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# THE EFFECT OF STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION ON TURKISH ECONOMY: FEMINIZATION OF LABOUR

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#### Abstract

In Turkish economy after the 2000s there has been a rapid transformation in the sectoral structure. Especially in the service sector, a rapid growth rate has emerged and the total production and employment share of the agricultural sector has decreased significantly. The transformation in the sectoral structure has also affected macroeconomic variables. The structure of economic growth stands out related to the aspects of the structure of the labour market, foreign trade balance and income distribution. The phenomenon of feminization of the labour highlights some of the qualitative disadvantages that arise, despite the increased employment opportunities for women. While low wage problem, concentration in low value-added sectors, informal work, etc problems arise, income inequality also increases. The aim of this study is to determine the effects of the sectoral transformation in Turkish economy on the process of the feminization of the labour. According to the observations, it can be said that after the 2000s, although female employment has increased rapidly in the service sector, the qualitative improvement in the labour market has been insufficient and has not contributed to the relieving of the income distribution problem in particular.

**Keywords:** Sectoral Structure, Feminization of Labour, Income Distribution.

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## TÜRKİYE EKONOMİSİNDE SEKTÖREL DÖNÜSÜMÜN ETKİSİ: İSGÜCÜNÜN FEMİNİZASYONU

Öz

Türkiye ekonomisinde 2000'li yıllardan sonra sektörel yapıda hızlı bir dönüşüm ortaya çıkmıştır. Özellikle hizmet sektöründe hızlı bir büyüme oranı ortaya çıkmış, tarım sektörünün toplam üretim ve istihdam payı dikkate değer biçimde azalmıştır. Sektörel yapıda ortaya çıkan dönüşüm makroekonomik değişkenleri de etkilemiştir. İktisadi büyümenin niteliği, İşgücü piyasasının yapısı, dış ticaret dengesi, gelir dağılımı vb. bu açıdan öne çıkmaktadır. İşgücünün feminizasyonu olgusu, kadınların istihdam olanaklarının artmasına rağmen, niteliksel olarak ortaya çıkan bazı olumsuzlukları vurgulamaktadır. Düşük ücret sorunu, katma değeri düşük sektörlerde yoğunlaşma, kayıtdışı çalışma vb. problemler ortaya çıkarken gelir esitsizlikleri de artmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye ekonomisinde sektörel yapıda ortaya çıkan dönüşümün, işgücünün feminizasyonu sürecine etkilerini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Elde edilen bulgulara göre, 2000'li yıllardan sonra hizmetler sektöründe kadın istihdamı hızlı bir şekilde artmasına rağmen, işgücü piyasasında niteliksel iyileşmenin yetersiz kaldığı ve özellikle gelir dağılımı sorununun çözümlenmesine katkı sağlamadığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sektörel Yapı, İşgücünün Feminizasyonu, Gelir Dağılımı

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, the policies implemented in the face of the crises in the early 2000s caused an acceleration in the sectoral transformation and and also had a significant impact on the change in the employment structure. In the face of macroeconomic and financial problems (public sector imbalances, inflation problem etc.) which are important causes of the 2001 national crisis, the realization of structural reforms led to a resolution of employment in the agricultural sector, while also increasing the spped of development of the service sector.

Supported by the changes in sectoral production dynamics in Turkish economy, the trend of employment of female labour, discharged from agriculture sector, has increased in the sectors with low capital intensity (especially services, textile etc.) in recent years. However, despite the increase in the relative rate of female labour in non-agricultural sectors, this situation does not seem to contribute much to the relieving of the income distribution and poverty problems in general.

The term "feminization of labor" is basically used to denote two different characteristics. The first is used to express the sharp increase in women's labor force participation, especially in the transition from agriculture to the industrial sector. Second, the term "feminization of labor" is used to describe increased flexibility in male and female labor (Hossain, 2013:199).

In developed economies, the impact of strong supply-driven growth driven by technology and innovation is seen. In this respect, while the producers of developing countries produce basic goods with women's labor, post-war industrialization has been realized as female-led as well as export-led (Öztürk, 2010: 106).

Turkish economy is noteworthy due to high growth rates after the crises it experienced in the early 2000s. The phenomenon of economic growth, which represents, in its shortest sense, the increase in the total amaount of goods and services in an economy, refers to the socety's becoming rich or getting more revenues. However, it can not be said that all segments of the society get an equal share from economic growth.

In ilkkaracan's study (2012) calculating each 100 new jobs that emerged in Turkish economy in the 1988-2009 period, depending on sub-sectors and gender, 70% of the employment distribution of these new areas is concentrated in trade, accommodation, restaurant, banking and finance, community and personal services. In these sectors, the share of women's labor in every 100 new jobs is approximately 80%. The findings show that women's labor is employed in the service sector or in the labor-intensive low-wage sectors in the manufacturing industry. In addition, the relative proportion of women's labor predominates in terms of informal work.

In Turkey, the emergence of the non-agricultural sector employment growth of women's labor, along with economic growth process illustrate this transformation. The fact that this increase was realized at a decreasing rate indicates that the substitution of employment in the agricultural field is not very rapid. The only study that tests the U hypothesis for Turkey is made by Tansel (2002).

Due to the aggregated cross-sectional data and pooled LSM method, the findings supporting the U hypothesis in this study have become controversial. Güçlü's (2018: 204) econometric analysis of the relationship between per capita real GDP (Gross Domestic Product) in Turkey's 26 NUTS-2 regions and the labor force participation rate of women is directed to an "inverted U" shape relationship between these two variables.

The analysis conducted by Güçlü (2018) is important in terms of the of the selected period as high level of weight of the industry / service sector in total production. Findings show that after a certain level of income, economic, cultural and social factors that reduce female labor force participation come to the fore (Güçlü, 2018: 209).

#### 2. METHOD

In this study, the change in the dynamics in the sectoral structure of the Turkish economy is discussed mainly focusing on the labour market. The research addresses the gender differences emerging in the labour market with the development of the service sector and the effects on some indicators such as employment opportunities of the labour force and income distribution etc. In the study, a formal analysis was made using the relational method. Relative ratios in the non-agricultural sector have been calculated in order to measure the change in the labour market in terms of gender. The relation of these calculated data set with the indicators related to the phenomenon feminization of labour such as income distribution, poverty and gender inequality is discussed. Index data set were handled in 2002-18, by dividing into sub-periods. The reason is to make an assessment in terms of the effect of the transformation emerging in the sectoral structure.

Income distribution problem in Turkey maintains its importance. Since this problem comes to the forefront with the aspects of income sharing of total production, there are important resons why it is at the focal point of the labor market and that women's labor is emphasized in this repect. Wage opportunities in the labor market are determined by many factors such as productivity, supply and demand conditions, specialization in foreign trade, etc.

The emergence of labor intensive production structure and the similarity of specialization in terms of production factors of goods and services in foreign trade have negative consequences in terms of wage level. In this study, first of all, is made descriptive analysis of the relationship between the process of sectoral structural change and gender related inequalities. Later, relational models are used in order to understand the income disribution problem in the

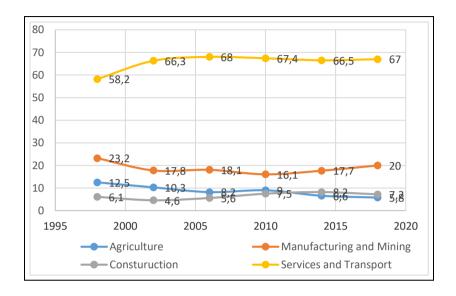
labor market in Turkish economy and the process of feminization of the workforce.

#### 3. FINDINGS

In Turkish economy, as a result of the impact of structural programs implemented in the 2000s, there has been a decrease in the shares of agriculture and industry sectors in total production and employment, while the importance of the service sector has been increasing. In this process, there has been an important change in the participation of female labor to employment. The share of women's labor in total employment which was in the long-term downward trend in Turkey has been increasing since the early 2000s. While the share of female labour in total employment decreases, non-agricultural employment rate (TDKE) increases.

Analysis of the sectoral distribution of production in Turkish economy in the period discussed, will contribute to obtainin some results in terms of the phenpmenon of feminization of labour. Sectoral job opportunities affec employment of the labour force in terms of gender.

The share of the industry in total production at current prices has decreased from nearly 24% to 20% between 2000 and 2020. In the same period, while the construction sector has been developing, its share in total production converged to the agricultural sector. The service sector, on the other hand, increased with a slower upward trend compared to the increase in employment. In this respect, it can be said that the decreasing shares of the industry and agriculture sectors in total production is replaced by the construction and service sectors (Graph 1).



**Graph 1: Sectoral Distribution of Production at Current Prices** 

Source: Turkstat Dataset

Rodrik's (2008) explanation of "the rise in unemployment as a result of structural reforms to sectoral technological differences" should be taken into consideration in order to explain also Turkish economy. In a developing economy, growth opportunities are realized only by shifting labour from low-productivity activities to high-productivity activities. Therefore, it is important to create a labour market that is adapting to technological developments, which is important in increasing productivity as a result of structural reforms.

On the other hand, in the process of transformation of the sectoral structure, the level of development of the qualification and skill structure of the labour force is also important for sustainable employment. The problem of lack of qualifications and skills or adaptation is a reason that negatively affects the

performance of the Turkish labour market. Therefore, education policies are important for the adaptation process of the workforce.

This process of structural transformation expressed as deindustrialization problem draws attention for Turkish economy also in recent years. This problem expresses a decreasing trend in industry sector share of employment and output and points out loss of industrial capacity as well as the economic and social consequences related to this loss (Meçik and Avşar, 2015: 89).

According to the calculations of İlkkaracan (2012), the average distribution of every 100 new jobs that emerged in the 2000-2012 period by sub-sectors and gender was as follows (Table 1).

Table 1: Distribution of Every 100 New Jobs by Sectors and Gender

	Distribution of Every 100 New Jobs	Distribution of Every 100 New Female Jobs
Trade, Hotels,	39	29
Restaurant		
Manufacturing	21	19
Community and	19	37
Personal Services		
Banking, Finance	14	13
Transportation	5	2
Construction	4	1

Source: İlkkaracan, 2012

According to Table 1, in recent years, female labour force has been mostly employed in the service sector and they have obtained more employment

opportunities in the community and personal services, trade, hotels and restaurant sub-sectors compared to the male labour force.

In Turkish economy employment trend of female labour which has been discharged from the agricultural sector after the 2000s, have increased in sectors with low capital intensity (especially services, textile, etc.) in recent years. However, the relative rate of female labour in non-agricultural sectors (although increasing) seems to have not contributed much to the solution of the problems of income distribution and poverty in general.

The Global Gender Gap Index was first introduced by the World Economic Forum (WEF) in 2006 as a framework for capturing the magnitude of gender-based disparities and tracking their progress over time. According to the WEF's "Global Gender gap" report for 2018, the gender inequality gap in Turkey is very high. In 2018, in 149 countries, the gap is higher especially in the areas of political and economic participation, with respect to the main areas of the index (Table 2).

Table 2: Global Gender Gap Score of Turkey

	Rank	Score
Global Gender Gap score	130	0,628
Economic Participation and Opportunity	131	0,466
Educational attainment	106	0,968
Health and survival	67	0,976
Political empowerment	113	0,101
Rank out of	149	

**Source:** WEF, 2019:277

Gender inequality affect the competitiveness of countries by lowering female wages thereby influencing income distribution. Gender inequalities restrict women's participation in productive employment and thereby lower the potential economic growth dividend. Unequal pay weakens economic bargaining power of women with the other members of her family and prevents investment in their education and skill formation, therefore, they work in low-skilled service sector and agriculture which are low paid (Baloch, 2018:2).

In economic literature, GINI index and P80 / P20 ratio are used in terms of income inequality in general. Although there are difficulties in measuring these indices, they contribute to the explanation of income distribution. P80 / P20 ratio is defined as the ratio of the share of lower income group and upper income group from total income. Expressing it as a ratio allows one to establish a connection between inequality and justice in one aspect (Oz, 2019: 603).

Calculating the ratio of female employment participation rate to male labor in non-agricultural sectors (TDKEO ratio) will have the feature of better explanation of the relative employment participation rate of female labor in Turkey. This ratio, which is calculated for the period of 2002-18 based on TUIK data, generally tends to increase. It increased from 21% in 2002 to 37% in 2018. This result shows an improvement in the economic participation of women's labor in the non-agricultural sector. For the same period the indicators of social gender inequality together with the changes in women's poverty rate (YOK), gini coefficient and P80 / P20 ratio are shown in Table 3 and Graph 2

	TDKEO	TCE	YOK	GiNi (%)	P80/P20		
2002	21		27,2	44	9,45		
2003	22		28,3	42	8,05		
2004	22		26	40	7,70		
2005	23		21	38	7,28		
2006	24	59	18,3	43	9,49		
2007	25	58	18,2	41	8,09		
2008	25	59	17,5	41	8,05		
2009	28	58	19,3	42	8,50		
2010	28	59	18	40	8,00		
2011	30	60	16,7	40	8,05		
2012	31	60	16,6	40	7,90		
2013	32	61	16,3	40	7,64		
2014	33	62	16,1	39	7,40		
2015	34	62	16,1	39,7	7,62		
2016	35	63	15,8	40,4	7,70		
2017	36	63	15,1	40,5	7,72		
2018	37	63		40,4	7,71		
70 —	→ TDKE0	TCE	—— УОК	→ GİNİ (%)	P80/P20		
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Table 3 and Graph 2: The Participation Rate in Labor Force Of Female/Male in The Nonagricultural Sector, Gender And income Inequality indicators, 2002-2018, Turkey

Source: TUIK, WEF

According to Table 3 and Graph 2, despite the increase in female labor employment participation rate (TDKEO) compared to male labor in non-agricultural sectors in 2002-18 period, the improvement in income distribution (GINI) was very limited. In terms of the poverty indicator (YOK), the improvement in 2002-10 period was not very strong in the following period. According to this result, it shows that although the ratio of TDKEO increases, it does not have much effect on income opportunities.

On the other hand, in the 2002-18 period, the level of gender-related inequality (TCE) declined, albeit limited (the increase in the index value). The improvement in the rate of economic participation which is one of the subcomponents of TCE index and which is low in Turkey can be considered to be effective in this result.

In order to measure the effect of the phenomenon of the feminization of labor on income distribution and poverty in Turkey quantitatively, it is necessary to take into account the percentage change of the main variables depending on the sub-periods. The average values calculated for the four sub-periods in the 2002-18 period are shown in Table 3 and Graph 2.

Period	2002-06	2006-10	2010-14	2014-18
TCE Index (%)	0	1,5	5	5
YOK Index (%)	25	-5	20	6
GINI Index (%)	2	7	2,5	-2,5
TDKEO Index (%)	15	18	17	12

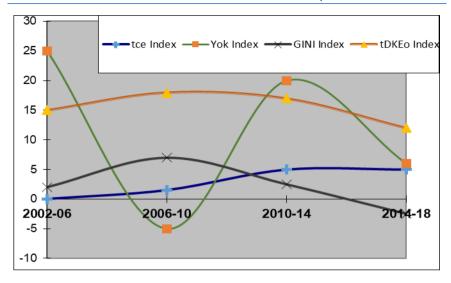


Table 4 and Graph 3: Percentage Changes in Index Values in Sub-periods (As

Improvement Trend)

When Table 4 and Graphic 3 are analyzed, it is seen that the average values of TDKEO index for all sub-periods have an increasing tendency. While the GINI index improved at a smaller rate, there has been a negative trend in recent years. YOK index value fluctuates. The most regular upward trend was observed in the TCE index. When these results are evaluated together, there is a positive relationship between the increase in economic participation of women's labor and decrease in income inequality, but its effect remains low.

On the other hand, the effect of gender inequality index on indicators is more positive. In addition, it is important for the U-shaped curve emphasized by Boserup that the trend of decreasing rate appears to increase after the period of 2006-10.Boserup explains with the U-shaped curve that as a result of the women's labor concentrated in the agricultural sector orientation towards other sectors along with the economic growth process, the labor force participation rate will decrease first and then increase.

#### 4. CONCLISIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In recent years sectoral structure of Turkish economy has experienced a rapid transformation with respect to both production and employment. While the share of agriculture in total production and employment declined rapidly, the increase in services was high. While the national income increased rapidly after the crisis in the early 2000s, per capita income also increased.

Women in the labor market in Turkey is generally regarded as the low-skilled and unregistered jobs. In particular, women trained in finance, education and health services is one of the most important occupations. Manufacturing, information considered as more technical works. The presence of women in such sectors as communication and public administration is very limited (KEİG, 2019:6)

In some sectors in Turkey (apparel, leather, furniture, chemicals, machinery, plastic products, mineral products, iron, steel, etc.) growth and investment were found to be much more effective than the low wage policy in increasing employment, and in some sectors (paper, printing, rubber, transportation equipment) low real wages were found to have a higher impact (Onaran and Aydıner, 2006: 19). According to this result, employment policies have a significant impact on the process of the feminization of labor.

In the econometric study conducted by Aytekin (2014: 126) to determine the relationship between GNP level and TDKEO, the increase in GNP by 1% increases the TDKEO rate by approximately 0.022%. The positive coefficient shows that as a result of GDP growth in Turkey, non-agricultural employment rate of women increased faster than the male employment.

In Table 5 in terms of income inequality compared to OECD average it is observed that Gini index is high in Turkey (ie greater income inequality). In terms of P80 / P20 ratio the gap is higher.

While the deviation from the OECD average is high also in terms of poverty rate, this indicator deviates significantly, especially in child poverty and working population. Turkey faces a kind of poverty problem which is especially caused by the broken structure of income distrubition. Although, extreme poverty, which is generally measured by hunger limit, is generally at low rates in Turkey, the poverty level is quite high according to food and non-food poverty limit (Aktan, 2202).

Table 5: Key İndicators On The Distribution of Household Disposable Income and Poverty, 2007 and 2014 or Most Recent Year

	Gini Coefficient		S80/S20 income	Share Ratioincome	Poverty Rate-Total- (Relative Threshold)		Poverty Rate- By Age Group, 2014		
	2007	2014	2007	2014	2007	2014	Children (< 18)	Elderly (> 65)	Working Poor
Turkey	0,41	0,39	7,9	7,6	17	17,2	25,3	12,9	15,6
OECD	0,32	0,32	5,4	5,5	11,4	11,5	13,3	10	8,8

Source: OECD, 2016

On the other hand, according to the study of Öz (2019: 603) which was done using 17 years of data after 2000 in Turkey, P80 / P20 percentages were found to have a linear relationship with Gini coefficient. According to the results after

2000 in Turkey the income inequality and the gap between the lowest income group and the highest income group were determined to be in the same direction.

However, the positive effect of this improvement in the macroeconomic aggregates on income distribution was very limited. In 2012-2018 period, the Gini index ranged between 0.4 to 0.44 level, Turkey has continued to be among the worst countries in OECD economies in terms of income distribution.

Although there are different reasons for the emergence of this situation, the effects of sectoral transformation taking place in Turkey should be emphasized with feminization of women's work process. Despite the relative increase in female labor employment participation rate in the non-agricultural area, the improvement in income distribution is limited. This result is also important for the problem of gender inequality.

In the same period, it was observed an improvement in gender-related inequalities. This is the result of significant reduction of the high gap for economic participation of female labor o some extent in Turkey. However, in addition to remaining gender-related income gaps the reflection of the overall economic growth in Turkish economy to low-income groups remains weak.

The rate of change of the sectoral structure is also high in developing economies. As a result of the dissolution in the agricultural sector, labor mobility to other sectors is also expected to be more intense than developed countries. However, historically, the labor force, which was separated from agriculture in the period of industrialization, had the opportunity to work in labor-intensive sectors at the time, but these substitution possibilities are weaker in terms of today's industrialization structure. Therefore, the process of change of the sectoral structure adversely affects peripheral economies.

The need for capital accumulation for economic growth and development in developing economies, has put more emphasis on female labor especially with low labor force participation rates. In the economies where the agricultural sector is intense, the trend of development of non-agricultural sectors has led to an increase in the labor movement towards these sectors. Especially after the 1980s, the demand for women's labor increased by the capitalists, who were concerned about lowering costs. This situation has been conceptualized as "feminization of the labor force" by some researchers (Çakır, 2015: 64).

For the capitalists, certain qualitative features of "female" work in the traditional sectors have become more desirable and have transformed women into a strategic pool of labor (Morini 2007).

As Öztürk (2010: 106) emphasizes, behind the development of 'Asian tigers', cheap female labor that is rendered invisible comes to the fore. Women were massively withdrawn from the agricultural sector to factories and, for example, in South Korea, the 'unlimited army of labor' was brought to industrial production. The industrialization process that accelerated in the East and South East Asian countries after 1970 was an outward oriented accumulation process and was generally referred to as export-oriented production. However, in this process, low-wage problem as well as informal work and the sectoral structure that emphasizes labor-intensive specialization in foreign trade has become prominent in these economies.

In this process, economies seeking economic growth and development have become more dependent on the female labor force and this have led to more visible/ emphasized gender-related inequalities.

As the employment participation rate of women's labor in non-agricultural sectors increased, the problems of education and health opportunities, political

participation, wage gaps etc. were also expressed more. In this respect, the problem of defining and measuring gender inequality has come to the fore.

According to Moghadam (2005: 20), 'neoliberal' policies aggravated their obligations by causing a decrease in the real income of women's labor. The loss of men's jobs and/or reduced wages also supported this process and accelerated the pulling of female labor to the labor market. As a result of this the phenomenon of 'feminization of labor' emerges based on low wages in industry and service sector. Women's labor has become more preferred because they are more adaptable to the flexible working environment and work with lower wages and can accept temporary layoffs (Çakır, 2015: 64).

In some countries, the male employment has decreased in return. Flexibility and deregulation in the labor markets have manifested itself as informalization of employment in developed and developing countries.

"Flexible labor" refers to temporary employment patterns that are constituted by part-time and casual workers. Employers with flexible workforces employ more workers when they have higher production volumes and reduce the workforce when they have small volumes of production. Limited job opportunities for women combined with urgent family needs often force women to work in these global industries even though employment is on a temporary basis. Thus, a flexible workforce is mostly constituted by poor women (Standing, 1989).

Two contested arguments persist in explaining the causes of feminization and labor vulnerability. Some scholars argue that global industries are dominated by female workers as a result of the search for cheap labor. On the other hand, some scholars claim that the primary cause of feminization and labor vulnerability is the gendered discourses of work Feminization and Labor Vulnerability in Global (Hossain, 2013:197).

On the other hand, the direct and indirect effect of financial liberalization on the gender / finance relationship is also emphasized. The indirect effect is revealed when liberalization is combined with economic growth, and in this process growth can increase the demand for female employment. This will allow women to participate in household decisions; because financial liberalization leads to an increase in the borrowed purchasing power of the household, while credit-financed expenditures increase the financial fragility and credit risk of the household (Öztürk, 2010: 111).

The employment participation rate of women's labor has also been in a long term downward trend in Turkey and this situation has ended up since the early 2000s. The feminization of non-agricultural employment, which started with EDG, has reversed. In this process, despite the decrease in the share of women's labor in total employment, the rise in the non-agricultural employment rate (NAFM) accelerated after the EDG and liberalization period (İlkkaracan, 2011).

Womens' invisible labor is higher in proportion in Turkey. Labor such as housework in the home, which is called informal sector, unpaid work especially in the agricultural sector or home-based piecemal work that is not properly paid is referred to as invisible employment. Besides this, jobs in the formal or registered sector are important in that women receive an income and thus they become more visible in economy. However, the rate of employment, in the registered sector, where women can get more equal wages, is rather low and has been gradually decreasing through the years.

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#### **GENIS ÖZET**

#### Giriş

Gec sanayilesen ekonomilerde sektörel yapının değisim sürecinin bazı makroekonomik etkileri olmaktadır. Bu etkiler sektörel üretim olanakları yanında işgücü piyasasını da etkilemekte ve bu ekonomilerde dış ticarette uzmanlaşma yapısı, istihdamın sektörel dağılımı, gelir dağılımı vb.birçok makroekonomik değişkeni etkileyebilmektedir. Kadın emeği işgücü piyasasında bu süreçte anahtar bir üretim faktörü olarak dikkat çekmektedir. Çünkü iktisadi büyüme dinamikleri sonucunda tarımsal sektörün toplam üretim icinde üretim payı azalırken, sanayi ve hizmetler sektörleri ise öne çıkmaktadır. Ağırlıklı olarak tarım sektöründe istihdam edilen ve/veya işgücü piyasasında kayıtdışı alanın bir öznesi olan kadın emeğinin, iktisadi yapının değişim değişim süreciyle birlikte "görünür" konuma gelmesi, gelismekte olan ekonomilerin karşılaştığı bir bir olgu olmaktadır. Bu süreçte kadın emeğinin hem istihdama katılım olanaklarının iyileşmesi sözkonusu olurken hem de tarım sektöründen diğer sektörlere geçiş olanakları artmaktadır. Bu sürec neoliberal politikalar tarafından da güçlü bir şekilde desteklenmektedir. Uluslararası uzmanlaşma yapısına bağlı olarak özellikle emek-yoğun sektörlerin kalkınma olanakları açısından öne çıkması, bu sektörlerde çoğunlukla karşılaşılan düşük ücret, kayıtdışı çalışma olanakları vb olumsuz sonuçlar ağırlıklı olarak kadın emeğini etkilemektedir. Kadın emeğinin bu açıdan işgücü piyasasında daha çok yer alması, iktisadi büyüme dinamikleri hedeflerinin gerçekleşmesinde arzu edilen boyutta olmayacaktır. Katma değeri düsük bir uzmanlasma yapısının dış ticaret hadlerine olumlu katkısı zayıf kalırken, gelir dağılımı boşlukları devam edecektir. Türkiye ekonomisinin kalkınma arayışında da benzer sürecin yaşandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Tarım sektöründe ortaya çıkan çözülme özellikle hizmet sektörü kanalıyla istihdamın ikame edilebilmesine olanak tanımaktadır. İstihdamın sektörel yapısında ortaya çıkan bu dönüşüm, cinsiyete bağlı işgücünün de kendi içinde değişim yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. Kadın emeğinin toplam isitihdam içinde nispi oranı yükselirken, ağırlıklı olarak hizmet sektöründe görünür olmaktadır. Ancak toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin alt bileşenlerinden iktisadi katılım olanaklarında ortaya çıkan bu olumlu durum rağmen gelir dağılımı göstergelerinde güçlü bir iyileşme olarak yansımamaktadır.

#### **Yöntem**

Bu çalışmada Türkiye ekonomisinde sektörel yapıda ortaya çıkan değişim dinamikleri ağırlıklı olarak işgücü piyasası odaklı ele alınmıştır. Araştırma,

hizmetler sektörünün gelişmesiyle işgücü piyasasında cinsiyete bağlı olarak bir farklılaşmanın ortaya çıkacağı ve bu durumun da işgücünün çalışma olanakları, gelir dağılımı vb. bazı değişkenlere etkisini ele almaktadır. Çalışmada bağıntısal yöntem kullanılarak formel bir analiz yapılmıştır. Çalışma verisinin az olması nedeniyle ekonometrik analiz yöntemi kullanılamamıştır. İşgücü piyasanda cinsiyet bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan değişimin ölçülebilmesi için tarımdışı alanda bağıl oranlar hesaplanmıştır. Hesaplanan bu veri setinin, aynı döneme ait işgücünün feminizasyonu olgusuyla ilişkili gelir dağılımı, yoksulluk ve cinsiyet eşitsizliği göstergeleriyle ilişkisi ele alınmıştır. Indeks verileri 2002-18 yılları içinde bazı alt dönemlere ayrılarak ele alınmıştır. Bunun nedeni sektörel yapıda ortaya çıkan dönüşümün etkisi açısından bir değerlendirme yapılabilmesi olmaktadır.

#### Bulgular

Türkiye ekonomisinde 2000'li yıllardan sonra sektörel üretim ve isitihdam yapısında değişim süreci hızlanmıştır. Bu süreçte tarım sektöründe istihdamın sektörel oranı hızlı bir şekilde azalırken, hizmet sektöründe istihdam oranı artarak bu iki sektör arasında işgücünün ikame süreci ortaya çıkmıştır. Aynı süreçte tarımdışı alanda kadın emeği istihdamının erkek emeğine nispi oranı (TDKEO) da yükselme eğilimi sözkonudur. Bunun anlamı sektörel dönüşüm sürecinde tarım kesiminde bir anlamda "gizli" işgücü olarak yer alan kadın emeği, üretim yapısında ortaya çıkan dönüşüm dinamikleriyle birlikte hizmetler sektöründe görünür olmaktadır. Ancak ilk bakışta kadın emeğinin işgücü piyasasında ağırlığı artıyor gibi bir sonuç ortaya çıkmasına rağmen, aslında kadın emeğinin sermaye yoğunluğu düsük bir sektörel yapının öznesi olma olgusu söz konusudur. Bunun sonucunda katma değeri düşük sektörel uzmanlaşmanın ortaya çıkması düşük ücret sorununa neden olmakta ve gelir dağılımı sorunu açısından kadın emeği odak noktasında yer almaktadır. Emeğin feminizasyonu olgusu olarak vurgulanan sorun Türkiye ekonomisinde son yıllarda olumsuz bir sonuç olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

#### Tartışma ve Sonuç

Türkiye işgücü piyasasında kadın emeğinin çalışma olanakları 2000'li yıllardan erkek istihdamına göre daha yüksek düzeyde bir artış eğilimine sahip olduğu görülmektedir. Cinsiyete bağlı istihdam oranını ifade eden TDKEO değişkeninin 2002-18 dönemindeki yükseliş eğiliminden bu sonuç ortaya çıkmıştır. Diğer yandan aynı dönemde gelir dağılımı eşitsizliğini göstermesi açısından önemli olan GINI indeksi ile birlikte P80/P20 katsayısı ele alındığında, bu değişkenler gelir eşitsizliğinin azalması yönünde önemli düzeyde bir iyileşmenin ortaya çıkmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bunun yanında yoksulluk göstergesindeki

iyilesme özellikle 2010 yılından sonra zayıflamaya baslamıstır. Elde edilen gelir eşitsizliği göstergeleri verileri, kadın emeğinin iktisadi katılımcılık düzeyindeki değisme katsayısı olarak nitelendirilebilecek TDKEO düzeyi verileriyle birlikte değerlendirildiği zaman, kadın emeğinin katılımcılık düzeyinde ortaya çıkan birinci grup göstergelere etkisinin zayıf düzeyde kaldığı görülmektedir. Bu sonuç, emeğin feminizasyonu olgusunun Türkiye ekonomisi için özellikle 2000'li yıllardan sonra geçerli olduğunun ipuçlarını yansıtmaktadır. Katma değeri düsük emek-yoğun bir uzmanlasmayı vurgulayan ve dış ticarette rekabetcilik düzeyinin zayıf kalmasına da neden "emeğin feminizasyonu" olgusu kalkınma sorununun da odak noktasında yer alır. Gelismis ekonomiler grubu ile karsılaştırıldığında kalkınma arayısında olan ülkelerde kadın emeğinin işgücü piyasasında daha az yer alması iktisadi etkinlik sorununa neden olmaktadır. Ancak tarımsal yapıda çözülmeyle birlikte, işgücü piyasasında kadın emeğinin daha fazla yer almaya baslaması niceliksel olarak olumlu bir durum olarak görünse de iktisadi büyüme ve kalkınma hedefleri açısından katkısı zayıf kalmaktadır. Ağırlıklı olarak hizmet sektöründe ve/veya katma değeri düşük sanayi alt sektörlerine yönelen kadın emeği, gelişmekte olan ülkelerde sürdürülebilir büyümenin amacıyla uyumlu olmamaktadır. Bunun sonuncunda toplam üretim artışının yetersiz kalması yanında gelir dağılımı sorunu da çözülememektedir.