144</sup>. Even though that Finland's employment gap is quite low, women in Finland still do not possess the same status as men are in the labour market and face the glass ceiling effect.<sup>145</sup>.

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<sup>143</sup> MINISTRY OF LABOUR, FAMILY, SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES. *Situation in Slovenia*. [online]. [12. 06. 2018]. Available on: [http://www.frauenfuehren.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Slovenia\\_Include-All\\_Web.pdf](http://www.frauenfuehren.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Slovenia_Include-All_Web.pdf)

<sup>144</sup> BBC. *Is Sweden The Best Place To Be A Woman?* [online]. [12. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11525804>

<sup>145</sup> EUROPEAN NETWORK OF THE ADULT EDUCATION ORGANIZATIONS WORKING ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT ISSUES. *Women's specific situation in Finland*. [online]. [12. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://lpf.lt/women-employment.lt/finland.htm>



**Table 4.4 Main factors that influence gender employment gap**

Country	Causes of Gender Employment Gap			
<b>Turkey</b>	Double burden	Preferring to be housewives	Discrimination	Traditional gender roles
<b>Malta</b>	-	Preferring to be housewives	-	Traditional gender roles
<b>Hungary</b>	Educational attainment	-	-	Traditional gender roles
<b>Cyprus</b>	-	Social stereotypes	-	Traditional gender roles
<b>Croatia</b>	Educational attainment	Age	-	
<b>Slovenia</b>	-	Motherhood	-	Traditional gender roles
<b>Sweden</b>	-	-	-	Traditional gender roles
<b>Finland</b>	-	-	-	Traditional gender roles

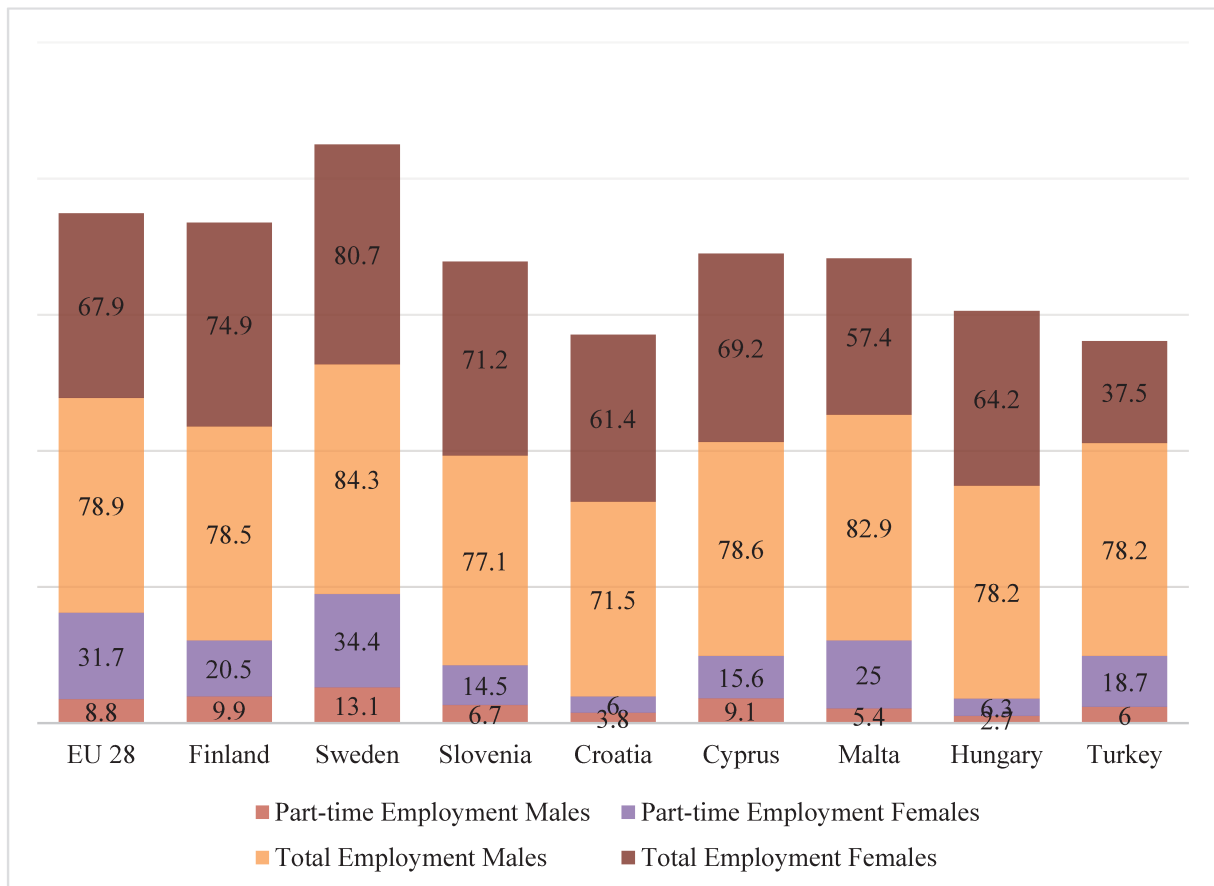
Source: Own processing

The main causes found for the gender gap in employment between the selected countries can be seen in Table 4.4. Turkey has the biggest gap in employment between men and women, which is 40.0 pp. Turkish women face illegal discrimination, which prevents them to even get a job or get higher and better-paid positions. This discrimination is based on prejudice that women are not as productive as men are and that they will have career breaks due to motherhood. In Malta as well as in Turkey, the social stereotypes contribute to the fact that women prefer to be housewives rather than pursue a career. In Hungary, the gap in employment between men and women is caused mainly because of educational attainment. In Croatia, the educational attainment and motherhood are one of the causes of gap in employment between men and women as well as in Hungary. Croatian women also face problems to find a job in young and older age.

### 4.2.1. Gender Equality in Part-Time Employment

It is important to take into consideration that more women work in part-time jobs than men, which is displayed in Figure 4.5. Part-time work is one of the reason for higher gender pay gap. However, it is also dangerous for women, because as a part-time worker, female workers earn less and have to face the risk of poverty<sup>146</sup>. Parenthood is also one of the reasons, which interrupts women's participation in labour force<sup>147</sup>.

**Figure 4.5 Part-time employment of total employment and total employment by sex (%), 2017**



Source: EUROSTAT. *Equality (age and gender)*, own processing

<sup>146</sup> THE GUARDIAN. *Why going part-time is more than just a feminist issue*. [online]. [20. 06. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/jan/12/part-time-feminist-job-women-flexibility>

<sup>147</sup> MILLS, Melinda and collective. *Gender Equality in the Workforce: Reconciling Work, Private and Family Life in Europe*. European Commission Directorate General for Justice and Fundamental Rights. [online]. 2014, April [20. 06. 2017]. Available on: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/140502\\_gender\\_equality\\_workforce\\_ssr\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/140502_gender_equality_workforce_ssr_en.pdf). ISBN 978-92-79-36171-5.

In the EU28, the part-time employment of women is 31.7 % and on the contrary, only 8.8 % of men work part-time out of total employment. In Turkey, 18.7 % of women work part-time of the total employment of women, which is 37.5 %. In Hungary and Croatia part-time employment of total employment is around 6.0 %. On the other hand, in Malta, Cyprus, Slovenia and Finland the part time employment of women out of total employment is quite high. Sweden is even above EU28 level with 34.4 %.

In Turkey, women who work in the private sector have the possibility to work part-time until their child or children start primary school at the age of 5 years and six months. Turkey does not belong to the countries with highest part-time employment rate.

#### **4.2.2. Gender Equality in Wages and Salaries**

There are many general reasons for the existence of the gender pay gap. In some cases, the difference in income between men and women, when women earn less money for equal work than men, this can be a consequence of direct discrimination. In this case, women are treated not as favourably as men are. In some cases, indirect discrimination also occurs towards female workers in form of practices or policies set by organisations. Nevertheless, even though that both types of discrimination still occur, they are both prohibited by EU law. The other reason for the gender pay gap is difference in professions between men and women in different sectors. However, women often “have to pay a price” for childcare. This leads to women working either part-time jobs or fewer working hours due to their child and family responsibilities. It is also one of the general reasons why women are underrepresented in manager positions. The other reason behind the gender pay gap is various access to training, career development programs for men and women. In addition, there are different methods of payment of employees, such as performance related rewards, bonuses, allowances etc., which can lead to different levels of income between genders. There is also significant inequality in perception of the value of women’s work in sectors, which are usually overrepresented by mostly female workers. In sectors where men are overrepresented, workers receive higher incomes than in sectors where females are overrepresented. In that case, women receive lower incomes. According to the European Commission report Tackling the gender pay gap in the

European Union<sup>148</sup>, female workers are often less valued by their skill and are rather undervalued. Even though the skills needed for certain positions might be the same, if the sector is overrepresented by male workers they tend to earn more than same skilled women in sectors overrepresented by female workers. Part of the reason for existence of gender pay gap might also be the influence of traditions and gender roles. These traditions and gender roles shaped by society might influence the women's choice of education and profession<sup>149</sup>.

This subchapter will focus on the gender pay gap of eight compared countries for the years 2006, 2010 and 2014, which is the latest data available. The data for this analysis was calculated using Eurostat's data of Structure of earnings survey: hourly earnings. Earnings were converted, by the Eurostat, to Euros and the following calculation formula was used<sup>150</sup>:

$$\frac{(\text{Male wage} - \text{Female wage})}{\text{Male wage}} \times 100 (\%) \quad (1)$$

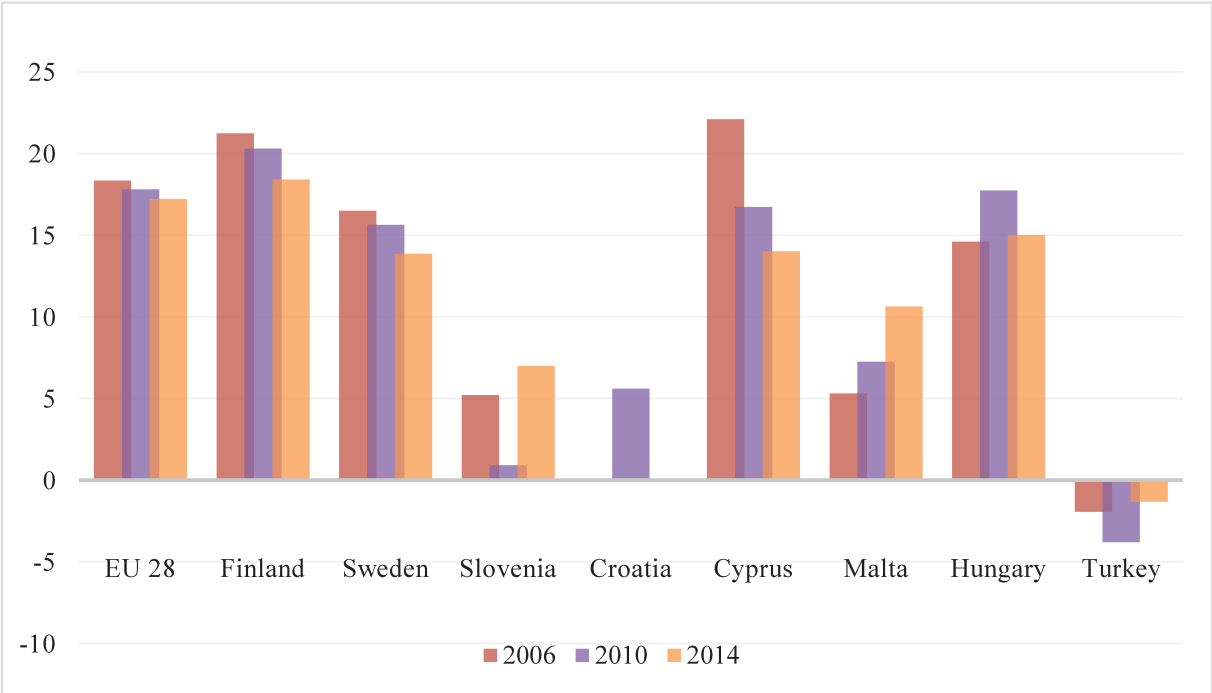
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<sup>148</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Tackling the gender pay gap in the European Union*. [online]. [26. 06. 2017]. Available on: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-pay-gap/files/gpg2011-leaflet\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-pay-gap/files/gpg2011-leaflet_en.pdf). ISBN 978-92-79-20772-3.

<sup>149</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Tackling the gender pay gap in the European Union*, ref. 148

<sup>150</sup> TURKISH STATISTICAL INSTITUTE. *Structure of Earnings Survey, 2014*. [online]. [26. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=18861>

**Figure 4.6 Gender pay gap, 2006, 2010, 2014**



Source: EUROSTAT. *Equality (age and gender)*, own processing

Figure 4.6 displays the gender pay gap. According to the Eurostat data, the gender pay gap in Turkey is actually in favour of women. The latest data from 2014 shows that the gender pay gap is -1.3 %, which means that on average women earn more than men. However, it varies sector to sector. Furthermore, the results of the studies and research vary. It is then hard to find related studies to explain the level of the gender pay gap. According to the report published by Roland Berger Strategy Consultants, the current situation of gender equality in Turkey – Country Profile, the sources vary and some attribute Turkey with 10.0 % to 30.0 % gender pay gap but in favour of male workers<sup>151</sup>. For example, according to the OECD, the gender pay gap in Turkey in 2014 was 20.0 %<sup>152</sup>.

As it can be seen in Figure 4.5, Hungary’s gender pay gap rose between years 2006 and 2010 by 3.1 pp, however, between years 2010 and 2014 the gender pay gap decreased by 2.7 pp.

<sup>151</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *The current situation of gender equality in Turkey – Country Profile 2013*. [online]. [26. 06. 2017]. Available on: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/epo\\_campaign/131128\\_country-profile\\_turkey.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/epo_campaign/131128_country-profile_turkey.pdf)  
<sup>152</sup> OECD. *Gender Wage Gap*. [online]. [26. 06. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.oecd.org/gender/data/genderwagegap.htm>

In 2014, the gender pay gap in Hungary was 15.0 %. Nevertheless, there are no public research sources explaining the existence of the gender pay gap.

According to Malta Today, the gender pay gap in Malta rose because women in their 30s are taking family responsibilities<sup>153</sup>. Nevertheless, there are no further public research sources, which would explain the reason for the widening of the gender pay gap in Malta.

In Cyprus, the gender pay gap dropped by 8.1 pp between the years 2006 and 2010, which was caused by positive political measures adopted by the government. One of the reasons, which is stated in public research sources explains the gender pay gap as a higher employment of women in certain, traditionally female, sectors, which are paid less overall. This reason explains around 60.0 % of the gender pay gap in Cyprus, however, there are no studies to be found in the public domain that would offer any alternative explanation<sup>154</sup>.

Unfortunately, there is no other data for the gender pay gap in Croatia on Eurostat's structure of earnings survey: hourly earnings. There is only data for 2010. However, the gender pay gap for this year was one of the lowest from the compared countries in this thesis. Nevertheless, according to other data available on Eurostat, the gender pay gap from 2010 to 2014 grew by 4.7 pp<sup>155</sup>. This data is very similar to the data counted by the author according to the methodology mentioned above in this subchapter. However, there is no available data on Eurostat before the year 2010.

Slovenia has the lowest gender pay gap between countries compared in this thesis. It is also known for its annual progress in narrowing the gender pay gap and gender inequality. Nevertheless, public research sources do not show what are the causes for the gender pay gap in the country<sup>156</sup>.

In Sweden, the gender pay gap decreased by 2.6 pp between the years 2006 and 2014. The latest data from 2014 shows that the gender pay gap in Sweden was 13.8 %, in 2006 it was 16.5 %. The most significant reason for the gender pay gap is the type of employment. The pay

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<sup>153</sup> MALTA TODAY. *Malta's Gender Wage Gap Second Lowest in EU but Experts Warn of Problems*. [online]. [26. 06. 2017]. Available on: [http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/50375/maltas\\_gender\\_wage\\_gap\\_one\\_of\\_lowest\\_in\\_eu\\_but\\_experts\\_warn\\_of\\_persistent\\_problems#.WUEKSZLyimw](http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/50375/maltas_gender_wage_gap_one_of_lowest_in_eu_but_experts_warn_of_persistent_problems#.WUEKSZLyimw)

<sup>154</sup> CHRISTOFIDES, L. and P. PASHARDES. *The Gender Wage Gap: A Study of Paid Work in Cyprus*. Economic Research Centre of University of Cyprus. [online]. 2007, December [27. 06. 2018]. Available on: <https://www.ucy.ac.cy/erc/documents/DOA10-07.pdf>

<sup>155</sup> EUROSTAT. *Equality (age and gender)*, ref. 115

<sup>156</sup> EUROFOUND. *Addressing the gender pay gap: Government and social partner actions – Slovenia*. [online]. [27. 06. 2018]. Available on: <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/comparative-information/national-contributions/slovenia/addressing-the-gender-pay-gap-government-and-social-partner-actions-slovenia>

gap in Sweden is different in various sectors. The reasons for that are increase of women's incomes and changes in workforce compositions. Women's income rose mainly because of collective agreements and bargaining rounds. Sweden also showed changes in workforce compositions, the labour market became less gender-separated. Women's share in predominantly female professions fell and proportionally increased in traditionally male professions<sup>157</sup>.

In Finland, the gender pay gap dropped between the years 2006 and 2014 by 2.8 pp, nevertheless, it remains 18.4 %. Even though that women are more educated than men, they are paid less irrespective of the educational level they reached. The biggest differences in income between men and women is in the income of highly educated women who earn less than men with the same level of education. According to the Finland's Quality of Work Life Survey, women do not have enough influence, when it comes to the negotiation and local agreements to acquire higher incomes. Another reason that gender pay is favourable for male workers, is gender segregation on the labour market and fewer women working in positions with variable pay. However, the national analysis *The Gender Wage Gap and Sex Segregation in Finland* does not address the reason why women are more represented in low-income positions and jobs. There can be gender discrimination in the access to higher paid positions and the other reason can be different preferences in working life between genders<sup>158</sup>.

The reason for the decrease in the gender pay gap can also be the austerity policy of Finland, which was introduced to tackle the world economic crisis. The crisis and austerity led to the income reduction of "extra" components of income, which affected men more than women<sup>159</sup>. Nevertheless, Finland has the second highest gender pay gap from compared countries. Which is quite surprising taking into account that Finland has been ranked third out of 144 countries in the GGI Index.

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<sup>157</sup> EUROFOUND. *Sweden: New Research on the Gender Pay Gap*. [online]. [27. 06. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/articles/working-conditions/sweden-new-research-on-the-gender-pay-gap>

<sup>158</sup> EUROFOUND. *Addressing the Gender Pay Gap: Government and Social Partner Actions – Finland*. [online]. [27. 06. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/comparative-information/national-contributions/finland/addressing-the-gender-pay-gap-government-and-social-partner-actions-finland>

<sup>159</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *The impact of the economic crisis on the situation of women and men and on gender equality policies*. [online]. 2012, December [27. 06. 2017]. Available on: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/130410\\_crisis\\_report\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/130410_crisis_report_en.pdf). ISBN 978-92-79-28680-3.

**Table 4.7 Main factors that influence gender pay gap**

Country		Causes of Gender Pay Gap			Positive Impacts
<b>Turkey</b>	Unknown			Employment in sectors	Unknown
<b>Hungary</b>	Unknown			Employment in sectors	Unknown
<b>Malta</b>	Women starting families			Employment in sectors	Unknown
<b>Cyprus</b>	Unknown			Employment in sectors	Unknown
<b>Croatia</b>	Unknown			Employment in sectors	Unknown
<b>Slovenia</b>	Unknown			Employment in sectors	Unknown
<b>Sweden</b>	Unknown			Employment in sectors	Collective agreements
<b>Finland</b>	Low negotiation power	Preferences in working life	Men - Extra salaries components	Employment in sectors	Austerity policies

Source: Own processing

Unfortunately, there are no public research available explaining the specific causes of the gender pay gap in Turkey, Hungary, Cyprus, Slovenia and Sweden, except the fact that women often work in sectors of lower income. This is, however, a widely known fact across the EU countries. Nevertheless, there are some factors, which had a positive impact on the reduction of the gender pay gap in Sweden and Finland. Sweden improved their collective agreements and Finland reduction of the gender pay gap was caused by austerity policies. However, this also shows the lack of studies analysing the causes of the gender pay gap in concrete countries. There are known general effects of the gender pay gap in the EU. Nevertheless, to resolve the issue of the gender pay gap there is need to find specific and concrete causes in each country, so countries can introduce laws, action plans and strategies to tackle the existence of gender pay gap.



The inequality in the gender pay gap has an effect on the global economy. According to the World Economic Forum, it affects the ability of every country to have economic growth, which is sustainable, and it affects the job creating process<sup>160</sup>. Yet, in every EU country, the gender pay gap still exists. Even though that according to EU laws, discrimination based on gender is prohibited and despite many researches saying that closing the gender pay gap and gender equality on the labour market and education would be prosperous for the economy. However, it is important to take into consideration that the gender pay gap is also influenced by forms of employment such as part-time employment.

#### **4.2.1. Political Empowerment of Women**

Women's representation in politics and political decision-making processes benefit gender equality as well as in society, democracy and politics overall<sup>161</sup>. It is important to encourage women to get involved in politics and increase their representation in political participation.

The study of Ghani, Mani and O'Connell<sup>162</sup> showed that when people are exposed over a longer time period to women in political roles, it has positive contribution to women's participation in the labour force. The female political representation can be on a local or national level. Being exposed to female politicians for a longer period of time also increases the share of employment opportunities allocated to female workers. This study also showed that if there are female leaders, the access of public-to-public goods also increases, which supports more women to participate in the labour market<sup>163</sup>.

This subchapter will examine one of the GGI Index sub-index, Political Empowerment to see the differences in female political representation, displayed in Figure 4.8.

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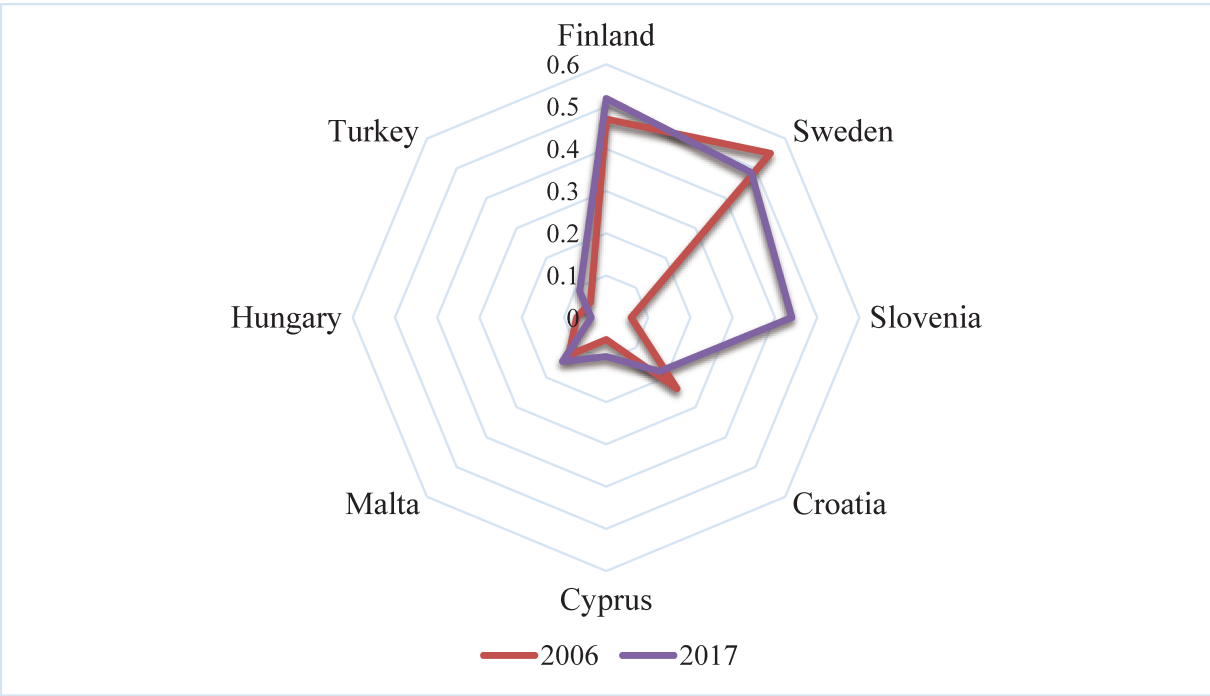
<sup>160</sup> WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *Which European countries have the biggest gender pay gaps?* [online]. [27. 06. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/12/which-european-countries-have-the-biggest-gender-pay-gaps/>

<sup>161</sup> EUROPEAN INSTITUTE FOR GENDER EQUALITY. *Empowering Women in Politics*. [online]. [27. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://eige.europa.eu/rdc>

<sup>162</sup> THE WORLD BANK. *Can Political Empowerment Help Economic Empowerment?* [online]. [28. 06. 2017]. Available on: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/16890/WPS6675.pdf>

<sup>163</sup> THE WORLD BANK. *Can Political Empowerment Help Economic Empowerment?*, ref. 162

**Figure 4.8 Global Gender Gap Index – Political Empowerment, 2017**



Source: THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2006 and 2017*, own processing

In Turkey, there was no female elected to the presidential office. However, Turkey had one female Prime Minister Tansu Çiller who served from 1993 to 1996<sup>164</sup>. The parliament seats are not equally divided between both genders. Women make up 15.0 % of seats in the National Parliament. Women are also underrepresented in ministerial positions as the only hold 4.0 % of these roles.

Hungary has never had a female as the Head of State. In addition, the proportion of women in parliament is very low, only 10.0 % of parliament members are women. In Hungary, there are no women holding ministerial positions. There are fewer women in political leadership positions in 2017 that there were in 2006.

The first female President of Malta was Agatha Barbara, elected in 1982. The second female President is now acting, and her name is Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca<sup>165</sup>. The official Head of State in Malta is Queen Elisabeth II, Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

<sup>164</sup> ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA. *Tansu Çiller*. [online]. [29. 06. 2017]. Available on: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Tansu-Ciller>

<sup>165</sup> THE MALTA INDEPENDENT. *At this rate, it will take 269 years for gender parity in Parliament – President Coleiro Preca*. [online]. [29. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2017-04-04/local-news/At-this-rate-it-will-take-269-years-for-gender-parity-in-Parliament-President-Coleiro-Preca-6736172456>

Although, the current President of Malta is woman, the participation of women in parliament is only 13.0 % of the total members of parliament. In ministerial positions, the number is even lower. 7.0 % of ministerial positions are held by women. Malta's female political leadership decreased since 2006.

Cyprus is a presidential republic, yet there was no woman elected as President<sup>166</sup>. In Cyprus, 17.9 % of parliamentary seats belong to women and 82.1 % of parliamentary seats belong to men. There are only 9.1 % of women holding ministerial positions, 11 years ago there were no women in ministerial position. In Cyprus, the number of women in politics has slowly grown since 2006.

Croatia elected the first female President in 2015; her name is Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović<sup>167</sup>. The representation of women in parliament and ministerial positions is quite low. Only 15.0 % of parliamentary seats and 20.0 % of ministerial positions are held by women. Nevertheless, the number of women in politics decreased since 2006.

Slovenia has not elected any female President. However, the head of the government in Slovenia as a parliamentary democracy is Prime Minister. The first woman who held the position of Prime Minister was Alenka Bratušek, from March 2013 until May 2014<sup>168</sup>. Women make up 36.7 % of the National Parliament. Nonetheless, the cabinet of ministers is represented equally as in 50.0 % of women hold ministerial positions<sup>169</sup>. Slovenia is very committed to achieving gender equality. Eleven years ago, there were only 6.0 % of women holding ministerial positions<sup>170</sup>.

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy with kings or queens as a Head of State, with current king Carl XVI Gustaf, who acceded the throne after the death of his grandfather. In Sweden 44.0 % of parliamentary seats belong to women and 56.0 % of parliamentary seats belong to men. However, 52.0 % of ministerial positions are held by women.

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<sup>166</sup> BBC. *Cyprus country profile*. [online]. [29. 06. 2018]. Available on: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17217956>

<sup>167</sup> MEDITERRANEAN AFFAIRS. *Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović is the new President of Croatia*. [online]. [29. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://mediterraneanaffairs.com/kolinda-grabar-kitarovic-president-croatia/>

<sup>168</sup> REUTERS. *Slovenian interim PM Bratusek forms new party before snap election in July*. [online]. [29. 06. 2018]. Available on: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-slovenia-politics-idUSKBN0EB0DM20140531>

<sup>169</sup> WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017*, ref. 59

<sup>170</sup> WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2006*, ref. 113

Finland has elected only one woman as a President since 1919, Tarja Halonen<sup>171</sup>. She served two terms, the first time she was elected in 2000, and re-elected in 2006. In National Parliament, 42.0 % of seats belong to female representatives and 59.0 % to men. However, there are significantly more women in ministerial positions than men. 63.0 % of ministers are women and 38.0 % are men. In Finland, the number of women in politics has grown since 2006.

Turkey has a more female representation in politics than Malta and Hungary. However, Turkey has 4.0 % of women holding ministerial positions; Hungary do not have any women in ministerial positions. In addition, Hungary has the lowest female representation in politics. Nevertheless, countries with the highest number of women in political leadership are Sweden and Finland with Slovenia behind them. These countries also have very few barriers for women to get employment as it can be seen in the subchapter 4.2. On the contrary, countries with the lowest number of women in politics, Turkey, Malta, Hungary and Cyprus, followed by Croatia have more barriers for women and also have a higher gap in employment.

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<sup>171</sup> OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND. *President of the Republic Tarja Halonen's biography*. [online]. [30. 06. 2017]. Available on: <http://www.presidentti.fi/halonen/Public/default98a6.html?nodeid>

## 5. Conclusion

Achieving gender equality has always been one of the main goals of the European Union. Two aspects that fall under this banner include the equality in education and in the labour market. There is correlative relationship between access to education and access to the labour market. With higher educational attainment, there are better chances to get better-paid jobs in the labour market. It has been proven that gender equality in the labour market leads to the socio-economic development, economic growth and reduction of poverty. Equal opportunities and equal rights for women is a sign of an advanced society, liberal democracy and one of the conditions for the European Union's membership.

To compare gender equality in Turkey with the seven selected Member States the following indicators were used: equality in education, employment rate, part-time employment rate, gender pay gap and political empowerment. To display gender equality on the labour market, the indicators employment, part-time employment and gender pay gap, showed the greatest deviations. Finally, another analysed indicator used to make the comparison was the Political empowerment, GGI Index's sub-index.

Turkey has very high disparities between rural and urban areas regarding access to education and educational attainment. This is explained by two main factors, the first one is limited access to schools in rural areas. The second factor contributing to lower rates of education for girls are deep religious and patriarchal traditions, which significantly prevent girls to get higher education in rural areas where traditions are stronger. Malta also have less girls participating in higher education relating to religious and patriarchal traditions for similar reasons as Turkey. On the other hand, Finland and Sweden are protecting and promoting equal access to education as well as Hungary. Slovenia is very dedicated in the promotion and support of gender equality and the country's representatives are aware of the economic and social benefits of gender equality. Yet, in all seven countries, as opposed to Turkey, the rate of women reaching a tertiary level of education is higher than men. The hypothesis set out regarding educational attainment was partially confirmed. The educational attainment of girls and women is lower because of norms and traditions however, it is mostly the case in rural areas and cannot be verified for the whole country, because the situation may vary in urban areas.

To compare the differences between genders in employment rate, statistics from Eurostat for the year 2017 were used. Those statistics displayed how big the gender employment gap between the selected countries is. While Finland and Sweden have gender gap in

employment around 4.0 pp, Turkey's gender gap in employment is over 40.0 pp. There are very significant differences between the selected countries. Women in Turkey suffer from a double burden, they also face discrimination and gender biases. Malta's gender employment gap is lower than Turkey's, it is 25.5 pp. In some cases, Maltese women chose to be housewives rather than pursuing a career. Croatia has the third lowest gender employment gap, which is 10.1 pp. In this country women, old and young, struggle the most to find a job, another factor contributing to the lower employment of women is motherhood and educational attainment. In Cyprus, although society's point of view is slowly changing, social stereotypes about women still prevail and women are mostly seen as mothers and housewives. Sweden, Finland and Slovenia are very dedicated to pursuing gender equality, however, there are still gaps in employment. Women in general must overcome the problem of work-life balance in greater extent than men do due to motherhood and childcare. However, women often face a "motherhood penalty" due to career breaks. Whatever the reason, time gaps in curriculum vitae are too often perceived by potential employers as lost experience or lost time and may be a penalty for a woman seeking a job following motherhood.

Another indicator used in this thesis to compare selected countries with Turkey was part-time employment. There were very significant differences, which were not expected while writing the thesis. More women in Sweden, Finland and Malta work part-time than in Croatia, Hungary, Slovenia or Turkey. Indeed, Turkey's female part-time employment rate is quite low. Part-time work is also one of the reasons for higher gender pay gap between genders.

Gender pay gap was compared for years 2006, 2010 and 2014 using the Eurostat statistics, all of which is the only data available in recent years. Difficulties were encountered while researching the gender pay gap in Turkey, because there are many contradictory statistics. Eurostat displays a negative gender pay gap, which means that women are paid more than men. Nevertheless, according to the OECD the gender pay gap is over 20.0 %, which means that men are paid more than women. However, figures are coherent for the seven other countries. The lowest gender pay gaps have manifested in Slovenia, Malta and Croatia, and the highest gaps occur in Cyprus, Finland and Sweden. There are two known reasons for the existence of gender pay gap in those countries: women are employed in sectors, in which employees are generally paid less. The other reason is part-time employment of women.

After the examination of equality in education, employment rate, part-time employment rate, and gender pay gap it was confirmed that the employment rate in Turkey is influenced by discrimination, however, the influences of gender employment gap are also caused by double

burden, women preferring to housewives and traditional gender roles. It was refuted that the employment rate is 50 pp, according to the data from Eurostat, the employment gap is 40,1 pp. Nevertheless, the second hypothesis cannot be confirmed or denied due to inconsistent statistics of the gender pay gap in Turkey. In addition, there are no public research available explaining the specific causes of the gender pay gap in Turkey.

The last indicator, which was compared in this diploma thesis was the Global Gender Gap Index's sub-index: Political empowerment for the years 2006 and 2017. Finland, Sweden and Slovenia have the highest number of women in political leadership positions, followed by Croatia, Cyprus, Hungary, Malta and last, Turkey. Turkey have the lowest females' political representation in politics. Political careers are often seen as a predominantly male role and might seem as a very patriarchal environment, hostile towards women. Women should be encouraged to go into politics. Women's participation in political life has many positive impacts. First and foremost, it has a positive impact on gender equality, and therefore on economic development. More women in politics also positively influence the number of women in the labour market.

After the examination of the Copenhagen Criteria and Acquis Chapters the defined sub-goal has been fulfilled. In addition to points that have been raised through the hypotheses, there are also political reasons behind gender inequalities in Turkey following the political shift towards a religious based government. Even though, Turkey has been a candidate country since 1999, the country is still not ready to become a full Member State. Turkey went through positive progress over the years, but it was still not able to align with the Union's standards and laws or to fulfil the criteria of Copenhagen. In Turkey, conversations about gender equality are not being had. Women are less likely to be treated equally in the labour market. The risk is even greater for women living in the rural areas, to not be treated equally in the labour market any more than in their private life, than for women living in urban areas. Moreover, Turkey's current political development is taking steps further backwards regarding that matter. Many positive reforms done in past decades are being revised, the country is leaning toward political Islam, which can be dangerous for the development of healthy democratic society and especially dangerous for women. If the government slides toward religious extremism, women could be forced to live by the traditional interpretation of shari'ah law, which does not give women the same rights as it gives to men. A question rises, will the European Union keep its "soft" and pragmatic approach regarding Turkey, in the lights of current political development and its distancing from the values and principles, which the European Union holds?

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## **List of Abbreviations**

EC	European Community
ECJ	European Court of Justice
EEC	European Economic Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EU	European Union
EU28	28 EU Member States
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
GGI Index	Global Gender Gap Index
ICG	Intergovernmental Conference
MEP	Members of the European Parliament
pp	percentage points
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

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Bath dated 11 July 2018



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Nikola Miksová

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## **Annexes**

### **Annex 1: The 35 Chapters of the Acquis Communautaire**

Chapter 1: Free movement of goods – free movement of goods in the internal market of EU, harmonized of product legislation and harmonized European product legislation.

Chapter 2: Freedom of movement for workers – free movement of workers between Member States of the Union, the equal treatment of foreign workers, the mechanism of coordination of national social security.

Chapter 3: Right of establishment and freedom to provide services – freedom to provide cross-border services, recognition of qualifications and diplomas between Member States, the minimum school curricula.

Chapter 4: Free movement of capital – elimination of restrictions on the movement of capital between Member States and third countries, rules on cross-border payments, the fight against financial crime.

Chapter 5: Public procurement – principles of transparency, equal, free and non-discriminatory competition, rules on public procurement.

Chapter 6: Company law – rules on the formation, registration, merger and division of Companies. Rules for submitting annual and consolidated accounts, the application of international accounting standards, independence of statutory audits.

Chapter 7: Intellectual property law – rules for the legal protection of copyrights and rights related to copyright, trademarks and industrial designs; harmonization of rules for the exercise of copyright and the protection of industrial property.

Chapter 8: Competition policy – the rules of anti-monopoly policy and state Inspection.

Chapter 9: Financial services – rules for the authorization, operation and supervision of financial institutions in the banking, insurance, pension funds, investment services and in the securities markets.

Chapter 10: Information society and media – removing obstacles to the effective functioning of the internal market for telecommunications networks and services; establish a transparent, predictable and effective regulatory framework for public and private broadcasting in line with European standards.

Chapter 11: Agriculture and rural development – rules necessary for the functioning of the Common Agricultural Policy.

Chapter 12: Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy – hygiene rules applicable for food production, the rules for the veterinary and phytosanitary policy.

Chapter 13: Fisheries – Preparation for the Common Fisheries Policy.

Chapter 14: Transport policy – legislation to promote safe, efficient and user and environmentally friendly transport services.

Chapter 15: Energy – energy security and environmental protection.

Chapter 16: Taxation – value added taxes and excise taxes, the fulfilment of the Codex in business taxation and administrative cooperation.

Chapter 17: Economic and monetary policy – the assumption of independence of central banks, commitment to adopt the euro after joining the EU.

Chapter 18: Statistics – the existence of neutral statistical infrastructure for the dissemination of official statistics.

Chapter 19: Social policy and employment – the minimum standards concerning labour law, equality, health and safety; non- discrimination of workers.

Chapter 20: Enterprise and industrial policy – favourable environment for setting up businesses and growth throughout the EU, improvement of business environment.

Chapter 21: Trans-European networks – the creation and development of Trans-European networks (TEN) in transportation, telecommunications and energy infrastructures.

Chapter 22: Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments – framework and implementing regulations, which do not require a transfer to national legislation, rules for the compilation, approval and implementation of Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund programs.

Chapter 23: Judiciary and fundamental rights – provide for independent and efficient judiciary, the legal guarantees of a fair trial, combated effectively against corruption, ensuring respect for fundamental rights and the rights of EU citizens.

Chapter 24: Justice, freedom and security – the rules of international migration, granting of asylum, police cooperation, the fight against organized crime and against terrorism, cooperation in the field of drugs, customs and judicial cooperation, etc.

Chapter 25: Science and research – the conditions for the effective participation in EU Framework Programmes.

Chapter 26: Education and culture – the cooperation in fields of education and vocational education, preservation and promotion of cultural diversity.

Chapter 27: Environment – legislative acts regarding the horizontal legislation, water and air quality, waste management, nature protection, industrial pollution control and risk

management, chemicals and genetically modified organisms (GMOs), the noise and forestry sector.

Chapter 28: Consumer and health protection – the obligation to introduce of the Acquis into national law and the creation of competent authorities for the supervision over the rules in the field of public health.

Chapter 29: Customs union – introduction of the EU Customs Codex – common customs tariff, exemption from customs duties, suspension of customs duties and quotas; controlling of counterfeits, persecution, drugs, etc.

Chapter 30: External relations – relations with the third countries, readiness to provide humanitarian assistance, measures in development policy.

Chapter 31: Foreign, security and defence policy – the possibility of political dialogue; implementation of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).

Chapter 32: Financial control – the adoption of internationally agreed principles complying with the EU, the existence of effective and transparent management and control systems of finance, etc.

Chapter 33: Financial and budgetary provisions – Member State must ensure adequate administrative capacity to proportionally coordinating and ensuring the correct calculation, collection, payment and control of own resources.

Chapter 34 – Institutions – institutional and procedural rules of the EU, which are needed for the equal representation of the Member State in EU institutions.

Chapter 35 - Other issues – issues that can occur during the accession negotiations.



## **Annex 2: International Labour Organization Action Plan on Women's Employment**

1. Ensuring on-the-job training programmes to increase women's employment – rising employer's awareness of on-the-job training programmes. Continuing of women's prioritization in those training programmes, prioritization of disadvantage groups is covered by the Active Labour Force Services legislation.
2. Development of gender equality perspective in the services of institutions – in the Provincial Directorates of Labour and Employment, a representative will be assigned to ensure equality between men and women. All appointed representatives will also be providing trainings, tracking activities focusing on women.
3. Increasing women's employment and ensuring equality of opportunity – targeting equal opportunities for men and women. Ensuring participation of NGOs focusing on women's issues.
4. Identification of problems with women's employment mobility – continuing work on two studies focusing on the theme of why unemployed people do not prefer certain work positions.
5. Supporting programmes for vocational training and employment – developing the professional qualifications of the unemployed and inclusion of groups working in agricultural field, women, immigrant, temporary workers as well as women with disabilities, divorced and widows. Placing special trainings, programmes, practices, protocols and projects.
6. Special support programmes to increase job opportunities for women – developing internships and on-the-job training opportunities especially for women looking for the job for the first time. This will be supported by many institutions, for example by the Ministry of National Education.
7. Increasing childcare and playrooms for women's children attending courses – allocating childcares units and playrooms to support women with children, who are attending education courses.
8. Increase number of women in private sectors.
9. Consultation for victims of violence towards vacant positions – gathering information about the professional lives of women who applied to the Violence

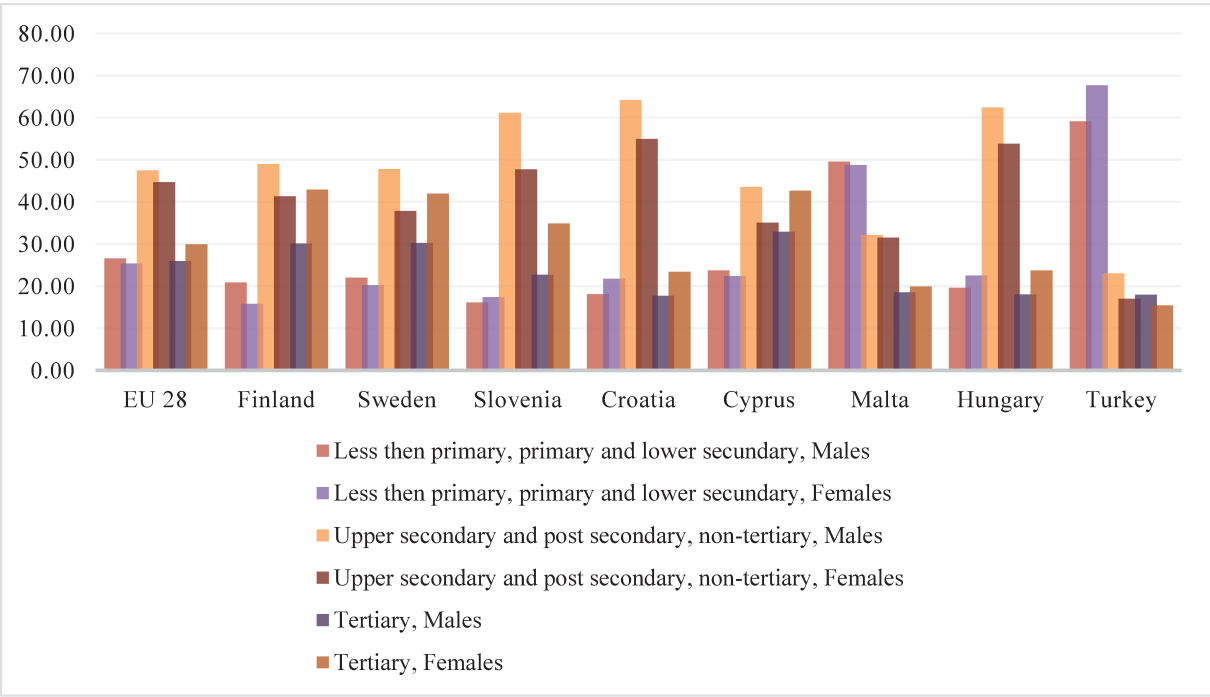
Prevention and Observation Centres. Working on informing them about vacant positions through counsellors.

### Annex 3: Global gender gap rankings, 2017

Country	Ranking	Global Index Score	Economic Participation and Opportunity	Educational Attainment	Health and Survival	Political Empowerment
<b>Finland</b>	3	0.823	0.793	1.000	0.978	0.519
<b>Sweden</b>	5	0.816	0.809	0.999	0.969	0.486
<b>Slovenia</b>	7	0.805	0.801	1.000	0.980	0.440
<b>Ireland</b>	8	0.794	0.710	1.000	0.971	0.493
<b>France</b>	11	0.778	0.683	1.000	0.977	0.453
<b>Germany</b>	12	0.778	0.720	0.970	0.975	0.447
<b>Denmark</b>	14	0.776	0.728	1.000	0.971	0.406
<b>UK</b>	15	0.770	0.705	0.999	0.971	0.404
<b>Bulgaria</b>	18	0.756	0.710	0.990	0.979	0.346
<b>Latvia</b>	20	0.756	0.798	1.000	0.980	0.246
<b>Spain</b>	24	0.746	0.657	0.998	0.973	0.354
<b>Lithuania</b>	28	0.742	0.749	1.000	0.980	0.241
<b>Belgium</b>	31	0.739	0.716	1.000	0.976	0.246
<b>Netherlands</b>	32	0.737	0.657	1.000	0.970	0.323
<b>Portugal</b>	33	0.734	0.730	0.992	0.977	0.240
<b>Estonia</b>	37	0.731	0.726	1.000	0.979	0.218
<b>Poland</b>	39	0.728	0.702	1.000	0.980	0.230
<b>Croatia</b>	54	0.711	0.689	0.995	0.980	0.180
<b>Austria</b>	57	0.709	0.660	0.988	0.975	0.216
<b>Romania</b>	58	0.708	0.698	0.995	0.980	0.159
<b>Luxembourg</b>	59	0.706	0.667	1.000	0.973	0.184
<b>Slovakia</b>	74	0.694	0.662	1.000	0.980	0.135
<b>Greece</b>	78	0.692	0.670	0.991	0.973	0.136
<b>Italy</b>	82	0.692	0.571	0.995	0.967	0.234
<b>Czechia</b>	88	0.688	0.643	1.000	0.980	0.130
<b>Cyprus</b>	92	0.684	0.679	0.998	0.966	0.092
<b>Malta</b>	93	0.682	0.610	1.000	0.971	0.146
<b>Hungary</b>	103	0.670	0.675	0.992	0.979	0.035
<b>Turkey</b>	131	0.625	0.471	0.965	0.977	0.088

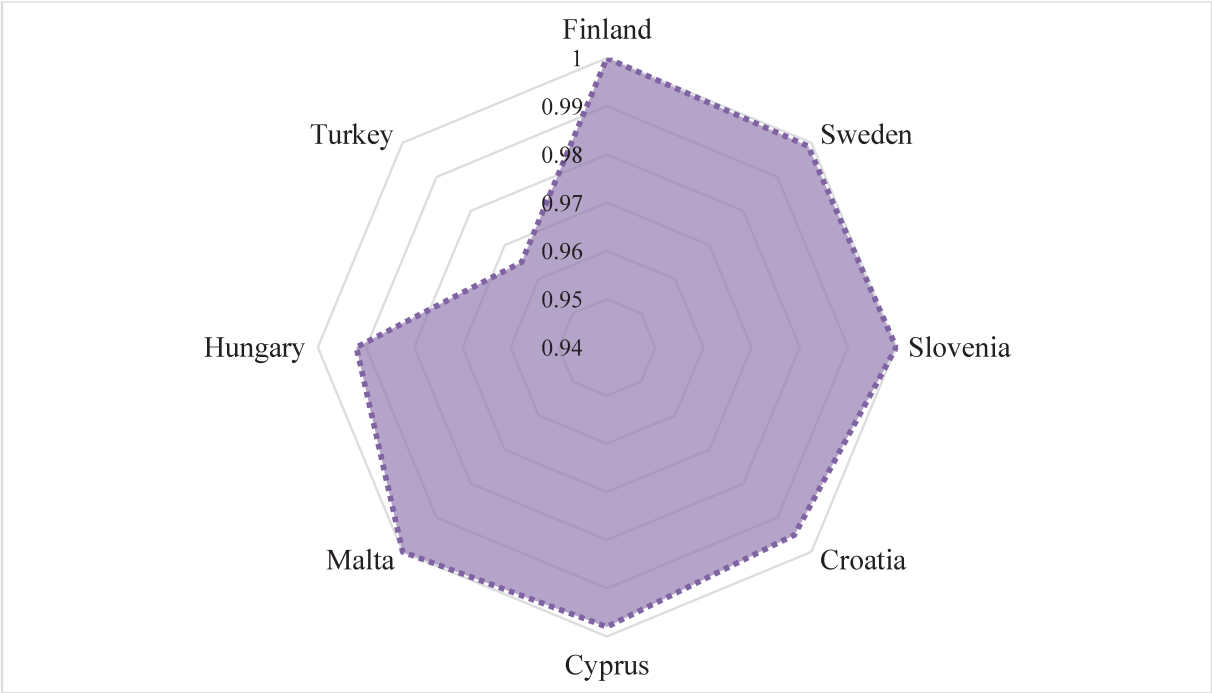
Source: THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017*, own processing

**Annex 4: Population by educational attainment level and sex (%), 2017**



Source: EUROSTAT. *Equality (age and gender)*, own processing

**Annex 4.2: Global Gender Gap Index – Educational attainment level, 2017**



Source: THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017*, own processing