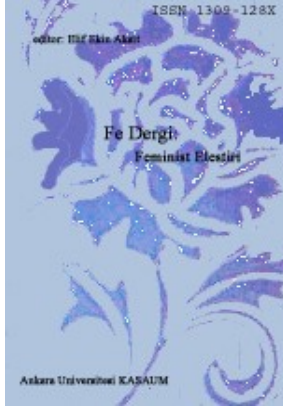


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Implications of Trade Policy Changes on Gender Inequalities

Özge Özay*

The aim of this paper is to survey theoretically the effects of trade policy changes on gender and skill-differentiated labor market. Following this aim, the paper first discusses the implications of neoclassical trade theory. Then, focusing on the feminist trade theory, the paper tries to account for the stylized facts of world economic order in the last thirty years in gendered labor market from a developing country perspective. By presenting a brief empirical survey focusing on the effects of trade policy change on gender-wage gap and/ or female intensity, we argue that the specific global competition strategy chosen for a country determines the framework for various dynamic interplays of class and gender.

Keywords: Trade policy, gender inequalities, gender-wage gap, demand for female labor, technological change.

Ticaret Politikası Değişimlerinin Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği Üzerine Etkileri

Bu çalışmanın amacı teorik olarak ticaret politikasının emek piyasasındaki etkilerini toplumsal cinsiyet ve işgücü niteliğine göre ayrıştırılmış bir biçimde incelemektir. Makale, amacına yönelik olarak öncelikle ana-akım ticaret teorisini tartışmakta. Daha sonra feminist ticaret kuramının yardımıyla son 30 yılda dünya ekonomik sistemindeki dönüşümlerin toplumsal cinsiyet açısından ve gelişmekte olan bir ülke perspektifinden açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Çalışma, dış ticaret politikalarının cinsiyete dayalı ücret farklılıkları ve/ veya kadın istihdam yoğunluğu açısından etkilerini inceleyen ampirik çalışmaları tarayarak, ülkenin seçtiği küresel rekabetle baş edebilme stratejisinin ekonomik sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki etkileşimleri belirlediğini savunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dış ticaret politikası, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği, cinsiyete dayalı ücret eşitsizliği, kadın emeği talebi, teknolojik değişim.

Introduction

The feminization of labor force has been a widely recognized phenomenon since the 1970s especially for low and middle-income countries following export-led growth schemes.¹ This feminization trend went hand in hand with labor market deregulation and transformation of the conditions of paid work into casual, irregular, flexible and precarious jobs.² In these economies, women tend to be concentrated in labor-intensive manufacturing sectors such as textiles, apparel and electronics.³ The phenomenon is important for feminist economists as the primary notion for them is the acknowledgement of the different experiences of women and men within the economy. As has been noted by numerous feminist economists, feminist economics has an agenda of bringing into front the marginalized voices within the economy and to support these marginalized groups in their emancipation struggles. Hence, feminist economics tries to transform economic and social life so as to reduce gender, race and class inequalities and promote the expansion of people's capabilities to lead satisfying lives. Although this absolute and sometimes relative increase for women's labor demand compared with men may not manifest itself as a remunerative gain or empowerment within the household or elsewhere in the economy, it certainly presents a potential for empowerment. The feminization trend is reversed for some countries, but we still need to acknowledge the reasons for this phenomenon and possibly for the reversal of it. This paper aims first to review mainstream trade theory in economics as it can be- has applied to explain the feminization trend. Secondly, I will discuss the contribution of feminist economics on theoretical and empirical grounds to analyze the effects of trade policy changes on women and men workers, especially from a developing country perspective. Last part will present the concluding remarks.

Mainstream Theories of Trade

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Since historically women workers have consistently been employed in exporting sectors that hire unskilled labor to perform repetitive tasks in the low and middle-income countries specialized in export oriented growth, it has been customary to apply trade theories having implications for unskilled and skilled labor to women and men, respectively. The most popular of these is the Heckscher- Ohlin trade theory for predicting the direction of trade. Coupled with the Stolper- Samuelson theorem, Heckscher- Ohlin theory can be used to present income distribution effects of trade liberalization based on factor abundance. Specifically, Heckscher-Ohlin-Samuelson (HOS) model together with Stolper-Samuelson (SS) theorem propose that the expansion of trade will increase skilled labor wages in the North or the developed world. The HOS model postulates that the comparative advantage of nations is based on the relative abundance of the factors of production. Taking the two factors of production as capital and labor, the basic HOS model proves that the capital-abundant developed country will have an increased price for the good that uses capital more intensively under trade liberalization. SS theorem ties the change in the good prices to the factor of production prices for a given level of factor endowment supply. Therefore, increased trade or decreased tariffs will increase the price of the factor in which country's comparative advantage lies. If we generalize this basic model for the skilled and unskilled labor as our factors of production, the two countries can still be taken as the developing and the developed ones, the two goods can be a skilled labor intensive good (machinery) and an unskilled labor intensive good (apparel). Two factors of production are the unskilled and skilled labor. In this setting, one would expect the trade liberalization to increase the price of skill-intensive good in the North and hence increasing the wages for skilled workers via SS theorem. For the South, we have the opposite result of increasing the price of unskilled intensive good and hence the wages for the unskilled labor increase as well. Therefore, it is proposed that trade increases wage inequality in the North and decreases the wage inequality in the South.

This result is proven under strict assumptions of fixed-shared technology for both countries, constant returns to scale (CRS), factor specialization irreversibility, perfect factor mobility within the country, immobility of factors across countries and identical tastes. There are other trade theories that incorporate the more realistic assumptions of imperfect competition and increasing returns to scale into their framework. However, as the IMF and the World Bank shape the stabilization programs for the developing world with the goal of trade liberalization, and because they use the HOS model as showing the relevant recipe that the developing countries should follow, I focus more on the HOS model.

The gender-wage gap implications for the theory is that if we take women workers as the unskilled ones, we would expect an increase in the demand for women workers and hence their wages in the South following trade liberalization. Hence, the theory in this sense predicts a decrease in gender wage gap and an increase in women's employment in the South. However, it does not address the possibility of any difference either between unskilled males and unskilled females, or between skilled males and skilled females. Nonetheless, after controlling for the productivity differences, there are still residual gender wage gaps and gender inequalities in the employment with respect to gender. Moreover, this theory failed most recent empirical tests in the case of developing countries.⁴ Furthermore, women in most of the countries including Latin American and Southern Asian ones are rapidly catching up to men in terms of educational attainment, so summing up all the women workers under the heading of unskilled workers is becoming increasingly questionable.⁵ To understand this latter fact, we need to focus on the feminist theories of trade.

The Contribution of Feminist Economics

Although in practice it boils down to disaggregating employment according to sex in empirical research using official statistics, the main category of analysis is gender in feminist economics. As mentioned before, feminist economics proposes that gender relations permeate all levels of economic, political, social and cultural life.⁶ Gender should not be read as pertaining to women, but is conceptualized as the social meanings given to biological sex differences.⁷ Gender is a social and economic stratifier like race, class and ethnicity in shaping the bargaining power of women in relation to economic processes of wage/ working condition negotiations in the labor market, access to productive resources, the distribution of work, income, and wealth.⁸ These gender relations that are embodied by social, political and economic institutions may change over time, and may have internal ambiguities and inconsistencies.

A theory that has been recently reformulated to predict a relationship between trade liberalization and gender inequalities is Becker's theory of discrimination (1971). He argues that discrimination with respect to gender is a market imperfection and rooted in the prejudiced preferences such as having a taste for employing

males over females, giving males a remuneration that is higher than their marginal products. This means that discriminating firms will have higher costs compared with the non-discriminating ones and in a perfectly competitive environment these firms will be driven out of market by the more efficient competitive firms. Black and Brainerd extend this theory into international framework and state that if a domestic country's firms share this prejudice against women, the cost is born by every and each of them⁹. However, when there is international trade, and if foreign firms do not share this prejudice against women, non-discriminating firms will be able to supply much more cheaply than discriminating ones. This will lead to discriminating firms to feel competitive pressure to go bankruptcy and reduce the wage premium paid to men. However, the empirical evidence shows otherwise, specifically that export industrialization itself has a high correlation with increased female employment in the developing countries.

For a study to specifically address the women workers' experiences in the labor market, it needs to mention the peculiar nature of women's labor and the specific characteristics of the demand for it. It also needs to address the specific conditions and the context for this need to arise and the specific conditions for it to be recognized by the response of women. Following the foundation of world economic system, it has been necessary to take into account the capital's search for the lowest labor cost throughout the world and the interdependency of world production schemes. Writing in the 1980s, Elson and Pearson refer to this as the latest phase of the internationalization of capital and emphasize the re-location of production of certain kinds of manufactured products from developed countries to the third world. Grouped under the headlines of sectors using old established (traditional) technology requiring production (including garments, textiles, sporting equipment, toys, soft goods and furniture etc.) and those using modern technologies (electrical goods and electronics industries), they underline the specific demand for women's labor in the sectors. Another peculiar nature of these sectors is the standardized, repetitious, monotonous and highly labor intensive nature of production processes. Here, within the confines of the world system and capital's search for the lowest labor cost, gender comes into play since the systematic use of female labor in these industries must mean they are either cheaper to employ or have higher productivity or both. This implies female labor constituting a competitive/ absolute advantage itself due to its supposedly docile, easily manipulated or controlled nature. They are supposedly more suited to tedious, repetitious, and monotonous work by nature.¹⁰ Elson and Pearson question this notion of being naturally docile nature of female labor and argue that this supposed docility and easily controllable nature of women stem from the women's subordination as a gender¹¹. Coupled with their invisible reproductive functions within the family, women have the secondary status within the labor market and the types of jobs they do are usually labeled as semi-skilled, if not unskilled. The very fact that the employers see women as requiring little or no training transferring their supposedly natural abilities to perform tasks with their nimble fingers is itself a result of gendered institutions of family. Elson and Pearson attribute this little training to women's former training in needlework or sewing within families, which is easily transferable to other assembly operations¹².

Writing about the feminization phenomenon, Standing also contextualize the increase in the demand for women's labor with mostly the supply side policies of the 1970s¹³. economic formula can Underlining that no general explain the rise in female labor participation, he mentions one of the reasons for this rise as the direction of trade and investment into economies in which labor costs have been relatively low including patterns of wages, nonwage labor costs, productivity and supporting infrastructure. The other side of the coin is the widely applied structural adjustment policies including radical changes in labor market relations such as erosion of protective and pro-collective labor regulations, decentralization of wage determination, erosion of employment security and a trend to market regulation rather than statutory regulation of the labor market.¹⁴ This latter together with the fall of the welfare state and increasing selectivity of targeting of state benefits created the conditions for women to supply their labor in the formal labor market. This is called the "added worker effect" in the literature. Moreover, women were the perfect candidates for this flexible labor demand since they had lower aspirations, a lower efficiency wage, and were more easily employed as casual, contract, or part-time labor with little or no benefits.¹⁵ Furthermore, the increased flexibility of labor markets requiring easier hiring and firing practices proved more applicable to women's labor market participation patterns of entering to labor force while single, and then withdrawing from the labor force when they get married in the 1970s. The same trend also increased the framework of informal market together with precarious forms of work in formal market having characteristics of informal market jobs without regular wages, benefits and employment protection. Especially for developing countries applying the structural adjustment policies of IMF and the World Bank meant

mobilizing large numbers of low-paid women workers. Standing argues that this export-led industrialization strategy has meant that subsidies for domestic non-tradable sectors which usually hire women have been cut, creating another force for additional worker effect¹⁶. He also emphasizes the change in the production techniques in terms of a decline in the jobs requiring craft skills learned through apprenticeship or prolonged on-the-job-training. These jobs were mainly dominated by men historically. He also mentions the trend to skill polarization with a minority of workers required to possess specialist skills and a majority required to possess minor training, typically imparted through “modules of employable skill” in which docility, application, rote learning and related “capacities” figure prominently.¹⁷

There is now a consensus among researchers that the female intensity (i.e. female share of employment) of the manufacturing sector in developing countries has increased with the trade liberalization. Joekes refers to this stylized fact as “no strong performance in manufactures by any developing country has ever been secured without reliance on female labor”¹⁸. This conclusion reflects a cost reduction strategy whereby the unskilled female labor demand will be increased as much as unskilled male one, if not more, since female workers are not only chosen due to their lower unit labor cost but also the jobs that recruit women predominantly themselves become feminized in the sense that unionization opportunities become slim and workers’ control over the work decreases. Joekes states that for the labor intensive, exporting sectors of the developing countries feminization would mean keeping the wage bill low without sacrificing labor productivity¹⁹. Seguino also points out a similar fact and argues that “job segregation that crowds women into export industries where price elasticities of demand are relatively high may artificially lower women’s wages, due to their restricted bargaining power”.²⁰ She also states that this may itself be a stimulus for export expansion.

Thus, feminist trade theories would support the idea that persistent gender inequalities will have effects on the trade policies adopted and vice versa. According to HOS model and SS theorem reviewed above too, trade is supposed to increase the demand for female labor in the South since they are usually perceived as low skilled and low productivity associated workers. However, Elson, Grown and Cagatay argue that feminist economists reject the idea of comparative advantage and focus more on heterodox trade theories in explaining the inequalities resulted from international trade²¹. Rather than being firm believers of perfect competition in which case wages are equal to the marginal product of labor, they focus on imperfect competition and the bargaining power of workers, specifically that of women, in the wage determination process. Borrowing from the approaches of institutional economics and Marxian economics, they believe that production itself is a social process that could transmit the social institutions including prejudices within the social realm into the economics realm. Furthermore, international trade is not only based on comparative advantage, if at all, but a form of competitive (absolute) advantage that needs to be strategically protected, since every country cannot have the absolute advantage in every good. Technology differences are deemed important since unless the country upgrades its technology, the only possible way to compete internationally will be on lower wages.

We can generalize these notions as a development strategy for low and middle-income countries integrating into the world economy by competing mostly on lowering their cost/price. In general, the late industrializers had two basic strategies to compete internationally: that of competing on the basis of prices and hence wage suppression (low road) or competing on the basis of quality and hence improving their technology (high road)²². Milberg and Houston define the low road as emphasizing cost-cutting, conflictual labor relations and a narrow set of social programs²³. High road is in turn defined as requiring rapid productivity growth and innovation based on cooperative labor relations and generally stronger and more centralized labor unions, high quality production and higher wages as well as greater state-supported social protection. In this framework, the low road strategy is generally used by developing countries with Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) written under the auspices of IMF and the World Bank. The same phenomenon of low road is called the cost-reduction strategy or constructing a gendered-competitive advantage in the feminist economics literature. According to this strategy, the unskilled female labor demand will be increased as much as unskilled male one, if not more, since female workers are not only chosen due to their lower unit labor cost but also the jobs that recruit women predominantly themselves become feminized as mentioned above. Therefore, international competition, rather than eroding the gender discrimination by making it costly as Becker argues, may itself make use of gender-based inequalities in labor markets as a strategy to incorporate into the world economy.

Distinguished by technological change and more harmonious relations with the labor unions, the effects of moving to high road strategy are not very obvious within the feminist economics literature. In other words, the choice of skilled females or skilled males as improved production technology creates new better paying jobs

provides us with the opportunity to discuss the interactions of class and gender in the sense of whether the same supposedly feminine qualities of docility, patience, nimble, non-militancy, and being easier to control etc. would be applicable to the skilled females as well. In that sense, who will get the now better paying good jobs would be determined according to the relative bargaining powers of skilled females and skilled males. Therefore, in the high strategy case, we do not have a one to one relationship of patriarchal forces of exploiting female labor due to its supposedly feminine qualities and capital exploiting labor regardless of its gender. Hence, the high strategy negotiations within the labor market will be more contextual and time/ space specific.

Hence, as Standing states the gendered outcomes in the labor market do not reflect natural or objective differences between men and women but rather reflect the outcome of discrimination and disadvantage and the behavioral reactions by workers and employers²⁴. The feminization trend that started in the 1970s was more predictable in terms of seeing the increased demand for female labor as the process constructed a gendered-competitive advantage for the countries employing export growth schemes. There is now sporadic evidence in feminist economics literature that trade liberalization could reverse the feminization trend in the case of technological upgrading and capital deepening.²⁵ Ozler states that the reversal is attributed to the introduction of new technologies, skill upgrading of export producers, and reorganization of production, especially multi-skilling of flexible labor engaged in high performance production²⁶.

I argue that in the case of high-road strategy the determination of who gets the good jobs will be determined by the relative bargaining powers of the skilled females and skilled males vis-à-vis employers on the one hand and employers' preference for skilled females or skilled males on the other, all of which might be shaped by the patriarchal ideology. The limited number of studies identifying the reversal of the feminization trend with capital deepening, I argue, can itself be attributed to the more dynamic interplay of class and gender in the case of a high road strategy.

Empirical Evidence

I will now focus on the empirical work on the skill-differentiated gendered effects of trade liberalization from a developing country perspective. To see the effects of trade liberalization on gender inequalities, it has been customary to use either skill-gender differentiated employment level changes or the changes in gender-wage gap with trade liberalization. From a developing country using low road scheme of international competition perspective, both the gendered competitive advantage approach of feminist economics and mainstream neoclassical economics expect to see an increase in the relative demand for women workers. For gender-wage gap, the gendered competitive advantage approach focuses on the relative bargaining power of women and men on the one hand and labor versus capital on the other. However, in the case of low road, it is probable that labor loses ground over capital, and women (most notably the unskilled women) lose ground over (unskilled) men in terms of remuneration. Mainstream trade theory proposes a decline in the gender wage gap for a developing country after trade liberalization, presuming the faith of women coincide with unskilled workers.

Paul- Majumder and Begum use existing surveys, empirical research and documented literature on exports in Bangladesh to find out the characteristics of gender inequalities in the garment sector in the 1990s²⁷. The sector is chosen due to the female domination of it and its higher contribution to the GDP of the economy in terms of export earnings. They state that reasons for employing women in this sector have been the following: Women are more patient and nimble; women are more controllable than men; women are less mobile and less likely to join a trade union; and that women can do better in sewing jobs.²⁸

They also state that women in the garment industry are typically young, unmarried, have little education, are of rural origin and from poor families and have no prior work experience most of the time. The differences in earning between males and females still hold even when the education differences are controlled for. They state that these advantages amply compensate for the cost of employment of women in terms of maternity leave and high absenteeism and other factors. Based on these surveys, they argue that when a garment job becomes technologically skilled and more remunerative, female workers are ousted from that job and concentrated more in unskilled jobs. When some sectors of the garment industry like knitwear became more technologically advanced, they argue that the female intensity is decreased, even though the sector and the job (sewing) is traditionally a female job. Hence, they argue that the gender advantage associated with a traditionally female job is lost when jobs become technologically skilled, supporting the above-mentioned reversibility of feminization in case of high road schemes.

Oostendorp analyzes the effects of trade and economic growth on occupational gender wage gap using the ILO October Inquiries for about 80 countries in the period 1983-1999²⁹. Occupational gender wage gap measures the gender gap wage within the same occupation in a given country and year. Hence, Oostendorp argues that it provides a direct measure of the unexplained wage gap, “without relying on the availability of good human capital data and a regression method to control for gender differences in qualifications”.³⁰ He distinguishes between higher and lower skill occupations by defining the former as those occupations that are within the top half of the occupational wage distribution within a country and the low skill occupations are defined as those occupations that are within the bottom half of the occupational wage distribution by using the fact that skill and wage levels are strongly correlated. He argues that if trade has its effects more as expanding the sectors with abundant factors, then we would expect to find a decreased low skill gender gap in poorer countries and a decreased high skill gender gap in richer countries. He furthermore suggests that if gender gap is reduced primarily by sector contraction resulting from trade with increasing competition from imports, then we would expect a large impact on the high skill gender gap in poorer countries. He finds out that trade has a positive (widening) effect on the gender wage gap for high skill occupations for the poorer countries. He concludes that this can be tied to the hypothesis that technology embodied in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and skilled labor may be complementing each other for the poorer countries. He argues that trade and foreign investment can therefore significantly raise the demand for skilled workers, such as engineers, accountants and finance specialists. However, the finding that the same factors increase the gender wage gap in high skill occupations means that FDI benefits male engineers, male accountants and male finance specialists more than their women counterparts. He attributes this to the hypothesis that there are significant gender gaps in human capital within high skill occupations in poorer countries. This study is important in terms of recognizing the different impact of trade on gender within the same skill categories.

Berik, Rodgers and Zveglich discuss the effects of increased competition through international trade on the gender wage gap for South Korea and Taiwan³¹. They distinguish between two hypotheses concerning the effects of increased international competition on the gender wage gap. The first one is the Becker’s theory mentioned above. The second one is a non-neoclassical approach which takes into account the bargaining power of the worker groups and states that rising competitiveness can be compatible with the discrimination and cost cutting practices which usually done through cutting female wages. They test the Beckerian hypothesis for the South Korea and Taiwan cases, by focusing on concentrated and non-concentrated industries separately. For Taiwan, they find out that increased openness to imports over time in concentrated industries is positively and significantly associated with a widening residual gender wage gap. The results are more mixed for Korea. They conclude that increased openness, through creating incentives to cut the costs in the concentrated industries, increase the residual wage gap.

Berik points out that the above-mentioned observation that rising capital intensity, technological upgrading and improvement in the quality of export products may reverse the trend in female employment in the higher stages of export orientation³². She argues that a possible explanation is the existence of employer discrimination against hiring women in the new, higher paid, skill intensive jobs and capital intensive production processes.³³ Export orientation, female share of employment and female residual labor supply decrease women’s wages and capital intensity and firm size increases it. She also finds out that wage penalty for men in the case of export orientation are higher for men than women. Also, female share has a higher negative influence on men’s wages compared with that of women’s. Furthermore, one important conclusion is that while women benefit from an increase in the number of waged over salaried workers, men are disadvantaged by it. Berik argues that this can be a result of a job restructuring within the production workers that places women in lower paying jobs compared to men³⁴.

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we tried to account for the effects of trade policy changes on gendered labor market. First, we talked about the mainstream trade theory’s implications for women workers if we take women workers as the unskilled ones. For a developing country, HOS model with SS theorem implies an increased demand for unskilled labor and a rise in its remuneration. Hence, adapted to gender, we would expect a decrease in gender-wage gap and increased *relative* demand for labor of women. This might explain the feminization trend that started in the 1970s following trade liberalization. However, we argued that there is no general rule in economics that might explain the preference for men workers versus women workers. The increase in the

female share should be contextualized whereby the appropriate unit of study is the international economic order. Specifically, a theory that uses gender as its most important variable has to explain the peculiar nature of women's labor that is demanded in the exact place and time and its interaction with other social and economic stratifiers. There is no unified theory of feminist economics that might be called a feminist trade theory. Nonetheless, we generalized what might be called the gendered competitive/ absolute advantage theory as a development strategy of late industrializers whereby specifically "female" labor is used as a cost advantage. This is the same route of low road, whereby international competition is tackled with lowering the price/ cost of the export product as much as possible. The case of defeminization presents a trickier subject in that wherever realized it is associated with capital deepening and/ or technological upgrading. Hence, the high road strategy of competing on the grounds of quality by establishing more harmonious relationship between the state and the labor unions might result in the reversal of the feminization trend.

The evidence or the theory is too sporadic to account for any generalization for this reversal. However, if we accept the Marxist notion that the wage rates and employment levels are determined by the respective bargaining powers of capital and labor on the one hand, and women and men on the other, it is obvious that any study that tries to account for the relative increase or decrease in female share or change in gender-wage gap should study the labor market institutions, the state of the patriarchal ideology, the technological changes in the production processes, and the international competition strategies adopted by the country.

Before closing, we need to note that the aforementioned secondary status of women in the labor market stem from the fact that women's main responsibility in economy is perceived as the reproductive/ care labor that they expend within family. In this essay, we considered the effects of trade liberalization of a developing country on formal labor market/ monetized sphere of the economy. Although, it is no coincidence that low road to international competition is often associated with the rise of informal economy or transformation of the formal economy jobs to include informal characteristics. Hence, the development strategy chosen will have effects on the unpaid/ care economy as well. In fact, some feminist economists think that care economy is even more important under the low road regime in terms of buffering the negative effects of deflationary policies.³⁵ Furthermore, the increase in paid employment together with unpaid household labor of women might end up raising women's overall work as a result of trade liberalization with supply side policies.

Within the last quarter of the twentieth century, there was an increase in demand for female labour in developing countries along with transition to export-oriented industrialization and growth strategies. For firms who have to pull down costs in order to compete better in international markets, women are necessary as a cheap source of labour in producing labour intensive goods. However, this growth model has followed different trajectories in relation to growth models pursued earlier by developing countries and demand for female labour has assumed different dimensions. Consequently, women's labour force participation rates and employment turned out to increase at different paces. The presence of labour supply sufficient to meet the demand for female labour and women's working conditions are both closely related with the operation of the patriarchal system in countries and the stage at which capitalist development model has reached. Moreover, different forms of articulation to the global markets create different patterns in participation to employment.

In the present article, strategies of capitalist development pursued by developing countries, stages at which these strategies have reached and places of countries in international division of labour will be addressed in terms of differences they create in demand for female labour and the Turkey's status will be discussed in this context. Though Turkey's transition to export-oriented industrialisation model took place in the 80s, industrial employment in general and particularly women's share in this employment increased very little. As a result of decline in agricultural production and employment, an additional labour force, both male and female, emerged but growth in non-agricultural employment could not create demand for labour force enough to absorb this new labour force particularly in the case of women. The reasons why demand for female labour force remained at low levels will be discussed in the context of development strategies adopted.³⁶

Different Development Strategies Pursued by Developing Countries

There are three main dimensions in development patterns which are historically and structurally determined in the capitalist world: i) Major industries which lead economic development of a given country, 2) Orientation of these industries to domestic and external markets, 3) Major economic actors as the basis of practicing and

sustaining development. Development strategies are government policies that “shape a country’s relationship to the global economy and that affect the domestic allocation of resources among industries and major social groups”.³⁷ As laid bare by the experiences of newly industrializing countries (NIC) in Eastern Asia and Latin America, these policies are influential in the differentiation of industrialization trajectories in terms of timing, chronology and content. Looking at the cases of Mexico and Brazil in Latin America and Taiwan and South Korea in East Asia on the basis of these categories, we see two major periods in industrial development, known as import substitution and export-oriented, consist of distinct stages in each and neither of the two fully replaces the other. In other words, it is not possible to speak about an absolute rupture where export-oriented industrialization, which follows import substitution, fully abandons all elements of the earlier period. What one can speak about is the change in relative importance of production activities that are oriented to domestic markets or abroad.

At the first stages of both industrialization models, primary consumer goods such as textiles, garment, footwear and foodstuffs are produced for domestic and foreign markets. At the second stage, there is transition to durable consumer goods (i.e. cars), intermediate goods (i.e. petro-chemicals, steel) and capital goods (i.e. heavy machinery) in both models. The temporality as well as duration of this transition and patterns of interaction between these models depends on various factors including development strategies adopted by individual countries and the way how governments respond to domestic and external pressures including the rate of inflation, balance of payments and interests of foreign capital.³⁸ Of course, one should also take into account such political factors as the level of class struggles in any given country and the extent of governments compromising their capital accumulation policies in favour of working people.

The countries of Latin America started import-substituting industrialization earlier and stayed there longer. Eastern Asia countries, on the other hand, shifted to export-oriented industrialization earlier. However, what is common to countries in both regions is that they passed through both stages in terms of the structure and composition of production in both import-substituting and export-oriented strategies and that they applied a combination fitting to their conditions while turning inside or outside. Hence, it will not be correct to suggest the Eastern Asia model as the single recipe for success to countries with different historical, cultural and political circumstances.³⁹ Anticipations of Gereffi dating back to the mid-90s have been confirmed once more by the high performance of Brazil in development.

The common view of researchers working on female labour is that during the period of import-substituting industrialization there was no need for female labour in various regions of the world. In the first stage of this period, oriented to the production of basic consumer goods, women could not turn into industrial workers in large-scale enterprises mostly for their low level of education and qualification, having mainly agriculture as their leading area of employment leaving aside employment in small-scale traditional manufacturing enterprises. At the second stage oriented to the manufacturing of durable consumer and intermediate goods, the majority of those working in such capital intensive and import-substituting sectors as steel, shipbuilding, automotive etc were males. The period is therefore considered as a period of industrialization marginalizing female labour force.⁴⁰

Linkages between Development Strategies and International Division of Labour

It must be underlined that different strategies in development correspond to different stages in international division of labour. In the colonial period, while agricultural goods and raw materials flew from the periphery to the centre, in large part of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century, countries at the centre exported their industrial goods to the periphery, continuing their importation of raw materials and agricultural goods. This ‘traditional’ division of labour which lasted for about a century also witnessed some peripheral countries domestically producing some consumer goods and intermediate goods in line with import-substituting industrialization. The period starting from the 1960s is coined as ‘new international division of labour.’ In this period, firms in central economies started to transfer their production units from the centre to the periphery through direct foreign capital investments.⁴¹ This situation was influential in the early transition of some periphery countries to export-oriented industrialization strategy, which led to their coining as “newly industrialized countries” and their new “semi-periphery” status. The pioneers are the countries of Eastern Asia which enjoy their high share in direct foreign investments. At the first stage of export-oriented industrialization, their export goods consist of basic consumer goods including textiles and garment as well as intermediate goods in chemical, petroleum and steel industries.⁴²

In the early 80s, one can speak of a transition to an even “newer” international division of labour. Not eliminating the basic features of the earlier division of labour, but adding onto it some new dimensions, the characteristics of this new process can be listed as follows: Firstly, instead of firms in centre countries, launching production units in the periphery through direct investments, there is the tendency of these firms to phase out of production process by establishing outsourcing relations of cooperation with independent local producers. Secondly, while manufacturing still has its pivotal role in economic activities shifted from the centre to the periphery and semi-periphery, there is now the tendency to increasingly shift services (office activities) as well. This tendency is in line with the rising importance of the services sector in centre countries. Thirdly, some periphery countries as targets of direct foreign investments have now reached a status where they can directly invest in relatively less developed countries. The leading examples include those in Eastern Asia, namely South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore also known as “Asian tigers.” Fourthly, the share of total investments from industrial countries to other countries of the centre has gradually increased.⁴³ As a result of all these developments, while manufacturing activities in industrial countries lose their earlier importance relative to services, agriculture is losing its significance particularly in semi-periphery countries leaving manufacturing industry as the driving force in both economic growth and employment. The “newer international division of labour” coincides with the second stage in export-oriented industrialization at which Eastern Asian countries now export durable consumer goods, electronic devices and intermediate goods.

Before addressing the implications of all these developments for female labour, it will be useful to explore which characteristics of Eastern Asian countries enabled them to move from peripheral to semi-peripheral status, a move which is now continuing to the centre. In the cases of South Korea and Taiwan in East Asia, attention is drawn to the active role of the State and its support to R&D. In the 80s, national governments extended significant amounts of low-interest loans to the selected sectors including electronics in the first place, transferred again significant resources to R&D and planned for industrial development together with the private sector as their leading partner. As a result, South Korea had its significant share in world computer production. Not limited solely to electronics, this strategy was implemented in the sectors of steel, shipbuilding, textiles-garments, footwear and automotive as well. In Taiwan and Singapore too economic development was similarly financed by highly interventionist and relatively authoritarian governments.⁴⁴

In Taiwan where transition to export-oriented industrialization took place in the 60s, government policies tended to shift from labour intensive to capital intensive production following the economic crisis of the mid-70s and as a result of policies supporting technology. Taiwan became a major world actor in electronics in the 80s and 90s. The transfer of labour intensive industries out of Taiwan starting from the mid-80s gave an extra momentum to the process of transformation in manufacturing industry. While big firms in high technology industries remained in Taiwan, smaller and more export-oriented firms started to transfer their production outside the country as Taiwan was losing its competitive power, to those countries of South-eastern Asia with lower labour costs.⁴⁵

Role of Women’s Labour in the Development of Eastern Asia

Different economic approaches converge in explaining the successful performance of these countries. According to heterodox economists, the active role of the State in guiding national economies was the decisive factor in success. Neoclassical economists, on the other hand, put their emphasis on “market friendly” approaches of governments. According to this approach, openness to trade, a well functioning bureaucracy and reliable legal framework left domestic firms vulnerable to the competition of foreign companies, which forced them to be more efficient and this, in turn, brought about better allocation of resources and rise in productivity. Rise in exports is the most salient indicator of increase in output.⁴⁶ From a feminist perspective, Seguino criticizes both approaches for their gender blind explanations on the growth of countries in question and argues that the positive effect of gender based inequality on exports and investments stimulated this growth. The transition to export-oriented industrialization indeed increased the demand for female labour as a cheap source of labour starting from the 60s, especially at the first stage. In the mid 90s, the share of female employment in manufacturing industry varies within the range 40% to 52% depending on individual countries, women are clearly paid lower than men. In the period 1975-95, women/men wage ratio was 48.5% in South Korea, 54.2% in Indonesia and 64.1% in Taiwan.⁴⁷ Cheap female labour successfully brought about the desired fall in unit labour cost of export goods in Asian economies. Low wages made export goods more competitive; foreign exchange thus obtained, enhanced access to technology which in turn supported increase in productivity. Moreover, low wages

substituted devaluation and consequently governments managed to keep the cost of imported inputs in production low. Statistics suggest that countries with widest gap in male and female wages are also the fastest growing countries. Keeping female wages low, in its part, depends on the existence of patriarchal gender norms in the countries of the region.⁴⁸

A study on gender based wage inequalities conducted in Taiwan shows that women mostly worked in labour intensive industries at the first stage of export-oriented industrialization (1961-1972) and that women's job losses were higher than males at the second stage which started in the mid-80s when production was mostly carried to the countries of Eastern Asia in the process of restructuring accompanied by R&D activities. In fact, the share of women in wage employment which was 52% in 1982 fell to 45% in 1996. The trend accompanying this is the further widening gap between male and female wages as a result of relative fall in demand for female labour. In the period 1983-92, while wages of both males and females increased in monetary terms, women/men earnings ratio fell from 71% to 62%. The increase in gender-based wage inequality in manufacturing industry coincides with a time when education-training gap between men and women narrowed. The main reason for this increase is the discriminatory attitude of employers not to hire females for new, highly paid and qualified jobs. "Technical jobs" are regarded as jobs for men, which is the outcome of a patriarchal mentality.⁴⁹ The articulation between capitalism and patriarchy in Eastern Asian countries took place through the subjection of females to lower wages than males. With the transition from the production of basic to durable consumer goods, the priority assigned to males in technology-intensive jobs and at least partial exclusion of women appeared as another manifestation of the same articulation.

Women in Development in Middle East and North Africa Region

The region Middle East and North Africa (MENA) displays significant differences from Eastern and South-Eastern Asian countries in terms of development strategy and its gender implications. The countries of the region enjoyed quite high rates of growth especially in the 70s upon rising oil prices. Easy access to foreign exchange made it easier to follow import-substituting industrialization strategies while, at the same time, delaying transition to export-oriented industrialization phase. Another factor which contributed to the same delay was the low level of education and qualification of labour force in the region. Particular features of the region include high level of illiteracy among women and gaps in school enrolment rates between males and females, which constitutes the large gender gap in education. Exceptionally low rate of participation of women to non-agricultural works and wage employment is the common feature of MENA countries with the exception of Tunisia and Morocco. There are various factors contributing to this situation which completely diverges from that in the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. The first among these factors is the patriarchal family structure which limits female labour supply; given the gender-based division of labour, women are mainly expected to supply their unpaid labour for household affairs and chores. Seeking answer to the question why this patriarchal family structure protected by various legislative arrangements, social policies and family laws is more persistent than surrounding countries, Moghadam and Karshenas (2001) draw attention to relatively higher wages in MENA countries. At the import-substitution stage in the early phase of capitalist development, this level of wages made family subsistence possible exclusively by males' earnings and thus left no pressing need for women's labour market participation. Indeed, a comparison on dollar-based non-agricultural wages between MENA countries and Indonesia, also a Muslim country, shows that wages in MENA countries in the early 60s were 4 to 10 times higher than wages in Indonesia in the early 70s. Hence, while wages in MENA countries were conducive to the persistence of patriarchal family model where a single member could sustain the family, in Indonesia where wages were much lower women's labour force participation was much higher.⁵⁰ According to the authors, socio-cultural factors retain their importance in terms of women's labour force participation; nevertheless, these factors themselves are radically shaped by modern economic development experience. In countries with relatively higher per capita income in non-agricultural sectors, in the transition period elements of traditional culture that restrict the role of women are still in effect whereas new cultural norms that allow for women's high rates of participation to labour force emerge in others in which relatively lower levels of income make it impossible for a single member to sustain the family alone.⁵¹ This point may be taken a step further with reference to the stage of the country in her adopted development model. During the rather long period of import-substituting industrialization process in MENA countries there was no need for female labour in the production of either basic or durable consumer goods, and articulation between patriarchy and capitalism was provided by excluding women from labour force.

Meanwhile, depending on the availability of oil reserves, there are variations among MENA countries as to which model of industrialization should be adopted and for how long. In countries once enjoying high returns to oil, wages depreciated after the end of oil welfare and men in the public sector in particular started to take on other jobs in addition to their present employment. The rate of unemployment increased as a result of increasing labour supply which stemmed from high fertility rates and lower rates of economic growth. Starting from the 80s and guided by the WB and IMF, these countries adopted structural adjustment policies and export-oriented industrialization to diversify their export goods other than oil. This process started earlier in Tunisia and Morocco, as the countries without oil reserves. As transition from import-substituting industrialization to export-oriented industrialization started, relatively high demand for cheap female labour force in the production of basic consumer goods, including textiles and garment in the first place, brought along an increase in women's labour force participation rates.⁵² Still, MENA countries today are the ones with lowest rates of women's labour participation compared to other regions of the world. Indeed, while global female labour force participation is 51.5% in 2009, it is 25.4% in Middle East and 27.4% in North Africa.⁵³ Limited industrial growth in import-substituting period in these countries was influential in weaker trends in export-oriented industrialization and keeping women's participation to employment limited. Hence, the change in industrialization strategy did not result in a change in the articulation of capitalism with patriarchy and this articulation remained as it had been.

Development Strategies and Women's Labour in Turkey

Period of Industrialization based on Import Substitution

While not having oil income, Turkey displays characteristics similar to MENA countries in terms of low rates of labour force participation by women. From a historical perspective, the State followed an import-substituting industrialization policies starting from the 30s in the republican era and was the leading actor in industrialization given the low level of private capital accumulation. The period following the Second World War was the transition period from single to the multi-party regime for Turkey. This period witnessed the opening up of economy to foreign capital and aid, thriving commercial capital, new market orientation in rural sector and a rather rapid urbanization. In the same period, there was a radical rupture from earlier economic policies which were somewhat distrustful to foreign capital. Experts mainly from the US, advised Turkey to narrow the domain of public enterprises, keep away from heavy industry (iron-steel and chemicals), focus on processing agricultural goods and carry the policy of industrialization in such branches as light metal, construction materials, etc to get Marshall aid. This meant that Turkey should take her place in international division of labour in the context of reconstructing Europe by supplying for the needs of this continent by boosting and marketing its agricultural goods.⁵⁴

However, there was no back off from import-substituting industrialization policies and as the first step in this process domestic production on non-durable consumer goods continued. Private sector enterprises too started their activities to respond to rising demand for these goods and to the extent they were insufficient public enterprises expanded their production. The establishment of new SEEs (State economic enterprises) in the period 1950-60 and expanding role of the public sector in economy had two main reasons behind. The first is that private capital and enterprises could not catch up with rising demand and the second is the supply of inputs needed by newly established private enterprises. Public industrial investments were mainly directed to basic consumer and some intermediate goods whereas production of durable and investments goods remained limited. Industrial investments by the private sector were mostly in the form of small-scale enterprises mainly based on primitive technology and protected against foreign competition in domestic market.⁵⁵ In this period, there is no transition in Turkey from the first stage of import-substituting industrialization to the second stage at which durable consumer goods were produced unlike the case in eastern Asian countries. Again in this period when the number of wage workers increased very slowly, the share of industrial workforce in total employment was only around 6-7%⁵⁶.

Although the share of women and children in total labour force increased a little during the Second World War as a result of the military mobilization of males, the share of women in industrial employment was very limited. In 1950, the total number of females employed under the Labour Code is 65,123, corresponding to a share of 17.4%. In the following years, while the absolute number of women employed formally increased to 89,400 in 1960, their share in employment dropped to 11.7%⁵⁷. This shrinking share derives from the fact that "labour force demand is met almost fully by males"⁵⁸. It can be assumed that most of these formal establishments were industrial enterprises and there was an invisible ceiling not allowing the share of women in manufacturing industry to exceed 20%. In 1955, there were 119,871 women employed in manufacturing industry

which corresponds to 16.5% in total employment in manufacturing industry. It was 15.6% in 1960.⁵⁹ What places this ceiling on is, as will be seen below, is the employment of women in limited number of branches -regarded as 'fit for women' in manufacturing industry.

According to a survey conducted in 1957 in industrial enterprises subject to the Labour Code, branches or sub-sectors with relatively high number and share of female employees were tobacco, textiles and foodstuffs in descending order and 92.6% of all women employed were in these branches.⁶⁰ In these sectors characterised by low wages and labour intensive production, wages of female employees are 65.2% of male wages in tobacco, 75.4% in textiles and 55.1% in foodstuffs.⁶¹ This significant wage differentials stem not only from women's concentration in unqualified works for their lower level of education but also from the mentality that presumes lower wages for women just because of their gender. A notable point for this period is that real wages display a rising trend between 1955 and 63.⁶²

The planned development period of 1960-80 partly coincides with the second stage in import-substituting industrialization. Although there was a surge towards the production of durables and intermediate goods, production of basic consumer goods was still dominant. Five-year development plans which can be considered as state intervention to economy are binding for the public sector and guiding for the private. However, this intervention remained quite weak compared to cases in Eastern Asia. The underlying principles in this period included a) protection of domestic market from foreign competition; b) encouraging industrial investments; c) boosting domestic demand through income and wage policies; and d) highly valued domestic currency. However, the existence of absolutely protected domestic markets and possibility of selling domestically produced goods at highest prices, precluded efforts to improve productivity and quality. Easy import of investment and intermediate goods needed for producing consumer goods as a result of overvalued TL continuously enlarged foreign trade deficit. The very same exchange rate policy also affected exports negatively and Turkey's exports largely composed of agricultural goods showed no remarkable shift to the export of industrial goods.⁶³ Hence, the planned development period cannot be considered successful in ensuring transition to the second stage of import-substituting industrialization.

This is a period in which women's employment in non-agricultural activities was very limited and few women, highly educated and qualified, performed their specialized professions in urban centres. Especially for women who moved from rural to urban areas, being a housewife in their new urban environments is an aspiration after rather heavy rural work burden.⁶⁴ Indeed, the proportion of women over age 15 who are economically active in non-agricultural sectors was 3.5% in 1950, 4.7% in 1960, 10% in 1970 and 10.4% in 1975. In 1970, the industrial employment pattern of working women with respect to their leading sub-sectors of employment is the same as it was in 1957; tobacco (57%), textiles and garment (30%) and food-beverage (25%).⁶⁵ Kazgan maintains that these sub-sectors employing relatively higher numbers of women mainly produce export goods and their wages are low due to being open to international competition. Male employee dominated heavy industry, on the other hand, produces import substitute goods which are protected against competition. Since many enterprises in this field have monopolistic positions, they can sell their goods at high prices and pay relatively higher wages to their workers. In addition to these, employment of women in more labour-intensive sub-sectors of manufacturing industry and fewer numbers of women covered by collective bargaining are also other factors leading to lower wages.⁶⁶

Looking at the trend in real wages in the period 1963-1980 we see no fall below the level in the base year 1963 albeit some downturns in specific years.⁶⁷ We can say that in the first and second stages of import-substituting industrialization, keeping wages and salaries relatively high and thus supporting purchasing power, made it possible for male household heads to sustain their families alone and was therefore effective in maintaining patriarchal family structure. The fact that employment policies envisaged by the first four of five-year development plans, starting in 1963, had no provision about women's employment⁶⁸ can be construed as the State's acceptance of the consensus between capital and patriarchy and, moreover, its contribution to this consensus by adopting policies of higher wages especially in public enterprises. As a matter of fact, Özbay points out that social mobility of women in the period mentioned which took the form of male attachment through marriage instead of making use of education and employment opportunities should be considered as the articulation of classical patriarchal order to capitalism.⁶⁹

Period of Export-Oriented Industrialization

Foreign exchange bottleneck which assumed grave dimensions with rising oil prices in the 70s was influential in the adoption of export-oriented industrialization policies under the direction of international finance organizations by developing countries, including Turkey. In Turkey, economic decisions adopted on 24 January 1980 are the starting point for abandoning import-substituting policies and transition to export-oriented growth. However, since the second stage of import-substituting model was not fully experienced, export-oriented industrialization in Turkey mainly remained at the first stage of this model, not going beyond it. In the period after 1980, there was significant increase in the exportation of basic consumer goods; yet, this increase derived from more effective use of existing industrial capacity and keeping export prices low rather than an upward shift in the productive capacity of manufacturing industry. Importation of intermediate goods needed for industrial production continued instead of domestically producing these goods. Policies geared to boosting exports were based on pulling down domestic demand and labour costs, subsidies to exporting firms and keeping Turkish Lira (TL) cheap through devaluations.⁷⁰

In keeping domestic demand and labour costs low in the period following the military coup of September 12th, constraints on trade union rights, pressure on unions and restrictive provisions in collective bargaining were influential. Rapid fall in real wages in the period 1980-88 suggests that cheap labour needs of export-oriented industrialization were met. In the period 1989-9, with the recovery of the trade union movement and relative liberalization in politics, real wages caught a rising trend again. The capital countered this trend by giving weight to flexibility in industrial relations through outsourcing and sub-contracting accompanied by privatizations in the public sector. The period after 1994 is marked by economic crisis sweeping away what had been recovered and real wages started falling again.⁷¹

Given the fall in real wages and transition to flexible forms of employment which made labour cheaper after 1980, did it create a motive for women to seek wage employment since it was no more possible for a single member to sustain the family? According to the classical economic theory, fall in wages should bring about a rise in demand for labour. However, for women out of work to take part in labour force there must be new investments and demand for female labour. As can be seen in more detail below, structural adjustments programmes and export-oriented industrialization model adopted after 1980 exhibited limited potential in creating employment increase in spite of falling wages.⁷² The fact that the state has no such target as encouraging women's labour force participation and employment becomes strikingly obvious in the 5th Development Plan covering the period 1985-89; the plan envisages only 1000 increase in female labour supply for a period of five years.⁷³

Given all favourable conditions for capital, why could Turkey not pass to the higher stage in industrialization and ensure significant increase in industrial employment as the newly industrializing countries of Eastern Asia and Latin America could? Although this question does not have a single answer, attention must be drawn to low levels of investment in Turkey. The major difference between these countries and Turkey can be found by looking at the share of investments in national income. This share in Turkey lags far behind the industrializing countries of Eastern Asia and Latin America and also there is a significant gap between Turkey and these countries in terms of investment-saving relationship. While saving rates in these countries are higher than or equal to investment rates, lower saving rate compared to investment in Turkey leads to deficit financing from abroad.⁷⁴ Although governments in Turkey have mainly been implementers of macroeconomic policies imposed by international finance organizations, these policies brought along no significant increase in savings and investment.

The first explanation coming to mind in relation to low levels of investment is the limited inflow of direct foreign capital investments as external savings that can compensate for low levels of domestic saving.⁷⁵ Secondly, excessive and lucrative profit possibilities in the financial sector keep capital away from investments in the real sector. In the 90s, in the context of rent-based accumulation model upon high rates of interest, banks responded to borrowing needs of the public sector instead of financing real sector investments with deposits they held. As the banking system, real sector companies too preferred short-term financial investments to long-term fixed capital investments and their returns from activities other than investment and production consequently increased significantly.⁷⁶ Thirdly, while manufacturing industry investments by the public sector rapidly declined after 1980 as a requirement in structural adjustment programmes, increase in private sector investments was not fast enough to compensate this decline. As a result the share of fixed capital investments in manufacturing industry in total investment gradually shrank.⁷⁷ Fourthly, while low wages in manufacturing industry after 1980 lowered costs in the sector itself, it also led to insufficient domestic demand, which affected investments and

employment negatively.⁷⁸ Fifthly, as new investments get more and more capital-intensive, their employment creation potential is curtailed.⁷⁹ Finally, it is possible to mention investment dissuading effects of monetary policies pursued by governments. These policies bringing along overvalued TL make imported goods cheaper and importation of intermediate goods instead of investing in them leaves employment creation capacity weak.⁸⁰

Turkey's export-oriented industrialization strategy targeted entering into international markets and trying to maintain advantage through price competition in a process in which the production of basic consumer goods is left to poorer countries with cheap and abundant labour force such as China, Bangladesh, Vietnam and Indonesia in international division of labour. What this means in practice is employment in unfavourable conditions which is defined as "downward race" and closure of enterprises which are proven to be no more competitive resulting in unemployment.

Gender Effects of Macroeconomic Policies with Respect to Labour Demand

Looking at gender implications of factors mentioned above in terms of demand for labour, we see that manufacturing industry could create only limited increase in the employment of women. In 1975, the share of industry in total female employment was 3.9%, which increased to 15% in 2006.⁸¹ Despite increase in the number of working women and increase in the share of industry in total female employment, there is no significant change in the proportion of women employed in industry: It was 16% in the 50s, only rising to 19% in 2007.⁸² The sub-sectors with relatively higher numbers of women employed are the same. There is a persistent pattern of gender-based sectoral and occupational segregation in industry: women are almost confined to unqualified jobs in textiles, garment and food sub-sectors. These three sub-sectors accounted for 64% of total female employment in 2006.⁸³ Very few women are employed, on the other hand, in high-tech electronic industries producing durable consumer goods such as radio and TV.

On the other hand, technological transformations in textile and food-beverage sub-sectors where the bulk of female workers are employed end up with reduced female labour force. As revealed by a field study, use of new technologies as a result of modernization in large textile enterprises leads to job losses by unqualified female workers while firms continue their activities with fewer number of male workers. New technologies bring along new gender-based divisions of labour and even when some jobs cease to require muscular power, no female workers are recruited since they are still perceived as 'male jobs'. Meanwhile, there are some emerging employment opportunities for small number of technically qualified women.⁸⁴ Technological renovations in medium and large-scale enterprises in food industry lead to the shrinkage of female employment, particularly in the case of unqualified female workers.⁸⁵ Increase in female employment in industry can be largely attributed to employment increase in the garments sector.

Under the new international division of labour, newly industrializing countries of Eastern Asia first thrived in exporting low-tech traditional consumer goods and utilised cheap female labour in the production of these goods. Later, as they specialized in high-tech goods including electronics, female labour maintained to be the main human resource in production processes. Turkey entered international markets with basic consumer goods including textiles and garment in the first place. Competitive power in international markets, especially in textiles and garment, is mainly ensured through the flexibility that allows for the employment of females at low wages and in many cases informally.⁸⁶ To assure this flexibility the following facts are vital: small production units to use domestic women as unpaid family workers thanks to patriarchal relations, the labour of domestic women engaged in home-based piecework, domestic and migrant women working in workshops at extremely low wages.⁸⁷ In spite of all this flexibility, it is quite difficult to compete with such cheap labour countries as India and China in garments, leather and partly textiles which are based mainly on low-tech. And as this competition becomes more and more difficult, the share of these sub-sectors in total added value and exports shrinks and this situation in return affects production and employment negatively. Of course, the outcome of the same situation for female wage labour is unemployment and even more informal employment.

The main characteristic of production and export structure of manufacturing industry in Turkey is the high share of production based on low-tech. However, the share of technological intensity categories just below and above medium in production is in increase. This development finds its reflection in the composition of exports as well. While the share of low-tech goods such as textiles, garment and leather gets smaller, that of automotive, machinery, durables, basic metal and petroleum products based on medium technology in both total production and exports is increasing.⁸⁸ Starting from the 2000s, automotive sector products as durable consumer goods have started to have the largest share in country's export earnings.⁸⁹ Employment in automotive and basic metal

sectors is almost totally male dominated.⁹⁰ Hence, production increase triggered by exports is not expected to create any additional demand for female labour.

As a result of macroeconomic policies pursued, insufficient levels of new investment and limited nature of progress in industrialization delayed Turkey's transition from the first stage of export-oriented industrialization, focusing on basic consumer goods, to the second stage. The present stage which is still based on durable consumer goods without transition to high-tech production including electronics is effective in keeping the demand for female labour low. A study addressing the effects of export-oriented industrialization on urban women's labour force participation argues that in cases where the growth performance of an economy fails to generate high-level economic activities and investment performance remains poor, export-orientation itself cannot bring along a positive and sustainable impact on employment and consequently any improvement in the share of women in total labour force.⁹¹

At this point, it must be underlined that gender-based construction of labour market, patriarchal mindsets and modes of organizing production are also the factors that determine the demand for female labour. Patriarchal mindset determining which sectors and jobs are "acceptable" for women shapes employers' attitude in recruiting workers and limits employment opportunities for women. The very same mindset also influences women's personal preferences on jobs to which they should supply their labour. Prevalence of enterprises where male workers are dominant in industrial districts of Anatolian cities and vision of these places as belonging only to men naturally precludes women's presence in such locations. Women too do not want to work in such sites unless it is considered as last resort.⁹² There is need to conduct further research and study in this area in order to expose gender-based structures. It should be added, however, that employers' preference for male workers is not based solely on sexist mindsets and attitudes; the abundance of male labour supply is also an important factor. The demand for female labour is low since there is ample supply of male labour, young and ready to work for any job. Employers do not want to bear costs associated with women's reproductive activities such as pregnancy, maternal leave and child care. Also, hiring female employees is avoided so long as such conditions as long working hours and work in shifts are irreconcilable with women's reproduction responsibilities.

For conclusion

In the import-substituting phase of Turkey's development trajectory, women's labour force participation remained very limited. At the first and second stages of import-substituting industrialization, the articulation between patriarchy and capitalism realized over women's exclusion from labour market. In the period of export-oriented industrialization starting from the 80s, there is no significant increase in women's participation to non-agricultural labour force. In spite of all incentives introduced in the context of macroeconomic policies pursued, there was no significant increase in private sector investments in manufacturing industry, transition from the first stage based on basic consumer goods to the second based on durables was in delay, industrial employment increased only a little and male dominant nature of industrial labour force remained as it had been. We can therefore say that the alliance between patriarchy and capitalism which excludes women from labour market and keeps them in domestic household works and responsibilities remains intact.

In the period after 1980, employment creation and combat against unemployment have never been among priority policies adopted by various governments and employment expansion has been left to the operation of market forces. The reflection of this policy stance to women's employment is the State's attitude not going beyond overall statements and not developing specific policies. If development plans are taken as major documents reflecting State's stance in relation to female labour force and employment, we see the 6th Development Plan (1990-94) as the first document in which women were particularly mentioned. In this document, we see a general statement under the sub-heading "Family-Women-Children" saying that necessary environments would be provided to promote women's employment in non-agricultural sectors.⁹³ This attitude is also discernible in the plans of following years. In the 2000s along with the process of accession to the EU, we see more emphasis in all official documents on promoting women's employment and two major suggestions were made for solution. The first one is the promotion of flexible forms of employment and encouraging women to take jobs in this context. The second is the support offered to female entrepreneurs.⁹⁴ It is worth noting that forms of employment suggested for women are mainly those that can be carried on with their unpaid labour within family. In other words, the State finds it appropriate for women to take part-time, precarious or home based jobs with low remuneration so as not to disturb the consensus between capital and patriarchy.

Demographic and democratic factors that Turkey is facing today points to the need for change in this state of affairs. Parallel to falling fertility rates, the rate of population growth is also falling rapidly. However, according to population projections, the population at working ages in the age interval 15-64 will continue to grow, being 44 million in 2000, this population will reach its peak of 65.3 million in 2041, since members of this population group were born in a period when the rate of fertility was yet to fall. As long as this population has education and gets employment opportunities, this population group is regarded as “demographic window of opportunity.” The success of Eastern Asian Countries is attributed to their correct handling of this opportunity.⁹⁵ The fact that Turkey has so far not been disturbed by too high rates of unemployment is the outcome of women’s exclusion from labour force as “housewives” on the basis of the alliance between capital and patriarchy. Yet, a democratic society targeting gender equality and governments committed to this have to endeavour for equal participation of men and women to education, training, employment and politics and try the elimination of gender-based division of labour. The priority issue in front of Turkey is the adoption of growth and development policies making labour force qualified and employable and the introduction of incentives and measures in industry and services sectors that uphold gender equality in employment and ensure women’s employment in decent works.



¹ Throughout this paper, I will use the term feminization of labor force first and foremost to denote an increase in women's employment level in the labor market, may it be an absolute or a relative increase compared to men's employment level.

² See Guy Standing, "Global Feminization Through Flexible Labor," *World Development* (1989): 1077-1095; Guy Standing, "Global Feminization Through Flexible Labor: A Theme Revisited," *World Development* (1999): 583-602. See also Caren Grown, Diane Elson and Nilufer Cagatay, "Introduction," *World Development*, 28 (2000): 1145-1156.

³ Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson, "The Subordination of Women and the Internationalization of Factory Production," *Of Marriage and the Market. Women's Subordination in International Perspective*, eds. Kate Young, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullagh (CSE 1981), 144-166. Grown, Elson and Cagatay, "Introduction".

⁴ Shirin Tejani and William Milberg, "Global Defeminization? Industrial Upgrading, Occupational Segregation and Manufacturing Employment in Middle-Income Countries," SCEPA Working Paper (2010).

⁵ Tejani and Milberg, "Global Defeminization?"

⁶ Grown, Elson and Cagatay, "Introduction".

⁷ Nilufer Cagatay, Diane Elson and Caren Grown, "Introduction," *World Development*, 23 (1995): 1827-1995.

⁸ Grown, Elson and Cagatay, "Introduction".

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⁵⁸ Makal. "Türkiye'de 1950-65 Döneminde," 135.

⁵⁹ Makal. "Türkiye'de 1950-65 Döneminde," 124.

⁶⁰ Makal. "Türkiye'de 1950-65 Döneminde," 136.

⁶¹ Makal. "Türkiye'de 1950-65 Döneminde," 146-147.

Since the labour code covers those enterprises employing at least ten workers there is no information on the number of women employed by smaller enterprises.

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