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# CAPITALISM, PATRIARCHY AND IDENTITY

## WOMEN AND CAPITALIST INDUSTRIALISATION IN TURKEY:
## Textile Workers in Manisa

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*BY*

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, in the Department of Sociology
and Social Policy,
University of Durham

*1994*

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- 2 DEC 1994

*To the memory of my best friend*

*Mehmet Kalkan*

*who has hoped for justice in the world..*

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## Abstract

**Capitalism, Patriarchy and Identity:**
Women and Capitalist Industrialisation in Turkey:
Textile Workers in Manisa
by Nilay ÇABUK

This thesis, based on fieldwork in Manisa, Turkey, considers the position of women factory workers within capitalist economic development and how the constraints of capitalism and patriarchy have imposed on their lives. That is, this study examines who these women workers are and how living with capitalism and patriarchy affect them at both work and home. This study also looks at women workers' perceptions of their identity. A theoretical perspective is developed, which aims to explain this issue in relation to the dual influences of capitalism and patriarchy.

As in the export-processing industry throughout the world, Manisa textile factories in Turkey relied on a labour force composed mostly of women, especially young and single. In spite of Turkish economic development through industrialisation, workers in this capitalist development process were exploited and excluded from power.

Thus, this study explores the particular experience of women workers within Turkish industrial sector, as the Manisa textile sample, and analyses the relevance of current theoretical debates in understanding the importance of women's paid work within the capitalist world market. Finally, this discussion is carried out in the broader context of Turkish peripheral capitalism within the global capitalist system..

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# INTRODUCTION

The participation of women in paid work has been increasing world-wide since the Second World War, though its distribution among nations has been uneven and its pace has varied according to cycles of the world economy.

In Turkey, the growth in women's paid labour force participation during the capitalist industrialisation process has been recognised as a major social trend, but we know little about the impacts of such work on women's personal lives and their position in the household and family, and also their lives within the capitalist labour market.

There has been the presumption that paid work will lead to a rise in women's status within and outside the household. On the other hand, it is usually assumed that family demands limit or condition women's labour force participation. Much research on linkages between women's employment and the family has been conceived in terms of effects on family structure and women's family roles. Safa's (1990) studies show that in both Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic family structure and gender ideology in the family are changing under the pressure of new wage-earning opportunities for women.

I focus on the impact of women's paid work upon women's status in the labour market and the household in the Turkish industrial sector. This study examines the particular experience of women within textile manufacture, and analyses the relevance of current theoretical debates in understanding the importance of women's paid work within the capitalist labour market and patriarchal household. What are the most important issues and explanations concerning women's paid work? The literature on this issue is very wide and has examined the question from a number of different viewpoints. I will

examine critically many of these problems throughout this study. Of course, given Turkey's peripheral capitalist status, this discussion will take place within a broader analytical framework which considers the global capitalist system.

## 1. Objectives and Scope of This Study

This study is an attempt to make a contribution to Turkish sociological literature, (which is particularly poor in the studies of women as workers) through an empirical study of the woman as a paid worker in the capitalist labour market. The lack of both theoretical analyses and empirical studies in this area stimulated us to study this issue.

The first aim of this study is (a) to elucidate the nature of women's work and the characteristics of women workers as experienced in the factory, and to examine their lives both in the labour market and household; and (b) to see whether and to what extent the theoretical analyses which had been developed in these issues were applicable in the case of women workers in Turkey.

Before beginning the analysis, I had to ask, first of all, more fundamental questions since there was not sufficient knowledge on this issue.

What are the characteristics of working women in factories? What are their employment conditions in the labour market? What jobs do they hold? How much are their wages? What are their work conditions?

The second aim is to analyse the implications of and reasons behind women's particular status as paid workers within both the labour market and the household. In addition, my aim is to show how the impact of paid work on family decision-making and

the division of household labour varies according to the family structure and the family status of women workers. Therefore, this study also looks at the relationship between women's working and household lives, and examines the position of women workers within the family regarding the division of labour and domestic responsibilities, decision-making and power-relations, and their identity within society. The related questions are: What are the origins of their subordination in both areas? How does a woman come to be a factory worker? Why do women always have lower wages and unskilled jobs? How do employers view women workers? To what extent does women's work affect the perception of their identity within society and family?

## 2. Organisation of the Study

This study consists of an introduction, eight chapters and a conclusion. In the introduction I describe my interest in this study and give a context for the discussions in this study. A fairly large part of this section is taken up with a description of the study itself, the respondents, how they were contacted and how the interviews were carried out.

Chapter 1 deals with some main theoretical accounts on the transition to capitalism, and the aspects of the capitalist industrialisation in contemporary Turkey.

Chapter 2 provides explanations and theories on women's work. These theories about women's work are introduced and explored from several points of view to the readers. In this chapter, I look at the impact of industrialisation on women, in terms of explanations both of theories claiming a positive impact and of those claiming a negative impact.

Chapter 3 deals specifically with background information on the role and status of women in modern Turkey. In general, the integration of women into public life will be point out by the Kemalist reforms.

Chapter 4 sheds more light on the capitalist transformation, industrialisation and labour force in Turkey. First, the labour force in Turkey is represented and then female participation in the labour force is figured. Later I look at the industrialisation and its impacts on the female labour force.

In chapter 5 I consider women workers through their individual personal characteristics, such as place of origin, age, marital status, education. This chapter also covers the family background of our respondents.

In chapters 6, 7 and 8 I describe the findings which we obtained from our sample. The relevant subjects are: their lives within the capitalist labour market; aspects of their households as a patriarchal unit; their views on family, society and identity; and their attitudes about gender and work.

Finally, in the Conclusion the main findings of the study are summarised, and some of the themes, which have emerged in the course of the study, are reviewed in order to highlight my focus on women factory workers.

## 3. Research Strategy and its Process

This section is about the research process and the strategies that moved it from one stage to the next. The purpose of this chapter is to explain why the chosen methods are useful and appropriate to explore this issue. All research is limited by the resources available and by the environment in which it is performed.

The fieldwork I carried out is mostly based on empirical inquiry into the views of women workers and factories' management. The methodological approach of this research can best be described as a combination of quantitative and qualitative research.

Qualitative methodology is often described by comparing it with quantitative methodology. At a simple level one could say that, whilst quality describes the character of an object/situation/phenomenon, quantity describes the number/amount/ degree of something. In research, the difference between the two approaches has been described by classifying the resulting data as hard (quantitative approach) or soft (qualitative approach) (Burgess 1984). A qualitative methodology is characterised by flexibility, closeness and sensitivity in its approach, whereas a quantitative methodology will tend towards the structured, removed and selective. Critics of a qualitative approach have defined it as subjective and speculative, comparing it to what they claim is rigorously objective knowledge provided by a quantitative approach.

Having pointed out some of the differences of two methodological approaches it is important to stress that they are not clearly segregated ways of gathering knowledge. Qualitative and quantitative methodologies should be viewed as points on a continuum with fluid, rather than definite distinctions between the two.

In order to undertake this empirical investigation four types of research instruments have been employed: questionnaires, interviews, observations and archival records. Thus, the methodology is as such a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, leading to triangulation, a research technique depicted in the following terms by Cohen and Manion:

> *"Triangulation may be defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour. [...] Triangular techniques in the social science attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint and, in so doing, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data."* (Cohen and Manion 1989, 269-70)

Another similar view of triangulation is that of Denzin, quoted in Patton for whom the logic of triangulation is based on the premise that

> *"no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors... Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observations must be employed. This is termed triangulation. I now offer as a final methodological rule the principle that multiple methods should be used in every investigation."* (Patton 1987, 61)

Then it goes without saying that employing a multimethod approach in social sciences research offers more advantages than using a single method. This assertion is also supported by Cohen and Manion (1984) who argue that a single approach in social sciences would only offer a 'very limited view of the complexity of human behaviour and situations in which human beings interact.' These two authorities put forth two triangulation method advantages which may be summed up as follows:

The more the methods contrast with each other, the greater the confidence in the research. Furthermore, the use of a multimethod approach minimises 'the chances that

any consistent findings are attributable to similarities of methods.' (Cohen and Manion 1984)

In the course of the fieldwork, 150 women workers were given the questionnaire for survey in the first step, and we used in-depth and semi-structured interviews for 22 women workers who were chosen from among the 150 women, and also 3 managers from the factories. It should be noted that the field work took more than six months to complete.

### *Describing the Area*

When I decided to conduct empirical research on women workers in the industrial sector, the first task was to decide on a location for our research. My choice was limited because of the cost, time and labour. Therefore I decided to conduct it in the city of Manisa, in the Aegean Region of South-western Turkey which supports the major urban community of Izmir, four secondary cities, and numerous small towns and villages.

The province of Manisa was composed of a provincial centre (city) and fifteen districts. Its geographic area was 13,810 square kilometres. It had a population of 1,154,418 in 1990. The annual population growth rate was 19.29, but this rate was 30.69 in province and district centres. In addition, population density was very high, 84 persons per $km^2$ in 1990. The City of Manisa is the largest of these four secondary cities and is located at a short distance from Izmir. It has an urbanised population of approximately 160,000 people.

Manisa was one of the cities in Turkey which has an 'Organised Industrial District'. This district accelerated the growth of industry even more than expected. Between 1970 and 1990, 73 modern firms were established.

### *Choice of Sample*

Having decided on Manisa, the next step was to select the factories in which the research could be carried out. Firstly, I wanted to choose a factory where mostly women were employed. Therefore, I decided on electronic or textile factories for my sample at the beginning. Some managers of the electronic factories did not allow me to conduct my research on their women workers. Therefore, I turned towards the women workers in textile factories. On the other hand, there were some other reasons for choosing these textile factories as the sample of my research:

First, these factories employed more female labour than male labour compared with the other factories. Female workers had been working in textile factories over a long period. Textile/clothing was the most significant industry as far as women's employment was concerned.

Second, trade union activity existed in these textile factories. Therefore, they easily gave me permission to speak with their workers.

I chose three textile/clothing factories, one producing yarn and fabric, and the other two producing garments. All these factories were privately owned. The factories chosen employed more than five hundred workers. I visited several textile factories and carried out research in three of them.

In selecting the sample factories, the Head Office of the 'Organised Industrial District' provided information about the size of firm, type of production, number and sex of employees, location of the factory and other issues. The director of this office assisted at this stage by informing me of the significant features of each of the factories.

A pilot study in the first year of work on the thesis had drawn my attention to the importance of the decision-making process. These are often determined by factors over which the individual has little or no control, and this process has considerable impact on the actual decisions made. I developed a typology of decision-making processes on the basis of the pilot project.

The purpose of the pilot study was to explore and clarify some of my original thoughts and ideas at the stage of formulating the research question. The pilot project consisted of structured conversations with six women who were employed in factories. Three of these women were working in a textile factory, the other three in electronic factories. Two of them were married, two were single, one was engaged and the other one was divorced. One of the married women had children at the time when I spoke to her. In addition, three of them had been working for more than six months, the others for less. They were all friends or acquaintances of people who were known to me, and had been approached with an introduction from our joint acquaintance. The topics during the conversations included how they came to hold their current positions, some information on their schooling and further education, as well as ideas and plans about having children and how they saw the potential conflict between employment and family life.

One of the reasons why I chose to study women workers in textile factories in the 'Organised Industrial District' of Manisa province was that textile factories have traditionally employed more female labour than male. However, there was another pragmatic reason why the province of Manisa, and the women workers of textile factories were chosen as the group to be studied: ease of access. The problems can be accentuated in the case of post-graduate students whose time, economic and other resources are limited and who do not have reputation and status. Whereas in the 'Organised Industrial District' which has the textile factories in Manisa, I had a number of

contacts as well as some among the women workers of the textile factories. The networks I had helped to establish me as a serious and reliable researcher in addition to easing the practical problems of making contacts with the factories and respondents.

The sample of the study was selected from three textile factories in November 1991. The sample was drawn to represent the occupational area which is most typical of female labour's employment in the 'Organised Industrial District' in the province of Manisa. Firstly, for the choice of factories from where the sampling was obtained, a list of the names of the factories was prepared. The factories which were to be included in the sample were selected by adding the sampling interval to a starting number obtained from a table of random numbers. The sample consisted of 150 women workers who were employed on the shopfloor of these factories. I chose the women workers with 'simple random sampling', and 50 women workers were selected from each factory.

***Contacting Women Workers***

I preferred to contact the respondents by letter. One hundred and fifty respondents were contacted in this way. The Personnel managers of their factories supplied workers' addresses. Firstly, 150 introductory letters were posted to these workers. 140 responses were received, 135 from women who were willing to be interviewed, and 5 from those who declined to be interviewed. I did not ask for reasons for refusing to participate in the research and have no way of knowing why these women did not wish to be interviewed. There was no response in 10 cases. Four of these letters were returned by post because their addresses were wrong. Thus, I made up the numbers to 150 by selecting 15 additional respondents from the reserve list. Two of these refused to see me and I selected an additional two from the reserve list.

I should also point out that I had great difficulty in getting permission to work in the factories. However, by taking advantage of many personal contacts, I managed eventually to get official permission. I was usually introduced to the employer or the managers in the factories. Then my identity documents were examined. They also wanted to see my questionnaire to be sure about the content of my questions. Then, they allowed me to take their addresses from their records.

### *The Interviews with Women Workers*

After the factory's selection process, the workers' sample was determined. I collected the material by the questionnaire (see Appendix C) and semi-structured interviews (see Appendix B and D ) from this sample. Basically, one questionnaire and two semi-structured interview schedules were used in our study (one of the interview schedules for the entrepreneurs, and the other was for the 22 women workers).

The questionnaire included closed-ended questions suitable for easy codification, and the open-ended questions were as few as possible. The questions asked can be divided into two main types: the first type of questions were designed to elicit information and details about their personal and social attitudes. This section is mostly about their family lives. It contains also some questions about domestic work and their attitudes, ideas, beliefs and interests. The first aim of this section was to collect relevant biographical details in an easily accessible way. Second, it was intended to explore the respondents' intentions about family planning, and their feelings and attitudes in relation to the possible dilemma between women's work and caring in the family. The second type were mostly about work. The aim of this was to explore the respondents' work lives and their opinions on a variety of issues related to their paid work environment.

Questionnaires were filled in by each respondent with my assistance. The interviews for the questionnaire lasted between 40 and 75 minutes depending on the level of their education. Some of them were reading the questions very slowly and they sometimes read them twice in order to understand them. The interviews were all conducted face to face at the homes of the women. The women were encouraged to be interviewed without the presence of other people and in most cases they agreed to this. The husband of the respondent was present in only three interviews.

In interviewing twenty two women chosen from my previous respondents, I used the interview schedule mainly to make sure that general areas were adequately covered . An interview schedule involving semi-structured questions was constructed. This interview schedule encompasses all the questions to ask the interviewees (see Appendix D). Although I tried to use much the same formulation in the questions, some questions were dropped and others added in order to appropriately respond to information given to me by the respondents. I also altered the order of the questions when this seemed appropriate. Thus the interviews usually had the form of conversations rather than formal interviews.

The interview, which is widely used in survey research aimed at describing social conditions, is nowadays viewed as a major component of qualitative research- which is part of the methodology favoured in the present study. The definition of the interview is given by Cannel and Kahn who view this research instrument as 'a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and made focused by him/her on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation.' (Cannel and Kahn cited in Powney and Watts 1987, 6)

Many women invited me to visit them again while I was administering the questionnaire. Each interview took about two hours because often they asked me questions and many of them appeared eager to talk informally after the interview. I obtained detailed information about their family lives; relations with their family/husband; the division of domestic labour; control of money, decision making and the effects of their working life on their family life and vice versa.

The interviews were recorded, using a small, portable tape-recorder. In most cases the recordings were of high quality and it was possible to transcribe the interviews verbatim. Using recording equipment posed no problems in the interview situations. I often got the impression that the respondents 'forgot' about the fact that the interview was being recorded. They frequently talked on while I changed or turned the cassettes and I occasionally had to ask them to stop talking or repeat things in order not to miss important information.

The questionnaires were administered at a time to suit the respondents: 50 interviews were done in the morning, 85 in the afternoon and 15 in the evening. In addition to this, the 22 in-depth interviews were done during their weekend holidays.

***Analysis and Categorisation***

The previous sections were devoted to the fieldwork organisation which included a description of the various research instruments used in the fieldwork and the procedures employed to satisfactorily conduct the study. The present section will present the ways of analysing and interpreting the data obtained from the different research methods.

As already stated in the previous sections, the samples used to carry out the present investigation were drawn from the women workers in the textile/clothing factories; in the 'Organised Industrial District' in Manisa.

First, all questionnaires carried code numbers but we listed these code numbers with the name of the respondent, in order to be able to chose 22 women workers who were to be interviewed in-depth. Moreover, it became necessary to number the various answers and a coding instruction form was prepared.

One of the research methods used needed statistical means to be analysed and interpreted. That is the questionnaire which was applied to 150 women workers. From this research method my main concern was to get frequency counts and percentages to start describing the data. Thus 150 questionnaire were coded so as to fill computer cards. They were transferred to a disk by staff at the computer centre, in Durham University. The Data was analysed by the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences Programme. Regression analysis was tried, but as most of the data was either nominal or ordinal it was not suitable for meaningful analysis. All the data from the questionnaires was analysed but due to pressure on space only the detailed analyses are given in the study.

The process of transcribing the interviews has given me a fairly detailed knowledge of the material in terms of who said what. This proved invaluable in the process of developing categories. I did a lot of thinking - returning again and again to the material to check what a particular respondent had actually said, comparing it with quotes from other respondents.

### *Difficulties Encountered During The Study*

During a social research process, every researcher meets countless problems which need a solution at every step. Here, the more general problems which could be met by all social researchers will not be mentioned and mainly the problems which are a product of the circumstances or the country where the researcher lives will be recorded. While drawing attention to these problems, the researcher does not want by any means to state that it was impossible to fall into errors in her particular conditions or that she should not be blamed for the shortcomings of the study. Yet, it is deemed useful to mention these here because these problems and errors are part and parcel of the most important things learned and benefited from in this study. It would be erroneous to evaluate the study without taking cognisance of them.

Scientific work is a social activity. Like all other social activities, it is conditioned by the social structure which is a reflection of the dominant powers in the society. And consequently, the scientific research is directed to the objectives set by this structure. The structure of the society not only determines the areas of research and the allocation of funds to these particular areas, but it also affects the basic concepts and approaches (Erder 1971, 228). In Turkey, in line with the industrialisation process, the transition to a period of relative freedom of thought in the 1960's from a period of repression, brought up new topics for discussion and research among the intelligentsia. However, the rate of change of society has been very rapid, new concepts and approaches have had to develop contradicting as well as complementing the former paradigms. Meanwhile, the rights to express, discuss, investigate and elaborate all kinds of ideas have been either limited or totally abolished in certain periods (for example, the last one is the 1980's military coup) and that is a serious hindrance to social research in Turkey.

The infancy of social research in Turkey presents researchers with a wealth of interconnected subjects for investigation. At first glance, this fact seems advantageous. But it can have serious disadvantages. Sometimes researchers may attempt wide-ranging studies, presenting them in an exaggerated all-inclusive way. As a result of this, they are often unable to go beyond general observations.

Another important hindrance is the insufficiency and inconsistency of basic data. In selecting a sample for a scientific study, information which will be the basis for the sample is as important as the theoretical knowledge on sampling. In Turkey, there are as yet no central institutions which can supply all the basic statistical data necessary for sample selection (Uysal 1971, 149). In particular, sources of regional statistical data are very limited- being collected by different institutions in various forms and the results are often inconsistent. During the course of data collection, statistics related to female wage work seemed to be the most scarce kind of data. Lack of statistics created many problems throughout the empirical research and at the stage of writing up the thesis. Statistical data on female wage work were not only difficult to find but also inconsistent and unreliable.

Furthermore, the researchers are forced to procure various permits from the official authorities and overcome many bureaucratic hurdles before the implementation of the field survey.

This study was carried out within the constraints of some of the difficulties and deficiencies mentioned above. The first and the most important part of the field research, the worker interviews, was carried out by means of permits obtained from various bureaucratic authorities. Therefore, I needed the personal contacts to get these permits. I also had great difficulties in gathering information related to the three factories from

which I selected the respondents. In particular, it was impossible to arrange to see or interview the women workers at their place of work. This was due primarily to the prevailing social and political climate.

Confronted by a total refusal of cooperation from the factory administration, I had to come up with a different way of administering the questionnaires. Thus, I approached the President of the TEKSIF (Textile Workers Trade Union) and the President of the 'Organised Industrial District' in Manisa.. They introduced me to the employers, which permitted me access to the factories. If I had not been accompanied by these Trade Union officials, I would not have been allowed into the factories. Nevertheless, the management of all three factories refused to allow me to interview the women workers at the place of work. So I asked if they would provide me with the addresses so I could interview the women in their homes. They agreed and gave me the addresses of all workers from which I selected at random fifty names from each of the three factory lists as well as a reserve list of ten from each factory. I should point out that I never received permission to visit the workers in the factories, because, I was told that visitors are not allowed into the actual work areas. On one occasion only, one department head, who is a close personal friend took me (unofficially) to see the work place behind a window in factory A. I had to satisfy my sociological curiosity by observing women working through this window.

Furthermore, I should point out that the most difficult task of all was to get information about the factories. I was faced with many limitations regarding the material which I was able to get and the restrictions imposed by the managers on its use. This is in addition to the fact that the managers invariably gave short and general answers to my questions. For example, they refused to tell me the actual wages that women workers received. They always gave me the official minimum wage prevailing in Turkey at the

time, when in fact I knew that many women were being paid below that rate. In general the managers of all three factories were most reluctant to discuss any of the issues that I was interested in, such as the technical and sexual division of labour in the factories, working hours, shift work, overtime, wages and benefits, wage differentials, training of workers, attitudes towards women workers, etc. Thus, I was unable to get any useful and detailed data from the factory managers. In fact they were continuously suspicious of my intentions and repeatedly asked why I was doing field work among women factory workers.

All through this study, the researcher has felt that social research demands more than anything else, a reasonably tolerant political atmosphere for work and freedom for discussion and enquiry. Science will develop more effectively under suitable objective and subjective conditions where investments are made in libraries, and laboratories and where the research students and institutions are supported and encouraged by the state.

# CHAPTER I

# CAPITALIST TRANSFORMATION

In this chapter we shall be essentially concerned with the development of capitalism and the process of capitalist transformation in Turkey, which is a typically underdeveloped area. In order to understand the development of Turkish capitalism, we need to understand the world capitalist system as a whole, and its various parts, of which Turkey is one, because we cannot deal with Turkish capitalism in isolation.

In the first part of this chapter we shall be discussing some of the general theoretical issues that need to be determined before going on to look in more detail at the case of Turkey. We review the main theoretical views on the transition to capitalism and the nature of the world system which have come from the modernisation and the dependency school and the articulation of modes of production. In the 1950s and 1960s, thinking and action on social change and development in Turkey were dominated by the modernisation theories but, since the early 1970s, development studies in Turkey have been dominated by the various dependency and underdevelopment approaches.

Thus, we shall be examining the development of Turkish capitalism within the development of the world capitalist system. The focus is on Turkey which is a specific case of a social formation which is in the process of a rapid transformation. While all capitalist social formations must experience a transformation in which capitalism emerges, transformation is not a uniform or totally predictable process. The emergence of capitalism in Turkey has occurred as a transformation which is unique to Turkey, but there are also many similarities with the emergence of capitalism in other parts of the

world.

The last part of this chapter shows the capitalist transformation efforts in terms of industrialisation and economic and political developments in Turkey.

## 1. The Transition to Capitalism: A Theoretical Account

The theoretical study of the development of capitalism has commonly been based on the study of the original transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe. Scholarly works on this issue, however, provide several interpretations of this transition, with necessarily different theoretical and political implication (see Hilton 1976; Similar issues are also discussed by Resnick and Wolff, 1979).

Mostly, research on the problem of the decease of the feudal mode of production and the rise of the capitalist mode has taken the transition to be a linear progression with the former giving emergence to the latter. As is known well, no society is ever static and completely unchanging; but, some changes are more important than others.

In Western Europe, a complex set of changes occurred primarily in the long period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. At some point in this period, a chain of events began which was to generate present-day capitalism. This transformed radically the shape of the world into its new type. Moreover, all matters of debate were concerned with what these changes were, when, why, and how they came about, and the particular nature of the society to which they gave rise. These attempts aimed to understand the nature of the transition into modern society. The dissimilar strands of that body of thought produced essentially different explanations of what had happened. The three most significant accounts are those of Durkheim, Weber and Marx. Of course, there

were others both before and after, but these three have come to represent distinctive approaches to the question. They focused on the discontinuities between old and new. All saw modern industrial capitalism as a qualitatively new kind of society. For Weber this process, the development of modern industrial society, was the increasing rationalisation. In this process power is increasingly transferred from the hands of traditional political leaders into formal organisations. For Durkheim, the main fact of the transition from traditional to modern society was the dissolution of the old ties of mechanical solidarity which bound people to each other in the tightly knit communities of pre-industrial society. Marx saw this process as the dispossession of the worker from the means of production and his transformation into a wage-labourer, a seller of the commodity labour-power. Corresponding to the notions of 'traditional' and 'modern' within the evolutionary-modernisation theories, Marxists used two categories, 'feudal' and 'capitalist', and debated whether it was possible to 'skip stages', integrate them, or whether a unlinear sequence of unalterable stages of development had to be followed. For Marx, the new form of class society, capitalism, was characterised by its tendency to transform everything into a commodity.

This issue of transition from one mode of production to another and the definition of the concept of mode of production itself are the central points of the main debates. The notion of an historical discontinuity between feudalism and capitalism only makes sense, when the mode of production is defined in terms of the nature of the labour process. Feudalism is to be defined, primarily, as an economic system based on serfdom, and capitalism as an economic system based on free wage labour (see Dobb 1963). The downturn of feudalism and the emergence of the absolute supremacy of the capitalist mode of production took a long time. It prepared the foundations for the development of the whole capitalist system.

There is an other possible way to describe and contrast feudalism and capitalism, the first as concerned with natural economy and the second with production for a market. This description has its basis in the thought of Weber (1930), and also that of Durkheim (1933). This market-orientation approach located the main cause of change outside the feudal mode of production. On the contrary, the orthodox Marxists believed that every mode of production embodied within it internal contradictions which necessarily would lead to its demise and to the rise of a new mode of production. According to Hindess and Hirst, in *Pre-capitalist Modes of Production*, the transition from one mode of production to another does not occur in this way, and such theoretical undertakings have to necessarily incur some factor of teleology (Hindess and Hirst 1975; Foster-Carter 1978).

In spite of their different emphases and theoretical orientations, Durkheim, Weber and Marx all agreed that there had been a massive transition in Western Europe which had changed a traditional society to a modern one.

After the Second World War, when sociology turned its consideration to the underdeveloped world, many researchers assumed that the new nations would follow the same path as that taken by Western European nations. Thus, the study of Africa, Asia and Latin America was handled with the theoretical paradigms which developed to explain the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Western Europe. The assumption was that all societies were alike at one stage, in that they were 'traditional', and that eventually they would also pass through the same set of changes as had happened in the West, and become 'modern'.

We have many works that account for the capitalist transformation process in a social formation, and in agrarian structures, in particular. For example, the classical studies

of Lenin (1899), on Russian agriculture, and Kautsky (1899), on Western European agrarian developments, and many researchers have done research on the same problems in contemporary Third World contexts.

It should be noticed that Middle East Studies, and in particular the study of rural society, are characterised by the insufficiency of any crucial theoretical and conceptual debate and analysis. Generally, in rural social analysis theorists employed the sole models which are functionalist -orientalist paradigm or "Leninist" interpretations. But, at the present time, we have some theoretical contributions which reformulate contemporary Middle Eastern and Third World social realities. e.g. the "persistence" of non-wage forms of labour organisation, "traditional" and patriarchal household division of labour and informal co-operation (see Glavanis 1990, 1983). Especially, the nature of the relationship between capitalist and non-capitalist socio-economic forces and their consequent articulation in Middle Eastern and Third World countries social formations has started to be re-examined in these discussions.

In general, functionalism as a theory, emphasises the explanation of social phenomena on the basis of their interrelation with co-existing events or social forms, rather than in terms of how any of these come about. Most studies regarding rural society and urbanisation in Turkey were carried out using the functionalist approach.

After the 1950s, many social scientists used Lenin's analysis as a model for the process of the transformation of agriculture. However others have offered critical reviews of Leninist analysis, and the development of capitalism in the underdeveloped world has became more prominent on the agenda of social scientists. In the new interpretations, we can see the actual operation of forms of non-capitalist production and their role within the comprehensive capitalist economy. In general, either these new

interpretation studies focus on the specificity of agricultural production or the nature of the internal dynamics of non-capitalist forms of production within contemporary capitalist economies.

Harriet Friedmann has been one of the scholars who has made contributions in this part of the debates. She re-evaluates the nature of the internal dynamics of non-capitalist forms of production themselves and their role within contemporary capitalist economies. Her basic theoretical contribution is that she draws a distinction between mode of production and form of production (Glavanis 1990). Friedmann characterises the form of production as non-capitalist, given the lack of capitalist class relations within the enterprises. She analysed American family farmers, at the level of enterprise using capitalist categories. According to her, the rules of the gender division, kinship obligation, and patriarchy have controlled the labour process.

Furthermore, many studies were concerned with the debate relating to the 'persistence' of non-capitalist forms of production. One of them is 'gender and non-capitalist forms of production'. Especially, it has been in the studies regarding the internal structuring of the family and the household unit which are affected by wider economic forces, specifically capitalism.

On the other hand, theoretically the analysis of the process of deconstructing "traditional " social categories has taken two distinct paths; a Leninist interpretation and Norman Long's analysis. The former sees non-wage labour (women's work) in the family or household as contributing to capital accumulation through the provision of labour power for capitalist production while the latter examines the possibility of explaining non-capitalist relations of production simply by reference to capitalist principles.

### *Modernisation Theories*

Modernisation and dependency are two sharply different perspectives seeking to explain the same reality. The modernisation theories' conceptual framework has been drawn from nineteenth-century sociology[1]. Since societies are accepted to move from tradition to modernity, the traditional society is variously understood as having a supremacy of ascriptive, particularistic, diffuse, and affective patterns of action, an extended kinship structure with a multiplicity of functions, little spatial and social mobility, deferential stratification system, mostly primary economic activities, a tendency toward autarchy of social units, and an undifferentiated political structure, with traditional elitists and hierarchical sources of authority. On the contrary, the modern society is characterised by a supremacy of achievement; is universalistic, specific; has neutral orientations and patterns of action; a nuclear family structure serving limited functions; a complex and highly differentiated occupational system; high rates of spatial and social mobility; a predominance of secondary economic activities and production for exchange; the institutionalisation of change and self-sustained growth, as well as highly differentiated political structures with rational legal sources of authority.

The modernisation perspective, which virtually dominated the field of development studies during the nineteen fifties and sixties, was the academic expression of both the optimism surrounding the decolonisation process and the hegemony that Western nations enjoyed in the world. Although modernisation studies used a comparative approach, the United States and England were their bases of comparison. Their unit of analysis was the nation, and they assumed a linear evolution from underdevelopment to development.

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[1]. For antecedents of the modernisation literature, see the work of scholars such as Maine, Tonnies, Durkheim, Weber and Redfield

In this context, "Modernisation" referred to the process of transition from traditional to modern standards of social organisation. According to Wilbert Moore (1963, 93) "modernisation" is a "total" transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the forms of technology and associated social organisation that identify the "advanced", economically wealthy and, to some extent, politically stable nations of the Western World. So modernisation becomes closely associated with Westernisation. The West is seen as superior to the Third World in all social, political and economic aspects. In other words, for the future societies of the Third World one structural component is logically determined. Of course there are differences amongst modernisation theorists with regard to their approaches. I would say that many differences are in focus, in scope and in the degree to which theoretical speculation is matched by empirical research, and even in the ideological concern with the upshot of the modernisation process.

To review modernisation theory in such a short space is no easy matter given the proliferation of publications dealing with its various aspects in recent years. In shorthand we can mention the central concerns of modernisation theory as 'dualism' and the nature of the 'dichotomy', and 'diffusion'. Many scholars have posited simple duality in polarised positions to explain social change. Modernisation theorists in the optimistic period of the 1950s believed that for underdevelopment to be overcome it was simply necessary to solve the 'dichotomy', that is to bridge the gap between tradition and modernity. But the issue was, of course, more complex than that.

Furthermore, all modernisation theories have in common the belief that on account of the compatibility of societal structures, developing countries in the long run *inevitably* will come to have the characteristics of the developed ones. It was believed by modernisation theorists that the Third World countries would develop at a rapid pace

because they would be the beneficiaries of a Diffusion process which would see the ingredients of Western society diffused rapidly to the Third World.

Modernisation theory has, of course, not remained static and change has take place in response to recognised changes in the world at large. Western industrial society no longer provides the model for developing countries. It is now accepted that there is nothing approaching agreement on the concepts of "development" and "modernisation" and the temptation to ethnocentrism has been greatly reduced. From this respect, the works of modernisation theorists have focused largely at the level of the single nation-state and missed the economic and political relationships which operate at the level of the international system. They are relevant to the study of underdevelopment, but only in a marginal sense, such as Huntington, stressing the level of institutionalisation; Lipset, stressing entrepreneurial skills; McClelland, stressing achievement motivation; La Palombara, stressing the role of bureaucracy and Almond and Powell, stressing the level of government capabilities (Pratt 1973, 92-95).

On the other hand, the inability of these models to explain continued poverty and backwardness in the Third World, and the radicalisation of many scholars influenced by revolutionary processes in the Third World, made dependency models very attractive because they placed the blame for such social illness on Western nation.

***Dependency Theories***

In the last decade, modernisation theories have become increasingly unpopular . Their present-day failures are due to successful attacks from outside as well as to radical reflections from inside the bourgeois-liberal tradition. The attack from the outside came from the Marxist-orientated dependency theory, which offered a radically different explanation of underdevelopment.

In the literature on development and underdevelopment published in the 1970s there was one approach diffusing a large number of analyses, namely the *dependency approach* . It originated in the widespread Latin American debate on the problems of underdevelopment, which was a most valuable contribution to modern social science. Not only did it include an effective criticism of the modernisation paradigm, it also provided an alternative perspective and still functions as a catalyst in the development theory which is taking shape at present. In other words, dependency theory has become one of the foremost interpretations of development as well as a critical challenge to conventional development theory. During the 1970s, these dependency theories (theories of underdevelopment, unequal exchange and world system) became the dominant means of accounting for the expansion of the capitalism into the Third World and the uneven levels of development which could be observed.

These theories are based on a crucial distinction between the original transition to capitalism which was successfully achieved by much of Europe, The United States of America, and some other economies, and the incomplete transition to capitalism which has occurred in the rest of the world. They attempt to clarify the process of integration of the periphery into the international capitalist system. For them, the object of explanation to the reality of the development of underdevelopment in the Third world countries is international influence. In other words, "development and underdevelopment are the two opposite poles of a dialectical unity " (Amin 1974, 603).

In view of the complex intellectual origin of the notion of dependency there are of course several conceptualisations to choose from (some Latin American intellectuals within the dependency tradition are: Cardoso and Faletto; Sunkel and Paz; Marini, and Vania Bambirra). They differ in style, emphasis, disciplinary orientation and ideological preferences, but they share the basic idea about development and underdevelopment as

interrelated processes. This perspective, which was a clear break with the modernisation paradigm, is particularly clear in the following definition by T. Dos Santos:

> *"Dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent when some countries can expand only as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development."* ( Dos Santos 1970) .

The dependency perspective certainly gives emphasis to economic processes and may also be interpreted as if dependency was a one -way causational chain. Dos Santos tried to work out on this problem in order to avoid any misunderstanding about the respective role of external and internal dimensions of dependence. He makes a distinction between *conditioning* and *determining* factors, in saying that the accumulation process of dependent countries is conditioned by the position they occupy in the international economy but determined by their own laws of internal development (Dos Santos 1977). The result will however be a *dependent capitalism*, unable to break the chains with metropolitan centres and its full development

The dependency theorists believed that the relations building centre and periphery worked against development, against the creation of a flourishing industrial capitalism. The relations merely perpetuated underdevelopment in the periphery. Because capitalism necessarily produces cumulatively growing differences between advanced and underdeveloped areas to the accumulation of capital in the centres of developed capitalism. In the other words, it needs the extraction of various forms of value from the peripheral areas. Therefore, underdevelopment is not a matter of slow progress up the evolutionary scale in which some try harder than others, but an active process of

exploitation in which the whole of the Third World has become locked into an international system of unequal exchange. So that development in 'peripheral' countries is possible only if they make a complete break with the world capitalist system.

When we come to look at dependency theory in general, the work of Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein is central. They both claim that capitalism must be analysed ' on a world scale ', and they describe capitalism as 'a system of monopolistic exchange, which performs to transfer surplus -the extraction of various forms of value- from subordinate areas -periphery or satellites- to the imperialist centre -core or metropolis of capitalism (Gülalp 1983).

In Wallerstein' s view, the subject of analysis is the social system as a totality. The social system is defined as:

> "*a division of labour, such that various sectors or areas within are dependent upon economic exchange with others for the smooth and continuous provisioning of the needs of the area. Such economic exchange can clearly exist without a common political structure and even more obviously without sharing the same culture.*" (Wallerstein 1979, 5 )

The origin of the world-system approach handled by Wallerstein is the Latin American dependency theory, with which it shares a critical attitude toward the evolutionist framework underlying the predominant theory of the 1950s and 1960s. The world- system approach maintains some of the most disputed tenets of dependency theory, for instance that the world is capitalist, and that part of it has been so since the sixteenth century. From this time onwards there emerged a world-system, incorporating a growing number of previously more or less isolated and self-sufficient societies into a complex system of functional relations ( Wallerstein 1974, 1980).

That 'world economy' today covers most of the world. In other words, it is the

one and only world system. According to Wallerstein the dynamics of the system are internal (1974, 347). Thus, the problem of the external versus internal, which caused the dependency theorists a great deal of trouble, has been solved. Like them, Wallerstein describes the world system as *capitalist*. Nevertheless, he does not make the distinction between development and underdevelopment or central and peripheral capitalism. His understanding of the features of the world system implies a shift in the concept of mode of production. He argues that

> "*the relations of production that define a system are the relations of production of the whole system, and the system at this point in time is the European world economy. Free labour is indeed a defining feature of capitalism, but not free labour throughout the productive enterprises. Free labour is the form of labour control used for skilled work in core countries whereas coerced labour is used for less skilled work in peripheral areas. The combination thereof is the essence of capitalism.* (Wallerstein 1974, 127)

Thus, for him, there is only one kind of capitalism, namely that of the world system, while its various branches may demonstrate themselves differently. According to him, the development of capitalism is grounded on the already existing capitalist rationality of the economic actors that take part in the process of the formation of the capitalist world-economy.

In short, when we summarise the theoretical positions within the dependency approach, we can see that each framework contains different theoretical dimensions such as: Holism versus particularism, external versus internal factors, socio-political versus economic analysis, sectoral/regional contradictions versus class contradictions, underdevelopment versus development, voluntarism versus determinism.

### *Articulation of Modes of Production*

In the literature on development and underdevelopment criticising the modernisation paradigm and also providing an alternative perspective in the development theory, the dependency approach itself has come under attack recently because this theory has not been able to adequately account for the existence and persistence of underdevelopment in the Third World. Succeeding discussions have, instead, focused on the articulation of modes of production; a debate over the best way of conceptualising the logic and consequences of the expanded reproduction of the capitalist mode of production as the entire world becomes incorporated into the world capitalist system.

The most fundamental characteristic of Third World social formations is the heterogeneity of their relations of production. Third World societies, though different from each other in many respects, share certain general patterns of articulation occasioned by their contact with imperialism and certain unresolved contradictions or dislocations. Because of this heterogeneity, the theoretical categories must be clear and capable of describing and explaining the origins and historical development of changes. As a result, dependency theory was seen that it is theoretically weak because it never clarifies the formal relationship between the two as sources of conflict. Finally, the articulation debate emerged as a reaction to the theoretical and methodological assumptions of the dependency school's interpretation of Third World underdevelopment.

In the articulation debate, transition to capitalism takes the form of the problematic co-existence, or articulation, of two or more modes of production in a given social formation, one of which is capitalist, dominant and expanding, while the other -or others- is pre-capitalist, subordinate and simple in reproduction, and thus in the end doomed to extinction.

There is no space here to analyse the entire body of the articulation literature to fully demonstrate this argument. However, the point can be underlined by some brief references to both theoretical and empirical studies. The challenge to the theory of dependence came from primarily Marxist economic anthropology. The reason is that dependency analysis neglected the anthropological level of analysis. The approach called the "theory of articulation", has its roots in the French structuralist variant of Marxism, whose foremost proponents were anthropologists like Claude Meillassoux and Pierre-Philippe Rey.

As is well-known, Pierre-Philippe Rey has identified three stages in the transition from feudalism to capitalism; and he generalises these stages to the relationship between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production in the era of imperialism. In the first stage, non-capitalist modes- the traditional modes- are dominant, despite capitalism's dependence on the latter (since capitalism gets raw materials from it), but in the pre-capitalist social formation this exchange not only does not promote capitalist relations of production, but essentially reinforces the pre-capitalist mode. Capitalism brings about their transformation so that, in the second stage, they 'exist' on the basis 'of capitalism and are modified accordingly'. The development which changes to the second stage is that the balance of forces in the alliance changes in favour of the capitalist mode of production; capitalism is strengthened, and becomes the part which structures other modes. In the third stage, which has not yet been reached in the third world, capitalism completes the destruction of pre-capitalist modes in agriculture (Bradby 1975; see also Foster-Carter 1978). And also it reaches the point where it is able to ensure its labour supply. Moreover, Bradby sets out the concerns of articulation theory in the following way:

> *"It follows, then, an analysis of the processes of destruction of natural*

*economy must take into account not only the dynamic of the expanded reproduction of capital, but also the internal structural characteristics of pre-capitalist modes, so as to be able to proceed to the concrete level of analysis of specific case of articulation between capitalism and other modes. We should then be able to uncover the historical necessity underlying the seemingly erratic process of destruction and assimilation of natural economies by capitalism."* (Bradby 1975, 9)

We can see that there is this approach in Morris' analysis of development of capitalism in agriculture in South Africa. The approach is perhaps clearer in Laclau's critique of Frank and the alternative he develops, based on the concept of economic system. This is expressed as

> *"the mutual relations between the different sectors of the economy, or between different productive units, whether on a regional, national or world scale...An economic system can include as constitutive elements, different modes of production - provided always that we define it as a whole, that is, by proceeding from the element or law of motion that establishes the unity of its different manifestations."* ( Laclau 1971, 33)

In short, the point of departure for this approach is the capitalist mode of production in its form-forms of relationship with another mode-modes of production in one social formation. Actually, the modes of production and articulation approach measures all developments by focusing on the penetration of the capitalist relation of production. By giving the essential consideration to the relations of production, it is in fact a centralisation on the class roles and relations, rather than on societies as a whole, or even on the world system.

***The New International Division of Labour***

Beginning in the early 1960s, multinational corporations from developed countries established factories in the Third World countries to manufacture export goods for the

world market. This export-oriented industrialisation was promoted by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and became a popular development strategy for Third World countries. The new international division of labour, which was created by multinational corporations divided the production process among various plants of one firm which are located in different parts of the world (Frobel et al. 1980).

The new international division of labour is a product of the collaboration of economic forces in both developed and developing countries. Technological advances made in communication and transportation made the flight of capital easy. Furthermore, many developing countries were experiencing failures in their attempts to modernise through import substitution. Due to the backwardness of the industries, wages were low and the domestic market could not absorb the goods which were produced (Safa 1981). Hence, many Third World countries tried to increase manufacturing as part of export-oriented development strategies, hoping specifically to earn foreign exchange, reduce high unemployment, and transfer technology.

In those countries that chose a development strategy which relied on export processing, several problems eventually emerged. First, the only foreign exchange which the host country received from the multinational corporation was the wages paid, which were much lower than what the company would pay in a developed country; Tax incentives practically eliminated any direct revenues for the host government and multinational corporations operating in Export Processing Zones (EPZs) were allowed to return practically all of the profits made from their operations. The host government had no control over new investment. Second, the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) typically created a new, under-paid labour force of young single females instead of providing jobs at the wage levels needed to support families. Thus, unemployment among males remained high.

Third, the host government had to provide all the infrastructure needed for multinational corporations to operate in their countries, and since multinational corporations brought only the most labour-intensive part of the manufacturing process, the transfer of technology was minimal. With the new international division of labour, capital intensive/high tech manufacturing processes were kept in developed countries. The reason for multinational corporations to move operations to Third World countries was because they provided cheap and abundant labour.

## 2- Capitalist Industrialisation in Modern Turkey

Capitalism first used Turkey as a market, then as a place for investment. However, the first investments in Turkey by capitalism were realised in order to improve the infrastructure, so that marketing of the commodities produced by the West would be easier. The aim of this section is to analyse the capitalist transformation efforts of Turkey in terms of industrialisation. First of all, to provide a background of Turkish capitalism, we will try, in brief, to look at the Ottoman period.

### *The Ottoman Period*

The period from 1839-1923 was when imperialist penetration of the Ottoman Empire, the historical antecedent of Turkey, created appropriated conditions of existence for the rise of Turkish capitalism.

In the nineteenth century, the precarious domestic and external conditions forced the adoption of a series of reforms aimed at rebuilding the administrative-political structures, but not its economic base. Nonetheless, this period was critical for the start of capital accumulation. In the capitulary agreements signed with European powers, little

attention was paid to the economic ramifications of the economic stipulations. These agreements resulted in hundreds of foreign merchants moving into what is now Turkey, and settling down to trade in every conceivable commodity.[2] As a result of this influx of foreign merchants, native Ottoman merchants were forced out of the market, because they were relatively inexperienced and undercapitalised.

Moreover, the empire's industrial system was tightly organised under a guild system which enabled the imperial authorities to control and set prices and production figures as well as quality levels. The guild system was also burdened by the traditional Islamic ideal that competition and incentives for profit were essentially disruptive of the system (İnalcık 1969, 105).

The new private factories which were being established throughout the nineteenth century were largely owned by foreign capitalists, with only a small amount being owned by Ottomans. So, the foreign capitalists played a role in the industrialisation efforts by setting up factories to produce a variety of commodities such as cotton, yarn, silk, carpets. But, foreign direct investment in those areas remained limited throughout the nineteenth century because foreign capital preferred investing in large-scale infrastructure projects. These investments included building railway networks, ports and water-works (Pamuk 1987, 72).

The proletarianisation of Ottoman peasants was limited in this period as the capitalist development in agriculture was taking place very slowly. The majority of the rural population consisted of small-holding independent peasants. Concerned about the emergence of politically powerful large landlords, the central authority endeavoured to

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[2]. See Yerasimos 1974, for interesting account of this period and its significance in the context of the growth and the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the new Turkish Republic.

protect small scale production in agriculture. Private property rights on land were only recognised in 1858 and pressures from the European powers led to the extension of these rights to foreigners, enabling them to purchase substantial amounts of rich agricultural land particularly in Western Anatolia.

However, the foreigners' attempts to set up capitalist farms met with little success, as the state, through its supportive policies, inhibited proletarianisation of the peasantry. Most landless peasants remained tied to the land due to the existence of the share-cropping system. The state also discouraged migration from the countryside to the big cities.

The state did not want to sever the link between the peasants and the share-cropping system, fearing political and social consequences of large-scale proletarianisation. Until the 1870s the Ottoman working class existed in embryo. The Ottoman working class was very small in size due to the undeveloped nature of capitalist development and the consequent lack of proletarianisation and concentrated in small manufacturing workshops, coal mines, military factories, railways and ports. The most salient feature of the Ottoman working class was its multi-ethnic composition. Skill segmentation within the working class coincided with the ethnic divisions. While non-Muslims held skilled and semi-skilled jobs, Muslim Turks were mostly found in unskilled jobs. The further integration of the Ottoman state into the world economy through trade and debt resulted in hastening the spread of capitalist relations.

### *The Early Years of the Republic and Etatism as the Strategy for Capitalist Development*

The new nation-state in 1923 was created and ruled by the military-civilian bureaucracy that had the support of local notables and the nascent Turkish bourgeoisie. The nature of the state was formed under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk who,

organised his faction into a reforming political party, the Republican People's Party (RPP). During the first years of the Republic, the Kemalist regime was mainly concerned with instituting political and social reforms. The future economic policy of the state was formulated in the Izmir Economic Congress that had served as an ephemeral consultative body.

In periods of the partial transformation of a social formation into capitalism, the class structure may not be well developed, and hence the nature of class practices may not be particularly clear. When the ideological and legal frameworks are correspondingly ambiguous, the resolution of contradictions may turn out to be a relatively easy task for the state. The initial period of new regime, etatist policies, in Turkey is a case in point. The etatist programme was fairly rapidly put into effect because classes were not as yet clearly developed. The state encouraged the development of commercial and industrial capital, but non-capitalist relations of production were, nevertheless, being represented at the political level. Although the main aim of etatism had been to develop industry, in practice other considerations had to be given more immediate priority.

In 1929 the world-wide crisis of capitalism led to the collapse of demand for Turkey's main export items of agricultural products and raw materials. Firms went out of business, and unemployment increased. Under these circumstances, the state felt obliged to intervene directly in the economy. The first task of the state was to change the liberal foreign trade regime by introducing custom duties to protect the indigenous industry (Ramazanoglu 1985, 62). The second change emerged in the form of state economic policies, and so the state began to nationalise foreign firms and drew up the First Five-Year industrialisation plan in 1934. Available capital resources were being reallocated by the state intervening directly in the economic sphere, with the aim of developing Turkey's industrial potential. As a result of these encouragements, between 1930 and 1950, a state-

run industrial sector manufacturing textiles and intermediary goods came into existence. As part of the Etatist edifice, the state created a number of State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) to be governed on the same principle as profit maximising firms. The most important SEEs were the Sümerbank, which was established in 1933 as a holding company to oversee industrial production; and Etibank, which was established in 1934 to supervise mining activities.

The active involvement of the state in the economy during the 1930s, known as etatism, placed the country on a favourable footing with regard to industrialisation. For example, while manufacturing's share of GNP was 10.5 percent in 1929, it reached 16.6 percent in 1935 (Keyder 1987, 103). It was, in the main, peasants and workers who paid the price for the etatist industrialisation as it was financed by means of taxation and forced savings.

### *The Second World War and the Liberal period of the 1950s*

Etatist policies survived during the Second World War largely due to the necessity for government controls in the face of war conditions, as in all the countries involved in the global conflict. The exceptional circumstances of the war years began to affect Turkey's relationship with world capitalism and thus its internal development.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, cracks began to appear in state capitalism. Industrial production declined as the war obstructed the import of capital goods indispensable for the working of the manufacturing industry.

With the coming to power of the Democratic Party (DP) in 1950, Turkey set out on a qualitatively different path to development than it had done earlier under the State Capitalist regime. Merchant and agricultural capital had won the battle for the control of

the state, at least temporarily. The seizure of State power by landlord-comprador interests, in alliance with imperialism, meant the transformation of the national State capitalist regime into a neo-colonial one, subjected to the dominance of expanding metropolitan monopolist forces in the post-war period.

Many merchants made multiple investments manufacturing project irrespective of their financial capabilities. The number of joint-stock companies increased from 114 in 1951 to 391 in 1956 (Rozaliyev 1978, 203). In addition to this, some large landowners invested their profits in agriculture-based industries such as textiles and food processing, transforming themselves into rural industrialists. It was in the 1950s that the foundations of the most important Turkish manufacturing companies were laid.

By 1960, nearly, a quarter of the economically active population worked in non-agricultural sectors and the state employed around 40 percent of all industrial workers. Although the number of privately-owned workplaces easily outnumbered those owned by the state, the size of the state's workplaces were far greater than those in the private sector. In 1960, the average number of workers employed in the state enterprises was 584, whereas the corresponding figure for the private sector was 33 (TIB 1976, 86).

Though the state dominated the manufacturing industry with its large enterprises, the private sector showed a remarkable growth, especially in agriculture-based industries.

One of the most salient consequences of the economic transformation of the 1950s was the commencement of large-scale internal migration and urbanisation. Agricultural mechanisation, albeit beneficial to commercialised farms, brought an end to the sharecropping system in some parts of the countryside, thus driving former sharecroppers as well as many agricultural workers to migrate to big cities in search of work.

As a result, the urban population grew more than twice as fast as the total population and it went up from 18.3 percent in 1940 to 25.2 percent of the total in 1960 (Karpat 1973, 73). The former peasants who now became city-dwellers lived in shanty towns. These people were poor in comparison to the older city inhabitants and their residential places lacked many facilities like running water, road and sewage system. They worked in the newly-formed manufacturing establishments and small artisan workshops, and so they became the new proletariat of the cities.

In sum, 1945-1960 was a period of liberalisation, where the government supported private enterprises. During this period foreign capital was invited into Turkey. On the other hand, since 1952 Turkey has become a member of imperialist military pacts such as NATO and CENTO, both of which forced Turkey to spend her national income on military expenditure, which in turn hindered her general development, and consolidated her dependency on the imperialist countries.

Finally, from the point of view of the socio-economic development, Turkey has become dependent on imperialist-developed countries. As a result of this dependence, Turkey is structurally disadvantaged in the World economy when compared to developed countries.

### *Planning and Implementing Import-Substitution Policies: From 1960 until 1980*

Until the 1960s, Turkey's experience with import-substitution had been limited to the Etatist Era's state-based industrialisation attempts. In this period, politics provided the main impetus for Import-Substitution Industrialisation (ISI). It was strongly believed that the solution to Turkey's chronic problems lay in industrialisation. Politicians also agreed on the need for ISI and its implementation through state-directed plans. The strategies of the 1960s, and partly also those of the 1970s, rebuilt the basic concept of planning of the

1930s, still based mainly on the industrialisation drive and inward-oriented policies, supported by a high degree of protectionism. The Five-Year plans of the 1960s and 1970s differed from those of the 1930s in their comprehensive and more modern models. There were to be four plans between 1963 and 1980, plans that were distinctly different from those of the Etatist era. During the Etatist period, the plans had concentrated solely on state activities. By contrast, the five year programs, starting in 1963, were all - encompassing, taking into account all sectors of the economy- including the private sector.

In 1961 the military-sponsored constitution laid down a new framework to realise capitalist industrialisation in the context of parliamentary democracy. It guaranteed political, economic and social rights and established a State Planning Office (SPO) responsible for formulating and implementing macro policies of economic development. The new order was the outcome of a compromise between the bureaucracy and industrial bourgeoisie, both of which agreed on the necessity of an orderly industrialisation (Keyder 1987, 148).

From the early 1960s to the mid-1970s, Turkish industry grew at an average of 9 percent thanks to import substitution industrialisation with cheap credits, protectionism and an expanding home market. The development of large manufacturing enterprises began to change the character of Turkish industry that had been dominated by numerous small units. The state confined its investments to infrastructure and main industries leaving consumer durable, automotive and light industries to private capital.

Direct foreign investments remained insignificant because neither bureaucracy nor local industrialists were keen on attracting them to the country. The latter preferred patent and licensing agreements with Transnational corporations to acquire technology. As a result of this, Turkish capitalists, most of whom were monopolists or strong oligopolists in

their industries circumvented serious competition from foreign capital in the profitable domestic market (Keyder 1987).

### *The Transition to the 1980s and the Restructuring of Economy*

From the establishment of the Republic in 1923, Turkey pursued a policy of industrialisation within a closed economy. For the state, the key development strategy was to intervene in the economic sphere, in order to lay the foundations for the development of private enterprise and also to stimulate growth in those sectors of the economy neglected by private capital. The industrialisation strategy adopted was that of import-substitution, a policy which was aimed at discouraging reliance on foreign capital and actively encouraging the accumulation of indigenous capital.

Until the late 1960s this general strategy continued successfully, but there was a pressure for change when the expansion of indigenous capital began to reach its limits within the framework of the domestic market. The need to find new fields for investment and new markets for Turkish goods necessitated a reappraisal of the inward-looking economic strategy. This pressure for change was also affected by the growing crisis of the world economy in the 1970s.

Turkey's total debt in 1970 was $ 2.2 billion but by 1979 it was over $15 billion and the deficit in foreign trade registered a record $4.7 billion in 1977 (Berberoglu 1982, 110). Manufacturing industry was hit severely as it faced serious problems in obtaining capital, intermediate goods and oil. In consequence, lack of basic goods, queues and black-markets became part of daily life.

A combination of internal and external factors had put the industrial sector under tremendous pressure, thus making the accumulation of capital in the industrial sector

increasingly difficult. The balance of payments problem had become so severe that from the mid-1970s onward the manufacturing sector was forced to cut output because of the lack of foreign exchange to finance imports. So, manufacturers were forced to operate at only a third of available capacity. This led the industrial bourgeoisie to look outside Turkey for new sources of capital investment and joint ventures. That meant opening the economy to foreign capital.

Finally, the 1970s, therefore, became a turning point in the development of Turkish capitalism, when import-substitution and other inward-looking economic strategies reached the limits of their usefulness. The growing bottlenecks in the domestic economy, the steadily deteriorating international markets for Turkish products, the adverse effects of the 1973 rise in oil prices, all made it imperative that Turkey's position in the world capitalist system be radically restructured.

On January 24, 1980, the government announced the most significant set of economic measures since 1960. It was a comprehensive economic stabilisation program predicated on the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) package. The IMF package, however, was based on different assumptions and was aimed at total transformation of the Turkish economy within the world system, with no regard for the internal social and political consequences within Turkey. The IMF's aim was to integrate Turkey more firmly into the world capitalist system. This new program included devaluation of the currency, reduction of the state's role in the economy, opening of the economy to international competition and encouragement of foreign capital and the export sector (Ramazanoglu 1985, 93-4). The long term goal of the program was to achieve the transformation from an inward-looking, closed economy to an outward-looking, open economy.

From an economic standpoint, 1980 was the beginning of the transformation of

Turkey's political economy from its inward-looking policies and structures to a more dynamic and open system. During the course of 1984 the government introduced a number of a new measures to consolidate the gains achieved.

The most striking shift occurred in the structure of the foreign trade sector. In 1979, foreign trade accounted for 11.5 percent of GNP, whereas this figure climbed to 37.2 percent by 1988. Export performance was more dramatic, it rose from 3.4 to 16.7 percent of GNP. Another success of the new programme was the growth of foreign investment. From 1959 to 1979 all foreign investment in Turkey totalled a mere $228 million, whereas in 1984 alone it amounted to $242 million (Marquiles and Yıldızoğlu 1988, 156).

In consequence, the economy started to grow again after negative growth in the late 1970s. The average growth rate between 1980 and 1988 was 4.6 percent. But the cost for this economic transformation was paid by the poorer people, particularly the working class. The share of wages in the country's GNP decreased sharply from over 30 percent during the 1907s to 18 percent in 1987 (DISK-AR 1992, 47). Moreover, between 1980-1983, the right to strike and collective bargaining, as well as other union activities, were suspended.

On the other hand, the economic transformation in the early 1980s took place along with some improvements in the quality of urban life, in spite of a rapid urbanisation which continued at a rate double that of total population increase. The proportion of the urban population reached 53 percent in 1985 and 59 percent in 1990 (SIS 1991). As an outcome, the economically active, urban population in wage-earning activities increased in the big cities. For example, in Istanbul, 73 percent of the population were involved in wage-earning activities (SIS 1989, 136).

*Conclusion*

From our discussion of capitalist transformation in Third World countries, in particular Turkey, it comes out that the capitalist transformations in Turkey cannot be isolated from the existence of capitalist development in all parts of the world.

We reviewed briefly the main theoretical views on the nature of the world system according to approaches used by the *modernisation, dependency* and *articulation of modes of production schools* and *the new international division of labour*. The contributions of these debates have been fruitful in many ways, but they are sometimes inadequate if we want to explain the development of Turkish capitalism in the context of the world capitalist system. Because, while all capitalist social formations must undergo a transformation in which capitalism emerges, transformation is not a uniform or entirely predictable process. In other words, at a general level the logic and consequence of capitalist development must be the same, only the actual processes of development give rise to different social formations. A wider explanation with regard to this transformation, in terms of rural-urban areas, in Turkey will be mentioned in Chapter IV.

The international division of labour within the world capitalist system is, arguably, the most important determinant of the nature of states and economics. This can be clearly seen in the case of Turkey. The development of capitalism and opening the Turkish economy have caused reallocation of resources from agriculture and commerce into industry. This transformation process entails also a drastic shift in the structures of the labour force and employment, such as the proletarianisation of the Turkish peasantry which has accelerated since the 1960s. So labour migration has developed as a result of this process. Moreover, this phenomenon, in general, produces reservoirs of cheap labour for the development of world capitalism.

On the other hand, a number of international agencies help to regulate the expansion of capitalism on a world scale, such as IMF and the World Bank. The IMF is the most important regulating agency for the international monetary system. IMF policy packages are offered to states which are in difficulty on the assumption that they will continue to promote capitalist development and fulfil their designated role in the maintenance of the world capitalist system.

We looked also at the period from 1839-1923 for the emergence of Turkish capitalism, because in this period occurred the Western penetration of the Ottoman Empire which created appropriate conditions for the rise of capitalism in Turkey.

The nature of Turkish capitalism under the new Turkish Republic was formed by *etatist* policies. These policies influenced the basic direction of Turkish capitalism in subsequent decades. The victory of the Democratic Party in the 1950 election, marked the start of a new period in Turkish history in which changing alliances were made between fractions of capital. The agricultural-commercial capital alliance established its domination over state power. The resulting instability and struggles have led to forms of politics and state organisation which have prevented the smooth transformation from a closed to an open economy. Consequently we find economic and political crises and military interventions in the Turkish experience of capitalist development history, exemplified in 1960, 1971 and most importantly in 1980.

It is within such a general theoretical and substantive account that the second part of this thesis will examine the work and family conditions of women textile workers in Manisa. However, prior to proceeding to the case study material, it is necessary to highlight some of the issues raised by women's work in the sociological literature. This is the concern of the following chapter.

# CHAPTER II

# WOMEN'S WORK AND IDENTITY

It is known that a lot of agricultural work in rural areas is done by women, but it has taken a long time for the rest of the world to discover these facts. In Africa, for instance, three-quarters of agricultural work is done by women (Szalai 1975). They are half of the agricultural labour force in Asia (Oakley 1974), and even in Latin America and the Middle East, women are doing a substantial amount of the farming there; but women's farming activity is underestimated because it is unpaid.

On the other hand, in modern industrial society the proportion of the female labour force has changed slightly in recent years. This increase in the numbers of women employed is part of the general employment boom that has accompanied the expansion of industry and services. It is in the service sector that women take the largest share of jobs. In industry, women's traditional domestic role influences their employment opportunities; everywhere in the world, tradition dictates that domestic work is women's work. But women are becoming an increasingly important part of the labour force in the Third World as well as in the developed countries.

In the developing countries, there are still large numbers of workers who are cheaper than machines. They want to attract industry to their shores. In the developing countries, governments desperate for foreign investment have created the industrial equivalent of a rose garden for multi-national corporations. Taxes are low, labour is cheap, laws are relaxed, and some have even introduced anti-strike laws.

This chapter presents the relations between patriarchy and capitalist systems, and also brings some explanations about women and power in the household. It briefly deals with theories on women's work and explanations on women's work in the capitalist world structure, in terms of underdeveloped and developed countries.

The chapter then shows the impact of industrialisation on women in the new division of labour in the capitalist world, from the points of view of different theories claiming a positive impact or a negative one. Finally, the chapter explores women in waged work within the restructuring of the capitalist world economy, and women's employment in textiles/clothing industry. As is known, women play the role as cheapest producers in the contemporary new international division of labour for this restructuring of the capitalist world market system.

## 1. Patriarchy and Capitalism

In feminist thought the term which is used frequently to indicate structures of masculine domination is 'patriarchy'. The term 'patriarchy' literally means the rule of fathers. In the 1970s, we can see that feminists notably marked the term 'patriarchy' to refer to the systemic nature of men's power. Patriarchy has been defined as 'a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women' (Hartmann 1981, 14-15). Because today's male dominance goes beyond the 'rule of fathers', it includes the rule of husbands, of male bosses, of ruling men in most societal institutions, in politics and economics. As a result of this, Sylvia Walby notes that

> *"there are six main patriarchal structures which together create a system of patriarchy. These are the patriarchal mode of production; patriarchal relations in paid work; patriarchal relations in state; male violence; patriarchal relations in sexuality; patriarchal relations in cultural institutions including religions, media, education"* (These are described more fully in Walby 1989, 213-34).

Marxist and socialist feminists have been especially concerned with identifying the structures of patriarchy and specifying their relation to the structures of capitalism. They consider that "capitalism and the industrial capitalist construction of women's position in the home are major causes of the problems faced by women in the labour market" (Sokoloff 1980, 196). However they further argue that " an analysis of women's problems in modern capitalist society requires an understanding of the complex effects of the social relations of patriarchy as well" (Solokoff 1980, 197). Socialist feminists analyse the sexual division of labour both in the home and in the market as a synthesis of patriarchy and capitalism.

A great number of different analyses of patriarchy were developed, some emphasising the basis of male power- control over women's labour, while others stressing the ideological level or the sexual control of women.

As a definition of patriarchy, we shall take up patriarchy as a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. Moreover, patriarchy is not reducible to capitalism, even in a mediated way, because, although patriarchy existed before capitalism, it continues in post-capitalist societies. Therefore, Mies uses the term 'capitalist-patriarchy' to expresses the system which maintains the oppressive and exploitative relations which affect women. It is her thesis that 'capitalism cannot function without patriarchy, that the goal of this system, namely the never-ending

process of capital accumulation, cannot be achieved unless patriarchal man-woman relations are maintained or newly created' (Mies 1986).

When we look at the articulation of patriarchy and capitalism, we face it in a considerable variety of ways. Some theorists see patriarchy and capitalism either as fused into one system of capitalist patriarchy, such as Eisenstein (1979) or conceptualised as two analytically different, if empirically inter-acting systems, such as Hartmann. The former considers that the two systems are so closely inter-related that they have become one. As argued by Zillah Eisenstein, these two systems are viewed as being so completely fused and intertwined with each other that they form a single system of 'capitalist patriarchy' in which the two principles operate in combination and are mutually interdependent[1]. In her view, patriarchy provides a system of control and law and order, whilst capitalism provides a system of economy, in the pursuit of profit. Hartmann agreed with the idea that was put forward by Mitchell (1975), that there are two analytically separate systems, capitalism and patriarchy, each of which has an independent effect. Mitchell discusses gender in terms of a separation between the two systems, in which the economic level is ordered by capitalist relations, and the level of unconscious by the law of patriarchy. But Hartmann especially wants to see patriarchal relations crucially operating at the level of the confiscation of women's labour by men, and not the level of ideology and unconscious. In her view, patriarchy, which she defines as 'the hierarchical relationship between men and women in which men are dominant and women are subordinate' (Hartmann 1976, 138) predates capitalism, but has become transferred into capitalist structures. Hartmann, in her explanation, links the relationships of patriarchy

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[1] Other proponents of the single system approach to patriarchy/capitalism include McDonough and Harrison(1978) and I. Young (1981) , and of the dual systems approach Beneria (1979), Kuhn (1978), and O'Brien (1981). Dualist writings tend to be based on the distinction between the spheres of production ( the economy or capitalism) and reproduction (biology, the family, ideology), a distinction usefully discussed by anthropologists (Meillassoux 1972; O'Laughlin 1977)

and capitalism, and suggests that, through their control of women, men learned the methods of domination and hierarchical organisation and then applied these techniques to the capitalist mode of production (Hartmann 1976, 138).

Hartmann (1979) and O'Brien (1981) view capitalism as operative in production and patriarchy in reproduction, while Kuhn (1978) and Mitchell (1975) confine patriarchy to ideology, culture and sexuality.

In conclusion, from Hartmann's viewpoint, the nature of the benefits to patriarchy and capitalism are three-fold. First of all, in examining women's work according to benefits to patriarchy and capital, women provide a cheap, expendable pool of labour. As a result of this, whilst it increases their dependence on men, increasing male control in the case of patriarchy, they are cheap labour available when required for capital. Second, women perform unpaid domestic labour. That benefits patriarchy. But women's unpaid work provided a kind of infracture in the home which enables male workers to go out to work. Capital bears only the cost of productive labour. The cost of reproductive labour is borne by the male's wage. Finally, the 'privatised' nuclear family becomes the market place for the products of capitalism. At the same time, ideology of domesticity increases dependence on men.

Women's reproductive roles and domestic responsibilities are interwoven with traditionally defined gender roles and are important factors in their participation in the capitalist labour market. Therefore the family and household sphere have also crucial significance in the analysis of women's employment.

## 2. Women and the Household

Scholars have concerned themselves with the processes that enhance women's prestige and power in the family and have examined the role of work in the empowerment of women. Here empowerment is defined as the ability of an individual, within a social relationship to carry out his or her will, even in the face of resistance by others (McDonald 1980). Initially, researchers emphasised economic resources as important elements in power in the family (Blood and Wolfe 1960). Later, researchers extended the sources or bases of power to include normative, affective, and personalistic characteristics. The normative resources theory looked at the cultural and normative context. When Rodman (1967) claimed, that the balance of power between spouses is influenced by the interaction of the comparative resources of the husband and wife, and by the cultural expectations about the distribution of marital power, he presented data from four different countries, relating to varied cultural contexts to back up his theory

Some researchers have focused on assessing women's household status based on the premise that women's entry into the labour market initiates changes in the household. Gender division of labour, which is found in almost all cultures, evolves and stratifies genders in the household arena. If the workplace is a 'contested terrain', the venue of class conflict, the household is the scene of gender contradiction. Women perform long hours of 'unpaid and unhonored' work and still experience a dependent and lower status in relation to men in the household (Sen 1980).

Structural change in the household is perceived to be forthcoming mainly through the 'dual linkage' to the labour market (Safilios-Rothschild 1976). Women's greater access to the public arena through employment is likely not only to make them economically less dependent on men but also allows them less time to perform household

duties. Therefore, wage work is supposed to reorganise the gender division of labour in women's favour. As women's labour force commitments strengthen and come closer to those of men, household division of labour and leisure becomes renegotiated (Safilios-Rothschild 1976). This argument implicitly recognises the liberating and conflict potential of remunerated work. However, this vision pertains to industrial societies. Does it have application in the developing societies?

Safilios-Rothschild contends that elite women of the Third World can rely upon women relatives of the same class, or upon servants of the lower classes, to manage the household, and need not challenge patriarchal structures. The working and lower class women, we would argue, lack the privilege and access to such resources. Thus class or race enters as a variable that affects outcomes under 'patriarchal capitalism'.

Consequently, it can be argued that working and lower class women who participate in low waged work have to carry an enormous work load. It is also conceivable that the more crucial, in absolute or relative terms, a woman's employment is for the household income, the greater the autonomy experienced by her, as stable employment may initiate a gradual and subtle reduction in patriarchal control. Gender division of labour is likely to be influenced by women's economic contribution as well as prolonged absence from the household, which forces a reorganisation of the housework.

Hartmann (1981), on the other hand, argues that conflicting forces are at work which may influence household division of labour. For example, capital's need for women's labour, households' need for women's wages, and women's struggles against the patriarchal legacy of housework may result in reduced standards or the shift of some tasks to the marketplace. However, equalisation of the housework allocation between husbands and wives is not evident in the foreseeable future.

The preceding arguments highlight the use of housework as a measure of power in research on family power. The resource theory of power emphasises the potential for empowerment through economic and other resources. Distribution of power in the family may be a function of cultural context which provides the normative expectations of how power is divided.

## 3. Women's Work

There are several theoretical approaches to women's work. In this section we shall present some of them, particularly the major theoretical perspectives. The first of these is the functionalist theory, that asserts the 'natural' order of male dominance as a contrast to arguments for women's 'rights'. The second is the conflict theory, that describes systems of oppression that systematically restrict women.

Functionalist theories have focused on the human capital that men and women bring to the marketplace. These theorists and economists agree in considering a range of factors before ultimately concluding that unequal wages adequately represent the differential value of one group or individual's work. Factors might include education and training, experience on the job, supervisory responsibility, the risk to employers of losing investment in employee training, and work conditions.

On the other hand, the conflict theorists have suggested a range of possible explanations for the origin and maintenance of economic inequality for women. Important frameworks are offered by the Marxist and socialist feminists. The original Marxian hypothesis of the division of society into the major social classes of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat provides an interesting base line for assessing this

inequality. Women are potential members of either the ruling or working class by means of birth, marriage, or individual effort. Although socialist feminists have revised the classical Marxist view, they also include the effects of patriarchy and account for more contemporary structures of the labour market.

In classical Marxian thought, the industrial worker's family consisted of a woman who laboured at home, doing reproductive and service work while the man laboured for a wage. Within this model, the primary benefactor of all work, both wage and non-wage, must be the bourgeoisie.

Several other 'functions' are performed by the woman homeworker. Because women reproduce and socialise a new generation of workers, who are trained by their mothers to be docile and punctual and to have some basic skills, capitalist owners have a family unit which replenishes the worker's needs on a daily basis, and meets their need for workers of the future.

Women also form a reserve pool of potential workers that can be manipulated by the owners. Because most women obviously do work for lower wages than men, they can be brought in as cheap, flexible labourers when necessary.

Recent research and theory have encouraged a reanalysis of women's work from a more global perspective. Kathryn Ward (1990) identifies the restructuring of a 'global assembly line' in that many women in Latin America, Asia, and the United States perform work in low-wage peripheral manufacturing jobs, as well as '*informal work*' in the home. This informal homework is often subcontracted piecework or peddling of goods. Peripheral manufacturing shifts low-wage work onto developing countries, retaining the high-wage management tasks and accumulation of capital in the United Stated and other core countries. Ward points out that this restructuring is built on the increasing use of

female industrial workers and the growth of export industries such as electronics and garment manufacturing.

There are several theoretical explanations concerning women's work within the private and public areas. We will utilise these in order to look first at women's work in the home; housework and other forms of unpaid labour. Secondly, we shall explain women's work in the labour market.

***Work in the Home***

Throughout the world, the notion of *'women's work'* raises connotations of low-paid or unpaid *'dirty work'* associated with washing napkins, scrubbing toilets, and cleaning up after others. There are also the day-to-day functions surrounding food or feeding: breast-feeding babies, caring for crops and domesticated animals, cooking, and washing dishes. Gender roles throughout the world assign to women the mothering, nurturing, caretaking roles of society, linking female stereotypes to various task and family statutes. A vast portion of this work is unpaid labour in the fields, in the home, and in communities.

Debates about the nature of housework began to crystallise in the late 1950s. Moreover, work as a sexual division of labour, the allocation of tasks on the basis of sex interests the feminists. This structures women's and men's work both at home and in the paid workforce, as well as situating *'home'* as subordinate to *'work'*. The sexual division of labour cannot be understood in purely economic terms. It has sexual and symbolic dimensions as well.

In the 1970s and 1980s feminists enlarged the definition of work to include housework, sexual and emotional servicing of men, the caring for children, the elderly

and sick. They stressed that women's activities at home constitute work, despite financially unremunerated, and criticised definitions that are narrowly based on employment or productivity. Veronica Beechey argues that:

> *"It is housework, rather than waged work, which preoccupied feminist writers in the early days of the new feminist movement. A central tenet of such thinking in the 1970s was the belief that the family lay at the heart of women's oppression, and a major theoretical breakthrough involved the recognition that housework, the 'labour of love' performed by women in the home, was a form of work. This insight made feminist analysis of the 1970s and 1980s substantially different from that of previous periods, which mainly disregarded women's work within the family."* (Beechey 1987, 171-72).

Since 1970, numerous accounts of women's domestic activities have been produced from a variety of disciplinary perspectives.

Feminist strategists attempted to analyse the interrelations of the family and production in capitalist societies. It was clear that inequalities at work were related to inequalities at home. Women's waged work was constructed as secondary, their wages seen as pin money; often their paid work was regarded as an extension of what they did at home.

Generally speaking, women's domestic work at home includes everything women do in the home, from cooking and cleaning to reading bedtime stories and having sex. In addition, socialist feminists asserted that women's domestic work has served not only men but capital. The addition of housework to wage or agricultural labour has been identified as a double burden for women. Moreover, housework such as laundry, dishes, cleaning the bathroom, shopping and cooking usually are described by women as monotonous, boring and repetitive.

### *Work in the Labour Market*

Thus far there is no unified theoretical model that adequately explains the position of women workers in "world market factories (Frobel et al. 1978:139). Nevertheless, there are some theories that have attempted to examine the origins of sex discrimination in the labour market and to explain how sex segregation is embedded in the structure of monopoly capitalism's characteristic labour market:

#### Economic Theories

Much of the debate on women's economic position was conducted within a neo-classical framework until the development of work by feminist economists interested in women's employment in the labour market. Feminist economists are dissatisfied with neo-classical theories.

I have chosen two widely known theories: one is from the neo-classical theories, the human capital theory: the other is the dual labour market theory, contrary to the neo-classical model.

#### *Neo-classical School*

Neo-classical models assume the existence of perfect competition between workers. There are different theoretical models such as the overcrowding, human capital theories within the neo-classical school. The overcrowding theory is a conflict theory, and it assumes that men and women are perfectly substitutable. The human capital theory (some exponents of this model are J. Mincer, G. Becker, and S. Polacheck) is like the overcrowding model, a conflict theory, but it does not argue that men and women are perfectly substitutable. The basic proposition of this model is that although men and women have similar intelligence and educational capacities, women's labour

quality is lower because they have a different pattern of labour force participation. According to this theory, workers could make themselves more productive, such as improving their education or their skill levels. Women spend fewer years in the labour force and have less education and training, therefore they accumulate less human capital; women typically leave the labour force in order to bear and raise children.

The human capital theory also argues that women's preference for household work or their decision not to work continuously is a logical decision: For women, giving priority to family instead of work, not investing as heavily in human capital and not working continuously are rational and optimal decisions. Family responsibilities condition women's taste for occupations. Consequently, women stay away from occupations that require high investments in human capital (e.g. doctors and lawyers) and concentrate on occupations that have low requirements of human capital and that do not punish workers for temporary withdrawal from the labour force (e.g. clerks, waitresses and typists).

In addition, according to this theory, the economy is indifferent to gender and wage differentials between men and women are a reflection of productivity gaps between them.

This theory is insufficient to explain sexual divisions and inequalities in the labour market for a number of reasons. First, the theory does not satisfactorily explain why women chose to make less investment in their human capital than men. Second, with equal levels of education, women's and men's earnings can differ in the same work place. Human capital theory is unable to explain why these people receive different wages. Third, in this theory any inequality in wage labour is a result of individual choice and

tastes. Fourth, the theory mainly focuses on the factors which affect the labour supply. It does not consider demand important.

Yıldız Ecevit pointed this out in her study (1986), which is about gender and wage work: a case study of Turkish women in manufacturing industry. I would say also that because of the above problems, the human capital theory is not helpful in explaining women's position in Turkish manufacturing industry. I agree with her that this theory is not enough adequate to account for women's position in the industrial sector. First of all, the positive relationship between education and high wages does not hold in the factories, for, regardless of their education, they are concentrated in unskilled and low wage jobs. Secondly, in fact, constraints on individuals' decisions about their education are ignored by this theory. In the Turkish case even while girls want to acquire higher education, economic barriers (such as a low family income) as well as cultural and social barriers (girls' secondary status a comparison with boys; conservative attitude towards girls' schooling) block them from doing so.

Moreover, the assumption that women will leave their jobs and raise children is basic for this theory. On the contrary, it can be argued that because of this same reason few women leave their work. Generally, women do not leave their jobs when they have a child, because available jobs are very scarce and unemployment is high.

*Dual Labour Market*

The dual labour market approach, contrary to the neo-classical model, tries to explain gender differentiation in terms of changes in the demand for labour. The basic proposition of this model is that the development of competitive capitalism in the United States was accompanied by a process of proletarianisation associated with a progressive homogenisation of working conditions and labour markets. While the U.S economy was

moving towards a monopolistic stage orientated towards the international market, two systems of production coexisted: competitive capitalism and monopolist capitalism. Both sectors developed according to their own internal laws. A consequence of the dual industrial structure was the segmentation of the labour markets; that is, a dual labour marked emerged. The duality in the industrial and labour markets intersects with previous cleavages such as race and gender thus generating and maintaining the segmentation of the labour market (Edwards, Reich and Gordon 1975). Economists such as Reich, Gordon and Edwards put forward a more radical approach. They say that the segmentation of jobs according to race, age and sex has political and economic utility for capital.

The dual labour market theory proposes that technological innovations have brought changes in the organisation of the productive process and, consequently, have created a need to reorganise authority relations within the firm. One consequence of these phenomena is the dichotomization of the labour market into primary and secondary sectors. In other words, as its title suggests, this model asserts that the labour market is increasingly divided into primary and secondary sectors. Into the primary sector go the monopolies, capital-intensive, highly profitable and technologically advanced firms and industries. Into the secondary sector go small, backward firms located in competitive markets in the retail trade, services and non-durable manufacturing industries such as clothing or food processing. The primary sector is characterised by "high wages, good working conditions, employment stability and job security, equity and due process in the administration of work rules, and chances for advancement" (Piore 1971, 91) The secondary sector "tends to involve low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, harsh and often arbitrary discipline, and little opportunity to advance" (Piore 1971, 91). Moreover, the secondary labour markets are "composed of

workers, especially women, blacks teenagers and the urban poor, who follow a much random series of jobs and are generally denied opportunities for acquiring skills and advancement " (Edwards 1975, 16). Differences between workers are related to individual differences as well as to the nature of specific jobs.

On the other hand, the internal labour market theory proposes that, as a consequence of changes in the organisation of the production process, a growing proportion of jobs are allocated within firms. The development of internal labour markets is associated with the growing importance of on the job training and the need to maintain a stable and skilled labour force. Internal labour markets are characterised by entry level career jobs, job ladders, and definite promotion patterns. Discrimination on the basis of gender and/or race is a mechanism used to exclude some groups from job ladders. Internal labour markets are also tied to customary practices and labour practices, like seniority rules.

Attempts to apply the internal labour market model to explain the occupational distribution of women face two major limitations. First, they fail to explain why there is a high proportion of women in the primary sector. Second, even within internal labour units, men and women seem to have different tracks of job promotions. The dual labour market and the internal labour market models were developed to explain racial discrimination and the persistence of income inequality. The emphasis on the problem of poverty led to neglect of the specificity of gender differentiation. This recognition led scholars like C. Lloyd and B. Niemi to propose that the "simple notion of two non-overlapping labour markets be expanded to include a larger number of segmented labour markets" (Lloyd and Niemi 1979, 186).

The segmented labour market model, as articulated by Lloyd and Niemi, is not an alternative to neo-classical models; it is rather a complementary model. It predicts that "overcrowding will occur in the low-wage sector if the demand for labour grows less rapidly than the supply of workers" (Lloyd and Niemi 1979, 188). The segmented labour market model is a significant contribution to the literature in that it rejects the simple duality of the labour market and focuses on the specific mechanisms of occupational differentiation. H. Hartmann criticised this approach because, in her view, the "labour market segmentation theory overemphasises the role of capitalists and ignores the actions of workers themselves in perpetuating segmentation" (Hartmann 1976, 166). The experience of female workers cannot adequately be explained solely in terms of the operations of capitalists' interests. In her view, male workers, through their unions, have played an active role in the attempts to maintain a gender-segregated labour market (Hartmann 1976, 166-167).

Moreover, dual labour market theory does not attempt to relate women's role as mother and wife with the labour market, thus, does not deal with the issues of patriarchy. This model is too narrow to explain the trend toward internationalisation of production and the development of a female work force on a global scale.

## The Reserve Army and Women's Wage Work

Marx argues that capital needs an industrial reserve army as a lever of capital accumulation: first, as a flexible population entering new branches of production and then being dispensed with as the labour process requires a different labour force, second, to act as a competitive force through 'depressing wage levels or forcing workers to submit to increases in the rate of exploitation and thus increasing the level of surplus value extraction' (Beechey 1977).

Some studies examining women's specific position as wage workers, and especially for their marginality in the labour market, have taken into consideration women as a reserve army of labour for analysing and understanding the specific characteristics of women's wage work in the capitalist labour market (Beechey 1977; Bland et al. 1978; Connelly 1978; Bruegel 1979; Antias 1980; Barrett 1980; Power 1983).

In this approach, the idea that female workers are specially useful to capital as a reserve army of labour to be brought in in times of need and thrown out of the labour market when the need was over, according to the interests which capital impose, was the basis of the argument and has been widely accepted by many theorists.

The earliest version of the reserve army of labour discussion which examined women's work as advantageous to capital was introduced by Adamson et.al. They argued that:

> *"Capitalist production has consistently used women as a part of the industrial reserve army of labour..... The increase in the reserve army of labour puts capital in a stronger position to restore profitability...thus lays down the foundation for the cure to the crisis. Women given their role as domestic slaves, exactly comply with capital's need for a fluctuating reserve army of labour (Adamson et.al. 1976, 17). They are available at home to be drawn into production when necessary and can be thrown back into the home when accumulation stagnates"*(Adamson et.al. 1976, 18)

The fluctuation of female labour in and out of the market has been presented principally in economic terms and as an automatic process which changes according to requirements of capital. In other words, in this first discussion, it has been presented as something which is independent from all other social and technological phenomena.

In fact, the argument that women are a reserve army of labour was supported by historical observation, with capital using this female labour as an advantageous labour reserve in accordance with its interests.

Veronica Beechey develops the analysis of women as an industrial reserve army and the question of the similarities between married women and other groups in the industrial reserve army (e.g. immigrants and migrants workers). Especially, she stressed the specific advantages of married women's employment to capital as follows:

a)- early disposability; b)- satisfaction with a lower wages; c)- less dependency on the welfare state; d)- contribution to the expansion of the capitalist market; e)- exclusion from the social security system (except as dependants when they become redundant).

Beechey's argument, which is that married women may constitute a part of a reserve army, has been criticised by Anthias (1980, 55). According to her, Beechey's analysis has two strands; one of them is economic, explaining women's employment with reference to its economic advantages to capital; and the other is functionalist, arguing that it is these advantages that actually determine women's employment (Anthias 1980, 55). On the other hand, Anthias argues that

> "*...on their own they do not explain why women are drawn into production. Capitalists certainly perceive the above advantages and this may explain to some extent why they are increasingly employing women, but this does not provide a full explanation. There have been legal and ideological changes, state activity, changes in family structure and so on that needs to be taken into account.*" (Anthias 1980, 55)

There are some contributors to the discussion who disagree in two respects, saying;

*"female labour as a reserve does not place it within the terms in which Marx defines 'reserve army of labour'... Married women do not become a reserve because they are thrown out of social production with advances in commodity production and consumption... They constitute a reserve of a 'peculiar type' controlled not so much by the relations of capitalist production but by the relation of reproduction in the family -even when they are not married (ideologically it is expected that they will be)."* (Bland, Brunsdon, Hobson and Winship 1978, 62-63)

Moreover, for Bland et al., although Marx's categories are unhelpfully named and perhaps historically specific, they enable us to conceptualise women as a reserve army which is not just one monolithic grouping but which is internally differentiated.

The theory of women as a reserve army of labour has for a long time been the single most popular explanation for women's subordinate status in the labour market. It has become popular mainly because it satisfied the expectations of those who were not content with neo-classical economic approaches to women's work. It has been welcomed by people who put forward the necessity of utilising Marxist categories in explaining the relationship between women and the labour market.

In recent years, some critics have challenged the assumed validity of the theory. They have shared the view that although in general it is not 'wrong' to describe women as playing a peculiar role in the reserve army at specific times and in specific places, it is wrong to use the concept as an adequate description and explanation of women's subordinate status in the labour market. (Barrett 1980; Yanz and Smith 1983)

In short, these criticisms can be stated as follows: The development of a reserve army, who is in it, and the form their participation takes, are empirical questions and depend on the actual course of capitalist development. The assumption that women have to and will continue to function as a reserve army is misleading, since treating women as

such fixes their relationship to the labour force in isolation from capital accumulation. We must understand the specific effects of capitalist accumulation, the class struggle and the struggles between women and men within the working class on women's role as wage labourers (Yanz and Smith 1983).

Women's position in the labour market is not determined by their status as a 'reserve army of labour': the concept of a reserve army was not elaborated to explain women's or any other group's relation to the labour force.

It can to some extent explain certain aspects of women's entry into the labour market and help to understand variables related with the market's demand; but it cannot help to explain general characteristics of women's work in capitalism. It is especially inadequate in explaining women's low pay. It is also inadequate as an explanation of why women are employed in particular industries and do certain jobs which are called women's jobs.

Labour Process, Skill and Gender

Much of the earlier labour process' literature was dominated by general theoretical debates (Gorz 1976; Brighton Labour Process Group 1977; Aronowitz 1978; Burawoy 1978; Friedman 1978). More recently, it has turned more towards substantive empirical issues (Wood 1982; Burawoy 1979; Zimbalist 1979). Additionally, industrial sociologists who deal with labour economics and industrial relations have demonstrated that women at work have problems related to gender (Brown 1976; Hartmann 1979; Feldberg and Glenn 1979; Siltanen 1981; Thompson 1983).

A concrete analysis of women's position in the labour process has been suggested by a group of writers for understanding the specific nature of women's wage work.

Consequently, they give special stress to the development and procedure of the capitalist labour process.

Beechey and Taylor (1976) propound that two aspects of Marx's analysis of capitalist development were of particular relevance for an understanding of female labour. One of them is the analyses of the transition from manufacture to modern industry and the other is the concept of the industrial reserve army.

Moreover, gender studies of the labour process are well placed to seek a reconciliation of the differences between Marxism and Feminism . This is because they involve a theoretically informed empirical focus on the relation of women to economic production and class reproduction as well as an analysis of the interdependence of this economic infrastructure with the sexual division of labour as a whole. In addition, labour process researchers can draw upon and develop a feminist literature that has itself been engaged in a continuous debate with Marxism (Kuhn and Wolpe 1978; Millett 1971; Eisenstein 1979; Hartmann 1979; Barrett 1980). They have challenged Marxism to take account of patriarchal power and its relationship to capitalist production and reproduction, in identifying forms of domination, oppression and exploitation based both on gender and class.

Since 1976, a growing number of studies have taken up questions from different perspectives. There are three basic questions which must be answered related to the explanation of women's wage work in labour market. First, "Why women work on specific processes, in demarcated spheres of production, in other words the presence of a rigid sexual division of labour within the labour process itself. Second, what has been the role of trade unions in restricting women to particular positions, e.g. in defending their own positions of skill? Third, how is the sexual division of labour reproduced within the

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The tendency is not a one way process: because on the one hand capital simplifies tasks but on the other hand it creates new skills. Therefore, she says that " the history of capitalism must be seen as the history of the destruction and the recomposition of skill" (Beechey 1983, 65). Second, Braverman (1974) has also been criticised because the deskilling theory does not take into account the labour union's resistance to women's employment. Against this, another group writers (see, Phillips and Taylor 1980; Coyle 1982; Armstrong 1982) argues that the skill divisions between men and women have been created via the struggle of unionised men in craftbased unions to retain their craft advantage.

Moreover, this has been seen as ' the sexualisation of skill labels' by Phillips and Taylor. Similarly, Coyle (1982) maintains that when real skill differences have been reduced through mechanisation, gender serves as a basis for differentiation. She suggests that:

> *"Gender divisions outside of production already place women in a subordinate position to men, and this inequality gets reproduced within production itself."* (Coyle 1982, 24)

Therefore, in Coyle's view, skill is socially built. She mentions that skill differentials between male and female workers have social validity, because the differentiation of men is as breadwinners.

Writers mentioned in this group attempted to analyse the sexual division of labour within the capitalist labour process and its implications for women workers. They based their analysis on historical evidence. They agreed that gender divisions which already exist outside the labour process (e.g. women's and men's respective roles as 'reproducers' and 'breadwinners' within the family in capitalist society) are established and reproduced

within it. However, they also concluded that sexual division of labour within the labour process is not a direct outcome of this process.

In conclusion, in order to understand the predominantly female character of the global manufacturing force and explain how sex segregation is embedded in the capitalist labour market, a deeper exploration into the sexual division of labour in both the public (i.e. the market) and the private (i.e. the family) places is needed.

## 4. Women's Work in the Capitalist World Structure

Work is often experienced as the opposite of home; it constitutes the 'public' side of our everyday life, as distinct from the more 'private' side shared with family. Work is associated with production, with the manufacture of some sort of goods or services for exchange in a market, in presumed opposition to consumption. And, of course, while work is represented as a masculine domain, the feminine domain is the household and family. This does not mean that women are absent from the workplace or men from the home; rather, it stipulates that work is primary to masculine identity and home and family are primary to the construction of femininity. Men thus relate to their families as 'breadwinners', whilst women's paid work is often interpreted as an extension of their roles as wives and mothers, as a secondary activity in their lives.

Feminist sociologists and historians have also been active in questioning the meaning of work. They have pointed to the ways in which it seems to privilege men's experience over women's; to the ways in which definitions of work exclude women's contribution. Historically, home and work have not always been separate. It was only with the emergence of industrial capitalist production that they became spatially

separated, and even now the separation is not complete. Women have always been part of the informal production in factories and other specialised workplaces.

Women workers tend to be segregated into certain industrial sectors, and into certain occupations within those sectors. Within these jobs, women are typically lower-paid, defined as less skilled, low in the hierarchy of authority, and have relatively poor conditions of work. The case is quite well documented now for developed industrial countries (Phillips and Taylor, 1980), and there is also substantial evidence for the Third World (Elson and Pearson, 1980, 1981; Blake and Moonstan, 1981, Grossman, 1979; Heyzer, 1981).

Using female labour in manufacturing is not a recent phenomenon. Ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution, female labour was sought by textile factories, where the work was considered as "women's work" (see Gutman 1977; Haveren 1982). Historians (for example, Kessler-Harris 1981, 1982; Haveren and Langenbach 1978; Dublin 1981) have described the mixture of exploitation and opportunity that factory work provided for women as they came to participate in paid industrial labour.

Women have traditionally been paid less than men, constituting a source of cheap labour for industrial capitalism (Saffioti 1978). This reflects the subordinate status of women both in society and in the family. The subordinate position of women paralleled the assumption that women's income is supplementary to that of a male provider (see Hartmann 1976). This pattern persists to the present day, even in areas of high male unemployment (e.g. Mexico, Caribbean, Malaysia) and even where a high percentage of women are heads of household (Safa, 1981).

### *Underdeveloped Countries*

While women in the less developed countries share many, if not all, of the problems of women in the more developed countries, they have problems of their own which merit particular consideration. These differ from one region and country to another, according to the stage of economic development, structural elements, and the cultural attitudes and traditions relating to women's employment, but there are a number of common factors.

Certain features of women's work in developing countries are common to every region to a greater or lesser degree. First of all, there is a heavy concentration of women in rural areas and agricultural work. In Africa, for example, it has been estimated that eight-tenths to nine-tenths of women live and work in rural areas and that they perform three-fifths to four-fifths of the agricultural work of the continent. The percentage of the economically active female population in agriculture is very high in most African and Asian countries, and also quite high in some parts of Latin America. Rural women work in conditions of real hardship, with primitive traditional tools and little or no exposure to modern methods of farming. Moreover, their work often has no proper schedule, and their total working hours in the fields and at home are excessively long and irregular. Their activity is most frequently unremunerative and unsatisfying.

In most developing countries, especially in Asia and Africa, the modern sector is growing slowly and, with some exception, offers relatively few earnings opportunities for women. It tends to be a male preserve.

On the other hand, the number of women working in industry in developing countries is now approximately double those in developed countries. These large numbers are mostly employed in factories and workshops, old and new, producing

textiles, electronics, footwear, etc. Several of them work in food, drinks and other 'service' occupations in which they work long hours standing on their feet. Their incomes are uncertain, their employment contracts unstable and their future job opportunities unpredictable, varying with the ebb and flow of economic recessions and business cycles. In addition, there is a heavy concentration of women in work requiring little or no education or skill (e.g. domestic service in Latin America and petty trading in Africa). This means that women tend to be at the bottom of the occupational ladder and to suffer the hardship that goes with this.

There is admittedly a seepage of educated women into teaching, nursing, the public services, social and clerical work and into commerce and other activities in the service sector, including hotels, tourism and catering.

There are cultural constraints in many developing countries which have a restricting effect on women's lives. Traditional and conservative family and social attitudes toward the employment of women outside the family circle tend to restrict women's participation in certain types of work considered unsuitable for them. When we look at the traditional small-scale market trade in many developing countries, they illustrate the contrasting economic roles of women. In India, in Middle Eastern countries, and in Chinese society, women buying and selling in the market place is strictly prohibited. The very few women engaging in trade are usually foreigners or villagers who occasionally come to bigger towns to sell their surplus farm products and home crafts. By contrast, many Southeast Asian, Latin American, and African women predominate in marketing trading (Boserup 1989).

In sum, as Ester Boserup also emphasised in her study of women's economic participation in countries undergoing development, the work situation of women in

developing countries varies across cultures. Variations exist due to differences in cultural traditions and attitudes, physical and social environment, levels of economic development, and the influence of the Western world.

The penetration of capitalism into Third World countries has affected women in a variety of ways. One of these is their work. For many developing countries, contact with industrialised countries contributes to urbanisation and industrialisation. The opportunities for work as a result of industrialisation extend not only to men but women as well. So a female wage labour force in third world countries emerged for producing for the international market. In fact it is known that women are used as reserve labour. When male labour is not available, women are drawn into the labour force, very often under more unstable conditions and lower pay than men. Women, therefore, provide a cheap and extremely flexible reserve of labour, since when they are not needed they can always fall back on their domestic activities.

***Developed Countries***

With the increasingly complex division of labour in industrial society, the main divisions of gender and age have lost their original functions as they operated in peasant society, as a function mainly of kinship. Gender distinctions, and the inter function of women and men in the family are now based on their respective economic relations outside the family, and the position assigned to them by social class, education and other external factors.

Western industrial society maintains a high degree of segregation in the sphere of work, while there is, at the same time, an equally high degree of integration of women and men in residential patterns.

After the 1950s in the developed countries, women's participation increased in market economies. In 1950, women represented 30 per cent of the total economically active population. Between 1950 and 1975, 55 per cent of the growth benefited women. Their participation in industry increased from 20 to 26 per cent ( Nuss, Denti and Viry 1989). The proportion of women working in part-time work has also been on the increase while the proportion of West European women working in full-time paid work is smaller than at the beginning of the twentieth century. Part-time work is overwhelmingly women's work. Over 90 per cent of part-time workers in Britain are women. Moreover, women's jobs are increasingly being constructed as part-time jobs. In the main, part-time jobs are manual jobs in service industries and occupations, and they are usually located at the bottom of the occupational ladder. In all countries women's employment is concentrated in services, and in lower level occupations, and, therefore, their full-time earnings are lower than those of women in all sectors.

In developed countries, most women (white women especially) have interrupted working histories. They usually give up paid employment for a time after having a child, and return to work afterwards, often part-time. Part-time work is becoming a more and more important form of women's work in developed countries. Moreover, they work in a wide variety of workplaces. Some women work in factories such as in the textiles industries and in food and drink production, and most factories employ some women as clerical workers and cleaners. However, many women work in other kinds of workplace, for instance, in hospitals, shops and offices. Finally, a good deal of women's work involves caring for, or providing services for other people. Women work as teachers, nurses, social workers and home helps - all jobs that involve caring. Other kinds of women's work involve serving people - both in manual occupations like cleaning and catering, and in non-manual forms of work like secretarial work. In addition, those kinds

of work in which women are particularly disadvantaged because the work is poorly paid, is carried out in inadequate working conditions and falls outside the scope of protective legislation.

## 5. The Impact of Industrialisation on Women

In recent years, inquiry into the impact of industrialisation on the status of women has generated a significant amount of research which has scanned different centuries and cultures. Women in the industrialising societies have initiated a special interest among scholars and policy makers following the recognition that, despite long and hard hours of work, women have less access, compared to men, to such rewards of development as improved health and longevity, education, and better working conditions and wages.

The conditions of labour and social relations under which labour is performed have changed with the advent of industrialisation. In pre-industrial societies, production was home-based and women participated in production while carrying out reproductive work of bearing and rearing children and maintaining upkeep of the household. As production moved away from the home into the factory, the division of work became more sharply gender-based. Wage work became primarily men's domain and women occupied the private sphere of the home. Women entered paid work when prompted by the family's need for wages and when there was a demand for their labour. Women's work participation. however, was considered to be less important than men's and only secondary to their reproductive responsibilities. Perhaps as a result of this assumption, women were mainly absorbed in low-status jobs that paid less than jobs held by men.

To answer the basic question of whether women are qualitatively better off as a result of industrial development, studies have looked at macro-level data on education, longevity, fertility, age at marriage, rate of employment, and so on. Another crucial area of research has been the investigation of women's employment within the process of industrialisation and its impact on their family organisation and personal lives.

Work provides women not only with livelihood but also with identity; wage work carries more prestige than unpaid work in the market economy. Thus, studies have examined data on women's perceptions of their status at home and in the workplace. Studies have also looked into the division of labour at home and in the labour market, and explored its implications for women's status.

Two opposing viewpoints have emerged on the issue of the impact of women's labour force participation upon their lives; a) On one side of the debate are those who maintain that working helps to improve women's status (Lim 1983). b) On the other hand, some scholars have argued that wage work is super-exploitative and demeaning to women (Elson and Pearson, 1981).

These differing observations are identified in the literature as "integration" versus "exploitation" hypotheses (Tiano 1987), or as "liberation" versus "exploitation" hypotheses (Lim 1983). Scholars with Marxist, feminist, and developmentalist perspectives disagree on the question of women's gains resulting from wage work.

***Positive Impact***

The first argument contends that wage work in the public sphere results in a multitude of tangible and intangible benefits for women. Employment encourages greater confidence and autonomy, and thus, eventually, self-decision (Omvedt, 1980). Wage

work can also reduce women's dependence on men, or their families, and enhance their status in public life and in the household (Lim 1983).

Scholars have also argued that gainful employment allows women integration into public life. Some argue that rising demand for female labour, although aimed at exploitation of their cheap labour, may eventually lead to women's greater bargaining power and reduction of the sex-wage differential (Lim 1993).

Developmentalists, in kinship with functionalist thinking, emphasise the beneficial aspects of development through such mechanisms as universal education, mass media, and expanding labour markets. The control of the family over its members is supposed to give way to independence; "traditional" values of age and gender hierarchy decline as the members migrate to take up wage work. Work outside the home results in broader horizons, global awareness, increased expectations, and modern values of individualism and equality. Modern values also promote the possibility of delayed marriage and fewer children.

Marxist theory, showing congruence with the developmental perspective on the issue of women's status, maintained that women's participation in waged labour leads to their emancipation. Marxist analysis of women's emancipation, however, sharply differs from the developmentalists' emphasis on the shifts from "traditional" to "modern" values as the mechanism of liberation of women. According to the Marxist theory, the roots of women's subordination to men lie in their loss of control over the surplus created in the society and their subsequent relegation to the private sphere of family. Women's emancipation is dependent on their return to the public sphere (Engels 1884, 1972). The process of proletarianisation under industrial capitalism is supposed to undermine working class men's control over property and their privilege over women, and eliminate

the inequality between the genders. Marxist feminists maintain that the true liberation of women will be achieved by socialist revolution. However, they also emphasise the need for ending private domestic labour as a necessary step beyond granting women equal rights (Chinchilla 1977; Sacks 1975).

On the other hand, we can find some crucial critiques about them. The main problem with the developmentalist vision stems from its basic assumptions that the process of industrialisation is linear, even, and smooth, and that it inevitably follows the western model of development. There is also an implicit assumption that with the rise in demand for labour, women's insertion into the labour market would be qualitatively as well as quantitatively incremental.

Economic histories of most developing societies have proved to be in conflict with these assumptions. Colonial extraction, post-colonial relations of dependence with the advanced industrial countries, as well as socio-cultural characteristics of the developing nations seem to have resulted in uneven development. In their frenzied struggle for rapid industrial growth, these nations are faced with such contradictions as the coexistence of high-tech industry and modern agriculture with an impoverished subsistence-level agriculture, feudal land relations, and the widening gap between the rich and poor (Frank 1966).

As for the Marxist perspective, it has come under attack by feminists who point out that the process of proletarianisation is not free of gender differences. Women's employment is characterised by a narrow range of occupations mostly lacking status and mobility, and has defied the expectation of women's mass entry into the productive jobs (Tinker 1976). Industrialisation has treated women as a reserve force to be pulled out from or sent back to the household to fulfil the needs of the world capitalist system

(Simeral 1978). Moreover, women's free labour at home has enhanced accumulation. According to the feminists, then, the process of proletarianisation by itself does not guarantee gender equality in the workplace or the family.

Moreover, the position of women in a particular society is determined by a number of factors. Tradition of a defined public role for women, reform movements, local customs governing women's role in the family, as well as economic factors such as industrial growth, the impact of the world economy, and rising demand for women's labour may all contribute to determining the status of women in a given society.

Finally, thus we cannot assume that industrial growth automatically translates into female education, better employment, and higher status, as claimed by developmentalists (Tinker 1976). Likewise, elimination of capitalist relations in the society is unlikely to grant women equality with men unless gender equalisation assumes the same significance as does class struggle (Leacock 1972).

***Negative Impact***

Developmentalist scholars claiming negative impact of industrialisation on women have presented different reasoning on the issue. Boserup (1970), in her study of women in developing societies, observed that women were getting marginalised from productive activities such as crafts production as traditional farming systems gave way to factory and modern agriculture. While their traditional work is lost, women are not absorbed into modern industry due to discriminatory practices of managers, or because women are reluctant to work next to men in the workplace. Thus, Boserup argues, the exclusion of women from the major mechanisms of development, such as modern factory or farming, deal a blow to women's status. She also called attention to basic differences in industrial

skills and educational background between the sexes, which result in women's secondary position in the urban labour markets.

On the other hand, Socialist-feminists agree with Boserup's observations but dispute her interpretations. For instance, Beneria and Sen (1981), in their critique of Boserup's work, argue that women's absence from the better, modern sector jobs is not a case of simple discrimination, but rather an expression of gender hierarchy embedded in social and economic institutions.

Socialist-feminists view women's limited opportunities in the labour market and their dependent status at home as mutually reinforcing aspects of the same process-gender subordination of women. They argue that gender stratification in the society is the result of patriarchal capitalism - the interaction of capitalism and patriarchy. Marxism provides an analysis of the exploitation of labour and class struggle endemic to capitalism. The feminist concept of patriarchy, on the other hand, focuses on the phenomenon of male control of female labour and sexuality that is present in all classes and in almost all known cultures. The feminist theory argues that legal, political, economic, and religious institutions are patriarchal in nature and thus have historically strengthened women's subordination in the society (Hartmann 1981)

Socialist-feminists claim that definition of women as a subordinate gender allows men the privilege of female servitude and creates an unequal division of labour in the household. The capitalist class benefits from this system in two ways. Capitalist profits are enhanced with the practice of sex-wage or exclusionary discrimination in the marketplace, and with women's unpaid reproductive labour in the household (Hartmann 1981).

In the labour market, women are subjected to the same forces as men. However, patriarchal institutions define women's primary work commitments inside the household, thus making women a special category of the proletariat. Women's home commitments compel them to develop strategies for combining family responsibilities with paid work outside home. Women's participation in the public sphere is mainly driven by politico-economic and demographic changes such as the demand for female waged labour and household' need for income. However; the supply of women's labour is influenced by household organisation and prevalent ideas about gender roles. Thus macro-level forces greatly influence the changes in women's work, but they are mediated through the gradual changes in the household and gender ideology prescribing women's appropriate roles ( Tilly and Scott 1978; Lamphere 1987). Socialist-feminists maintain that patriarchal subordination of women is not eradicated, but only altered, or perhaps even strengthened, by the process of capitalist development.

The developmentalist approach to women as a weaker, 'target' population has come under attack by socialist-feminists. They have questioned the assumption that the present course of development is inevitable, or even desirable (Beneria and Sen 1981). Others have claimed that the problem is not one of women being left out of the process of development, but, rather, of the " relations through which women are integrated into the development process" (Elson and Pearson 1981), obviously referring to women's routine inclusion in the super-exploitative jobs that offer poor wages and working conditions.

The feminist literature, however, is in danger of erring on the 'other side', by accentuating 'gender' while undermining the significance of class and economic and political issues which are strongly influential in defining the situation of working class women and women of colour. In the case of both, lack of access to economic and

political power proves to be detrimental to their well-being an issue they share with their men.

Finally, the 'integration/liberation' versus 'exploitation' debate highlights some extremely important insights from opposite camps. However, each side makes a rather simplistic presentation of a complex reality which involves elements of both exploitation and liberation. Women continue to be employed for their low cost and docility. Hence a majority of jobs, assigned as 'women's,' pay them wages not much beyond subsistence and allow women little 'real' opportunity to exercise independence. Because work is gender-divided and housework is their domain, women find themselves excessively burdened with wage work and housework. However, having wage work is likely to have a deep and lasting impact on a woman's self image and, further, on the process of re-negotiation of status and power at home and in the workplace. Women may also gain a degree of independence in such matters as partner-selection and personal consumption pattern.

## 6. Restructuring of the Capitalist World Economy-

The structure of the world capitalist system has taken on new dimensions in recent times. Because the early period of colonisation was identified with pillage and the more recent stage of neo-colonialism by the production of raw materials in less developed countries (LDCs), manufacturing processes of commodities have now become increasingly divided and production facilities are increasingly located in LDCs which are promoting themselves as 'export platforms'. This event has been named by theorists as a 'new international division of labour' (Frobel et. al. 1980).

In the contemporary capitalist world economy, assembly line work is relegated to developing countries -semiperipheral or peripheral nations- that occupy less privileged positions in the global economy but are controlled by the core or developed countries. As a result of this restructuring of the capitalist world economy, within developing countries restructuring is qualified by growth of the service sector and specialisation in export industries such as textiles, electronics as a development strategy. The increasing use of female industrial workers in the informal sector has also been seen as a restructuring.

After the late 1960s a new form of wage employment has emerged for women in many Third World countries; work in 'world market factories' producing manufactured goods exclusively for export to the rich countries (Hancock 1980). In these factories the large majority of employees are usually young women between the age of fourteen and twenty-four or five.

Our starting point, first of all, will be to evaluate how and why women's labour links with the Global World Economy. Especially, world market factories emerged in the latest phase of international capital and are a good example to explore. These factories represent a re-location of production of certain types of manufactured product from the developed countries. They have two different kinds of production; one of them uses old or traditional technologies, such as in textiles, garments, toys, etc. and the other uses modern technologies, such as in electrical and electronic industries.

Both of them are labour-intensive and need abundant supplies of cheap labour; the one because it is technologically backward, the other because its technological sophistication has permitted the incorporation of tasks into machines and a fragmentation of the production process that allows for the use of unskilled workers.

Many more women work in agriculture and service-sector formal work or in unprotected informal work, which can encompass industrial assembly work within the home, sweatshops, or factories, or else they work in housework.

*Linking Women's Labour with the Global World Economy*

The main factor in the location of world market factories is the convenience of a suitable labour force. As is known, wages in world market factories are often ten times lower than in comparable factories in developed countries. Thus the owners of capital can easily accumulate even more capital principally because of much lower costs of employment.

Moreover, women overwhelmingly built the labour force of these factories, because the jobs to be done are 'women's work'. Female labour must either be cheaper to employ than comparable male labour; or have higher productivity; or some combination of both.

According to Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson, "women are considered not only to have naturally nimble fingers, but also to be naturally more docile and willing to accept tough work discipline, and naturally more suited to tedious, repetitious, monotonous work" (Elson and Pearson 1981, 23).

So we can see very clearly that the development of the global world economy affects women's economic participation because women have been drawn into wage labour in manufacturing, especially as in Mexico and Southeast Asia today.

Ward (1990) examines the links between global restructuring and housework, formal and informal work by women in developing countries. Restructuring of production on a global level has meant assembly line work is relegated to the semi-

periphery or periphery. Export-oriented development provides the impetus for the host countries for participating in the new division of labour in the structure of production. Global restructuring in the developing countries is marked by women's increased participation in the informal sector, argues Ward.

Transnational corporations (TNCs) and local capitalists use the informal-sector labour of women to avoid labour legislation, achieve flexibility of informal work, and to keep labour costs down. Women's household labour as well as informal labour subsidises production and reproduction and allows low wage rates for men in the marketplace.

*Factory Work from Women's Perspectives.*

The separation in space between household and workplace determines the forms of work. Industrialisation separated work from family life and the factory became a most important place as a production unit. At the beginning of the factory system, the majority of the workers were children and women. The earliest female factory workers in Britain came from agriculture, from domestic service and the unskilled trades. Indeed, factory work was seen as an improvement in women's situation (Oakley 1974,36-41).

Generally, women in developing countries derive both economic and social benefits from factory employment in spite of their exploitative wages and subordinate position there. They regard their status as improved by their factory work because the labour is non-agricultural and regular and the environment is more congenial than an agricultural one. Moreover factory work allows them to leave their parents' home, to travel, and to meet young men and women from other villages or cities.

On the other hand, women as factory workers are also exploited as wage-workers under capitalism while they are exploited as housewives by capital. In other words, while

women as highly flexible workers and a cheap source of labour have been drawn into the expanding sphere of commodity production in advanced capitalism, this event has not substantially reduced women's domestic responsibilities.

Moreover, women in the new industry factories are restricted to routine jobs on the assembly line because of the sexual division of labour. So assembly-line work is one area that has become almost exclusively 'women's work' .

The more or less total separation between men's work and women's work at the factory shares the common characteristic of gender segregation. This segregation has held sway over time and through many different occupations and industries. Women a gender rank as at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy below men, in terms of pay, skill and authority.

*Women's Employment in Textiles/Clothing Industry*

First of all , when one surveys the history of the textile/clothing industry, one can demarcate at least three stages, in the development of the workforce. In the first stages of industrial capitalism the exploitation of women and children, the most vulnerable section of the workforce, contributed massively to capital accumulation. In the first stage, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the textile industry in Britain employed largely native labour; mostly young white women recruited in the country from rural families, who generally gave up work on marriage.

In the second stage, after the 2nd world war the local labour force was increasingly replaced by immigrants, as immigrant women had great need of work in order to combine paid work with their family responsibilities. These women could not easily obtain other types of work because of language difficulties and poor education.

We are now in the third stage. The clothing industry has largely moved to the countries of the Third World, especially Asia and the Caribbean, where there is high unemployment and rapid population growth. Factories have been set up in the Free Trade Zones, producing for export. By the beginning of the 1990s, a web of Transnational textile and clothing companies was operating world-wide.

It can be readily concluded that labour-intensive industries such as textile and clothing production have traditionally employed mostly women workers from the earliest stages of the Industrial Revolution in England and France to the present day (Tilly and Scott 1978). Explanations for the predominance of female labour in these industries vary. But women's work in these industries is usually thought to be unskilled in relation to most men's work in the factory sector, as well as being lower-paid. It is true that at present microelectronics has affected both the process of textile production and the skill of employment. For example, microelectronics have been introduced into dyeing, and both reduced and deskilled the work. In textiles, as in other manufacturing industries, women primarily do the 'unskilled' work and men are supervisors.

With the introduction of the factory system, and the development of the textiles industry in particular, women's employment outside the home, as wage labour, increased sharply (Tilly and Scott 1978). The same event is now occurring in developing countries. In both nineteenth-century Europe and twentieth-century Asia, the concentration of industrial jobs in certain cities and regions drew young rural women away from their homes. In Mexico one-third of women industrial workers are employed in the clothing trade (Latin American and Caribbean Women's Collective 1980). In Morocco, as it is mentioned by Joekes, women 's share in the clothing industry work force actually increased from less than half in 1969 to three-quarters in 1980 (Joekes 1985).

Briefly, although the nature of the capitalist system and the political and cultural conditions are different, the history of women's work in the early stage of capitalist development is being repeated in Third World countries. We know that in the early development of industrial capitalism, the labour of women - and children - was used extensively, in textiles.

Moreover, textile/clothing and similar industries utilising relatively simple technologies and manual processes, do not require a high level of education, or even literacy. In addition, historically low labour costs and high flexibility have been very important for profitability in the textile/clothing industry, as also has subcontracting as a mechanism to lower labour costs and increase flexibility.

*Conclusion*

As we have seen in the present chapter, the most clearly discernible viewpoints in discussions about the effect of capitalist industrial development on women can be subsumed within two competing perspectives. The *integration* thesis holds that capitalist development leads to female liberation and sexual equality by involving women more centrally in economic and political life. This thesis shares many assumptions with modernisation theory and the human capital school of the neo-classical economics ( Sok-oloff, 1980). These argue that economic development involves women more centrally in public life as the expansion of jobs for women in industry and related services integrates them into the modern labour market (Rosen, 1987). On the other hand, the *exploitation* thesis claims that modernisation creates a female proletariat supplying low-wage labour for accumulating capital. According to this view, women provide cheap and easily expendable labour because discriminatory hiring practices, sex-segregated labour markets, and inadequate preparation weaken their position within the labour market

labour process? And how far do changes in the labour process affect the sexual division of labour within the family? " (Ecevit 1986). A large body of research has been applied to answering some of these questions, particularly in recent years.

Some of them make specific points which throw light on the historical roots of the sexual-gender-based segregation of the labour market in their studies. These studies not only describe the processes through which the pre-existing sexual division of labour was reproduced within the capitalist labour market, they also emphasise the significance of two concepts; skill and control. To find a relationship between the sexual division of labour and 'skill' categories has been the focus of their attention in recent years. Generally, we can say that the point of their interests has been the deskilling process. This process, which was pointed to by Marx, took place during the transition from manufacture to modern industry (Beechey 1977, 54) but was intensified during the epoch of modern capitalism. Braverman (1974) gives an account of the changes which led to craftsmen losing their skills. Deskilling includes the progressive breaking down of jobs into simpler and less skilled tasks. This is done under the imperative of controlling the organisation of work. When the craftsman has a skill, he can control the speed and quality of work. But if the craft knowledge can be transferred from the skilled worker to the technical experts, who proceed to break it down into simpler tasks the worker becomes deskilled, in other words, he can no longer control the process of production as he did before.

The deskilling and labour degradation thesis has been criticised on two grounds; first, Beechey (1983) offers that the deskilling process is not as straightforward as Braverman argues.

(Beechey 1977; McIntosh 1978, 278). It should be noted that it is this exploitation approach which is used in this thesis.

Different theoretical accounts were discussed in terms of women's work in the capitalist world structure. We have also noted the relations between patriarchy and capitalism using a number of explanations. The operation of these two interlocking systems: capitalism, which exploits all workers; and patriarchy, which oppresses all women reflects on Turkish women workers. It will be elaborated in the substantive chapters of the second part of this thesis. However, prior to such a discussion it is necessary to present a general account of the status of women in Turkey. This will be done in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER III

## THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN

In Turkey the struggle for women's rights-for legal equality between women and men-is not independent of "Westernisation" or "Modernisation". Especially in Turkey, the 1920s and 1930s can be characterised as a social revolution. In this period, the important steps were taken in Turkish society with regard to women's rights and struggle. Until the present time this struggle has developed under the influence of capitalism, and the dialectic relations between the two have been central.

Today, women are active throughout Turkish social, economic, and cultural life. Professional women are elected to parliament; they are appointed as lecturers and professors in the universities; they serve in banking administration, in the law courts, in hospitals, and in many other organisations both commercial and governmental; whilst a half a century ago a male doctor would have found difficulty in examining a female patient. But unless women can enter employment at all levels on equal terms with men, then these few, exceptional, professional women will remain exceptions, mere symbols of the egalitarianism of the system, which purports to prove that equality of opportunity for women is there for those who seek it. As well as that, under Kemal Atatürk's leadership, the Government of the Turkish Republic adopted a constitution and passed a number of laws so that women would enjoy much more nearly equal rights with men than they had ever done previously in the Ottoman Empire. We will concentrate upon the main formal changes affecting women in Turkish society during the period 1923-1938 for the following sections.

First of all, in examining the changes in women's social status in Turkish society, we need to deal with the social-economic dimension of women's position as regards public and private spheres before the republic. Secondly, the position of Turkish women after the republic, has been explored in relation to legal emancipation, participation in politics, education and employment.

## 1. Before the Republic

All state policies have gender implications and affect the social status of women as well as their control over their livelihood. Many states impose strong ideological sanctions on women. Without an ideological force it would be difficult to justify the survival of the state. As in the case of the Ottoman Empire, the state had the fundamentalist ideology which justifies the virtual imprisonment of women within the household. Ottoman society made them into docile wives and objects of pleasure, destined for the whims of their husbands.

### *Public Sphere*

In Ottoman society, the form of participation of women in public life was different for those belonging to the ruler classes than for it was those belonging to poorer classes. This was increasingly carried on during the Ottoman Empire. In the cities in which ruler classes lived, particularly the capital city İstanbul, women from the ruler classes were imprisoned within the harem and they were assigned as a 'domestic slavery' in order to raise children. They wore a sort of chador (*feradjé*) with the face covered with a veil (yaşmak) when they went out.

On the other hand, rural women were never out of the production process. We know that they were always active and dynamic in economic life, working on the land, sharing men's tasks. They were moreover less affected than some women by the restrictions of Islam dealing with clothes. They only covered the face in front of strangers and after work.

When Western women started their struggles to gain social and political rights in society, Ottoman women had first to struggle for the right to take any part in public life before they could turn their attention to political-economic rights.

We can say that Ottoman society had the patriarchal structure of the medieval family and an idea, about religion's sanctions upon women. According to this idea, women were seen as weak and lowly creatures dependent on male protection, and who, as a result, had to be kept outside social life. Their easily influenced characters did not enable them to keep their instincts under control. Therefore, it had to be the individual and social task of men to protect women's honour and morality.

In the period from the Tanzimat[1] to the 2*nd* Constitution important progress can be observed about rights related to women's status in the society in comparison with the preceding period. The socio-cultural changes of the Tanzimat period constituted a golden age which introduced at least upper and middle class women to social life.

One of the most important undertakings of the Tanzimat in education was to provide schooling opportunities for girls. As the numbers of girls' schools increased they came to include high schools or lycees by the end of the century. A new professional

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[1] Tanzimat is the political and social reforms which were introduced by the Ottoman central bureaucracy in 1839.

group arose: female teachers. This initial entry of women into working life in Turkey took place in the field of education before their entry into industry.

In addition, Ottoman women were forced to enter social life by the Balkan War in 1912. While the bourgeoisie were encouraging their women to work in the kind of associations which were providing limited social services to the society[2], women from other segments of the society were dragged into working life. In this time of war the Government legalised the participation of women in social life.

The First World War brought about vacant places in government offices and institutions such as the post-offices and the hospitals, as many male civil-servants were sent to the front. This resulted in passing laws to allow for the creation of a female labour force[3]. In the stocking factory of Urfa alone 1000 women were employed. In İzmir, Sivas, Ankara and Konya about 4,780 women were employed in rug production. In Aydın about 11,000 and in Kütahya, Eskişehir and Karahisar about 1,550 were involved in the textile manufacturing process (Tayanç 1977, 110-111; Taşçıoğlu 1958, 11).

*The Private Sphere*

As in all traditional societies in which the family is the main economic unit, the extended family was also the prevailing type in Ottoman society. The values relating to the family and women in Ottoman society were based on Islamic beliefs, laws and rules.

The woman is in fact the most important member of the traditional family, but her status both there and in society in general, does not measure up to her role in production.

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[2] In 1919 the number of associations operated by the women was 19

[3] In 1915 such a law was prepared by the Ottoman Ministry of Trade allowing women to actively participate in economy as paid labour.

This standing is nevertheless enhanced with age and increasing number of children. We know that the most distinctive characteristic of the patriarchal system is the superiority of men over women. Sex does, in fact, play a role more important than all the other criteria in determining the individual's position and status within the family and in society. Other criteria such as age, marital status and fertility are significant in relation to status differentiation within the male and female categories.

The family in Ottoman society depended on the male members of the family. Since lineage is maintained by having a son. It is easy to see them, how the principle of 'man's superiority to woman' emerged. Children belonged to their father. In the event of a divorce, only if children were very young, would custody be granted to the mother

In marriage, integration with her husband's family was made possible by the production of children. Sterility was a disaster; a sterile woman had the worst status. A woman who did not give birth to a child for her husband, usually would be sent back to her parents' house. In this way, for the Ottoman woman to bear a child is the big event which brings her security, consideration, appreciation and importance.

In addition, a young girl has to be a virgin before marriage. A married woman has to avoid contact with men's eyes. The stranger has not to see her, because he can desire her when he sees her. A woman has to protect her chastity and because of this she should appropriate to herself an attitude which is an extremity of introversion and hesitation. This attitude is reinforced by two structures, one of them was the imprisonment of woman at home and the other was the wearing of the çarsaf (*veil*) (Caporal 1982). There is segregation of sexes in the family: the young woman not only does not meet the male friends of her husband but does not even show her face.

## 2. After the Republic

One of the essential aspirations of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Atatürk, was to change radically the status of Turkish women and transform them into responsible, self-confident citizens. He supported the ideals of equality between women and men, equal opportunity for education, and a family life not based upon a lifelong tie of one-sided bondage.

However, a balance sheet of the last years clearly indicates that revolutionary efforts through law have only resulted in partial changes in both the status and role of women in Turkish Society. Republican reform has not been able to remove essentially wide national disparities. Visible discrepancies between town and country, class and region, persist.

### *Legal*

According to Kemal Atatürk, the emancipation of women would come about itself with the help of egalitarian legislation. He thought that the evolution of women was a part of his work to modernise and secularise Turkey. For him, modernisation meant Westernisation and thus the image of women must follow this way.

The first step towards the legal recognition of certain rights for women was the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926. The Turkish Civil Code, which became effective on October 4, 1926, made polygamy illegal and gave the right to either party to divorce. This formally ensured freedom and equality of women. By this reform both parents began simultaneously to share parental authority. In the case of divorce, a judge would decide which parent should have custody.

New Law granted equality in inheritance; unlike the old law whereby women were granted one-half, one-quarter, one-seventh or even one-eighth, depending on their relationship to the dead person. Besides, in order for marriage to be valid, it had to take place in the presence of the bride, which meant the abolition of marriage by proxy. Koranic marriages were no longer to be recognised. Equality of status as witnesses in court was accepted. Before, in the old court procedure, the evidence of two women was equal to that of one man.

On the other hand, basically how egalitarian is this Turkish Civil Code? for the Swiss Civil Code itself reflects the traditional point of view. For instance it does not contain a basic absolute equality between spouses. According to law, the husband is the head of the family. The wife does not have the prerogative to represent the marital union. She has to follow the husband, who alone is entitled to choose a domicile.

***Politics***

But in spite of some changes in the status of women in regard to family matters by the Civil Law, there was as yet no recognition of their right to serve in public life. The next steps in the campaign for freedom were to concentrate on the right to vote and to be elected to public office, because, for centuries, Turkish women have worked in every field with men, they have suffered every kind of privation and oppression and they have shared in the prosperity. They must therefore be given the right to take part in the legislative processes in the same way as they have the right to participate in matters affecting the family and their own circle.

Kemal Atatürk gave women the right to vote and stand in local elections. Turkish women got the right to vote well before most European woman. On the 5th of December 1934 a law concerning the election rights of women was debated in the Grand

National Assembly. The new legislation is highly important in Turkish history and for the women of Turkey because it proposed that: a) every Turkish citizen who has reached the age of twenty-two, man or woman alike, has the right to vote in general elections; and, b) Every Turkish citizen thirty years of age or older, man or woman alike, is eligible for election to parliament.

The women's rights issues were used by the political authorities of the new Republic for their symbolic value. The number and the proportion of women representatives in parliament were higher in the one-party era. However, as soon as Turkey became a multi-party democracy, even the previous symbolic role played by the women deputies lost its importance. We can see that the conservative ideology of the new born DP (Democrat Party) also had a negative impact upon the women politicians. After the 1960 coup the AP (Justice Party) maintained this conservative attitude towards women. The proportion of women was 24.5% at the beginning, 18 woman representatives elected to the National Assembly. On the other hand, this rate was 4.5 percent in 1935-39, 3.7 percent in 1939-43 and in 1943-49, 1.9 percent in 1949-50, 0.6 percent in 1950-54 and 1.3 percent in 1987. We should say that it is undoubtedly more important that the large mass of women should be able to have equality for these places rather than the present small and symbolic group.

Women politicians kept on playing this symbolic role within the Turkish political system even after the one-party era. But, when we look at the women in the government, we can find few women who are given responsibility in the cabinet. This is a common phenomenon throughout the world where the higher the level of decision making within the political hierarchy, the less will be women's chance of becoming a member of that body. In the U.S.A for instance, 75 women became members of

Congress during the 1917- 1964 period whereas the number of women who served in the cabinet was only two (Gruberg 1968).

The participation of women in political life at various levels leads us to the conclusion that women's role and place have always been limited, unusual, and symbolic. When we investigate their social background, we can see easily that woman politicians seem to share two common group characteristics. The first one is that women representatives form an 'exceptionally well educated' group. The second characteristic is that a great majority of woman's deputies are professional women (Tekeli 1982).

If we turn our attention from those few women to the ordinary citizens, we see that there is a significant difference between men and women with respect to the patterns of their participation in elections. We can see this with a more detailed study by Şirin Tekeli. Her findings confirmed the hypotheses about women's attitudes towards elections; one was concerned with their differential participation rates, and the other with the orientation of the vote. First, she found that women voted less than men. Second, her finding was related to the impact that different 'social strata' have upon the participation rates. Bourgeois and peasant women tend to vote less than the petit bourgeois and working class women. In general, there is a high correlation between the mode of women's participation in economic life and their voting behaviour. Women who work tend to vote more than women that do not. When we look at her sample of women, we notice that they tend to participate in economic life differently in each social class. There are very few women who are economically active in the bourgeoisie. The peasant women are also 'unpaid family aids'. In fact, most of the women who are working belong either to the petit bourgeoisie or to the working-class. Therefore, she concluded that the petit bourgeois and working-class women tend to vote more, because they are more integrated in the global society through work (Tekeli 1982).

### *Education*

Women's education has the functions which determine the changing of women's status. These functions were identified as: the transmission of values, acquisition of knowledge and skill and providing equal opportunity.

During the Ottoman period, women had few opportunities in the educational system. The only education available to girls from the sixteenth century to the *Tanzimat* was the primary school which gave those who attended it a basic knowledge of religion. By limiting education of girls, it was not only the peasant women but also the city women in general who knew neither how to read or to write. The attitudes and customs which forbade women to undertake any kind of activity outside home did not favour providing higher education for girls.

The first improvement in women's education started during the *Tanzimat* period. Throughout this period many new schools came into existence, thereby providing opportunities for girls as well as boys to acquire an education, with the result that a class of educated women came into being. It is true that there were educated women before that time but they were educated either privately or in religious institutions and they were few in number.

In about the year 1914, certain lectures given at the University of İstanbul were open to women. This was the first move towards higher education for women. In 1914 the university for girls was founded. Kemal Atatürk in one of his speeches emphasised the need for equality in education for both sexes. He declared then, "Our women must be able to obtain the same degrees and must have the same opportunities in education."

In Republican Turkey, elementary education was made compulsory, for both boys and girls, but because of the lack of teachers and school buildings this does not reflect the reality, as Turkey has a high percentage of illiteracy. Thus, in examining the education system in Turkey, the educational facilities at the time of establishment of the Republic were sadly inadequate, especially in rural areas.

All faculties of İstanbul University started opening their doors to girls from 1921 and many teacher-training schools, lycees and other institutes were opened especially for girls. Once women began to study in colleges and universities many of them began to play a paramount role in various professionals and commercial life. This, however, had not always been easy. Let us take medicine as an example. Women's wishes to join the faculty of law or arts did not meet with any great opposition but when they showed an interest in becoming doctor of medicine, public opinion opposed the idea. This was not even readily accepted among the educated class.

In the 1940s vocational education for boys was aimed at preparing them to become skilled workforce for factories through the development of apprentice schools, evening classes and through the improvement of trade schools. On the other hand, as Başgöz and Wilson point out, vocational education for girls was rather different. It focused on preparing the girls as successful homemakers (Başgöz and Wilson 1968).

The number of trade schools for girls was increased from two to thirteen between 1927 and 1939, and the number of students rose from 456 to 2,175 (Başgöz and Wilson 1968, 175-76). Vocational education was not available to village women until mobile courses were created in 1939 (Başgöz and Wilson 1968, 178-82). Courses provided included child-care, cooking, sewing and home-economics as well as fashion design, flower-making, embroidery and dress-making. This pattern of vocational education for

girls was initially very popular, especially with middle-class parents, who were not so concerned that their daughters be taught functional skills to qualify them for the workforce.

In her study of the effects of education on rural and urban women in Turkey, Ferhunde Özbay derives the conclusion that "the relations between the Turkish education system and the professional structure have not been arranged very soundly: rather than education having the function of increasing social activity and ensuring social change, it can be said that it plays a protective role towards the existing, and in many ways traditional, social structure" (Özbay 1981, 179).

While the percentage of female students is increasing slowly at both primary and high-school levels, girls still only made up 42.3 percent of students at primary school in 1970-71 and 28.69 percent of student at high school in the same year (Caporal 1982, 744-55). It is clear that the proportion of girls among high school students is being held down by the low numbers of girls attending high schools in rural areas: in the year 1970-71, in ten provinces not a single girl attended high school while in 39 more provinces the numbers were so small as to be insignificant (Caporal 1982, 299).

In terms of the nature of education provided for women in Turkey we have to conclude that it continues to prepare women for their role in social reproduction, and to channel them into activities within the superstructure and not at the level of production.

And, today, though women are found in virtually every profession, they still have some problems in their promotion with in job hierarchies.

### *Employment*

The first figures available giving the number of women working outside agriculture relate to the war years, when as many as 30 percent of industrial workers in Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa and five other urban centres were women, most of them employed in the traditionally low-paid textile and food industries (Tayanç 1977). However, this figure was inflated by the number of women brought in to replace men called to war, and once peace was established and men began to return to the workplace, women in paid employment were likely to be regarded as depriving men of their jobs.

Thus, in the first years of the Republic the number of men working in agriculture rose very slowly, while the number of women working in agriculture rose dramatically. The figure for women working in agriculture was 1.6 million in 1927 and it reached over 2.7 million in 1935, while men's was 2.5 million and became 2.8 million over the same period. The number of women working as administrators, civil servants or technicians, or in private enterprise was very low: only 8,656 in 1927 (Topçuoğlu 1957, xiii). Most women were engaged in domestic work and in unpaid family labour. Women have always played an important part in agriculture, working in the fields, making the cheese and yoghurt, and weaving the rugs. This kind of work was unpaid labour, but it was part of the family's resources. By 1955, the number of women engaged in agriculture was actually greater than the number of men: for every 100 male workers in agriculture, agricultural management and stewarding, there were 112 women, and almost 96 percent of female labour was employed in agriculture, mostly as unpaid labour (Topçuoğlu 1957, xiv-xv). The important point to make here is that of the determinant social relations' wage-work, even if the number of peasants is greater than that of wage-workers. As some of the analyses show, crucially, the transformation of all work into wage-work is not taking place; in other words, capital itself is reproducing its own non-capitalist

surroundings. For example, we can find that the members of the *'marginal mass'* work under any conditions: their aim is not to reach a higher standard of living, they only struggle to survive in the urban areas. Small peasants in the rural areas survive by working and producing just to reproduce themselves and their families (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1984, 42). We can see this clearly in the case of female employment in Turkey, where the proportion of the economically active female population working without pay rose from 80 percent in 1950 to 90 percent in 1965 (Tayanç 1977, 118-9), these women being mostly from rural areas.

Industrialisation in Turkey has occurred at a fairly highly-developed technical level and thus requires relatively little labour. At the same time, the development of productive forces under capitalism involves a decrease in the employment of labour in favour of an increase in the use of machinery, and thus the possibility of absorbing the total labour-power declines, while at the same time the process of industrialisation and generalisation of commodity production and the expansion of the world market destroys the pre-capitalist mode of production, freeing more labour-power. The outcome of all these mechanisms is "the increasing consolidation of an industrial reserve army" (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1984, 51). The most obvious function of this reserve army's availability is to lower the general level of wages. In addition, being marginal to the capitalist system, the reserve mass is responsible for its own reproduction. For instance, it engages in subsistence work and makes its labour power cheaper. Notable implications can be drawn from this analysis: When a section of the population is responsible for its necessary subsistence work, the appropriation of surplus labour for capital increases enormously. Furthermore, the mere fact of being subsumed as a whole by capital and predestined through their sheer existence to be used as available labour-power, makes any work rendered by the marginal mass exploitable (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1984, 52).

Thus, in fact the marginal mass is not outside the capitalist system, but very much within it: the work of these people is valorised by capital, although they are responsible for their own subsistence; this means that "only a minimal part of the necessary work for their reproduction appears as a cost for capital" (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1984, 52).

Women have formed a potential industrial reserve army since the beginning of capitalism, and it is important for an understanding of the way in which it is connected to accumulation within the capitalist mode of production in general. The laws of accumulation themselves reproduce capitalist reproduction relation which do not adopt the wage form: " It is the general law of accumulation, the *progressive* production of an industrial reserve army, that reproduces these non-wage forms which are directly linked to subsistence production" (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1984, 53).

Therefore it seems that, while unemployment levels continue to rise among the working population in general, the number of women engaging in subsistence work is also likely to continue to rise. Demographically, Turkey's population is very young: a factor which will intensify the problem in the future. But this does not mean to say that women should be expected, or allowed, to continue to form the majority of the marginal mass, or the unemployed.

Let us consider the steps that were taken under Atatürk's leadership in Republican Turkey to better women's position in the labour force, and how effective they have been.

The most important formal step to be taken was probably the law passed in 1926, which stated that, in any one place of work, for work of the same quality and equal productivity, there should be no difference in wages paid to men and women workers on the basis of sex difference (Caporal 1982, 552). This law evidently sought to remove injustice against women once they had entered the workforce; what it cannot do is

remove the prior obstacle of women's concentration, almost to the degree of exclusiveness, in certain branches, most remarkably textile and food industries. And, in spite of the law, women continue to receive on average a lower wage than men. Taking figures from 1963 in the State sector, women received a lower hourly payment than men in each of the following branches: food industry 82.4 percent; tobacco industry 79.3 percent; textile 92.9 percent; printing and publishing 70.6 percent; medical-chemical industry 91.5 percent, and the iron and steel industry 90.0 percent (Caporal 1982, 595). In addition, it should be noted that, in 1965, when 83.5 percent of women workers were concentrated in only four areas of production - carpet-weaving, textiles, and clothing industries - the daily rates in these branches were 28.26TL, 28.39TL and 30.36TL in the textile, food and clothing industries respectively, while the national average daily wage in industry at that time was 38TL (Caporal 1982, 595).

Women form a low percentage of paid workers. It is significant that in the 1970s in agriculture where the overall percentage of paid workers is low, women comprise 30 percent of the paid workers (Kazgan 1981, 143), while in non-agricultural work in Turkey women constitute only 11 percent of paid workers (Kazgan 1981, 138). Thus the proportion of paid women workers is highest in agriculture, where surplus value generated per capital is lowest (Kazgan 1981, 143) Indeed, it can be stated generally that the employment of women is concentrated in those activities which are low-paid and labour-intensive; i.e. where capital expenditure per worker is low also.

Let us look, then, at the measures taken to encourage women to undertake paid work outside the home. First of all we can consider Ataturk's speeches. In a public speech at Izmir in 1923 he stated:

> *"Obviously society creates a division of labour, and in this division women should carry out their own duties as well as contribute to the general effort to*

> *improve the happiness and well-being of our society. Domestic duties are not necessarily the most important of a woman's responsibilities"* (Taşkıran 1976, 56)

Looking at other speeches he made, we can see that he made reference to men and women sharing equally and being "partners in everything", and to the need for women to be valued as "colleagues" in economic life (Taşkıran 1976, 59). Many of his speeches emphasised the innate equality of women with men, and the equally important role that women should play in building the new Republic. However, some of his utterances seem to suggest that for women, all activities and occupations should be considered as subordinate to motherhood. And nowhere in his speeches did he call explicitly on women to join the industrial workforce. His speeches might be regarded by some as rather ambiguous on the one hand reformist for women, on the other underwriting tradition. But there was no mistaking his judgement concerning the division of labour: women are charged with prime responsibility for social reproduction, their role in production being secondary.

Women are still socially defined primarily as mothers. Their entry into social production is largely determined by the demands of the labour market. Women's employment in general continues to be judged in accordance with the supposition that provision of the family's cash needs is the responsibility of the husband, while the housework, which is unpaid, is the responsibility of the wife. On the other hand, women are required to participate in the expenses of the household, either by contributing in financial matters or by assuming tasks in the household. In case the wife wants to assume a profession or work outside the household, she must obtain the consent of the husband which may be tacit approval as well. Besides, in capitalist societies, these fundamental principles, which drew their framework from the bourgeois family, have been changed in such a way as to ensure the continuation of the flow of labour into the economy by

granting special rights to working women. In the case of Turkey, where capitalist relations of production are now dominant, the demand for women's rights has come from a pretty small group. This situation is not unusual and unexpected, when we take into account the fact that the number of Turkish women who can practise their working rights is still very limited.

As a number of studies on working women in Turkey have shown, women who only work through economic necessity (and not in order to make use of their education, or to achieve economic independence and such like) generally give either the whole or a large part of the money they earn as a supplement to the family income. (See for example, the works by Topçuoğlu 1957; Çiftçi 1975).

*Conclusion*

In this chapter we looked at the role and status of women in modern Turkey. As we saw, Kemalist reforms brought new legal rights, secular state education and a new social status for women, while capitalism has generated new forms of cultural and secular uniformity. The complexity of these changes has brought some new dimentions to the sexual division of labour. For example, women workers entered the factory labour force in larger numbers. It is true that there have been some notable changes both in women's educational attainment and their rate of participation in economic activity. Nonetheless, we may say that the current status of women in Turkey is still inferior in both the public and private spheres. On the other hand, the role and status of women and their social, economic and cultural problems is determined by the social class to which they are affiliated and by the economic development level and cultural values of that society.

To conclude, capitalist transformations and Kemalist reforms after the Republic have had both positive and negative effects on women's labour force participation at both

the macro and the micro levels. This can be seen in some detail in the following chapter which will deal with the rural-urban changes through capitalist industrialisation and their impact on female labour in Turkey.

# CHAPTER IV

# CAPITALISM, INDUSTRIALISATION AND FEMALE LABOUR

In this chapter, we will be focusing on the transformation process and problems in rural-urban structure. In this connection, we are going to try to treat economic, social and cultural forces as continuously interacting systems, because we believe that the development process can be more meaningfully understood if looked at as a whole. We should not forget the point that capitalism has become a world system, and the dynamics of the capitalist world system cannot be understood without reference to the dynamics of the pre-capitalist modes of production. Capitalism, once established as a dominant mode of production, tends to either consolidate or dissolve pre-capitalist modes of production with which it coexists in articulated way in a social formation. For example, capitalism benefits from the domestic community as a source of cheap labour. In this respect, we should deal separately with industrial-urban and agricultural-rural sectors as a production unit to examine the capitalist transformations in Turkey.

Turkey is today undergoing a rapid economic, political and social transformation- a very different Turkey from sixty years ago; and Turkey ten years hence will be, by the same token, very different. But, in spite of these transformational developments, the social and economic history and the present status of Turkey clearly reflect the typical case of a less developed country which has attempted to overcome its inherited and acquired backwardness and obstacles to development. For sixty years Turkey has tried to change her economic structure. Her main goals have been to absorb the rapidly

growing labour force to promote exports, to equalise income distribution and to establish economic independence via industrialisation.

But first the great economic crisis of the 1930s, and then the Second World War, have limited these efforts and, as a result, the agricultural sector has maintained its importance within the economy.[1] On the other hand, until the end of the 1930s the city had not yet enjoyed the "pull effect" due to the limited urban opportunities and industrial depression in the early years of that decade.

In the post-war period, until 1950, the major events took place on the political and economic levels.[2] In the 1950s, the unfair distribution of spoils of the great agricultural boom between the richer strata of large landowners and the poorer. peasants, tenants and rural workers, created the push-pull effect of urbanisation and the pressure on the urban sector. Thus a steady flow of migrants from the villages has been crowding into Turkey's towns and cities. As a result, the percentage of urban population has increased from 25 percent to 32 percent .

On the other hand, in this transformation process, the heavy flow of migrants creates a big demand for jobs, especially for the unskilled. One consequence of the inadequate supply of urban jobs has been a high unemployment and a sizeable amount of over-employment especially in the service sector requiring minimal skills. In addition, the existence of large numbers of rural people who are not yet absorbed into urban life creates social problems and a potentially unstable and exploitable political situation.

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[1] On the eve of the Second War about half of the peasant were agricultural workers.
[2] On the political level, with the introduction of democracy and the resolution of the one party system, the new anti etatist Democratic Party was set up in 1946 and came into power in 1950 in the first free election of Turkey. On the economic level, in 1948 Marshall Aid was given to Turkey. As matter of fact, the contribution of Marshall Aid to Turkey, aimed in the Turkish case not only at post-war reconstruction but also at long term development. The new agrarian reform of June 1945 was put into effect, laws for the Encouragement of Foreign Investment were introduced.

This alteration also has affected the position and status of women in rural and urban sectors, for the status of women is determined by their role in production and their economic participation (Kiray 1963; Timur 1972; Kandiyoti 1977). Women's subjugation or dependence is the outcome of their socio-economic position (Abadan-Unat 1981, 20).

## 1. Labour Force

Turkey has a high birth rate. Population pressure weighs heavily on the Turkish economy, with 40.35 million people in 1975, 44.74 million in 1980, 50.66 million in 1985, 56.47 million in 1990 with an annual growth rate of 2.1. Between 1927 and 1990, the population increased more than fourfold, growing from 13.6 million to 56.4 million (Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990, 36). In 1985, for the first time the overall urban population exceeded the rural population in a proportion of 53 versus 47 percent.

In Turkish terms, the economically active population (twelve years old and more) constitutes about 69 percent of the total population; in the 1990 the labour force numbered about 21.2 million[3] (about one-third of them women).

The share of agriculture in total employment was numbered in 1985 at 58 percent, 47 percent in 1990, the share of industry (including construction) 17 percent in 1985, 16 percent in 1990, and of services 25 percent in 1985 and 37 percent in 1990. So, a sectoral distribution of the labour force demonstrates the dominance of the agricultural sector in employment.

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[3] Excluded from the labour force are housewives, students, retired and disabled persons, rentiers and unemployed not seeking jobs.

The proportion of active population employed in industry was 17.4 percent and in service sector 26.9 percent in the Marmara and Aegean regions, while the proportion of the active population employed in industry was below national average as 8.4 percent in Central Anatolia and 4.5 percent in Eastern Anatolia (Şanlı 1978, 297).

Moreover, the number of new jobs created fell from an annual average of 216.000 in 1970-75 to 136.000 in 1981, 100.000 in 1982, 110.000 in 1983 and 134.000 in 1984. Almost the whole burden of labour absorption fell on the shoulder of the urban sector, because of decreasing agricultural employment.

Turkey has been faced with increasing structural unemployment which has resulted in 500,000 to 800,000 people entering the labour market annually (Economic Report 1983, 33).

Table 4.1 shows the relative importance of each group of the economically active population in the various sectors. It also helps to show the nature of Turkey's economic system and its development.

In Turkey, as in most developing countries, family workers make up the largest group of the economically active population, accounting for about 47 percent of the total in 1985. Family workers are mainly employed in the agricultural sector, which accounted for 98 percent of the total in 1985.

Table 4.1: Distribution of economically active population by employment status (Economically active population twelve years old and over)

| Economic Activity | Year | Total | Employee | Employer | Self-em-ployed | Family worker | Unknown |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1980 | 18,522,322 | 6,162,002 | 176,459 | 4,277,257 | 7,859,506 | 47,098 |
| | 1985 | 20,556,786 | 6,978,181 | 192,948 | 4,662,181 | 8,721,860 | 1,616 |
| Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing | 1980 | 11,104,501 | 588,646 | 7,154 | 2,858,580 | 7,649,876 | 245 |
| | 1985 | 12,118,533 | 523,710 | 7,891 | 3,078,192 | 8,508,667 | 73 |
| Mining and quarrying | 1980 | 132,186 | 128,572 | 997 | 2,178 | 435 | 4 |
| | 1985 | 137,126 | 134,568 | 916 | 1,285 | 352 | 5 |
| Manufacturing | 1980 | 1,975,596 | 1,499,879 | 63,644 | 314,048 | 97,359 | 666 |
| | 1985 | 2,185,369 | 1,728,794 | 67,591 | 304,907 | 83,939 | 138 |
| Electricity, gas, and water | 1980 | 33,105 | 33,105 | — | — | — | — |
| | 1985 | 23,224 | 23,224 | — | — | — | — |
| Construction | 1980 | 765,072 | 708,730 | 19,917 | 33,203 | 3,146 | 76 |
| | 1985 | 750,546 | 697,366 | 18,977 | 31,329 | 2,627 | 247 |
| Wholesale and retail trade, rest. and hotels | 1980 | 1,084,378 | 343,911 | 54,570 | 620,286 | 65,451 | 160 |
| | 1985 | 1,382,636 | 493,447 | 59,883 | 738,661 | 90,576 | 69 |
| Transport, storage, and communication | 1980 | 531,278 | 275,594 | 6,309 | 235,823 | 13,237 | 315 |
| | 1985 | 615,888 | 330,969 | 8,482 | 261,717 | 14,601 | 119 |
| Financing, insurance, real estate, and business serv. | 1980 | 294,373 | 248,833 | 6,266 | 38,403 | 833 | 38 |
| | 1985 | 389,254 | 326,763 | 9,118 | 52,150 | 1,221 | 2 |
| Community, social and personal serv. | 1980 | 2,425.201 | 2,249,476 | 13,256 | 148,854 | 13,382 | 233 |
| | 1985 | 2,847,289 | 2,639,823 | 15,597 | 175,729 | 16,104 | 36 |
| Activities not adequately defined | 1980 | 176,632 | 85,256 | 4,346 | 25,882 | 15,787 | 45,361 |
| | 1985 | 106,921 | 79,517 | 4,493 | 18,211 | 3,773 | 927 |

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990 (Ankara: State Statistics Institute Press, 1990), p.64

## 2. Female Participation in the Labour Force

The status of women, like that of any other social group, is characterised by the economic development level of the country in which they live, by the social class to which they are affiliated, and by the cultural values that prevail in that society. That Turkey is a developing economy and its cultural value system is derived basically from the Islamic creed concisely indicates as to where the status of its women lies. In the following paragraphs, the socio-economic status of Turkish women, as well as its change over time, will be studied in the light of their participation in productive activity.

In fact, in the 40 years or so since the beginnings of widespread capitalist development in Turkey, women's labour force participation has been associated with the transition from a rural to an urban economy in which women are marginalised due to their lower educational levels and inadequate opportunities for waged work (Özbay 1989).

In an essentially peasant society - as the major part of Turkey is still defined - where small farms operated by unpaid family labour harbour approximately three-fourths of the agricultural population, female labour force participation generally tends to be high, particularly where labour-intensive technology is employed. Men usually operate the agricultural equipment and machinery while women perform many manual tasks, particularly during the harvest season.

In the World War II years, Turkey started from a stage of socio-economic development where over 80 percent of the population was actively engaged in agriculture, of which women made up over 50 percent. If unpaid female family labour, making up 90 percent of the active females, is included in the total labour force figures, the obvious result is an extremely high labour force participation rate for women (81.5

percent of the women aged 15 and over). In this case, women would appear to have an almost equivalent (47 percent) contribution to production with men. But in the 1950s, less than 4 percent of active females were employed in the non-agricultural occupations where wage remuneration is prevalent. The labour participation rate for women which was 24.0 percent in 1927 increased to 46.0 percent -the highest ratio ever reached- in 1950, and declining gradually through the following years, fell down to 33.0 percent in 1965, 31.6 percent in 1975 and 30.6 percent in 1985. Although women have almost equally participated in production with men in rural areas, most of the women are unpaid family labourers.

The tendency of the women's ratio to decline in the course of time could perhaps be attributed to the rapid urbanisation trends of the population as well as to the differences in census methods. Various studies have shown that women who were productive in rural areas tend to become consumers as they move into urban centres, because and this leads to a sharp decline in the ratio of women in the labour force.

On the other hand, women represented 51 percent of the urban total potential labour force ( population of 12 years old and over) though 85.9 percent of them was out of the paid labour force. In addition, housewives made up 50.5 percent of the total potential female labour force in 1985.

So it means that most of the active female population are either 'unpaid family labourers' or 'housewives' doing unpaid housework. Women working as family labourers correspond to 40 percent of all family workers. These rates are enough to imply that women are mainly unpaid labourers. The percentage of female employees in urban areas in 1985 was 13.5.

In general, we found that female labourers became the most easily redundant in the economic crisis periods. For example in 1968-69 the rate of decrease of the male labour force was only 2.9 percent of the 1960's male labour force, while the rate of decrease of female labour was 27.8 percent.

In Turkey, employment was 39.58 percent of the economically active total population aged 12 and over. Women made up 5.88 percent within this population (1985 labour force survey). Besides this, paid female labour was 19.48 percent of the total active female labour, 14.86 percent of all employees. This figure is higher in the urban areas than that of Turkey generally.

We can also say that women's labour force participation is more intense than men's when there is an increase in employment. In other words, the tendency of labour force participation among women is higher than among men in periods of increasing capital. However, the dismissal of women from their work has been higher too. For women, being dismissed from their jobs means, most of time, their return to 'housework'. Therefore the rate of unemployment of women is lower in the statistics than in reality. Statistics can give a partial or false and misleading picture of women's unemployment.

The assertion that the female labour force participation has been declining in the transitional stage from a basically peasant society to an urban way of living rests on the assumption that women employed without remuneration as unpaid family members in agriculture are full-time workers.

In order to have a better understanding of the female labour force, it is necessary to look at it according to different economic and demographic factors. Especially the distribution of the female labour force by sectors shows that women can find employment mostly in the agricultural sector. According to the census data of 1965, of the total

female labour force, 94.0 percent work in agriculture, 4.0 percent in industry and 2.0 percent in services. In the same year, for men these rates are 58.0 percent, 16.0 percent and 26.0 percent respectively.

On the other hand, in the context of high rates of inflation, male structural unemployment and falling real wages, women's employment in the 1980's became especially critical to the maintenance of the economic status quo and the prevention of downward mobility in low income households.

Research so far has suggested that low income women have little or no incentive to work except out of economic necessity. First of all, their labour has low exchange value in the market. Secondly, their housework is no less burdensome when they are employed outside the home (Kandiyoti, 1982). Both the functioning of the capitalist economy and a deep-seated patriarchal ideology concerning women's work perpetuate the notion that women's normal work place is the family and challenge any predictions of increased status based on their employment.

When they do work outside the home their work is not perceived as a material basis for their economic independence; and their wage is considered as merely a 'subsidiary element' of the family budget.

Social differentiation between males and females is perhaps in no category as striking as it is in the case of the occupational distribution of women. That is, in some sectors, women dominate in economic activity whereas in others they are almost non-existent.

The nature of occupational concentration of female labour shows that agriculture, light manufacturing industry (tobacco, textiles-apparel, food-beverages, packaging of

chemicals) and certain subdivisions of service industries are typically 'feminine' occupations.

As to the degree of occupational concentration: over 88 percent of the active women are engaged in agriculture, whereas a little less than 4 percent and 8 percent are employed in industry and services respectively. A small proportion of women work in non-agricultural sectors.

The occupational concentration of women in service sectors is remarkably high in banking and teaching activities - the same occupational concentration has also been seen in industry. For example; in 1970 in Istanbul, the industrial sector engaged women workers at 37.1 percent in weaving, 28.3 percent in ready-to wear clothing, 17.8 percent in chemicals, 20.8 percent in manufacturing industry, 21 percent in electrical machinery, 21 percent in food-beverage and 13.5 percent in glass and glass products (Istanbul Sanayi Odasi Yayinlari 1971, 3, 4, 19, 38; 1974, 24-25).

The occupations in which female labour is concentrated are in general characterised by low earnings, the typical examples being agriculture and the light industries. Although in Turkey women have the same jobs with men, they could not get equal pay. However, the Turkish Labour Law has an article 26/5 which gives clarity to the Civil Code (Art:45), both in the public and the private sectors there is a difference in practice between the working hours and wages of men and women. In fact, this difference is higher for the private sector than for the public. In the private sector, the salary of women per hour has changed from 68 percent to 80 percent of the male's salary, but in the public sector this rate is 71.93 percent.

Reasons given for the differences between women's and men's salaries have been not only that women were unskilled but that they benefited more from social services, for

example, being allowed to stop work to breast-feed children, thus, it is has been claimed, holding up the work

## 3. Rural- Urban Transformations and Women's Status

### *Rural Transformation*

The transition to production for the market and agricultural commoditisation has advanced at different speeds in different regions of rural Turkey. Rural transformation in Turkey has been the subject of numerous studies (Çınar and Silier 1979; Hinderink and Kiray 1970; Kandiyoti 1974; Keyder 1980; Tekeli 1977), whilst, debates took place between left wing Turkish intellectuals and political activists particularly during 1969-71. Let us look at first these debates.

Disagreements were over the extent to which "feudal" or "capitalist" relations were predominant in the countryside, and the implications for the class struggle. On the one hand were those who saw rural Turkey as predominantly "feudal"; on the other were those who believed that there was a predominance of capitalism. In this particular period Boratav and Erdost emerged as the most popular representatives of the two different lines of thought in this debate[4]. Theoretical and political differences between Boratav and Erdost became clear in the main stream of the debates which went on between Fernando Henrique Cardose, Andre Gunder Frank and Ernesto Laclau during 1960s and early 1970s concerning the problem of development and underdevelopment, and socialist dependency and socialist transformation in Latin America. The most apparent difference between the last three scholars was caused by their different understanding of 'feudalism'

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[4] At the same period similar debates took place in Latin America and India.

and 'capitalism' in agriculture and their different views on the constitutions of the state. It was the same for Boratav and Erdost.

At the end of their discussions both Boratav and Erdost shared the view that the Turkish economy was characterised by a 'backward capitalism', whose very 'backwardness' was a function of Turkey's subordination to imperialism combined with the persistence of pre-capitalist features in the rural areas. Finally, for both, there was no doubt that capitalism was dominant in the Turkish economy as a whole, since Turkey has long been an integrated part of the World capitalist system. As is known, developed and underdeveloped countries operate within the same framework: the capitalist world economy.

Throughout the whole economic history of republican Turkey, despite intermittent attempts at reform, legislation and some practical measures, agriculture has remained in fact, though not in declared policies, a stepchild and a neglected sector of the economy. The Turkish economy is still largely influenced by the performance of agriculture, with some 57 percent of the workforce employed in this, but compared to 77 percent in the early 1960s. In addition, we should not ignore the increasingly falling share of agricultural products in the export total.

Despite some improvements in agricultural technology (20 percent more fertiliser in 1984 than in 1977, and an increase of more than 50 percent in machinery), yields per land unit in most crops had risen only slightly by the mid-1980s as compared with the mid-1970s, in some areas they had remained stagnant, and in some areas they had even fallen.[5]

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[5] In 1984 the share of agriculture in GNP was 18.4 percent. According to the state Institute of Statistics, agriculture's share in GNP fell from 18.9 percent in 1985 *Union of Chambers, Quarterly Economic Review, January- March, 1984 and DIE and Merkez Bankasi sources.*

The agricultural sector has the greatest share in the GNP of Turkey, but the structural change towards industrialisation continually decreases the share of agriculture in the national income. The share of the agricultural sector in the GNP was 38.3 percent in 1962, falling to 17 percent by 1990.

On the other hand, a great portion of the Turkish population lives in rural areas and earns a living by agricultural production. The rural population was 67.6 percent of the total population in 1962, 67.2 percent in 1975, 56.1 percent in 1980 and 40.99 percent in 1990.

The process of rural change is undoubtedly advancing at different speeds and taking different forms according to regional, geographical and historical characteristics. In large land ownership areas the transformation of the farmer feudal landlord into a modern capitalist farmer, and of sharecroppers into wage workers, is already well underway (Hinderink and Kiray1970).

As land values rose and mechanisation spread, the terms of land tenancy became more and more unfavourable. Whilst labour constituted the major limiting factor in the pre-mechanised period, land took on the most critical role after mechanisation, so that those peasants who had started out with sufficient capital and land resources prospered, whilst most were either unable to carry on in the face of mechanised completion or were unable to meet the ever increasing cost of tractor maintenance under the pressure to pay debts. In the face of new pressures, small landowners increasingly had to supplement their income from land by other additional sources such as wage-labour.

### *The Rural Family*

As in many agrarian societies, the Turkish peasant household represents an example of patriarchy. The traditional domestic cycle of the village household was the prime determiner of accumulation and distribution. The social and sexual hierarchy within the household also corresponds to a hierarchy in the labour process.

In rural Turkish society, patrilocality and patrilineality are the norm. The traditional peasant household is organised on the basis of the control of the eldest male over all household property and labour. Young women occupy the lowest position in the age and gender hierarchies in this household, performing the heaviest workload when they have the least prestige and power in the household. Women gain status as they age and give birth to (male) children, reaching their peak status when their sons bring daughters-in-law into the household. This stage is the lightest in workload of their life-cycle, when their work consists of supervising and organising the labour of young women. The patterns in other Middle Eastern societies of a woman's workload and status show opposite trends throughout her life; for example, in Turkey the in-marrying bride will be at the bottom of the age-sex hierarchy and works very hard indeed both in agricultural production and at the heavier household chores such as carrying water and fetching firewood. Her status improves with her ability to produce male children.

Furthermore, the internal structure and functioning of peasant households have been modified according to their incorporation into the market economy. Capital penetration has brought about either dispossession, as in the case of transition to capitalist farming where farmer sharecroppers become wage workers (Hinderink and Kiray 1970), or the concentration of land and capital resources in fewer hands towards optimal holding size with the concomitant creation of a pool of marginal or sub-marginal villagers for

whom land is a supplement to other income (Kandiyoti 1977). In those cases, the economic base of patrilocal extension is clearly eroded and the role of the father as the sole holder of economic resources undermined.

Quite clearly, the outcomes of capitalist penetration in rural areas are not totally negative since there is also serious evidence of loosening of traditional patriarchal controls and alleviation of work load in many cases. Thus, the development of capitalism has been described as having "contradictory" effects on women (Young 1978) or as producing "both emancipation and constriction" (Giele and Smock 1977).

Modification of the economic base of traditional village existence has had an important effect on the authoritative relationship between older and younger men in general, and fathers and sons in particular. It would seem fair to say that the decrease in patriarchal control is a direct function of the ability of the older generation to maintain total economic control of the young. Though this development may at first sight seem to favour only the earlier emancipation of younger males, it does have an effect on women through complementarity.

But larger landholdings bolster the extended family and prolong the existence of patriarchal controls, for these households are able to withdraw their women from the production process either because of their ability to use hired help or because they harvest crops amenable to capital intensive labour saving technology. The maintenance of a more patriarchal family structure here coincides with a serious alleviation of women's workloads.

Small family farms on the other hand are heavily dependent on the labour of their women and children since the very viability of such enterprises depends on their ability to rely exclusively on family labour to the almost total exclusion of contractual help. This is

even more so amongst poor landless families where every member of the family, including young children, has to contribute economically, generally through seasonal wage-work. Therefore, it would seem that the very mechanisms bringing about the dissolution of the patriarchal household are those which at the same time make the increased and sustained input of women into the labour process entirely critical.

***Urbanisation***

At the outset let us begin with some definitions of urbanisation from different approaches. Urbanisation is a broad social process. We can see this in its description as it constitutes the increase of the urban population as compared with the rural one, but it includes and results from a far-reaching economic transformation on the national and international plane (Roberts 1978, 9). Roberts views urbanisation in the socio-economic dimension. He states that "urbanisation is essentially the product of capitalist development and expansion" (Roberts 1978, 11). In a demographic sense, urbanisation is defined as a process of growing population concentration whereby the proportion of the total population which is classified as urban is increasing.

It is important to make a distinction between the Western process of urbanisation and the process of urbanisation in other areas, the general characteristic of urbanisation in today's underdeveloped countries being the intensity of its pace, faster than that of any other process of urbanisation in history. Actually, it is referred to as "*over-urbanisation*". This judgement is based on the following observations. (a) The level of urbanisation in underdeveloped countries is higher than it was in Western countries at an equivalent level of industrialisation. (b) The increase in urbanisation during recent years has been faster than in economically more advanced countries, although the opposite has occurred with respect to increase in per capita income. (c) Immigration to the cities exceeds the creation of new sources of work.

The most outstanding features of the urban scene in underdeveloped countries may be emphasised in the following points. There is, firstly, the survival of most of the traditional production and business structures; secondly, the increase of the population employed in the services sector; thirdly, the maintenance of many of the traditional family patterns; and, lastly, the expansion of the marginal urban population. Moreover, the structure of urban employment itself has a serious disequilibrium in the socio-economic sense.

In general, urbanisation is associated with some problems such as under-employment, housing shortages and 'marginality'. In most Third world cities jobs fall far short of supply, basic urban services are deficient and insufficient, poverty is widespread, and management is antiquated (Linn 1983). Masses of people are under- or unemployed and live in crowded conditions without adequate provision of water, electricity and other basic services. In very large cities the situation is especially acute because their growth is unprecedented in the history of developing countries. While the total population in the Third World is growing rapidly, the urban population is growing twice as fast. As a result, more people now live in Third world cities than in the cities of the developed countries.

Turkey is one of the most rapidly urbanising countries in the world, with an average annual increase of urban population of 7 percent since 1950. Turkey's urban areas have been growing much more rapidly than the rest of its population. Large cities have grown even faster, with cities of over 100,000 experiencing an average yearly increase of 9 percent over the same period. Urbanisation has been rapid in Turkey in the post-war period, with the urban population rising from 24.9 percent of the total in 1950 to 59.0 percent in 1990 (see Table 4.2). In the five years 1970-75 the urban population increased by 4.0 percent per annum compared with a 1.3 percent increase in rural

population ( see Table 4.3). Because of industrialisation the Turkish population has shifted toward the cities, resulting in regional differences in income and social and economic facilities. While in 1950 only 24.9 percent of the population lived in urban areas, in 1990 this ratio reached about 59 percent.

Table 4.2: Population growth and characteristics (Population in millions)

| | | Urban | | Rural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | Total | Number | % | Number | % |
| 1950 | 20,947,188 | 5,244,337 | 24.9 | 15,702,851 | 75.1 |
| 1955 | 24,064,763 | 6,927,343 | 28.6 | 17,137,420 | 71.4 |
| 1960 | 27,754,820 | 8,859,731 | 32.0 | 18,895,089 | 68.0 |
| 1965 | 31,391,421 | 10,805,817 | 34.4 | 20,585,604 | 65.6 |
| 1970 | 35,605,176 | 13,691,101 | 38.7 | 21,914,075 | 61.3 |
| 1975 | 40,347,719 | 16,869,068 | 41.8 | 23,478,651 | 58.2 |
| 1980 | 44,736,957 | 19,645,007 | 43.9 | 25,091,950 | 56.1 |
| 1985 | 50,664,458 | 26,865,757 | 53.0 | 23,798,701 | 47.0 |
| 1990 | 56,473,035 | 33,326,351 | 59.0 | 23,146,684 | 41.0 |

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, 1990

The growth of population has also created housing problems especially in urban areas which have grown rapidly in the post-war period. As a result of the movement of villagers to the urban areas, shanty towns and squatter areas with inadequate housing have sprung up round the main cities creating serious problems. The quality of life for many people in the squatter areas is very poor.

Table 4.3: Average yearly growth rate of population (%)

| Year | Total | Urban | Rural |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1950-55 | 2.8 | 5.8 | 1.9 |
| 1955-60 | 2.9 | 5.2 | 1.9 |
| 1960-65 | 2.5 | 4.0 | 1.7 |
| 1965-70 | 2.6 | 6.3 | 1.5 |
| 1970-75 | 2.4 | 4.0 | 1.3 |
| 1975-80 | 2.1 | 3.0 | 1.1 |
| 1980-85 | 2.5 | 6.5 | -1.1 |
| 1985-90 | 2.1 | 4.4 | -0.5 |

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, 1990

As in most countries, rapid urbanisation in Turkey has been closely associated with economic development and modernisation. Industrial growth has spurred the expansion of cities, which in turn has generated further economic development of the service sector. Expanding city economies and higher incomes - compared with the incomes of rural families - have fuelled urban growth, as a large proportion of rural people have migrated to the big cities, seeking employment, higher incomes, and better lives.

Urbanisation as a spatial concept which encompasses a wide range of demographic, economic, political, and social factors, has not spread its benefits and costs evenly across the Turkish landscape. The pattern of the urban development has been strongly shaped by differences among rural and urban areas, geographic regions, cities of various size, and districts within the main urban centres.

As in most underdeveloped countries, migration rather than natural increase is the primary source of urban newcomers in Turkey. Although the urban population has been growing five times faster than the rural population, birth rates are 40 percent higher in the

villages than in the cities (Timur 1973). The difference, of course, is made up by migration.

Urban migrants in Turkey have generated demands for low-cost housing that cannot be met by the private market or government. As in other rapidly urbanising societies, migrants have responded to the critical housing shortage by occupying land illegally and building squatter housing, or *'gecekondu'*, which literally means "housing built overnight". These settlements quickly became the main source of low-cost housing for urban migrants. *Gecekondu* also offer rural migrants community solidarity and mutual assistance in the struggle to establish a foothold in the city.

Rural people in all urbanising countries are attracted to the city by the prospect of jobs, higher incomes, and a better life. As in almost every underdeveloped country, the substantial unemployment and underemployment in Turkish cities reflects the failure of the urban economy to grow as rapidly as the expansion of the urban labour force. In most of Turkey's larger cities, population growth has been outstripping industrial development. Some of this gap between industrial and population growth has been made up by the rapid expansion of the service sector, which has been growing faster than the industrial sector in almost all cities. This growth of the urban service sector has absorbed a substantial portion of the rural influx, especially among the unskilled and poorly educated.

### *Urban Family*

We know that the households of the urban families are mostly nuclear (Timur 1972). This observation is valid for almost any society as a consequence of certain demographic factors. In addition, the majority of these families are composed of parents with few children, which may be called 'small families'. In urban areas, when the family is

not nuclear, we find 'intermediary' types, including such members as a relative, a surviving parent and even somebody from the same town or village, more often than older generation parents (Şenyapılı 1982; Kıray 1976a). This family composition, which is the result of migration, may be considered as temporary. Compositions created in the metropolitan city are quite different, however. Households composed of single men or single women are common, whilst in some cases, several men or several women, who all have jobs, share a house. Today, in the second generation of people migrated from the land, we find households composed of several single women working in white collar jobs - such as typists or secretaries.- who share the rent.

On the other hand, when we look at the intra- family relations and roles, there have been no significant changes, despite the fact that the production-consumption activities of when they were a rural family no longer continue. Conditions of small towns have been modified and the small family has established a system whereby everyone has to work whenever income is necessary. The man's role is to work outside the house and to organise the external relations of the family; the women's role is to reproduce the domestic environment for everyone, to organise all household activities from consumption to maintaining good relations among the family members. These generally well-known and accepted roles can be diversified indefinitely in the changing conditions of the real world.

As to the maintenance of the domestic environment, i.e., house-cleaning, organising consumption or activities summarised as cooking, doing the dishes, doing the laundry and sweeping, one cannot say that the woman shares these activities with the male members in equal proportions. Although in some families male children and husbands may participate in some tasks, these are very marginal. In the upper-middle and upper class strata, men and women seem to achieve equal positions through their

involvement in wage labour. Wage labour has replaced the system where other female members in the house existed to share the housework (Kandiyoti 1978). It is more difficult to make the same assertion for the lower and lower-middle strata.

## 4. Industrialisation and its Impacts on Women

In this section we have tried to examine the main features of the industrial-urban sector and industrialisation in Turkey. We have not attempted to present the whole process of industrialisation in Turkey. Our remarks will be generally related to the structural shifts in the industrial sector and the implications of industrialisation.

Moreover, the focus will be on the impacts of industrialisation on the labour market and social structure. Special emphasis will be placed upon the changing socio-economic status of women in society, as through the process of industrialisation women's socio-economic position within the family and society has been changed for the sake of capitalist development. As an example, industrialisation destroyed the extended family-domestic mode of production and replaced it by the nuclear family, which functioned as a unit of consumption and a supplier of workers (as individuals) to the labour market of a capitalist-industrial society (Smelser 1959).

In the process of a capitalist development a series of new relations among social institutions, individuals and society are introduced in the interest of the capitalist system itself. We advocated the idea that the development of Turkish capitalism can and should be understood in the international context by perceiving the world capitalist system as one united and unbreakable entity in terms of dependency relationships.

First of all, let us dwell upon the term "industrialisation" and present the industrialisation in the general context of underdeveloped countries in order to prepare the ground to understand Turkish industrialisation.

Literally the concept of "industrialisation" refers to sustained economic growth following the application of inanimate sources of power to mechanise production. In sociological terms, industrialisation has involved the division of labour, new social relations of production between the owners of capital, managers and workers, urbanisation and the geographical concentration of industry and population, and changes in occupational structure (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 1984, 123).

The development level of technological tools and materials in the structure is the indicator of industrialisation. Industrialisation primarily took the form of factory production, later spreading to agriculture and services. The process of industrialisation is extensive and diversified. Although the concept of industrialisation is equated with 'economic development', 'urbanisation', or 'modernisation', they are not the same thing although there is a kind of complicated web and relationships linking them.

Industrialisation is viewed as a cause of social change by Herbert Blumer[6]. He sees industrialisation as an agent of social transformation. The influence of industrialisation on host societies can be traced through several features of these societies. For example, changes in work organisation, social grouping, social relations, residence, situation, standard of living, interest and objectives, values and ideals, and changes in problems of social control (Maines and Morrione 1990, 1-24). Moreover, in the post-war period, the expansion of capitalism into the Third World has emerged mostly as rapid industrialisation. In such a process of rapid transformation a specific case of a social

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[6] Herbert Blumer (1900-1987) introduced the term 'symbolic interaction' and had a distinguished intellectual career as a member of the Chicago School of Sociology.

formation has been and will be observed, a transformation which is not a uniform or entirely predictable process and varies depending on specific conditions.

However, there are also many similarities with the rise of capitalism in many other parts of the world. The upheavals experienced by Turkey since the early 1970s are part of the world-wide problems of continuous capital accumulation and the consequent restructuring of the world economy that is taking place today. Turkey, undoubtedly, shares important features with many other Newly Industrialising Countries of the World. They are experiencing similar economic, political and social upheavals, and their people are suffering military rule and political repression.

The industrialisation of Third World countries does not mean that Third World countries obtain much control over the industries established in the Free Trade or Production Zones or World Market Factories. The factories that relocated to the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Mexico, Sri Lanka and Thailand belong largely to multinational corporations of the USA, Germany and Japan. The relocation of industries from developed to underdeveloped countries does not mean a genuine industrialisation of the latter.

Furthermore, industrialisation exists in many forms in Third World countries. For instance, assembly plant operations, low-level industrial technology, the establishment of import-substitution industries, the establishment of capital-intensive industry. Third World manufacturing growth and occupational distribution presents a less successful picture in comparison with the developed countries. Third World industrialisation is linked to foreign capital and the area of national capital is limited. Besides, the most modern "dynamic industries" in the Third World are controlled by metropolitan holdings. The industrialisation process is subject to considerable external constraints, which fetter the internal expansion and development of the capitalist mode of production.

On the other hand, the vast differences between Third World countries in industrial levels, in terms of the sequences they follow, and contradictions they encounter, may be seen in the history of their industrialisation. First, there are the Third World countries which, having begun industrialisation early, have advanced the furthest along these lines. Over the past decades they have experienced periods of stagnation and the least rapid rates of industrial expansion, and have encountered problems in going beyond import-substitution industrialisation. Then there are the less industrial countries which became involved in the industrialisation process later and have experienced more rapid rates of growth, but which, upon exhausting the possibility of easy import- substitution, have entered into stagnation and crisis.

Now we will turn our attention, in the following sub-section, to the question of where Turkey stands in this general picture of industrialisation.

***Industrialisation in Modern Turkey***

From the establishment of the Republic in 1923, Turkey pursued a policy of industrialisation within a closed economy ( See Barkey 1990; Hershlag 1988; Hale 1981, contains useful information about the Turkish economy).

Turkey adopted economic policies of import-substitution as a development strategy. With regard to the history of Turkey's industrialisation, the movement proceeded extremely slowly under the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century.

According to the statistics, at the end of the period 1923 to 1931, although the number of industrial establishments rose by 30 percent and the number of employees by 60 percent, small handicraft industries were still 96.8 percent. Given the fact that 90 percent of all imports were industrial production goods, it can easily be said that industry

had not yet developed in Turkey (Özgür 1975, 167). Investments which realised a high, short-term profits were preferred by local private capital. For example, foreign trade and mining.

A remarkable change in the industrialisation of the country took place during the period 1932-1939. In this period the state directly engaged in the production process. The masses shouldered the stress of capital accumulation of an internally financed industrialisation. Wage earners and the poorer classes mostly carried this burden.

During the period 1940-1945, the masses felt the burden of the war economy, while a few groups of merchants and big farmers, taking advantage of the situation, made incredible profits. These profits were shared also by a part of the bureaucracy (Boratav 1974, 292).

The 1945-1960 period was a period of liberalisation. During this period foreign capital was invited into Turkey. The Turkish government also invited the World Bank Committee to examine the conditions which would help to determine the economic policy of the government. A report, prepared by this committee about abolishing statism, suggested that the whole sphere of the economy should be opened to private enterprise and the existing regulations preventing foreign capital from coming into Turkey should be revised because foreign capital must be brought into the country[7].

Between 1945 and 1960 American aid to Turkey amounted to 1,110,4 million dollars. The years after 1960, were intended to be a golden period for the private sector. More than ever before the state systematically tried to create private entrepreneurs and encourage foreign capital into Turkey. But the 'golden' period did not materialise.

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[7] International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, T*he Economy of Turkey: An Analysis and Recommendation for a Development Programme*, 1951.

Table 4.4: Percentage distribution of American aid according to sector

| | |
|---|---|
| Agriculture | 35.2 |
| Industry and mining | 32.2 |
| Transport | 3.5 |

Source: Tunç Tayanç, Sanayileşme sürecinde 50 yıl (50 Years in the process of Industrialisation), Istanbul, Milliyet yayinlari, 1973.

Foreign capital was not flown into Turkey on a large scale and only small scale assembly industries were introduced into Turkey by foreign investors. This was simply because developed countries did not like to lose Turkey as a market.

At the end of the second Five Year Development Plan, industry had indeed become the most important sector of Turkish economy. The increase in industrial products was the highest, the share of agriculture in the Gross Domestic Product decreased from 44.3 percent in 1948 to 25.3 percent in 1972, whilst that of industry increased from 12.8 percent in 1948 to 23.7 percent in 1972.

However, in Turkish industry consumer goods production is still predominant. It should also be noted that the share of the public sector in industry has been gradually declining since 1950.

Turkey's new neo-colonial role during the 1950s was temporarily disrupted by the military coup in May 1960, but its dependent relationship with the US continued during the years of military rule and the coalition governments throughout the 1960s. The landlord-comprador interests, the dominant force during the 1950s, had quickly recovered from the temporary setbacks of the early 1960s and re-established themselves in national politics by the middle of the decade. The process of externally controlled dependent industrialisation, which had begun to unfold during the 1950s, further expanded and became dominant during the 1960s.

Table 4.5: The share of each sector in gross domestic product (Percentage)
( in 1968 producer' s prices )

| Sector | 1948 | 1953 | 1963 | 1973 | 1980 | 1987 | 1989 | 1990 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 44 | 37 | 35 | 25 | 23 | 17 | 16 | 17 |
| Industry | 13 | 15 | 17 | 24 | 25 | 32 | 32 | 32 |
| Services | 43 | 48 | 48 | 51 | 52 | 51 | 52 | 51 |

Source: State Institute of Statistics, Türkiye Milli Geliri: 1948-1973 (Nation Income of Turkey 1948-1973 ) Ankara and Central Bank, Monthly Bulletin, OECD Economic Survey of Turkey,1989, 1990.

24th January, 1980, was a turning point for the Turkish industrialisation in that for first time in the history of the Turkish Republic, export-oriented industrialisation policy was introduced and decisively implemented in a whole package of important economic changes. This programme advocated a type of free market mechanism by which, it envisaged, Turkey would be able to integrate into the world economy.

Table 4.6: Distribution of employment (percentage of total civilian employment)

| Sector | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1987 | 1989 | 1991 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 75 | 67 | 55 | 51 | 51 | 50 |
| Industry and Construction | 10 | 12 | 19 | 20 | 20 | 20.5 |
| Service | 15 | 21 | 26 | 29 | 29 | 29.5 |

Source: Central Bank, Monthly Bulletin; OECD, Economic Survey of Turkey, 1989/90/91.

Although it was not the first policy of its kind in Turkey, it differed from the others in that all economic policies of the Turkish Republic until 1980 were based on an import-substitution industrialisation strategy behind the high walls of protectionist policies. These kinds of protectionist policies were increasingly constrained by a foreign exchange bottleneck until the 1980 military intervention which prepared the ground for the transition to outward-looking industrialisation based on free market principles.

There were 170 foreign companies operating in Turkey at the end of 1982, predominantly within the manufacturing sector. The main concentrations were in chemicals (23 firms), electronics (18), food and drink (15), textiles (11), tourism (11) and machinery (10). The three most important investors were Switzerland, West Germany and the USA, which together accounted for almost 60 percent of the total (Ayres and Thompson 1984, 190).

The Government has announced its own priority areas for new foreign capital. From the investor's standpoint, the most advantageous opportunities appear to be in agricultural development and engagement in food processing industries, mining, petroleum and tourism. There are a number of joint projects planned in these sectors, and foreign investment is also flowing into the automotive industry, textiles and electronics.

So Turkey has become tied more closely to centres of international capital. Moreover, the transformation of the economy has undoubtedly brought about fundamental and irreversible changes in the whole structure of society.

***Impact on Women***

It is important now to examine the role of industrialisation within the whole structure of society since industrialisation has often been considered to be the essential force in development, and also the chief engine of employment creation.

To what extent in Turkey has industrialisation provided employment opportunities, changed the structure of labour market and altered the position of women in society, and in particular in the family.

Economic changes, and industrialisation particularly, has affected women's family roles, as the differentiation of the family from the economy, necessitated by the

changeover to industrial production, was followed eventually by a differentiation of roles within the family.

Moreover, the growth and transformation of industrial employment in the post-war period had a profound impact on the sexual division of labour and female employment. Turkish women (like their counterparts in the export-orientated, labour intensive industries, located initially in Northern Mexico and South-East Asia, but now throughout the Third World) were employed extensively in low-waged, unskilled or semi-skilled, blue-collar, industrial production.

Especially since 1950, Turkey has been undergoing rapid industrialisation. This industrialisation has brought not only a new system of production but also has caused a large number of social changes in Turkey. One of these is the constant movement of population from the rural to urban. In this process, a rapid increase in the movement of labour has been observed. The majority of the people in the largest cities and towns are immigrants from the villages.

In fact, "the early stages of industrialisation in all market economies have been associated with rapid rural-urban migration, which in turn has been linked to the transformation of traditional rural production relations impeding the growth of agricultural output and of urban-industrial employment. This migration, typically, is accompanied by urban unemployment and poverty" (Peek and Standing 1982, 28).

Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir metropolitan centres have emerged as the most industrialised and urbanised regions and have gained population through migration. It is interesting to note that statistics tell us males were much more migratory than females at the outset of industrialisation. However, since 1965 this sex difference was reduced due to family migration.

In general, it is necessary to consider to what extent this migrating population has been employed by the industrial-urban sector and how the labour market has been influenced by the change in the labour force. It is clear that industries in urban areas of Turkey do not absorb the migrant active population which attempts to earn a living in unskilled work in the service sector or in the 'informal sector' (for 'informal sector' in Turkey, please refer to Tekeli, Okyay and Gülöksüz 1976).

Industrialisation has not been commensurate with urbanisation in Turkey, the industrialisation rate being below the urbanisation rate. As a result of the continuing in-migration of rural population to urban areas, the active population in the service sector has been increasing over the years. Between 1955 and 1967, non-agricultural employment in Turkey increased by 1.77 million, but of this number only 620,000 were employed in industry and 1.15 million persons had to find jobs in other urban activities.

The industrial sector in Turkey can provide employment only for one tenth of the active population of the country. Industrialisation in Turkey has not been able to absorb the active population.

According to 1990 census figures, 77 percent of the economically-active female population in Turkey was involved in agriculture, compared with 9 percent in industry and 14 percent in services, the corresponding figures for males being 33 percent, 19 percent and 48 percent.

Women's labour force participation decreases in the above figures when we turn from rural to urban areas. G. Kazgan shows that a strong negative relation exists between socio-economic development and women's labour work participation (Kazgan 1981, 158). Kandiyoti provides us with information relating to women's position in Turkey, mainly women from different socio-economic strata and ecological settings.

These are, in order, women in shanty towns; lower middle class and "traditional" middle class women; and the educated middle and upper middle class women. She notes a common feature about urban women. Lower class urban women may retreat into domesticity, or if they have to work, it is considered unimportant or temporary. In the case of lower-middle class women subordination is reflected in a very limited access to outside work (Kandiyoti 1977).

We should not forget the fact that both sexual stratification and class hierarchy of a given social formation play a dominant role in labour force participation. This is most apparent in the case of employment. The exchange value of female labour power is affected by class boundaries in the labour market, as well as employment and training opportunities.

Labour force statistics show that social division of labour by sex is a very dominant reality in Turkey, where only 37.8 percent of the entire active female population and 11 percent of the urban female population in the three largest metropolitan areas are actually employed, excluding the unpaid family workers in the rural sector (70 percent of all the rural labour force) (Kazgan 1981). Service occupations and unskilled/semi-skilled labour in light industry - textile and electronic - are the categories with the highest concentrations of female labour, varying between 20-35 percent.

Amongst economically active women, 4 percent are in light industries and 8 percent are in the service sector. Due to the low level of women's education and skilled training as well as the uneven expansion of the economy, this concentration of women in low paid jobs in light industrial and service sector will became even more pronounced over time.

To sum up, within such changing economic relations, marked by the increasing emergence of nuclear family units, where more than one member is employed in the labour market, it is clear that the mostly 'proletarian' female urban labour force finds very little or no motivation for work except out of economic requirements.

*Conclusion*

Capitalist industrial development in Turkey cannot be understood without reference to its relationship to the capitalist world market although the political pressure of impoverished and expanding populations gives immediate impetus to the drive for industrialisation. We have examined opposing theories which claim that capitalist transformation in developing countries, through various intervening mechanisms, has either positive (modernisation perspective) or a negative (dependency perspective) effect on economic and social development.

On the other hand, with capitalist development and urbanisation, women in developed countries have gained increased access to educational and economic resources (Blake 1974; Oppenheimer 1970; Weiss, Ramirez and Tracy 1976). At the same time, researchers have noted that in currently developing countries women have lost status during the process of capitalist development, where women's status is defined as women's share of educational, economic and political resources relative to men's (Blumberg 1976; Ward 1984).

In other cases industrialisation is changing the composition of the labour force and contributing to fundamental changes in women's participation in production. Although some of these changes can be regarded as positive, new forms of oppression appear, and women's subordinate position in society remains highly visible and disturbing almost in all aspects. This subordinate position can be observed both at the household

level and at the other levels of society. This is particularly the case in Turkey and will be discussed in some detail in later chapters.

For women's employment in urban areas of Turkey, similar patterns have prevailed in trading, industry, services and informal sectors, like in many developing Third world countries. An accurate picture of women's economic participation is difficult to acquire because of under numeration of women's economic participation in these countries.

Although women occupy a relatively unimportant place in Turkey's labour force, female labour is required for some jobs in urban areas. Today, this requirement is likely to become more intensive because of their relatively cheap cost. Women's work includes unskilled work in manufacturing, routine clerical and sales employment, and all kinds of public sphere caring and provisioning. According to data from the General Census of Population of Turkey, the number of women employees in the labour force increased by more than six times between 1950 - 1980 ( ISI 1950, 1980).

In present times, women have tended to enter a greater diversity of occupations, albeit their opportunities, working conditions and wages are usually far inferior to those of men. Moreover, men and women no longer receive different rates of pay for the same job by equal pay legislation, but the income differential is explained by the fact that men and women are not employed in the same jobs, and women's jobs are low paid. There are different explanations of women's position in the capitalist labour market. For example neo-classical economic models have explained women's secondary position in the labour process by using several approaches, such as 'overcrowding' of women in low-productivity occupations; differences in educational background and working experiences

of women[8]. These models would suggest that for eliminating sex differences in the labour market, those conditions affecting either the demand or supply that lead to discrimination by sex would have to disappear. However, they do not clarify why these conditions appear and what forces create them. They only claim a positive effect of capitalist development on women's labour force participation and focus on the improvement of both supply side factors (education, job skills, fertility, time, family size) and demand side factors (occupational and industry shift, wages).

On the other hand, women's position is explained by focusing on the hierarchical job structure within the enterprise in terms of the internal labour market model. While these models provide explanations for women's position in the labour market they pay little attention to the factors located in the household and the sphere of reproduction, and to the patriarchal socialisation process to which women are subject. In contrast, to understand women's position in the labour market, we need to analyse the significance of women's role in the household reproductive place and then to focus on the interaction between reproduction and production. This will be done in the discussion and analysis of the fieldwork data in the second part of this thesis.

Over the past two decades the growing amount of feminist literature on women's role as reproducers in the family has been instrumental in deepening our understanding of the questions surrounding women's work in the capitalist labour market. We should be also aware of the limitations of this literature because the major weakness of this body of literature is the level of abstraction. Highly abstract and overly generalised concepts are used so that it becomes very difficult to apply them to concrete conditions. Although this kind of theoretical exercise is useful, it must be also be complemented by historical and empirical research. It is hoped that this thesis will make such a contribution, by

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[8] For a detailed analysis of these models and of the internal labour market model, see Blau and Jusenius 1976

presenting and discussing fieldwork data collected over six months in Manisa, Turkey. In fact, the whole second part of this thesis is devoted to such a concrete discussion of empirical data concerning women factory workers.

# CHAPTER V

# INTRODUCING RESPONDENTS

This section provides a more detailed outline of our respondents. In here, I aim to give a profile of women factory workers and some of their characteristics, such as place of origin, age, marital status, education and their family backgrounds.

These characteristics are at the same time the factors which influence women's involvement in the paid labour force, both in terms of their initial participation in the labour force and in terms of their working life itself.

## 1. Birth Place

In this section, we examine the distribution of the place of birth of women workers. To what extent does being of rural or urban background facilitate a women's employment opportunities?

As shown in Table 5.1, 52 percent of women workers were of rural origin while the urban-born women among respondents were 38.7 percent. The proportion of the foreign-born women was 9.3. But an investigation of the urban-born women's group would probably reveal that their parents had also been born in the rural areas, so they are people from families which are becoming urbanised.

Table 5.1: Distribution of women workers by place of birth

| Place of Birth | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Urban (city/town) | 58 | 38.7 |
| Rural (village) | 78 | 52.0 |
| Foreign countries | 14 | 9.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

Rural-born women are much more inclined to work in a factory than urban-born women, which demonstrates that most of the women workers were migrants.

The literature on the participation of migrant and non-migrant women in the labour force puts forward different trends. While Shah and Smith (1984) argue that in Bangladesh and Thailand more migrant women were in the labour force than were non-migrant women, Bauer (1984) indicates a contrary trend: in Tehran very few women in low income migrant neighbourhoods work outside the home. Jelin (1977), who examined the labour force participation of Latin American women concludes that in cities, labour force participation rates among migrants are higher than among the women native to the city.

We would argue that participation patterns of migrant and non-migrant women in the labour force can best be explained by an examination of the family income of these women and the cultural and social factors which influence women's decision to seek employment.

Among the migrants, and also some native lower class people, the material conditions of everyday life affect their ideas about women's and men's roles. Although in this group, too, home is regarded as a women's proper place. When additional income is needed there may be a grown up son who can contribute to the family income. But if there is no son, the wife and/or daughter is allowed to work.

In our sample, most of migrant women explained that they had been destitute when they first arrived in Manisa because most of them did not have a regular family income as their fathers or husbands had been unemployed. Even if the male members of the family had been employed, they had worked in marginal, unsecured jobs as in construction work. Because of the seasonal and intermittent nature of much male employment these women had very much need to work, whatever the conditions or wages.

## 2. Age of Women Workers

The findings of the existing studies[1] on age and labour force participation relations indicate that age *per se* is not of major significance to the work participation of women within the range of central ages. Only at marginal ages- the relatively very young and very old- can an association between age and labour force status be made. In addition, both laws and customs regulate participation through minimum age and retirement specifications, outside the 15-65 age range.

On the one hand, these conclusions might be valid for women in the areas where work is strictly regulated through laws. On the other hand, in many situations women workers could be found who were outside the age limits required by the specifications.

Turkish Labour Law restricts the employment of minors, that is children younger than 16. Unfortunately, this rule does not function in agricultural work where the majority of Turkish women are engaged, because in rural areas limits are set by custom

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[1] See Koray (1975, 5-15) for more information about these studies.

and not by law. That is, depending on the type of work done, women from a wide range of ages participate in agricultural work.

Moreover, many private establishments in the service sectors employ women outside the age limits. For example, girls start to work as maids from a very early age. For middle aged women to work as day cleaners and childminders is very common in cities.

When we look at the industrial sector, age effectively determines women's employment. Most factories obey the minimum age regulations, so they prefer to employ women over 18. The majority of them have written or unwritten rules about the highest age of entry. In general, women over thirty are not preferred for employment. Therefore, as it was mentioned above, there are differences between economic sectors regarding the effects of age on the labour force participation of women in Turkey.

As Table 5.2 shows, the majority of the respondents were between 18 and 27 years of age. 10.7 percent were under 18 years of age, and 14 percent were over twenty eight.

Table 5.2: Age of women workers in our sample

| Age | Number | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| Below 18 | 16 | 10.7 |
| Between 18-20 | 28 | 18.7 |
| Between 21-23 | 59 | 39.3 |
| Between 24-27 | 26 | 17.3 |
| Over than 28 | 21 | 14.0 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

As can be seen from the explanations of factories' management, age is a significant factor in determining who are to be employed. One of factory's management

mentioned that "we usually prefer young women who are also single ". This tendency is seen quite clearly when we look at the marital status of the respondents ( See Table 5.6).

New employees, who have been working for nearly six months, were mostly single women. There are many reasons to favour the employment of young women. For example, according to employers, young single women are likely to leave their jobs when they get married, or if they are married but with no children, the probability of leaving their jobs when they have a child is also very high, given the insufficient child-care provisions of the factories. In these cases, they would not be entitled to any financial benefits such as severance pay because they left the work of their own free will. In addition, there is another benefit for employers that they can at the same time replace them with new workers at the minimum starting wage. New employees are easily found, because many unemployed have been waiting in front of the factories to find a job.

Another reason why employers employ single women is that they are mostly free from family responsibilities. Thus, they can concentrate more easily on their work. In addition to this, if required they can work more overtime, and easily accept shift work. Furthermore, single women are less demanding as regards wages and other work conditions because they are the second wage earner of their family and they do not feel heavily the financial responsibility of their family. Thus, it may be concluded that age is an important factor in the employment of women, but its importance increases with the operation of other factors, such as marital status and education.

### 3. Education

The role of education in women's paid employment has been considered more than other factors, such as age and marital status. The relatively lower level of educational attainment within the female population has been considered on the one

hand the cause of their low rate of labour force participation and on the other hand its consequence. It has been argued that the increase of the higher level of education increases the rate of participation in labour force. In addition, this also extends the likelihood of better jobs.

Despite growing pressure to improve the socio-economic status and opportunities of women, which in recent years has encouraged a more equitable allocation of educational and training resources to girls and women, in Turkey it is still low compared with men. The literacy rate is 68.02 percent for women and 86.35 percent for men (ISI 1990, 49)

As explained in Chapter III, although at the level of ideology there is no discrimination against women's education, the great differences in educational attainment are on the basis of sex. Between the 1920s and 1930s, women gained legally more educational opportunities and political rights in Turkey. Unfortunately, it appears that women cannot utilise these opportunities for a number of reasons. Because girls are expected to assume roles in the social division of labour based on their sex (i.e. they are expected to stay at home) and because sons have access to better paid jobs parents encourage their sons rather than their daughters to take advantage of the benefits of education. This is particularly true when education at higher levels is involved, because when we compare with the ratio of female primary school graduates and university graduates, the percentage of higher education is considerably lower than that of primary school ; the former is 44.74 percent while the latter is 25.22 percent (IS1 990, 49).

Kazgan (1981) argues that the low level of educational attainment of Turkish women is the principal underlying cause of their low rate of labour force participation.

Women with higher and university education had a labour force participation rate higher than that of illiterate women (81.77 percent compared with 36.10 percent).

Table 5.3 : Labour force participation rate and educational attainment of women (Females aged 12 years and over in 1989) Turkey

| School Level | Female population 12 years old and over | Labour Force | Not in Labour Force | Labour Force Participation Rate | Employed | | Unemployed | Unemployed Rate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | TOTAL | Under employed | | |
| Illiterate | 6.083.143 | 2.196.117 | 3.887.728 | 36.10 | 2.113.309 | 37.579 | 82.644 | 3.76 |
| Literate without any diploma | 1.719.583 | 570.761 | 1.148.822 | 33.19 | 521.446 | 6.198 | 49.315 | 8.64 |
| Primary | 8.614 888 | 3.206.353 | 5.408.535 | 37.22 | 2.935.053 | 83.996 | 271.300 | 8.46 |
| Junior High School | 1.003.055 | 187.698 | 815.357 | 18.71 | 136.725 | 9.506 | 50.973 | 27.16 |
| Vocational Junior High School | 102.615 | 29.411 | 73.204 | 28.66 | 25.528 | .632 | 3.883 | 13.20 |
| High School | 828.250 | 360.297 | 467.953 | 43.50 | 246.864 | 22.209 | 113.433 | 31.48 |
| Vocational High School | 286.578 | 124.644 | 161.934 | 43.49 | 101.071 | 11.047 | 23.573 | .18.91 |
| Higher Education (University) | 325.329 | 266.011 | 59.318 | 81.77 | 244.149 | 10.393 | 21.862 | 8.22 |
| TOTAL | 18.964.143 | 6.941.292 | 12.022.851 | 36.60 | 6.324.309 | 181.560 | 616.983 | .8.89 |

Source: 1990 Statistical Pocketbook of Turkey, SIS

Let us look now at the educational levels of our respondents in Table 5.4. The majority of the women interviewed had left school at the minimum school-leaving age, which for many women had been 12. Almost half of the women were primary school graduate (49.3 percent). Tables 5.4 shows the school from which respondents graduated.

Decisions about leaving school and undertaking further education are likely to be influenced by their family income. The majority of women workers had left school at the

minimum school-leaving age, because of their economic reasons or their family did not let them to go to the secondary school. As expected, the major reason for leaving school at the early age was economic as Table 5.5 shows. The other major reason for leaving school was that their family did not give them permission to go to the secondary school, as mentioned by 20 percent of women interviewed. In other words, it was a 'family decision'.

Table 5.4: School from which respondents graduated

| School | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Illiterate | 4 | 2.7 |
| Primary school | 74 | 49.3 |
| Secondary school | 27 | 18.0 |
| Vocational school | 12 | 8.0 |
| High School | 30 | 20.0 |
| University | 3 | 2.0 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

Decisions made about secondary and further education were not those that the women themselves had made. Only twenty-five (16.7 percent) of the one hundred-fifty who were interviewed said they themselves had not considered further education: fifty-one (34.0 percent ) gave poverty as a reason, and thirty (20 percent) said that their parents had refused permission. Sixteen respondents (10.7 percent) had to work instead of going further education. Their premier responsibility was to contribute to family income.

When they were asked if there had been any further education they had wanted to do but had been unable to do many of them answered yes. They said they would have liked to continue their higher education.

Table 5.5: Reasons for leaving school of women interviewed

| Reason | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| There was not any school | 7 | 4.7 |
| Economic reasons | 51 | 34.0 |
| My family did not let me go to school | 30 | 20.0 |
| I had to work because I was responsible for my family's livelihood | 16 | 10.7 |
| I did not want to go | 25 | 16.7 |
| Other | 21 | 14.0 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

In conclusion, the majority of women interviewed had left school after they finished their primary school. A minority had undertaken post-secondary education. This minority belonged to families with better income.

## 4. Marital Status

In this section, I will show the marital status of women workers and examine its effect on employment. To what extent does their marital status hinder or facilitate a women's employment opportunities and her decision to work?

In general, age and marital status are often critical determinants of women's labour force participation, and evidence from many countries shows that young, single women are far more likely to have paid work than older married women (Jelin 1980). Evidently, young single women, or young married women without children, are freer to engage in waged work than those who have to take charge of housework and child-care.

Youssef points out in her study that older widowed and divorced women also have a high rate of labour force participation (1974). In Morocco, for example, widowed and divorced women show high rates in labour force participation, while married women are commonly discouraged from taking waged employment (Joekes 1985).

This view, which was mentioned above, is true for some countries while not for others, and there are clearly regional differences. For example Youssef (1974) shows that single women's participation rate is very high in Latin American countries whereas it is very low in Middle Eastern countries.

In Turkey, a woman's role in the private sphere is more important than that in the public sphere, because first of all, she is seen as a wife and mother, and the principle responsibility of a woman is towards her husband and children. All these family responsibilities, are constraints and pressures upon women's desire to work. Many restrictions are imposed upon either married or unmarried women's lives in the society.

*Single Women*

Most women recruited to work in the factories from where our sample was taken are young and single and contribute to their parents' income. That is, 62 percent of the sample interviewed was formed by unmarried women. Of these, the majority (47,3 percent) were daughters (single) living with parents and siblings. The rest were divorced, widowed or engaged women. By contributing a major portion of her earnings to her family, a young woman worker forms part of a multiple wage-earnings strategy necessitated by the high cost of living and low rate of pay in Turkey. So, these conditions force many daughters of poor families into income-earning activities, in spite of the intensity of patriarchal power within their families.

As seen in Table 5.6, my data show that in the textile/clothing factories single women outnumbered married women. But even so, there is a large number of working married women compared to the figure for divorced or widowed women in textile/clothing factories in Manisa. One reason for this higher number of married women in the factories is related to age of marriage. Women in Turkey commonly marry at an early age. Kazgan points out that women above 25 years of age who have never married account for only 4 percent of the total female population (Kazgan 1981).

When Ecevit studied women workers in the manufacturing sector in Bursa in 1979, she found that married women made up 68 percent of the total, while single women accounted for 24 percent. There is a difference between Ecevit' s findings and ours. We found that there were 9.3 percent more single women than married women.

Table 5.6: Distribution of women workers by marital status

| Marital Status | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Single | 71 | 47.3 |
| Divorced | 4 | 2.7 |
| Widowed | 5 | 3.3 |
| Engaged | 13 | 8.7 |
| Married | 57 | 38.0 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

*Married Women*

As seen in Table 5.6, the number of married women in these factories was also high because of their marriage age. In general, many women marry before they are 25 years old in Turkey. Given the early age for marriage, the possibility of finding more married women like single women increases in the factories. We found that among the married women the 21-23 years of age group was 33.3 percent.

In fact, for women with children, it is difficult to give constant attention or time to activities outside home. But they seek outside employment because of the cost of living. Whatever the conditions of work (long hours, shift work and so on) they are accepted by married women as well. They have found personal solutions for the often conflicting demands of the work and family.

Meanwhile, married women are under pressure in other respects as well. Husbands often hinder married women's decision to work. But, in the case of low-income urban married women, economic recession, with high unemployment and decreasing real wages have increased the pressure on their families and have required their increased involvement either in unpaid family labour in petty production and distribution sectors or in low wage employment.

In Turkey, working married women also carry the main responsibility for household chores and child rearing. Thus, the working married woman's load is much heavier in comparison to that of a single woman. Job opportunities for married women without any education are limited for various reasons: Such women can only work in low status jobs. Husbands whose recognised duty is to protect the honour of their families, may not let their wives work in such jobs.

More importantly, women must find a place to leave their children when they start to work. If they succeed in finding a suitable place for their children, often their wages will not be sufficient to cover the payment of their child minder. Thus, while on the one hand, heavy household responsibilities affect the work lives of married women, on the other employers who are insensitive to this situation affect them too. Thus, the proportion of women who stop working after marriage is high, and usually they stop working after having a baby. Generally speaking, families who belong to the lower

socio-economic groups live in extended households and the elders take care of the children so that this opportunity can increase their chances of working outside their homes.

*Divorced and Widowed Women*

Divorced or widowed women were very few in the factories which we studied. In our sample, only 6 percent of all working women were widowed or divorced. The proportion of divorced or widowed women takes is also small within the population of Turkey. Only 8 percent of the female population (12 years old and over) are widowed women and 0.7 percent are divorced women (SIS 1990, 22). As statistics show, divorce is still a rare phenomenon in Turkey, mainly because of cultural, religious, and economic reasons.

The widowed women ratio is higher than that of men. There are two reasons for this difference: first, the age difference between spouses in Turkey is commonly high, because men prefer usually to marry younger women than themselves. Secondly, among widowed men, a second marriage is more common than women, because widowed women are less likely to have a second marriage due to cultural reasons. The reason for the high second marriage rate among men is due to a belief that men are less able to look after themselves and need to be looked after by a woman.

On the other hand divorced women, may feel or in fact may remain responsible for economic survival, depending on the degree of their kinship to their kinsmen who would feel responsible for their social and economic welfare. Divorced women may have no choice but to seek employment, especially if the dissolution of the marriage was not approved by their family. Moreover, if a divorced woman has to support her children, this would be an additional motivation for her to take up gainful employment, even if she

returns to her father's household. But, as seen from our sample, factory work is not an alternative for divorced women, because of the age limit set by the factories. In general, divorced women are middle aged and employers generally prefer not to employ them. They are usually employed in office jobs or low level jobs such as domestic work depending on their level of education. Koray reports that the highest rate of widowed and divorced women is found among domestics, cleaners and child-minders (Koray 1975).

For a widowed woman, usually there is a family to fall back on. This can be her husband's or own family or children's. In such cases, the degree to which kinsmen feel responsible for the widow, may affect the work decision of the women. Extended family and strong kin relation are more likely to be predominant in smaller cities.

Divorced women have a worse situation than widowed women regarding social and economic position. They are more stigmatised in society and social acceptance of divorced women is far less than for widows. The experience of divorced women in working life is more difficult than for married women, because men are inclined to think that they are easy women in the sense that, for these women, maintenance of premarital chastity is not a matter of concern.

Two of my respondents had not told me that they were divorced or separated women when I asked their marital status. But after talking to them, they explained to me their real positions. We can find many similar examples , because in determining the women's status in societies like Turkish and in other Middle Eastern societies, a woman's chastity is a very important factor. However, we should not forget that women are increasingly integrated into the labour market, in spite of the fact that a more favourable social attitude to the labour force participation of women may have been slow to develop.

## 5. Family Background

Several studies of status attainment conducted in developed countries have identified the strong influence of parental socio-economic background on future achievements, particularly on one's level of education and occupational status (Blau and Duncan 1967; Duncan, Featherman and Duncan 1972). Moreover, McClendon' s (1976) study revealed that the mother's education, rather than the father's, had a stronger influence on children's educational achievements.

It must be noted that these findings applied primarily to men and women in developed countries where opportunities may be greater and constraints are fewer relative to educational and occupational achievements. But, in developing countries, conditions are different. Where women have low status, sons may mainly benefit from the advantages of high parental status relative to daughters. But where parents have low status themselves, ascription of parental occupation may be common. In such cases, for both boys and girls, the age of first employment, first employment status, and first job will be strongly affected by parental characteristics. To sum up, orientation of the family plays an important role in the socio-economic cycle. Family characteristics are influential in determining the early achievements of its members.

We shall now turn to an examination of our respondents' family background. Factory women workers come from a wide diversity of social background, although a relatively high proportion is drawn from the low income/working class families. Three indicators are used to measure parental socio-economic status, namely the level of their father's education and their father's and mother's occupation.

### *Father*

We present the father's education in Table 5.7. As seen in Table 5.7, the proportion of fathers who have attained primary schooling is highest (65.3 percent). A substantial proportion of fathers have no education at all, especially for the respondents who were born in villages. Very few of the respondents have fathers with high education.

Table 5.7: Father's educational attainment of respondents

| Education | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 2 | 1.3 |
| He did not go to school | 34 | 22.7 |
| Primary school | 98 | 65.3 |
| Secondary school | 10 | 6.7 |
| High school | 5 | 3.3 |
| Other | 1 | 7.0 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

Moreover, many fathers hold jobs that have low occupation prestige. So, fathers' occupations do not provide resources to help children. Only higher occupational standing of the parents might lead children to obtain more schooling.

### *Mother*

Mothers' occupations are classified into four general groups: white-collar workers, blue-collar workers, farm workers and housewives. As Table 5.8. shows, the percentage of our respondents who have working mothers in paid employment is 37.8, while housewife mothers number 62 percent. On the other hand, as shown in replies to other questions about whether or not their mother ever worked outside the home, 41.3 percent of the respondents said 'yes', while the proportion of those who said 'no' was 58 percent. Working mothers were concentrated in blue-collar and farm work

One striking fact about all women in our sample whose mothers worked in paid employment is that they have very similar work histories- mainly factory work and domestic service. Another interesting point is that many of the women had housewife mothers. 69 percent of the women originally from rural areas had mothers who were housewives. Only 30 percent of their mothers had paid work. These proportions among the women originating in urban areas were respectively 64 percent and 35.9 percent.

Table 5.8: Current occupational distribution of respondents mothers

| Mother's Occupation | Number | | Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Housewife* | 93 | | 62.0 | |
| *Farm worker* | 17 | | 11.3 | |
| *Blue-Collar worker* | | | | |
| Factory worker | 17 | | 11.3 | |
| Child-minder | 2 | | 1.3 | |
| Domestic helpers | 9 | 36 | 6.0 | 23.9 |
| Office servant | 5 | | 3.3 | |
| Dressmaking | 3 | | 2.0 | |
| *White-collar worker* | | | | |
| Nurse | 2 | | 1.3 | |
| Officer | 2 | 4 | 1.3 | 2.6 |
| TOTAL | 150 | | 100.00 | |

### *Husband*

Since some women are not married, we could not use husband's characteristics in a general model. We have analysed this factor for only 57 currently married women. There is a high participation in paid work of women whose husbands are factory workers, irrespective of the men's actual occupations. Because of the men's very low wages, and therefore insufficient incomes, they are permissive about letting their wives work outside the home. That is, the husband's low income and low occupation prestige may be considered as the factors which affect the wife's labour-force participation. High socio-economic status of the husband is likely to decrease the possibility of a wife working.

Table 5.9: Monthly husbands' wages (1992) (N=57 Currently married women)

(1,000TL)

| Wage group | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 3 | 5.3 |
| 500 - 1,000TL | 38 | 66.7 |
| 1,100 - 1,500 | 11 | 19.5 |
| 1,600 - 2,000TL | 2 | 3.1 |
| 2,100 and over | 3 | 5.3 |
| TOTAL | 57 | 100.00 |

Table 5.9 shows husbands' incomes as monthly wages. One striking point here is that only very few women whose husbands (8.4 percent) had a monthly income over 1,500,000TL, the great majority of them (66.7 percent) had a monthly income between 500,000Tl and 1,000,000TL.[2] Another interesting point is that the highest proportion of

[2] For the year of research. 6,873TL = $1

the women in this sample had husbands employed in factories (see in Chapter 7, Table 7.2).

Now we look at the level of husbands' education for those women. As seen in Table 5.10, the proportion of the women whose husbands have higher education (beyond high school) was 3.5, while nearly two out of three women have husbands who have only primary education (42.1 percent) and secondary education (17.5 percent).

In short, in our sample, husbands of married women have low income and education. Thus, these characteristics of husbands increase the wives' labour-force participation as factory workers.

Table 5.10: Husbands' educational attainment (N=57 Currently married women)

| Education | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| He did not go to school | 3 | 5.3 |
| Primary school | 24 | 42.1 |
| Secondary school | 10 | 17.5 |
| Vocational school | 5 | 8.8 |
| High school | 13 | 22.8 |
| University | 2 | 3.5 |
| TOTAL | 57 | 100.00 |

***Children***

Women with children, among the respondents who are married, or divorced and widowed (66 women), were 77.27 percent, while the proportion of the married women without children was 13.64 percent. As we can see, a large proportion of married (or divorced and widowed) women have children, and only a small percentage of them were

childless at the time of our interview. This is a consequence of a belief in our society that women are mothers before anything else. So, a married woman is not really a woman until she has a child. Moreover, women without children are looked down on.

In women's lives, motherhood is of prime importance and so this role is very little effected by a woman's outside employment. Although the presence of pre-school age children at home also has a negative influence on participation rates, when economic difficulty gets sharp, women inevitably take an outside job and their children are left to be looked after through their own arrangements with grandmothers, relatives, neighbours or childminders. On the other hand, the presence of relatives or elder children provides a positive effect on mother's participation of outside employment.

In previous paragraphs we have indicated that in our sample, the women with children among the married (or divorced and widowed) women form the majority. Most of them (64,71 percent) have support from their parents to look after their children .

*Conclusion*

In this chapter I have shown that characteristics of women workers in the textile factories are not as uniform and static as they have been assumed in the literature. The present data reveals that numbers of rural- originated women are higher than urban-originated among the women factory workers. It has been widely assumed that rural people move to industrialised urban areas by and large for socio- economic reasons. A fuller explanation was given in Chapter IV during the discussion of rural-urban transformation in Turkey.

Age is a very important factor, as it determines the participation into factory work; education positively affects generally women's employment but this effect varies

according to the economic sector concerned. In the case of textile factories which we sampled, the education factor is not a decisive bearing on women workers' placement. The study also showed support for the previous findings in the literature pertaining to this subject, namely that younger and non-married women have a favourable position in the labour market (Tiano 1987; Safa 1984; Fernandez-Kelly 1983). On the other hand, the data have also pointed out that although the marital status of women is an important factor on work participation, married women have participated more than we expected. One reason for the higher number of married women in the factories is related to age at marriage. Another one is their insufficient family income, and so they feel a pressure to seek outside employment.

As this chapter points out, the way in which the family background and family composition, particularly the age and numbers of children, affected the participation of women workers in factory work was closely related to the women's class status and the family's economic situation. The next three chapters will discuss in some detail particular aspects of women's work and life in the household.

# CHAPTER VI

# WORK IN THE TEXTILE FACTORIES

This chapter describes the links between the labour market and the factory life which interviewed women described and indicates some of the social factors which shaped their lives. I want to present the empirical analysis of the factory life of the respondents.

In this chapter I wish also to look at the textile/clothes factories from which the data used in this study was gathered. This incorporates an examination of the general structure of these factories, including a description of the factory departments in terms of the type of work done and the level of skill required to do it. That is, this chapter comprises the general characteristics of the factories from which the sample was selected. This provides the readers with the information on the factories and their workers necessary to understand the findings of the study. I have also attempted to assess the workers' general attitudes towards their factories in the light of evidence gathered from them during a period of interviews.

## 1. Labour Market and Work Experience

Women have always contributed to the nation's economy. In addition to meeting their domestic responsibilities, they have, especially in earlier times, earned income for their families by producing goods at home for sale in the market. What is new in the twentieth century, however, is the increasing proportion of women working away from their homes. Until the Industrial Revolution in Europe, all work was centred in the

household, and labour for domestic use and for market trade was shared by all household members. The household was the centre of craft production, where the product, quality, and amount to produce were decided. Industrialisation changed this pattern.

With the advent of industrialisation, many of the products women produced at home were produced in the factory, drawing women into the capitalist labour market. For example, when at first textile manufacturing moved into factories outside the home, a large number of women became wage earners for the first time in Britain.

The composition of women in the labour force has changed over time within the different economic sectors. Moreover, historical research studies of trends in the women's labour force have noted that during times of social upheaval, such as wars, women are drawn into the labour force to act as a reserve army. At present, in both developed and developing countries, female labour is preferred more than male labour in labour-intensive production because their labour is cheaper to employ than comparable male labour, or they have higher productivity, or both.

In spite of a historical trend toward increased participation of women in the labour force, there are still many barriers to women's equal position in the workplace. Women are still clustered in occupations where historically they have been dominant. Besides occupational sex-typing of jobs, there is another form of segregation which is apparent in the hierarchical structure of occupations themselves. Women are given jobs that tend to lack advancement opportunities, whilst men usually hold the top positions in the hierarchy.

This section attempts to show the ways in which women join the labour market and the job-seeking process. Which sectors are more likely to offer jobs to female job-seekers? What kind of jobs do women prefer? What channels are used to find the job?

The other aim of this part is to examine the early work experience of women workers. At what age do women usually start working? How often do they change their jobs?

The analysis of this section attempts to answer the above questions about women's work experience.

***Finding a job***

Many women need to look for waged work because of growing costs of living, but finding a job both for men and for women is more difficult within a country which has a high unemployment rate. Therefore, they try every kind of way to penetrate the labour market because of their extreme economic need. As a result, women are usually obliged to accept employment in certain low-wage sectors of the economy.

On the other hand, there has been a slight shift in the female composition of the population over the last fifty years in Turkey. The total number of employees in the agricultural sector decreased as a result of mechanisation. As a result of this, the relative share of females in the economically active total population also decreased, and most of the rural families have migrated to the larger cities to seek employment. These migrants are part of the peripheral labour force, in the sense that they cannot find employment in the formal and organised urban sectors.

In spite of the other informal and unorganised urban and or agricultural work, factory work has been a favourable one for female members of rural migrants. For migrant women or low-educated working class female labour, factory work is a good opportunity, and textiles factories especially are seen as a fit work place for them.

Another point should be mentioned here, that in those societies where women's status is determined mainly by custom, tradition, and religion, women are seen as

homemakers, whereas men are seen as breadwinners. As a result of such a patriarchal structure, male members in the family have the control over the decision-making mechanism. Therefore, when we analyse who influenced the decision to work of women who were interviewed most of them gave the answer as 'my husband', or 'my father', not, 'myself'. Some objections were put forward by the male members of the household when women wanted to work outside home. Many men from the lower class find themselves in a dilemma in such circumstances. On the one hand, they are unable to support entirely their family by their incomes, so their wives need to have a job to better the financial position of the family; on the other hand, they think that if their wives work they will lose their self-esteem.

For example, when we interviewed women about how the working decision was made, Mujgan, one of interviewees, emphasised:

> *"I don't make any decision by myself but I wanted to work. At the beginning of my work, my husband disagreed with it because he has a strong feeling of jealousy. At that time we were financially in a bad situation because of his unemployment. In spite of my husband's view on working outside, my father-in-law supported me to work. In the end, he accepted it because he could not object to his father's opinion."*

As is seen in the above statement, women need encouragement to search for work, and relatives and friends are the first to stimulate them to work outside home. In our case, they used informal methods more than formal ones to search for a job. 66 percent of women interviewed said they were more likely to ask for jobs through their relatives and friends. The percentage of recruitment at the labour exchange among them was 1.3. The existence of a kinship and friendship network is very important for women, in spite of the increasing formalisation of relationships in the cities. In addition, it is commonly accepted that kin-based associations and being from the same place as another

are important factors among first generation migrants, not only in helping them to find jobs, but because adaptation to the new life-style is eased.

A job in these factories is usually obtained through informal relationships rather than formal contacts. As a result of this, factories usually don't want any examination from candidates. They are interviewed, and questions are usually asked about their early work backgrounds, families and personal characteristics. Their education level is also not very important to the job. The majority of women workers are assigned to unskilled work.

In addition, the managers of these factories (in the sample) mentioned that they don't need a highly educated labour force. Workers usually have primary school education. Amongst the women interviewed, 68.7 percent of them emphasised that primary school qualification is enough for this kind of work, because learning it is very easy.

64 percent of women workers among my respondents argued that although getting employment is easy in terms of examination and qualification finding a similar job in this area was considerably difficult. As is well known, many unemployed people wait at factory gates to become employed, because a job is very hard to find in a country like Turkey that has a high unemployment rate which is increasing constantly.

***Work experience***

Taking into account all my respondents, the most important fact was that women started to work at a very young age. As Table 6.1 shows, the majority of women

interviewed started to work before the age of twenty. The percentage for the age band of 14-19 years was 74.8.

Table 6.1: Initial Entry age for women workers

| Initial Entry Age | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 1 | 0.7 |
| Younger than 14 | 14 | 9.3 |
| 14-16 | 58 | 38.7 |
| 17-19 | 54 | 36.1 |
| 20-22 | 9 | 6.0 |
| 23-25 | 6 | 3.9 |
| 26-28 | 5 | 3.3 |
| 29-31 | 2 | 1.3 |
| Over 31 | 1 | 0.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

Many women who started to work younger than 16 had initially worked in the informal sector, which gives no job security. Many of the small workplaces employ very young girls and do not officially declare them as employees because they do not wish to pay tax for them. To employ young workers is also advantageous for the employer in terms of the wages they give. On the report of the minimum wage regulation, different wages are fixed for the young workers under sixteen and adult workers over sixteen. Likewise, social insurance premiums also shift between young and adult workers.

More than one-three of women workers among my respondents were new entrants to the workforce; that is, 35.3 percent of women were working in their first job at the time of my research. On the other hand, 64.7 percent of women had changed their jobs between one and four times, 20.7 percent having previously worked in 1 job, 36.7 percent in 2, 5.3 percent in 3 and 1.3 percent in 4 jobs. In the light of our data, we can say that the female labour force has been concentrated in 'agricultural work' and 'factory

work'. As the work backgrounds of women showed, a small proportion of women, 11.3 percent, had worked in other cities.

Table 6.2: Women workers' first paid job

| First Paid Job | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer +First job is their present jobs | 53 | 35.3 |
| Farmer worker | 30 | 20.0 |
| Clothing workshop | 13 | 8.7 |
| Factory | 36 | 24.0 |
| Weaver(carpet) | 1 | 0.7 |
| Hairdressing | 4 | 2.7 |
| Childcare and au-pair | 2 | 1.3 |
| House cleaner | 1 | 0.7 |
| Clerical and secretarial | 10 | 6.6 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

As is seen above in Table 6.2, they had previously experienced employment in different occupations, but these are in the sphere of traditionally 'female' jobs as exist commonly in the labour market. Most women had had an experience of paid employment before having their present jobs. As Table 6.2 shows, 35.3 percent of women had not worked before, and the proportion of those that had experienced paid employment earlier than their present one was 64.7.

The length of life worked by women workers in these factories interviewed was short as Table 6.3 shows. That is, women in our study had an especially short stay in factory employment. The table 6.3 shows 0-6 months is the most common length of this working life. Those respondents who had stayed 0-6 months in factory employment also have no redundancy money when they finish their contracts.

Another issue is that if women change their jobs during their working lives these changes do not take place within a wide range of occupations. Alternatives are limited and do not provide women with much choice. However, as the work histories of women showed, a few women had worked in other cities before they worked in these factories.

Table 6.3: Length of life worked by respondents at current job.

| Length of working life | Numbers | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| 0-6 months | 47 | 31.3 |
| 1 year | 6 | 4.0 |
| 2 years | 23 | 15.3 |
| 3 years | 20 | 13.3 |
| 4 years | 16 | 10.7 |
| 5 years | 14 | 9.3 |
| 6 years | 10 | 6.7 |
| 7 years | 6 | 4.0 |
| 8 years | 8 | 5.3 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

It could be argued that the reason such a small proportion of the women had worked in other cities was that many of them were single, and it is difficult for single women to stay long in other cities without their parents. Their parents do not give them permission to live their own lives in different cities because of social and cultural reasons.

***Choosing present job***

The assumptions about women's low attachment to their work appear to be borne out by disruptions in their working life (e.g. childrearing) and apathy towards getting better jobs. But appearances mask the realities of the social pressures on women. Even the employers often relate turnover among female employees to changes in family

circumstances. For example, a woman is more likely to change her job if it entails shift work, because she cannot spare enough time for her family.

Geher (see appendix A), married with two children, started to work at the age of 15. She has been working at the factory 8 years. She told me:

*"In the beginning I worked as an agricultural worker around Manisa when my parents migrated from Malatya. This was seasonal work, and apart from this I worked also in household cleaning. After two years we settled in Manisa, I found a job at the textile factory. It was shift work and I worked in this job until I got married. At that time I wanted the home and the family and I wasn't interested in going out to work. Unfortunately, my husband's salary wasn't enough for us. I had to go out to work. I started to work in clothing workshops...We decided when I was expecting my first child I should go back to the home. After two years we got children, my husband lost his job and I started to work in this factory. I have been working nearly eight years in here but I took only six months break from to work when I was expecting my second child."*

Employers also believed that there was greater job turnover amongst women compared to men. Most of the time this was justified by the view that women were less in need of work and more free to give up work or to change their jobs.

One of my purposes in this study was to find out their reasons for going out to work. The women interviewed cited the main reasons for going to work as financial ones, to raise the living standard of themselves and their families. Money for the family was by far the most frequent reason, even among single workers. When I asked why they had chosen factory employment, only a small minority did not include financial reasons. They said, that workers in those factories were usually women and they preferred to work with women. The other reason for preferring factory work over domestic service, even if the wages were the same, was the sociability of the factory.

Many of the interviewees pointed out that a servant does not have the same chance to meet new people or a group of friends at work. The importance of this social stimulation was shown in particular with the single workers. Thus, although the main attraction of the factory was economic, opportunities for a more interesting social life added to this attraction.

Although most women, 39.3 percent, gave money as one of their main choices, 33.3 percent of the others said that they had no alternative choice to work in other workplaces because of lack of qualifications or limited access to employment, and also they mentioned most their friends were working in these factories.

Money was important to the women both as a means of raising their own and their family's standard of living, and as the source of a degree of financial independence for themselves. Many women agreed with the view that women needed to go to work for financial independence and social identity.

Although the majority of women workers interviewed accepted that it was too difficult working in the factory, especially shiftwork, in the sense of coping with family life and work life together, they have preferred factory work to their first jobs which had been temporary or seasonal. In addition, even the majority of them, 68.7 percent, stated 'yes', when asked whether they would like to change to some other job, saying their preferences were for electronic factories or jobs without shiftwork and without quotas.

## 2. Profiles of the Factories from which the Sample was Selected

The sample for our inquiry was selected from three textile/clothing factories in the Organised Industrial District in the Province of Manisa, which is the secondary largest city in the Aegean Region of Turkey.

All these factories are privately owned, which was confirmed by the managers of the factories who indicated that their firms are private and Turkish-owned. However, they did not provide me with any details or figures. When I asked them about the origin and identity of the capital, they simply responded that they do purchase foreign technology. They did not say anything about credits from abroad or how this technology is bought. Only one manager from factory C mentioned that they had received State credits for its establishment. Two of these factories (factories A and B) were set up by the same joint-stock company. Factory A started its production in 1975. All the phases of production, starting with gathering cotton fibres from the fields to the final completion are integrated. It was also the first factory to be established in textile manufacturing in the Organised Industrial District. Factory B was established in 1984. So, together they became a large textile group in the Organised Industrial District in the Province of Manisa. Factory B is controlled by the same group of capitalists who own factory A. They are local residents in Manisa.

The third factory (factory C) was a limited liability company. It was established with the support of State credit in 1983 and began production in 1984. It produced textiles and ready-to-wear garments. It has several associated companies. This factory originally concentrated on exporting to foreign markets, but later turned to increasing its share in the interior market.

All of the three factories have similar characteristics since their products and the type of technologies they have are similar. In addition, they all are located in the same area.

Factory B produces only ready-to-wear garments. Factory A combines some processes of textile manufacturing such as spinning, knitting, dyeing and finishing and

fine ready-to-wear clothing. The principal production activities of factory C are knitting-products, fabric dyeing, printing and fine clothing.

According to factory C 1992 Annual Report, its production was 1,932,846 pieces per year. All kinds of underwear and T-shirts are produced in it. Three different trademarks have been used on the products. The capacity of its production is 15,000 pcs/day in the fine clothing section, 9,000 tons/day in the knitting section, and 10,000 tons/day in the dyeing section. As for factory A, each year 3,300 tons of cotton is turned into 2,800 tons of yarn, 2,400 tons of raw fabric, 1,900 tons of dyed fabric, 350 tons of dyed yarn and more than 4,000,000 pieces of ready made garments. 10,000 pieces of ready-made garments are produced per day by factory B.

They were established mainly as export industries. This factor has affected the quantities of their production and the types of their products. The export market of the world economy determines the activities of the producer countries. The requirements of the world market are fulfilled in many ways, depending on the position of various manufacturing branches vis-à-vis the international economy. During the last two decades there has been an increasing trend towards the internationalisation of capital investment in manufacturing activities. It has coincided with the transfer of part of the production processes - particularly in certain branches of industry - to underdeveloped parts of the world (Nayar 1977; Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye 1978). The world economy is undergoing a process of global restructuring and this process manifests itself differently in different contexts. It has some common features that allow us to consider it as a global process, albeit with specific developments and different social effects in each territorial unit (country, region, city, firm).

As regards the structure of Turkish industry, the import-substitution industrialisation programme ended in 1978. A major stabilisation programme was announced in January 1980. It had two basic aims: to increase the inflow and decrease the outflow of foreign exchange, and to restrain domestic demand and increase public and private savings for investment, especially in export industries. Therefore, Turkey has become a country which has export-oriented industrialisation to countries such as Hong Kong, Mexico, Taiwan, and Malaysia in the periphery.

*The Production Process and Labour Force*

All stages of production processes are more or less the same in terms of different kinds of work which are done by women and men in all factories.

The production processes in these factories combine some stages of production. We see these different stages of production within different departments of the factories. In addition, the jobs in these departments are different in terms of women and men's work.

Yarn Production:

The preparation stage of the yarn production is usually a male job because it is considered dirty. In this stage the process generally starts with cleaning. The bales of raw material are opened and dirt is shaken out by male workers. In the carding stage the laps are brought to the cards by the men, but the card control is by the women, whose task it is to repair the sliver when it is broken. The maintenance of the carding-machines and cleaning of the cylinders are described as skilled work and are fulfilled by men. In yarn production carding is followed by the drawing process. In this process, women are engaged in the draw-frame control and their job is to repair the sliver if it breaks.

The other stage in which women usually perform is the roving process. Women workers place new material into the feed, and when the bobbins are full they replace them with empty ones. They also carry out repairs when the roving breaks in the process. Moreover, in spinning and winding stages all work generally is done by women, such as supplying of roving, repairing broken yarn and keeping the frame and winding-machine clean. Male workers are in a minority in these processes. They are either mechanics engaged in the maintenance of the machines or they carry the bobbins from one section to another.

Cloth Production

In the cloth production there are two stages: beaming and weaving. The preparation of the beam is the men's job, but watching over the running of the machine and mending the broken ends are the women's job. In the weaving section loom-weavers are mostly men, whose work is to repair broken warp-threads, to repair the weft-thread when it is broken, and to keep an eye on the weaving. Inspection is always carried out by women workers, whose work is to mark any faults. After the finishing stage to improve the appearance of the clothes, the clothes are dried, blown and pressed. These jobs are regarded as heavy and are done by men. These jobs are also skilled work.

Garment Production

In this department, work is sectionalised. Here is the most labour-intensive part of the production process. In this shop, cloth is cut and then sewn into garments. Women in the clothing department usually work as sewing and 'overlock' machine operators. They also use machines for basting, fixing on buttons, stitching button holes, zips and trimmings. Moreover, female labour in these parts of the production process is

classed mostly as semi-skilled or unskilled because their training for the job requires little time.

Generally speaking, there are six major jobs in the shops:

1. *The sorter*: the person who sorts bundles of cut-up textiles according to the qualities of the material and the specifictions set by the manufacturers before sending them out to different sections.

2. *The floorlady or floorman*: the person responsible for maintaining the smooth operation of the overall production processes. He or she instructs workers on how to sew the garment. This person prepares the necessary threads and spot checks the work completed on the floor to ensure that all work complies with the contractor's instructions.

3. *Machine operators*: workers including sewing machine operators, overlock machine operators. Single machine operators sew most parts of the garments. Buttoners sew on buttons and make buttonholes on buttonhole machines. General workers turn out belts and collars or other single parts of the garments on different special machines.

4. *Floor workers*: workers who do not operate machines. They include trimmers and cleaners. Trimmers remove threads left on each garment from other machine operators, while cleaners do odds and ends in the shops. These workers are exclusively women.

5. *Pressers*: workers who press out creases and wrinkles of the finished garments.

6. *Finishers*: workers who prepare finished garments for shipping out. They include the quality inspector and hangers. The quality inspector looks for irregularities

and snips off extra threads left on the finished garments. Hangers hang up newly-pressed goods and prepare them for shipping.

The production process consists of designing, cutting, sewing and finishing. The operation of the shop starts when the sorter separets the cut-up fabrics and schedules labour procedure. After the decision is made, work will either go to the single machine operators first or overlock before being sewn. After being sewn, the garment will be checked by the floorlady before the operation goes any further.

Here production is done by the piece-work system and it is divided into a labour process comprising separate operations. Production is based on team work. A group of workers work on the different parts of a product and each worker's speed has to be in accord with the others'. A worker sews just a part, such as sleeves or button holes. Workers complement each other's work to produce the final product.

In the section which deals with quality control, packaging, and storing and loading, women and men are charged with different tasks. Control, labelling and packaging are women's jobs and storing and loading are generally done by men.

All these production processes in textile manufacturing are interlinked. Some of them demand new technological machinery, while they rely generally on labour-intensive work. Therefore, although their production is a basically labour-intensive process, they need a technology which is entirely imported. One of the factories' managers said:

> *"Our knitting machines were imported from Germany. In these days, our tendency is to buy new machinery which has several characteristics to follow closely the current fashion. So, we will produce some kinds of fabrics which are presently fashionable in the world."*

*Structures of Employment*

Some changes may easily occur in the levels of employment depending on the quantities of the production. During the last few years, employers have decreased their labour forces because of the constraints of the EEC quota policy.

Moreover, the structure of their employment changes twice a year. This is because they employ workers on six-month contracts when they first start. Contracting has been an important mechanism to lower labour costs and increase flexibility. In most contracting firms, the large majority of the workers are women, which was the case in our sample factories. As has been argued, even though these women are not supposed to be preferred to men workers (due to their innate natural qualities), yet they are given priority for employment since they are considered as highly productive, docile and cheap workers (Phillips and Taylor 1980; Elson 1983).

Therefore, female labour is extensively used, particularly in the labour intensive sections of the factories. The contemporary sexual division of labour in Turkish industry exhibits very similar characteristics to the one in developed western countries. Turkish women wage workers are concentrated in almost the same branches of industry in which their European counterparts are concentrated. In spite of this similarity, the expansion of the Turkish women's participation in industry has been very slow in comparison to that of women in the West.

Historically, non- Muslim women in Ottoman times started to work in the factory for the first time, at the beginning of nineteenth century. Ottoman Muslim women participated in this labour force only in the 1850s. In the beginning of industrialisation women especially were concentrated in the textile industry.

As can be clearly seen in below Table 6.4 , women were predominantly employed in the kinds of factories which we studied for our research: the case of factory C follows.

The number employed in factory C was 631 persons in all sections of the factory at the time of study. 59 of them were managerial persons (all of them men), 510 were on the shop-floor (most of them women), 41 were employed as quality controllers (the majority were women) and 21 persons were working in stores (all of them men). When we looked at the distribution of male and female labour forces according to the departments of the shop-floor, we faced data which were as follows: in the department of knitting only 20 men were working and there was no woman

Table 6.4: Distribution of employment in the factories by sex and job

(1991)

| | Factory A | | | Factory B | | | Factory C | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Type of jobs** | **M** | **F** | **Total** | **M** | **F** | **Total** | **M** | **F** | **Total** |
| Managerial | 57 | 4 | 61 | 36 | 2 | 28 | 59 | - | 59 |
| Shop-floor | 250 | 350 | 600 | 30 | 515 | 545 | 120 | 390 | 510 |
| Quality controllers | 20 | 36 | 56 | 15 | 28 | 43 | 12 | 29 | 41 |
| Stores | 30 | - | 30 | 24 | - | 24 | 21 | - | 21 |
| TOTAL | 357 | 390 | 747 | 105 | 545 | 650 | 212 | 419 | 631 |

while 5 women were employed in the dyeing section and the number of men was 85. But, contrary to this, while 385 women were working in the department of clothing, the number of men was only 15. The reason why women are predominantly in the clothing section is that this is considered as unskilled work, while knitting and dyeing are seen as skilled work. This is due to the large machines in those two sections.

*The Market for Their Products*

Turkey's importation of textile goods became negligible in the 1960's. Export of those goods has been rising. Employers recognise that the standard of Turkish textiles must be improved. They are eager that the cost of production should be kept low so that Turkey may successfully compete with other potential textile producers in the world market. Turkey's main competitors in textile are Japan, Hong Kong, India, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, South Korea and some of the other developing countries. In some of these countries, labour is cheaper than in Turkey, and some have technological advantages.

Turkey has two important advantages: cheap labour and raw materials. Efficient use of these components of production makes it a potential exporter of textiles. Turkish textiles have been exported mainly to the Common Market countries, especially Germany.

Since its foundation, Factory A has exported 90 percent of its production to EEC countries, Canada, U.S.A, Scandinavian countries, Austria, Hungary, Libya, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Its exports reached over 4 million dollars in 1985. Factory B was set up entirely for export-oriented production, and it reached 95 percent of its objective in 1985. It has especially exported to U.S.A and Germany, but it has turned towards the markets of the Middle East and Eastern Bloc countries after EEC countries applied a quota on Turkish textiles. Factory C has exported its production mainly to Germany , United Kingdom and Holland. Its contribution to GNP has been 32,400 million / mark as export in 1992. For the last few years, these factories have increased their exports up to the level of the quota put by the importer countries. So, setting limited quotas, especially those of EEC countries, has put these sectors under

pressure in the export market. As a result, their export has been reduced to below their potential. In other words, they have not always faced the same export market, because of tariffs and quotas. And these unfavorable changes in commodity prices and tariffs affect severely the export- oriented economies. Therefore, the factories which we studied have started to increase their ratio in the internal market.

One of these factories' managers said :

> *"we have shown a tendency towards the needs of the upper-middle class in the internal market and the sale of our products has been made in the three major cities. We are in contact with the wholesalers in these cities. Since 1986, we started an advertising campaign towards the internal market".*

As seen in the above statements, all of the factories, initially established for the export market, have turned towards the internal market because of the constraints on exports. From 1980 onwards, the sectoral composition of Turkish exports changed sharply in favour industrial goods, especially manufactured goods. Textiles and clothing remained as the largest manufactured export category,increasing its share in total exports,even though with a decline of its share of manufactured exports between 1980 and 1985 (OECD,1987). As chapter 1 made clear, the post-1980 period in Turkey is also marked by increasing unemployment and a worsening income distribution. Overall, under the export-oriented regime the labour market conditions deteriorated.

## 3. Women Workers' Factory Lives

This section attempts to examine the working conditions of factory worker women in the textile factories. We discuss their working hours and wages and observe their working conditions by the answers given to our questions.

### *Hours*

Historically, changes in hours of work are the most remarkable occurrences in the whole field of labour. A major gain for working people is the reduction of the length of the working day. A substantial reduction of working hours has taken place since the first half of the eighteenth century. For instance, since 1850 the normal working week has been reduced from about sixty to forty hours in Britain. The rights of most of the working classes were gained only after a long struggle in the industrialised countries, including Turkey. The acquisition of certain rights has not been easy from the perspective of working people. One of their main struggles has been the working hours per week and how these hours are scheduled.

In Turkey the first Labour Code, which was the basis for all subsequent labour legislation, was enacted in 1936, but it took four years to apply an eight hour working day, and it only covered workers in places employing ten or more people. This was not very effective as a large number of workers were employed in places with less people. Moreover, the law put forward conditions under which firms could extend the working day- that is, to increase working hours. An eight hour working day was put into practice only after workers had gained the right of collective bargaining. Workers could bring about significant changes in working conditions after the establishment of trade unions in the 1940s and their development in the 1960s. The Labour Law of 1967, which replaced the Labour Code of 1936, dealt with the individual employment relationship where the employee works under a 'service contract', which is an individual contract of employment setting a specified wage for a specific job. The Labour Law of 1967 was then replaced by the Constitutional Court for procedural reasons, re-enacted with minor changes in 1971 (Ekin 1979), and again amended in 1983.

Officially, at present there is a forty-eight hours working week in factories. The Turkish Labour Code has imposed this as a general rule, but there are many exceptions to it; the factories for this study have not followed the forty-eight hour rule. In factory C . employees have worked more than eight -i.e. nine and half hours - per day, although the working day is determined as the eight hours from 8.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m.. Saturday and Sunday are holidays, but usually Saturday is also a working day. In the other two factories (factory A and B) workers worked eight hours a day and six days a week because they organise their production by the shift system, as seen in the Table 6.5. Factory A engages three groups of workers in a day and operates a twenty-four hour period over six days and nights. In factory B, workers have also worked according to the shift system as two working groups in a day, from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. and 3 p.m. to 11 p.m.. Sometimes in this factory working hours have exceeded eight hours per day. In addition, night work cannot exceed seven or seven -and-a half hours according to the Ministry of Labour; but during the field work, for a month men and women workers of this factory were working twelve hours a day, from 7.30 a.m. to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 p.m. to 7.30 a.m. Shift changes take place weekly in these factories. The workers move in succession from the morning shift to the afternoon shift, and then to the night shift, repeating the same cycle as the weeks pass.

Table 6.5: Shift patterns and working hours in the factories

| | Working Hours | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shift Pattern | Factory A | Factory B | Factory C |
| No shift | - | - | 8.30 am. - 4.30 pm. |
| 2 shift | - | 7 am. - 3 pm.<br>3 pm. - 11 pm. | - |
| 3 shift | 7 am. - 3 pm.<br>3 pm. - 11 pm.<br>11 pm. - 7 am. | - | - |

It is almost a common rule that workers who are working eight hours a day have a half-an- hour meal break in the middle of the shift. In all of the three factories meals are provided by the factory. Apart from this main break, the factories do not have any other breaks. A worker might be allowed to have a break for a couple of minutes but only if the foreman allowed another worker to attend to her friend's work, in addition her own work. It is interesting that they have to ask for permission in order to go to lavatories.

There is also another issue related to working-time. This is overtime work, which means that workers may work more than the normal working hours. Turkish Labour Law makes provisions for the factories enabling them to do overtime work provided that they do not exceed three hours per day or ninety days per year. Each worker has the right to decide whether or not he or she will work for overtime. Collective bargaining dictates that a worker should be notified three days before the planned overtime work. They also should be paid between 50 to 70 percent more than the normal hourly wages for it.

While evaluating the factories in terms of the working hours, it should be mentioned that overtime work has become a regular feature of the work place. Employers see that it is cheaper to use overtime than to employ more people. For example, we can see this very clearly when we compare the numbers of factory C's employees in 1991 and in 1989. Although its employment was 990 in 1989, it was reduced to 631 in 1991. In particular, the labour force in the shop-floor was decreased to half of 1989's total. So, employers started to have recourse to frequent overtime working. For the employers, overtime work is a good way of increasing production at less cost. Another point here is that they make their workers stay longer than the usual day sometimes without early notification or even without higher pay.

When we carried out this survey it was a busy period during which the three factories were working overtime. 79 percent of the respondents said that they were working overtime whilst only 20 percent said otherwise. Most of them said that their wages for overtime work were not satisfying; they also complained about irregularity of the working times. They suggested that overtime work of which they had complained, was the reason for this irregularity. Table 6.6 shows the views of women about overtime work.

Table 6.6: The opinions of women workers concerning working overtime

| Their opinions | Number | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 4 | 2.7 |
| Agree | 31 | 20.7 |
| Disagree | 115 | 76.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

In the above table, it is possible to see clearly that most of the women workers disagreed with working overtime. The most frequently stated reasons for disagreeing with working overtime are shown in Table 6.7.

Among the respondents who said they disagree with overtime working, 35.3 percent said that overtime work was tiring for themselves:8.6 percent expressed their reason that eight hours work a day was enough; and 10 percent of the women that the overtime wage was not enough.

Table 6.7: Reasons for disagreeing with overtime

| *Reason* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|
| I agree | 20.6 |
| No answer, I am not giving any reason | 8.7 |
| Family responsibilities | 7.3 |
| It is tiring | 35.3 |
| Its wage is not enough | 10.0 |
| Because of having no time for myself | 8.0 |
| Eight hours work is enough a day | 8.6 |
| Others | 1.3 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 |

In terms of women agreeing with overtime work, their reasons were as follows: 45 percent of those who agree with overtime work were due to the money, and another 55 percent said that it was because their employer demanded it. It is most likely that they are non-unionised workers who cannot afford to disobey the orders of their employer.

Müjgan (see appendix A) was one of one hundred and fifty women, and she was there working at a sewing machine. This is what she thinks about working hours:

> *"I usually go to work at 7 a.m. and I finish at 3.30 p.m. in my day time shift work and the following week to this I work from 3.30 p.m. till 11.30 p.m. There is only half an hour meal break time. I don't like to work overtime but we have to sometimes work overtime. Well you know, when we work overtime, working hours a week become seventy-two hours. My viewof this is that it really is too much work, especially for married women. I mean, a woman' s work is never done. When you think you've got to go home and start all over again. You've got to go home and do a bit every night....Or you can take every night off and then work like hell on Sunday. But I mean, some nights I don't sit down till about 9 o'clock."*

The daily routine work of most women is similar to Müjgan's, in general working eight hours or more than this per day as shift work and usually overtime work.

*Wages*

According to Turkish Labour Law, no worker should be paid under the wage limit set by the Legal Minimum Wage Commission. Even if there is no union in a factory, workers have to be paid the current minimum wage rate.

Factory managers refused to issue the details of their employees' wages, but one of them showed me some documents when I asked him how the wages had changed since the entrance year of employees. Table 6.8 below shows workers' wages in factory C according to their year of entrance. It indicates that women who started in 1991 receive 425,000TL/month while in the same year (1991) those who started in 1984 were receiving 700,000TL/month.

As can be seen from Table 6.8 the wage increasse per year was between 25,000TL and 75.000TL. Moreover, nearly the same difference was seen between every work group. The sample data demonstrates that workers, usually women, earn very low wages because they are engaged in the unskilled work category. In addition, employers consider them as temporary and they sometimes change most of the workforce in the shop-floor.

Women are usually employed at a lower status in these groups of work. For example, unskilled, labour intensive, manual, light, assembling, immobile, preparation and finishing work is done by women. Wage differences in the work of women and men depend only on the type of work because according to Labour Law there can be no differentiation in pay based on sex if both male and female employees are performing a job of the same nature and working equally efficiently.

On the other hand, women's lower wages are justified in reality by the fact that although they contribute to the family income, they are not the main breadwinners. In other words, women are classified in the labour market as 'secondary workers'. Since their wages are considered as subsidiary income for the family economy, they are relatively lower than that of men.

In the history of capitalism, women have always accepted lower wages compared with men (Alexander 1977; Barrett 1980, 183; Milkman 1983, 196). Turkish women were no exception to it. The wages of women in Turkey have always been lower than that of men ever since they began to work for wages.

Table 6.8: Monthly wages of workers by their year of entrance/1000TL

| Groups of work | Year of Entrance | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| I. Group | 700 | 675 | 650 | 625 | 600 | 575 | 500 | 425 |
| II .Group | 770 | 745 | 720 | 695 | 670 | 645 | 520 | 495 |
| III. Group | 845 | 820 | 795 | 770 | 745 | 720 | 595 | 570 |
| IV Group | 925 | 900 | 875 | 850 | 825 | 800 | 775 | 650 |
| V. Group | 1,010 | 985 | 960 | 935 | 910 | 895 | 860 | 725 |
| VI. Group | 1,100 | 1,075 | 1,050 | 1,025 | 1,000 | 975 | 850 | 825 |
| VII. Group | 1,195 | 1,170 | 1,145 | 1,120 | 1,095 | 1,070 | 1,045 | 920 |

Source: Document obtained from factory C in my sample.
Note: See Table 6.9 for the containing of group of work.

Table 6.9: The jobs which groups of work contained

| Groups of work | Jobs |
|---|---|
| I. Group | Office boy, cleaner, sweeper, gardener, tea-maker, porter, bobbiner, packer, dry-cleaner, sewing thread cleaner, untrained cutter, untrained preparatory, untrained machine worker, untrained ironer, untrained sorter, untrained quality-controller, finisher: |
| II. Group | security man, mechanical assistant, assistant designer, last controller, etiquetter, sewing machinist, preparer, cutter, ironer, sorter, quality controller, untrained weaver, untrained dyer, untrained fabric printer, stoker, skilled porter; |
| III. Group | assistant boiler maker, assistant electrician, assistant laborer, driver, skilled sewing machinist, skilled cutter, skilled quality controller, finishing conductor, registrar, assistant technician of sewing machine, skilled sorter, print drawer person, skilled ironer, dyer, fabrics printer; |
| IV. Group | technician of sewing machine, colour controller, electrician, boiler maker, mechanic, skilled knitter, skilled dyer, super-skilled sewing machinist, computer operators, register inspector, skilled fabric printer, super-skilled cutter, interval quality controller, consignment preparer; |
| V. Group | chief boilers maker, chief mechanician, chief driver, materials supplier, chief of security group, skilled designer, model inspector cutting inspector,, preparation inspector , packing inspector, iron inspector, quality controller inspector, trainer, collection planner, |
| VI. Group | chief mechanic of workshop, chief of team, chief of band, chief of sewing control, chief of store , assistant chief of sewing machine technician, laboratory worker, assistant chief electric technician. |
| VII. Group | knitting machine technician, sewing training chief, model section chief, chief technician of sewing machine, chief electrician, finishing group chief. |

Source: Document obtained from factory C dated 13 July 1993.

According to TIB[1] writers, in the early period of industrialisation high unemployment led the working people to accept low wages, but women and children were considered 'supplementary income earners', so they were used to promote competition between men and women and thus to decrease the general wages' level (TIB 1976, 66).

There is also another similar argument which has been put forward by Zaim on the low wages of women. In his view, women were content with lower wages because they were already supported by their male family members (Zaim 1956).

This sample data show us that the meanwage was 700,000TL ($102), 68 of the our respondents were lower than this average. Of these 47 were newly employed in the factories at the time of the interviews and were therefore employed at a lower pay. Table 6.10 demonstrates that of the 150 women I interviewed, 5 had a maximum wage of 1,500,000TL ($218).

Table 6.10: Monthly earnings of women workers interviewed in sample.

(1991:1.000 TL)

| Monthly earnings | Numbers | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 3 | 2.0 |
| 500 | 45 | 30.0 |
| 510- 750 | 36 | 24.0 |
| 760 - 900 | 38 | 25.4 |
| 1,000 - 1,300 | 22 | 15.3 |
| 1,500- | 5 | 3.3 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100. |

An analysis of how they evaluated their wages shows that most of the women were relatively unsatisfied with them. The table below (Table 6.11) shows how the women responded.

---

[1] Tum Iktisatcilar Birligi (The Association of All Economists)

Table 6.11 : Description of the current pay of selected respondents

| Assessment of pay | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 4 | 2.7 |
| Excellent | 1 | 0.7 |
| Good | 10 | 6.7 |
| Fair | 36 | 24.0 |
| Poor | 77 | 51.3 |
| Very Poor | 22 | 14.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

Over 80 percent of the respondents assessed their pay as "fair", "poor" or " very poor", and only 7.4 percent said it was "good" or " excellent". In fact, many women were relatively poorly paid. Most of them were taking the 'minimum wage' which is set by the Minimum Wages Commission. It is interesting that twice the amount of the minimum wage is required only for food expenses for a family of four. This has been so in Turkey for a long time. Devaluation of the Turkish lira has been constant. In 1978, the daily average wage varied around US $8.32. because the nominal wages of unionized labour periodically increased in order to catch up with the high inflation rates of 1978 and 1979. Since the beginning of daily devaluation in 1980, wages have been declining such that the daily average wage was as low as $3.04 by 1984, because one of the first measures taken by the military goverment was to fix wages. In comparing this to the low-wage countries of Southeast Asia, one can see that while the wages in these countries have greatly increased, wages in Turkey have decreased as indicated in the following Table 6.12.

Table 6.12 : Daily average wages (In US. dollars)

| | Countries | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | South Korea | Taiwan | Hongkong | Singapore | Turkey |
| 1973 | 2.34 | 2.32 | 4.16 | 5.92 | 3.89 |
| 1982 | 11.36 | 11.68 | 9.79 | 17.52 | 3.04 |

Source: "Düşük Ücretle Şampuanlığa Oynuyoruz, " Cumhuriyet, March 8, 1984, p.1

***Working Conditions***

Now, I will examine working conditions of the women workers. The vast majority of women workers in the factories interviewed were concentrated on unskilled, repetitive factory work which is traditionally performed by women.

The jobs are insecure and most of those who started to work recently in the factories had the fear of dismissal after a six month period. In addition, after six months they are entitled to join trade unions. The present study found that the most important thing was pronounced to be job-security when compared with earning good money. 93.3 percent of respondents said that the more important matter to them was to have a secure job. The percentage of those who said earning good money was more important was only 4.7.

Workers found their jobs very repetitive. Everything in their daily life was in a rush. There was no time to slow down or do anything at a normal pace. It was the same at work as at home. They needed *hours* to relax after work. At the end of each working day many of them suffered from stress-related diseases and post-work fatigue. Eyestrain, dullness, shoulder stiffness, backache and neckache were particularly common more than any other ailments. The vast majority of women workers interviewed had

occupational health problems. Those who clearly mentioned these problems were 65.3 percent. The answer 'there is no health problem' was given by 33.3 percent of the women but even they might have had some problems which they might not have considered important or did not want to admit. Most of them complained about tiredness. Moreover, many women looked older than their age, pale and drawn. They thought that I was about seven years younger than I am and I thought them to be five or ten years older than they are.

The following table (Table 6.13) demonstrates how the respondents saw their job.

55.3 percent of the women interviewed described their job as 'not hard at all' or 'not very hard', and the percentage of those who said 'reasonably hard' or 'very hard' was 42. One of the reasons for hardness was because their production was subject to quotas.

Table 6.13: Description of their job regarding hardness

| Assessment of hardness | Number | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 4 | 2.7 |
| Not hard at all | 17 | 11.3 |
| Not very hard | 66 | 44.0 |
| Reasonably hard | 51 | 34.0 |
| Very hard | 12 | 8.0 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

Productivity is maintained through production quotas. Management uses competition among workers to maintain the pressure on productivity (Grossman 1979; Lim 1978) and the quotas are continuously increased. Moreover, the amount of overtime varies. At the time of the study, overtime was sometimes two hours per day in factory C

and four hours per day in factory B. Some interviewees were anxious that these hours be increased, for they depended on the extra income to supplement their low basic wages.

Many of them had experienced relatively poor pay and bad working conditions and therefore they recognised that good working conditions were most important if they were to have any job satisfaction.

## 4. Trade Union membership and Activity

Trade unions evidently have a great deal of influence both on the industrial scene and on the political level. One of the initial aims of the unions is to increase their membership, to represent as many workers as possible. The trade union is essentially a vehicle for the collective representation of the views of individual members of the work force. This may be done through formal or informal means, and it may involve discussion, consultation or negotiation.

The Trade union movement, since its inception as a male-dominated institution, has developed goals, strategies, priorities and procedures related to men's working lives, while, until recently, largely ignoring the specific needs and objectives of women. In other words, trade unions are reactive institutions which have grown up in an industrialised society to defend men's jobs and their interests as members of the working class. Women came into trade unionism later than men,and were deliberately excluded by the "first men's craft unions" (Cockburn 1983; Taylor 1983). When we look at the history of unionism in Turkey too, the Ottoman-period guilds, which were organisations of craft workers, were completely closed to women.

Since the enactment of the Trade Union Act of 1947, but particularly after the enactment of the Trade Union Act of 1963, the number of employer and employee organisations and their memberships increased in Turkey. The 1982 Constitution and the amended labour legislation, however, aimed to control the development of labour relations and to restrict the rights of trade unions to organise and bargain. Several factors inherent in the economic, social and political structure of Turkey have adversely affected the development of trade unions, the main factor being the economic and employment structure of the country.

The general socio-economic atmosphere in Turkey has been unsuitable for the development of trade unions. Legal restrictions, the indifferent attitude of female workers towards unions, the lack of industrial class consciousness, the origin of industrial workers, the multiple income sources, the early years in safeguarding the workers' interests were the major restricting factors in their development (Tuna 1964). Especially in the early stages of Trade union development, the bulk of industrial workers originated from the agricultural sector; they had strong family ties, limited skills and qualifications and some extra income from farming; the ties were loose between the workers and their workplace. These factors combined with the scarcity of job opportunities in the newly developing industrial sector. Additionally the leadership in trade unions was inexperienced and politically under administrative pressures.

The attitude of employers towards trade unions was mostly unfavourable. The social environment in Turkey and the origin of the working class, clearly indicate their attitude (Dereli 1968, 48-52). In addition, public opinion also discouraged the development of trade unions: since there was not a large working class due to the small number of industries, the general public was not concerned with the wage earners'

problems. Moreover, the paternalistic attitude of the State inhibited trade union development for a long time.

As a result of the above factors, the organised labour movement did not gain importance until the 1961 Constitution. Although the constitutional freedom and rights of the 1961 Constitution accelerated the growth and development of Turkish trade unions, the military Government of 1980 enacted new legislation on labour, which substantially changed the structure of labour-management relations in Turkey. Since 12 September 1980, trade union activities have been restricted and strikes and lockouts suspended during the years of military take-over. One of the first acts of the National security Council in 1980 was to curb all union activity. DİSK, the more radical trade union organisation was declared illegal and many of its leading members imprisoned. TÜRK-İŞ, the other more moderate trade union organisation, was not closed down but was not allowed to function on behalf of its members. It was forbidden to recruit, negotitate or organise any activities which were in any way political. Collective agreements expiring since September 1980 are referred to the Supreme Arbitrration Board (SAB) which determines wage levels and other conditions of employment. The SAB is made up of members drawn from Government agencies and from organisations which represent employers and employees. Very limited union activity started in 1984.

The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-İŞ) is comprised mainly of unions in the State Economic Enterprises and is the largest labour organisation in Turkey. It was politically active until the 1960s. In spite of the official policy of TÜRK-İŞ, which is "not to get involved in politics," all the affiliates, and the confederation itself, have close contacts with different political parties. The executive board works together with almost all centre-right parties. TÜRK-İŞ was conservative and the only free trade union confederation during the military take-over.

According to the statistical-research group of the Turkish Confederation of Employers Associations (TİSK) in the textile industry, the ratio of unionisation among the working people in textile industry was 83.3 percent at the end of 1990. 94.7 percent of unionised workers were members of the TEKSİF trade union, which is one of the affiliates of TÜRK-İŞ. 5.3 percent were members of the ÖZ İPLİK-İŞ trade union, which is an affiliate of the religiously orientated Confederation of Turkish Just Workers' Unions (HAK-İŞ). This Confederation had close political relations with the right-wing parties and Islamic Welfare Party.

The Trade union which has functioned in our sample's factories was the TEKSİ F trade union. It has been so in the factory C since 1991, so its workers had a trade union after seven years from its establishment. In factory A, although this trade union was abolished in 1980, it has been operating since 1991. The employer insisted that their workers were inclined not to become union members. One of women workers interviewed said, "I am not a union member. My friend was encouraging me to join the trade union but my master did not allow me to join it". Despite all the pressures on the workers, 53.3 percent of my interviewees were trade union members as below Table 6.14 shows.

Table 6.14: Proportions of women who belonged to a trade union (in the period of research)

| Membership | Number | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| Non-membership | 70 | 46.7 |
| Membership | 80 | 53.3 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100 |

Before they joined this present trade union, the proportion of those who had belonged to any trade union was 39.3, as Table 6.15 shows. Of the women interviewed only 5.3 percent refused to give any information. None of the women who refused to answer belonged to a trade union and they were also newly employed in the factories.

Table 6.15: Responses to 'Have you ever belonged to any trade union in the past?

| Responses | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 8 | 5.3 |
| No | 83 | 55.3 |
| Yes | 59 | 39.3 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100 |

In the light of our study, we should conclude that women's membership of trade unions was only formal, limited to the payment of union dues, which were automatically deducted from their salary; therefore the structure of the trade union has always remained as male. As a result of this, questions relating to women, such as equal wages, maternity leave, child-care facilities, have hardly been discussed in trade union circles. Women workers interviewed generally did not have a developed trade union consciousness because of their low level of participation in trade union activities.

It is not possible to conclude that women workers are more reluctant to join trade unions than men from the figures of their belonging to a trade union. To explain this point regardless of other constraints, is likely to give a misleading picture: the nature of their work situation has to be taken into account. The operation of the labour market is a crucial part of the explanation. Women work predominantly in industries such as clothing, tobacco and food. All these kinds of industrial factories are usually small. Where large numbers of workers are employed, trade unionism is stronger. Moreover,

any reasonable explanation on this matter must include factors such as what it means to the actors involved to belong to a union, as well as the number of employees in the factory. For example, in our sample, for most women workers interviewed, 'belonging to a union' was an important power and support, but on the other side there were a few women who just joined the Trade union because of the pressure and requests of their friends and who did not appreciate its importance.

Many women workers did not actively approach the unions. They knew only that they had to pay union dues, and participate in union elections. For them, the primary goal of the trade union was to increase wages and provide more benefits for the workers. In general, their definition of trade union was, "something which protects our rights from the employers", or "it is a strong corporation".

Many women criticised the union generally in terms of dealing with their problems. For example, Dilek (see appendix A) made the following criticism:

> *"I am a member of a Trade union...I was involved in the union because I believe that it is a strong support for workers. I am not pleased with the activities of the Trade union which have been carried out until now. Although, I think, its activities may have been restricted by the employer and laws, it must be more concerned with us and protecting our rights. For example, we could not get our wages for one and half months."*

When we examined the women workers in terms of their activities within the unions, those who were married with children had not taken up an active role in the union because they did not have time to spare for it. Most of them said that if they had had more time for leisure, they would have preferred to spend it more on their family not the union. For women workers, the burden of running a family was so heavy that after a day's work in a factory they had hardly found time even to do their household duties.

Therefore, there were very few women, and most of them were single, who attended the union activities.

## 5. Promotions and on- the-Job training

One of the opinions concerning the differences in job attitudes between the sexes is that women are less interested than men in promotion. Most of the complaints about discrimination in workplaces usually concern promotion.

Differences in the evaluation of male and female work were also revealed by a close examination of skill, skill recognition, promotion (or advancement along mobility chains in the terminology of dual labour market theorists), and training. These factors are linked together in dual labour market theory, given that the advancement of workers within workplaces takes the form of supposedly acquiring certain experiences or skills (through training off-or on-the-job), which are then recognised and rewarded by promotion to higher occupational categories. Lack of promotion for women is really linked to training and skill. The fact that men tend to be promoted in job hierarchy both within factories and as they move from one factory to another, whereas women remain firmly tied to the bottom rungs of the ladder, is taken as proof that men are trained and skilled and women are not.

In case of the factories from which the sample was selected, promotion opportunities were limited for women and management neither offered clear lines of promotion nor expected them to demand it. In answer to the question, "How do you think the chances of promotion are for women employees here?" one of the managers said that most of them do not have more chances of promotion because of the quality of their work. This is because the chances of promotion for women employees on the shop-

floor were limited, and only a small number of them have got the chance for promotion. Although it must be that they are supposed to be promoted from an unskilled status to a skilled one, depending on their work period and performance in the job, after four years a woman can still be doing the same job. In general, the foreman prefers to keep them in the same job, irrespective of the length of their employment, because there may be a certain difficult job, which needs a certain dexterity.

On the other hand, mobility chains have been constructed linking the less skilled occupations to the more skilled , and this provides generally an incentive for the lower-paid and less-skilled workers to stay in the plant. Their chances for promotion to foremen or supervisors were not like that of the men because of traditional values concerning the female role.

Many women workers were employed for a short time period because employers have preferred to use cheap labour and they have achieved this by a six-month contract. In another words, women workers have been seen as both cheap and expendable labour in these labour-intensive factories..

Women have a higher rate of turnover than men. According to the information about the length of time they had been in their jobs, many women workers had a shorter period. The length of time a worker spends in a job does not depend only on his or her actions, but also on the employer's disposition to the workforce. Women's high turnover reflects employers' keeping women workers in the jobs without promoting them.

In an attempt to discover what is the most important thing in work for women, I asked them to imagine they were currently looking for a job, and to select the most importing thing from a list which included, among other things, the item of promotion.

A minority of women (2 percent of them) chose the promotion as the most important factor while many women workers prefered to get money or have job-security in order to add to the family budget and were not interested a career. Therefore, in fact, when respondents were asked: "Would you accept to move to a higher-level position even though it will create difficulties for your family?" the answers show that 80.7 percent of them did not really want to consider promotion in the job at the expense of these difficulties, as shown in the below Table 6.16.

Table 6.16: Intention of moving to a higher-level position which will create difficulty for family

| Intention | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 29 | 19.3 |
| No | 121 | 80.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100 |

Very few of the women 19.3 percent intended to work for promotion it might create some difficulties for their families. 65 percent of these were single women.

Most kinds of work which are done by women are unskilled, and can be learned within a week-such as sorting or looking over things in various ways, which demand a speed that only comes with practice. Occasionally, six months is stated as a learner's time.

In the garment section, machining is the most skilled work. This takes from six months to one year to learn, and the learner is taught by an older or experienced woman. In a good place a worker learns all the machines, beginning with an ordinary treadle machine and passing on to the power machine, ending with the tucking machine. In

addition, in this section, the chief sub-divisions of work are (a) cutting, (b) machining, (c) ironing and folding, (d) finishing, i.e., buttons must be stitched on, and other details which are not done by machine must be added. So the time of learning varies from one week to six months or more.

Moreover, the majority of women workers interviewed, did not need training on-the-job, because as most of them said, "Our job is very simple. Everybody can easily learn to do this type of work in a week and women have already learnt some of them at home such as sewing, and ironing."

*Conclusion*

The first section dealt with the relationships between women's employment and the capitalist labour market. We have argued that there is an interrelationship between women's participation in the capitalist labour market and their position within the family as reproducers of the labour force; but we cannot completely explain it with such, it is too easy to resort to women's family circumstances as the reason for their low participation in the labour market. We should not forget the problems related to finding jobs, and the nature of the jobs available in the market are as important as the conditions under which women sell their labour power. Our data shows that most families are in economic difficulties for the subsistence of their families and they feel the need for additional income, so women with domestic responsibilities become more flexible to fulfil these responsibilities and at the same time to participate in the labour market.

The second section of this chapter has shown the profiles of the factories in our sample which depend upon cheap female labour. The standardisation of their production enabled firms to lower the labour costs by subdividing their operations, and substituting unskilled workers for skilled workers by training them for specialised tasks.

As the above analysis shows, most workers in these factories laboured usually more than eight hours per day. The long work hours, in combination with the stress of competition, and the unhealthy and unsafe environment of their work-place (e.g. Lack of fresh air in factory, overtiredness causing accedants with machinery) seriously endangered their health. Most of them were employed at the minimum wage in these work places. Available evidence showed that women's wages were less than men's in spite of the principle of equal pay for equal work, because women's work is accepted as unskilled, of lower status, and their wages are seen merely as an additional income for family.

Union membership was not strongly developed among women workers. The majority of women workers in our sample were not active participants in the union. These workers were not interested in the labour movement at all, and did not participate in any strikes ever since the laws in Turkey became much stricter after the 1980 military coup. Another point was that, among women, working class consciousness was not developed, whereas the notion of a 'working class' was very important in the labour movement. This apparent contradiction may be explained by the role of patriarchy, which is one of the major concerns of the next chapter.

# CHAPTER VII

# HOUSEHOLD AND PATRIARCHY

The previous chapter examined the status of women workers in the capitalist labour market and in the factory life. This chapter will deal with various dimensions of women workers' lives within the household as a patriarchal unit. In the first section, I describe their household structure and its characteristics, such as the type of family, family composition, economic status and sufficiency of the family income.

In the second section, a brief outline is given of the division of household work in terms of gender. The effects of women's outside work on the division of family tasks has also been a subject of systematic study: Does the household division of labour change when the wife participates in the labour market? Does women's domestic work become harder with working outside the home? Do women get help from other members of the family when they work outside the home? Many researches were conducted to answer these questions (for example, Geerken and Gove 1983; Pahl 1984).

The third section examines women within the power structure of the household and focuses especially on the question to what extent women participate in the decision-making process, and their control over the income and where they spend it. In short, this chapter gives us briefly an evaluation of our research findings.

## 1. Household Structure and Its Characteristics

Household structure is influenced by various aspects of urban life in the underdeveloped countries such as migration and poverty. Terminology to describe household forms varies widely, especially when it comes to complex and extended

groupings. For the purpose of clarity and ease of generalisation we will deal with household structure on the basis of those who share the same house.

### *Type of Family*

The most frequently seen household in the urban areas of the underdeveloped countries appears to be the male-headed nuclear and conjugal units. The nuclear household consists of a married or cohabiting couple and their children, who live under the same roof and also form a single unit for consumption. This is a common phenomenon in the underdeveloped countries' urban life. In contradistinction to this form, an extended household can be defined as a group of three or more generations living either within the same dwelling or very close to each other. It may include grandparents, brothers and their wives, sisters and their husbands, aunts, uncles, nieces or nephews. In addition to the extended family proper, there is another form of extended family, the nuclear-compound unit. The nuclear-compound household refers to situations where related families share the same plot of land or even living space, but do not share financial resources or basic domestic functions such as cooking or child-care on a regular basis. Thus, in spite of their spatial proximity, they effectively operate as independent units. This form of household is often seen in Latin American cities where lands of low-income neighbourhoods are parcelled between the relatives (Chant 1985).

In Turkey, social scientists commonly believe that most of the population in rural areas live in the form of extended families, whilst most of the urban population live in the form of nuclear family household. Serim Timur, in her study, investigated the prevalence of various types of family in Turkey. She stated that considerable statistical evidence from underdeveloped countries as well as historical research dealing with pre-industrial societies showed that a large majority of people had lived and live in nuclear household

units. In the case of Turkey, she found that 60 per cent of all families lived in nuclear households, whilst 19 per cent were in extended households. The proportion of patriarchal extended families varies according to the geographical areas: in rural areas 25.4 per cent of families are patriarchal-extended whilst only 4.4 per cent are so in the three major cities. Less significant variations are observed in the proportions of transitional-extended families: 13.3 per cent in rural areas and 12.4 per cent in urban areas. As is apparent from the data, the most common type is the nuclear family. Even in rural areas the proportion of nuclear families exceeds the proportion of extended families.

Our data revealed that most of the women workers interviewed lived in nuclear family households consisting of husband, wife and their children. The proportion of the extended families was 22.0 per cent, whilst 68.7 per cent were nuclear family households. The definition of extended family here slightly departs from Timur's definition of the patriarchal-extended family in which the patriarchy owns the property and controls the labour of all those under the roof. The extended family is categorised by looking only at the number of conjugal units regardless of who controls the labour and holds the authority. 9.3 per cent were the other forms of household, such as the nuclear-compound household, the women-headed family, which consists of a woman living alone with her children, or the transient extended family, which consists of a core nuclear or one -parent family residing with other relatives who share in the daily consumption, and contribute to financial arrangements. This last one appears to be usually a result of the migration. Some social scientists studying 'gecekondu' (squatting) families in urban areas placed special emphasis on the extent and functions of transient extended families within gecekondu and low income families. They assert that newcomers, and especially single male relatives, when they first arrive in the city, are supported by close relatives already

living there. Relatives often offer accommodation until the newcomers can accommodate themselves.

Only one of the women workers interviewed was living in the nuclear-compound household. Her family recently migrated from Bulgaria and were sharing the house with another family because of their low-income.

A few of my respondents were living in transient families. A transient family consists of one couple, their children and a grandparent (usually grandmother). The grandmother looks after the children because of the lack of child-care provisions. Also, given the fact that state provisions for elderly people are insufficient, the best place to live for widowed parents is in their children's' house.

When we looked over the family types of our respondents' parents who live separately from themselves, the proportion of nuclear families was 53.3 per cent, that of the extended family was 45.4 per cent. The proportion of those who live in town was 61.5 per cent, while 33.8 per cent of them were living in villages. In addition, 4.6 per cent of them were in foreign countries.

From our data results and observations, in the 'gecekondu' areas, where most workers live, it can be said that the nuclear family type is the most conventional one among working class families. Yildiz Ecevit (1986), in her case study , also showed that the majority of women (76 per cent) lived in nuclear family households. The proportion of nuclear families among workers in urban areas is higher, and this has been pointed out by Timur (1978a, 233) also. The fact that the 'gecekondu' areas appear to have a slightly higher percentage of nuclear family households than the metropolis as a whole is proposed by Duben (1982, 78) as well, despite the fact that he generally criticised Timur's views.

According to our data, the most noticeable reason to start working outside the home is an inadequate family income that is brought in by the husband or father. When the family is nuclear and there is only one breadwinner, the subsistence of the family on his salary alone is very difficult in today's Turkey, so women in nuclear families feel more pressure than extended families to seek a job outside home. Family income in the extended families is remarkably higher because they have multiple income earners such as the father and his sons, at least two males bringing in money to the family budget.

### *Family Composition*

The size and composition of the family are also important in determining women's participation in the labour force as well as in the family. The amount of work to be done in the household varies, depending on the size of the family and the age structure. The larger the number of children at home and the younger their ages, the less time the housewife will have for gainful employment. That is, the basic assumption is that the younger the children, the more attention and care they will require, especially at pre-school ages, and take up more time for the mother. In the case of older children at home, it may serve to increase the probability of employment by providing a source of help with household tasks and ease the restraint on the women's available time for outside work. In other words, older children need less attention and also may assist their mothers; increasing the amount of time available for outside work.

Available evidence shows that children increase the wife's share of most household chores, and that this share rises steadily with the number of children (Campbell 1970). Therefore, the size of the household determines the domestic task of married women. The number and ages of children increase the bulk of women tasks in the household. However, a large family is regarded as better for survival, as so many of

them can work. Therefore, the labour force participation among wives with relatively small families would be expected to be greater than that of those with big families.

Children require care and, thus, compete for the mother's available time. Not only do they increase the amount of work to be done at home, but they also increase the family's need for income. Whilst younger children may need more attention, older children may provide a source of assistance with housework and take care of the younger ones. Therefore, the effects of children on the labour force activity of married women can be further explored by analysing their activity according to the number of dependent children in the family and their ages.

In the light of the above explanation, we can explore the characteristics of the family composition in terms of the number of children and age of youngest child living at home. 34.7 per cent of my respondents who had a child had a small number of children. The proportion of those having one child was 44.2 percent among women with a child, 40.3 percent had two children, 11.5 per cent three children, and 1.09 per cent four children.

Table 7.1: The number and percentage of women workers by the number of their children (in our sample)

| Number of Children | Number of women | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No children + not married | 98 | 65.3 |
| One | 23 | 15.3 |
| Two | 21 | 14.0 |
| Three | 7 | 4.7 |
| Four | 1 | 0.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.00 |

According to the data, the number of children produced by women workers interviewed, was low. The main measure of fertility is the average number of live births to currently married women of reproductive age (44 and under). The average number of children for all Turkish women of reproductive age is 3.9. This figure changes regarding the urban or rural areas; the rate in metropolitan areas is lower (2.7), while it is higher in rural areas (4.2) (Timur 1978b, 58). Comparing the results of data with this, it can be concluded that the average number of children for women workers (1.7) shows the significant closeness to the figure for metropolitan areas (2.7): the rate in this survey had a lower figure than this metropolitan one because the ages were young. 50.9 per cent of the married women were in the under 28 years age-group. They were hoping for one more child than they had, especially if they had a girl, for they preferred having a boy as well.

Opinions vary on whether recruitment of women into the labour force induces a decline in fertility by changing reproductive behaviour or whether labour force participation is determined by family size. While some studies assert that the decline in family size, particularly in developing countries, can not be linked with the increased employment of women, others argue an inverse relationship between fertility and labour force participation. A common conclusion to an analysis of this relationship is a statement that it is not possible to draw any causal conclusion regarding fertility and work. However, both groups agree that fertility and labour force participation are multidimensional concepts and that these dimensions vary with the level of economic development. They both indicate the significance of the mother-worker role as a factor

influencing the size of the family. When the burden of incompatible roles is great, there results a decline in fertility, whilst it is small, the fertility rate remains unaffected.[1]

The place of residence also determines largely the compatibility and incompatibility of roles. For example, in rural areas it is relatively easy for a woman to work outside home since childcare is usually available in the form of relatives, while in urban areas the childcare arrangements become more difficult. Therefore, we can see a close relationship between fertility and employment. Moreover, the rural-urban difference shows itself to be a very important factor regarding the relationship between fertility and workforce participation, not only because the social organisation of childcare changes, but also because the organisation of women's work differs, according to the type of residence.

When we look at the significance of this relationship for Turkey, Timur suggests that a relationship does exist, although it is not as strong as in developed countries. Her study shows that female employment depresses fertility. In her study, when the fertility of employed women and those who have never worked is compared within each educational level and income group, however, fertility is consistently lower among employed women. Moreover, when urban-rural residence and literacy status are held constant, both currently employed and previously employed women have somewhat lower fertility rates than urban women who had never worked. On the other hand, she mentions that in Turkey the relationship between women's working status and fertility is

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1 Weller claimed that role incompatibility would be dependent upon the availability of acceptable arrangements for the care of any existing children, the availability of technological aids for performing various tasks, normative orientation of employers, husbands and wives towards the employment of mothers, the flexibility of working hours, the extend to which the wives working would affect the marital relationship, policies of employers regarding maternity leave and the number, spacing and ages of any existing children (Stycos, M .J. and Weller, R. (1967)

weaker than the relationship of other socio-economic variables with fertility (Timur 1978, 68-70).

As the findings of various studies on the relationship between fertility and female labour force participation, we have no clear answer to the question of the cause of the observed relationship between labour force participation and fertility: whether it is that women work because they have few or no children, or that women who are employed restrict their fertility so that they can retain their jobs.

Family-size preferences are also affected by other social and economic factors such as ethnicity, age, education and income. They are also affected by the person's feelings about children. People in different societies or within the same society have different perceptions of the values and costs of having children. In our sample, those who would like to have fewer children were more concerned with financial cost. Therefore, they are very determined to have few children, and this is also clear from their response to the question on the desired number of children. Among the married women, 50 per cent of those who said "No more children" (74.5 per cent) had two children, whilst just 31.6 per cent had one child. Most of them stated that in present social and economic circumstances, two children represented the ideal family size. In addition to this, the majority of them would like their children to have a higher education than that of themselves: So most would like to keep their number of children constant.

In analysing the relationship between women's fertility and employment, we should also look at the number of dependent children. The correlation between number of dependent children in the family and gainful employment has, in most cases, been found to be negative. Berent (1970, 188) reports a negative correlation between the employability of a married women and the number of dependent children. Koray (1975)

also reached similar conclusions. In his study, it is argued that the relationship between the number of dependent children (under school age) and employment is stronger than the relationship between fertility and employment. Moreover, other studies also indicate that labour force participation of women with young children is low since pre-school children demand more care than older ones. Where this older element is readily available within the family for help with care of younger children, the labour force participation of women with pre-school children increases (Zelleman 1976, 36; Land 1976, 118).

This view is especially applicable for women in Turkish society: Whereas older children go to school when they are seven, women are expected to be responsible for children under school age. Childcare is the most important responsibility of a mother and it is imposed by society by means of various moral and religious ideas, that the one and only person whose care is both natural and essential for the children is their mother. Childcaring is relatively easy in rural areas and has correspondingly less effect on women's work outside the household, whereas in urban areas, the number and especially the age of children affect women's work outside home. The earnings of women in the lower income categories, like the working women in the factory in our study, usually cannot cover the cost of providing nursery care or baby-sitting for their children. As a result of these circumstances, when there is one child or more under school age it makes the women's employment even more problematic.

I supposed that there would be very few women with pre-school children working in the factory because of working conditions, but later I realised that this was not the case. Among the children of women interviewed, (total is 90 children) the percentage of the pre-school children (aged below 7 years, at which age the children will be going to school) was 41.9, whilst that of those who were 7 and over was 58.8: Apart from two women, most of the women who had pre-school children, had children at ages between 3

and 6. Despite the difficulties in obtaining childcare facilities, mothers manage to arrange their children's care in one way or another. Usually, when the incentive to work becomes very great because of the economic reasons, the burden and difficulties of having young children take secondary importance. Among the various examples relating to looking after children of working women, one is most striking: a respondent mentioned that she had sent her child to her parents who lived in a village, because she had no relative in Manisa and could not pay anybody to look after her. Her husband was also working outside Manisa. She was living with her sister but her sister, also had no time to look after her niece because she was working in the same factory.

On the other hand, the availability of older children to care for the younger ones may free women to join employment outside home. During the interviews it became apparent that older children are a great source of help to mothers in terms of both housework and the care of young children. Ayse's daughter (see appendix A) is a typical example. When I went to interview her mother, she was cleaning the house. I asked her some questions whilst I was waiting for her mother, she said, "I do all the housework-cooking, cleaning, washing, everything. My mother does only cooking when she goes to work at 3-11 shiftwork". As seen in the above example, the presence of one or more older children, especially if they are girls, enables the mother to reallocate her time more effectively to allow herself to have an outside job.

In Turkey girls are traditionally brought up to accept the home making role of women. Therefore, it is not unusual to see an eleven or twelve year old daughter looking after her younger sister or brother.

### *Economic Status of Family*

The need for family support, either in terms of additional income or decreased burden on the family, is an important reason why women workers engage in factory work. So, money was the main reason that pushed people to work. That is to say, the original motivation for employment is economic.

Our sample data suggests that the family background of workers is poor. Most of them have came from socio-economically disadvantageous backgrounds. Among the reasons for their leaving school or not continuing education, 27.3 per cent were directly economic. One of them who had to leave school because of her family's economic situation was Mine (see appendix A). She said

> *"Our financial situation was very bad when I was at primary school. My father was the only one working in the household and taking care of six children. Moreover, we migrated to Manisa when I finished the primary school. And life here was different to where we came from. We needed more money for our survival at that time. My family, especially my father, did not want me to go to school. Maybe if I had got higher education, I would have had a better job too."*

Financial difficulty was one of the main reasons given by those who left school or did not continue their further education. It was also the same reason for Şengül (see appendix A). She had to leave high school because of her father's unemployment at the time. Although her mother worked at paid employment outside the home, her wage was very low and not sufficient for the family income.

The majority of the women came from working and lower class households where one wage was not enough to sustain the family. Most of the single women workers as well as married women workers have fathers with *Blue-Collar* jobs. *Factory work* was

the main occupation for most husbands. In second place came self-employment. 4 single women had unemployed fathers and also 5 married women had unemployed husbands at the time that they were interviewed.

The majority of women workers interviewed revealed that family economic support or the capacity to supplement the family income was the main motive for seeking employment. Therefore, we can easily suggest that they were from the low economic status families and decided to work because of the economic pressure upon their families. Women who told me that they started to work for reasons other than financial necessity were very few. Only a few women mentioned that they decided to work to escape family pressure or recorded other reasons, such as the isolation at home, boredom, the need for personal fulfilment or personal independence.

Furthermore, some of them have lived as squatters in the town. The spouses of those who live in the squat had unstable incomes and usually were involved in seasonal work. This is not surprising, given the reality of migration from rural areas to the city of Manisa.

However, the majority of our samples were still living with their parents because they were single/unmarried women. As a result, only 25.5 percent have paid rent and 8.7 percent of women workers interviewed were owner-occupiers, while 66 percent were living in their parents' houses.

Among the women workers who paid rent, however, 10.5 percent spent less than 150,000TL per month, whilst the largest contingent (68.3 percent) was in the 150,000TL to 400,000TL bracket. The rest were distributed as follows: 10.5 percent paid between 400,000TL and 500,000TL, and 10.5 percent paid more than 500,000TL.

### *Insufficient Household Income*

The members of a household (husband, wife/father, mother and children) are linked into the larger socio-economic structure through their incomes, educational levels, and the prestige of their occupation. As we demonstrated in the previous section, the largest number of women came from working- and lower class households. In these households, the family income usually meant husband's or father's income and sometimes included the incomes of other working family members as well.

Turkey's high and unpredictable inflation rate bears heavily on these low-income households because of the low level of their wages. The most common complaint among married women workers was the cost of living. The working and lower class households, faced with economic crises, force their wives or daughters to earn a wage to help support their families: they were contributing with their low wages to the family income.

Many studies (Ecevit 1986; Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Hadjicostandi, 1990) also revealed that the economic need to support themselves and their families forced many women to work for wages.

Why were the earnings of the husband or father insufficient? This question has entailed the examination of the occupational status of men in worker's household. In the sample surveyed, they were less educated and in low income occupations, so there seems to be a close relationship between the participation of women in the labour market, in terms of economic necessity, and the occupational status of men in their households. This obvious link is seen very well when we look at the occupational status of the husband/father whose wives/daughters were interviewed.

Table 7.2: Husband's occupations (N=57 currently married women )

| Husband's Occupation | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Unemployed | 4 | 7.01 |
| Factory Worker | 25 | 43.85 |
| Tradesman | 4 | 7.01 |
| Craftsmen | 9 | 15.78 |
| Officer | 9 | 15.78 |
| Other | 6 | 10.52 |
| TOTAL | 57 | 100.00 |

The occupational status of male family members (husband/father) is presented in Tables 7.2 -3. These occupations in both cases were not of the kind that could bring in higher income. Most of them received income at the minimum wage level. Some of them, for example, seasonal workers, were paid even less than the minimum wage rate and their incomes were also irregular.

Table 7.3: Father's occupations (N=93 unmarried women)

| Father's occupations | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Self-employed | 24 | 25.8 |
| Factory worker | 14 | 15.1 |
| Farmer | 13 | 14.0 |
| Retired worker | 10 | 10.7 |
| Retired official | 4 | 4.3 |
| Seasonal worker | 9 | 9.7 |
| Officer | 4 | 4.3 |
| Unemployment | 5 | 5.4 |
| Dead | 10 | 10.7 |
| TOTAL | 93 | 100.00 |

Therefore, low and irregular family incomes drive the women to seek outside work in order to supply the family with income. For many working women interviewed, to earn money was a vital necessity, only a few of them seeing it as a means of increasing their standard of living. For example, Nadire (see appendix A) indicated that to work

outside home and bring in money was a necessity for her, because her husband was unemployed. She explained:

> *'We would be rather poor if I didn't work. You see, we are staying in my husband's parents house because we cannot pay rent with only one salary. My husband is unemployed and we only have my earning as a family income. For me, to earn money is a family responsibility. I have two children and they are going to school...On the one hand, there is the struggle to make a living and on the other hand the expenses of my children's school."*

For Hatice (see appendix A) a single woman, the story is similar. She explained:

> *"My father is a farmer but we have very little land. I have four siblings and three of them are going to school here because in my village there is no secondary school. So, I came here to look after them and also had to work because of the cost of living. You know, you need more money to live in a city. My parents' economic situation is obviously bad and so I started to work to struggle with the cost of living and to support my siblings' education.."*

For most of them, the motivation for working in a paid job was the need to supplement the family's income as Nadire and Hatice. And also, when I asked, "Some people say that it is getting increasingly difficult to maintain an acceptable standard of living if there is one wage coming into the family. Do you think the statement is true or false?" Most of them (88 per cent) thought it true. In particular, women who were married to men in relatively poorly paid or insecure occupations mentioned that if a family has only one wage, the maintenance of the family is more difficult. The majority said, "We need money, my husband's wage is not enough for a living."

Furthermore, I asked the following question:

"How dependent are you on your present job for a livelihood?"

The majority of our respondents (66 per cent) saw themselves dependent on their job for the living of the family, so they indicated the significance of their work as 'important' and 'very important'.

## 2. The Division of Labour within the Household

Housework, of course, must be performed in every household. By 'household work' we do not mean 'housework' alone. Naturally the members of a household cannot easily survive unless their physical needs are met - food must be prepared, the dwelling cleaned and maintained, and children must be cared for. Housework is work without boundaries or limits, with no clear beginning or end. Women commonly express dissatisfaction with the content, quantity and conditions of housework. They frequently find it monotonous, repetitive, unstimulating, isolating, tiring and never-ending.

In Turkey, all of this work is done by women, with the exception of a small minority, whilst in the western family, they are sometimes shared between the members of family - male and female. Even so, when women are drawn into the labour force, their work load has been doubled as they continue to meet major responsibilities in the household. We should also not forget that in the west, most of these activities are still performed by women. For women workers in our sample, especially married women, housework was their primary responsibility. In spite of working outside home like their husbands, women have continued to be deemed responsible for all domestic labour in the home and the care for children, husbands and often other relatives as well. This combination of work and family was represented in the idea of sociologists that women have a ' dual role' (Mrydel and Klein 1956).

While domestic responsibilities have differed considerably from one group of women to another: the women always have done more domestic labour than males in the household. The rapid increase in women's labour force participation in the last few decades has not brought about equality in the allocation of household work between male and female.

Early studies on the effect of the wife's employment on the division of domestic work argued that the lives of husband and wives were becoming increasingly shared in terms of both companionship and domestic labour, especially when both spouses are employed (Rapoport and Rapoport 1971). Again, Blood and Wolfe (1971) argued that:

> *"When the wife is employed , she faces the potential burden of two jobs; paid work plus housework. Under these circumstances, the husband feels obliged to help out more at home and takes over an appreciably larger share of the housework."*

However, recent empirical findings in terms of hours spent in household work have showed unequivocally that housework is largely women's work, whether or not the wife holds an outside job. Geerken and Gove, on interviews with members of married couples in the US indicated that: "The most striking result is the huge difference between the time the husband spends on housework, compared with the wife (even if the wife is employed); the drastic effect of the wife's employment status on her own level of housework; and the stability of the husband's housework time, whether the wife works or not." (Geerken and Gove 1983, 90)

### *Daily Lives of Women Workers*

Women's household responsibilities vary somewhat depending on the form of family unit (nuclear or extended) and on the power relationship between the sexes in different societies. For the women workers interviewed in our sample, daily life varies of course when they do shift work, share domestic work with other people at home stay within the extended family or have an elder daughter to help, have children under school age or when they have no child. Nevertheless, let us try to show the general picture of their daily lives. What kind of tasks were they performing?

Mujgan, for example, described a typical day's duties as follows:

> *"I get up at six for the morning shift (7.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m.). I have to prepare breakfast for my husband (even when I work in the afternoon shift, 3.30 p.m. to 11.30 p.m., we get up together. I go to bed after he leaves home). Then I get ready myself and get out of home about seven and commute to the factory at seven... I start to work at seven thirty. I work continuously until lunch time. Work goes on for at least eight hours. I arrive usually home at four or four thirty. When I arrive home the other part of my daily routine starts. Firstly, I must prepare the dinner because my husband is someone difficult to please in terms of food. He is a picky eater. And also the house has to be put in order: I just clean a room and usually do some washing up. I do not usually sit down until about half-past nine, because I like to keep things clean and tidy.. I do other housework on Sundays such as washing, cleaning (weekly cleaning is the cleaning all the house from top to the bottom), ironing. The weekend is usually spent doing the jobs that you do not have time to do during the week."*

Each woman worker I interviewed was asked to describe her daily routine. Most of the women get up early, some very early because of their children. Tasks are done in the morning before leaving for work; for instance, getting the family's breakfast, making beds, dressing children, tidying up and preparing meals for children because they eat

lunch at home (they are at home for lunch although they go to school either in the morning from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. or in the afternoon from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.). A small minority chose to leave home in the morning without performing any such tasks, but in all of these cases, their children were older or they were living in an extended family or they were single.

Potentially, extended family units can provide relief from the double day. In an extended family unit, household work is not proportionally so large and, in principle, it could be distributed among a large number of people. However, in societies in which the extended family is common, patriarchal values tend to be strong and the sexual division of labour is very strict, with women bearing the entire burden of household work. In Turkey, traditional values are still strong in surrounding the respective roles of sexes in the domestic sphere.

In the words of Gülben (see appendix A), as a married woman with two children, daily life was a double burden. She said "We have more duties than men. We do double work. We have to cook the food and then rush to the factory in time. You see, I have two types of work to do: one at the factory and another at home."

Gülben put her daily life as follows:

> *"I usually get up about five thirty in the morning. I prepare my children and husband's breakfast. Then I get the children ready for school. I make all the beds ...then dress myself. I leave home at quarter to seven to catch our factory bus. At seven thirty I begin to work at the factory. I have half an hour break for lunch at twelve thirty. I leave work at quarter to four in the afternoon, usually arriving home at four. When I get home, I start upon my responsibility at home. I do all the housework myself - all the cooking, cleaning, washing up - everything. My children help a little in whatever they can, but only a little because they are also busy with their school work. You*

*know, they are also boys, they cannot be like girls in assisting you. I would like my children to study and do well and be able to get good jobs... If I had had a daughter, I would have wanted her to study as well.*

*I usually do the jobs that I do not have time to do during the week, at the weekends."*

Although their children were older, they still had the housework. Meliha (see appendix A) believed a woman's work never ends:

> *"You know, you have to start working again as soon as you arrive at home. You have to do a bit every night... Or you can have every night off and then work like hell on Sundays. I would rather do a bit every night. I mean, some nights I do not sit down till ten or eleven o'clock. Housework is a full-time job. You know, we spend hours and hours on housework. There's so much to do and you do not do half of it when you are working. You have got to have a routine otherwise if you do not do it every day you have got two jobs the following day. Then you feel more tired yourself. I should emphasise the last thing here: we do two jobs, one in the factory and the other in the house."*

On the other hand, we found some differences in the women workers' home life. They were commonly unmarried women. Although their daily routine resembled each other's at work, they have a difference in the other part, which is at home life. They were mostly young women living with their parents, and so their mother or other female members of their family have assumed more responsibility for running the house. Mine was a good example for this. She remarked:

> *"When I leave the work, I go to do some shopping sometimes. I like to do it. I do not do much housework, because my mother and my sister manage it. Sometimes, I help them at weekends. I get so tired, because I work here all the day on my feet and then I sleep two hours when I arrive home."*

Nursel (see appendix A) and Dilek expressed their domestic tasks to be like Mine's. They said, "We are not in a double burden like married women with children. They are burdened with dual responsibilities in the household and the world of factory." Aysel (see appendix A), who lives with her parents, said:

> *"I really do not have much choice because other members of my family, my siblings and especially my mother, do this sort of job at home. When I usually get home, dinner is already prepared, I do sometimes help at the weekends only. There is nothing much else I can do at home."*

As we have seen, young, single working girls are often relieved of major housework responsibilities by their mother, who does the cooking, cleaning, and other domestic tasks. Such help is not available for married women, who often also have young children to care for.

To sum up, the daily routine of most women began around six to six thirty in the morning with some part of the housework such as getting the family's breakfast, waking children up, and supervising their cleaning and dressing, making beds, or feeding the baby. Then they get ready themselves and get out of home at about seven to catch the bus. If the baby is to be looked after by someone else (grandmother, a relative or a baby-sitter) they have to leave the baby with this person before catching the bus. Work starts at 7.30 a.m. or 8.00 a.m. in the morning shift. Lunch is between 12 p.m. and 1.00 p.m. Work finishes at 3.30 p.m. but of course starts again, because this is only their first job. When they get home, they do more housework. They go to bed at about eleven or sometime midnight bearing in mind that they will do the same things next day. And they then follow again the same pattern the next day.

Furthermore, the weekend holiday does not mean 'rest' but 'work' for factory women, since many major domestic tasks like washing, cleaning, and ironing are

performed during weekends. 22 per cent of women workers interviewed said they had washing machines while 76 per cent said they washed clothes by hand. Moreover, cleaning the house is the other important housework, which takes a considerable time. They do daily and weekly cleaning. Daily cleaning is tidying up the house and sweeping and dusting the living room. Weekly cleaning means cleaning throughout house. On the other hand, although they own household appliances like vacuum cleaners, they effectively do not use them. 71.3 per cent of women in our sample had vacuum cleaners but many women preferred to use traditional type brooms, especially in daily cleaning. They considered that it was expensive to use electrical household appliances which consume a lot of electricity.

In addition, cooking takes also a great deal of any working woman's time but Turkish working women have a much harder job then their European counterpart. There are two main reasons for this: First of all, Turkish people do not like food which is cooked by simple processes like boiling. The Turkish way of cooking is very time consuming. Secondly, they generally do not use tinned food, and frozen foods which are not popular in Turkey. Those with refrigerators, the majority in the sample, felt they were useful in that they could cook meals to last a couple of days. Those without (7.3 percent of sample) had to cook every day.

All this work, as noted earlier, is usually thought of as being women's primary responsibility. Women workers interviewed made the point very clear that they are the main organisers of household work and come home first to carry out the responsibility. A few of them get help from their husbands, children and other family members, especially from mothers and mother-in-laws.

### *Men's Work within the Household*

A survey of the most recent empirical works on division of household labour in U.S. families reveals that a large portion of them are directed at either 'differences in time spent in or responsibility for' housework among various earner configuration households (Nichols and Metzen 1982; Maret and Finlay 1984; Yogev and Brett 1985; Coverman and Sheley 1986; Berardo, Shehan and Leslie 1987) or 'determinants of time spent by men in household activities' (Model 1981; Barnett and Baruch 1987).

As is common throughout the Third World from Latin America, to North Africa and the Middle East, and through South and Southeast Asia, a sexual division of labour exists by which women have primary responsibility for 'reproductive' work. Reproductive work consists of those activities necessary to maintain and reproduce the work force. It includes domestic duties such as housework and cooking along with child-bearing and child-rearing.

While both men and women are involved in productive work, that is those activities which generate an income, such as wage labour or informal sector work, the sexual division of labour means that reproductive work is almost always the responsibility of women and girls. Therefore, women play a far greater role than men in household management, childcare and domestic labour (Afonja 1985; Westwood 1984). Women bear primary responsibility for household labour and childcare.

In Turkish society, domestic work is to a great extent the women's responsibility. The male of the family, as father, husband, or brother, is held responsible for taking care of all family as the breadwinner, but women are only seen as homemakers. If we separate domestic work into its components such as cleaning, cooking, washing up, washing, shopping, ironing or sewing, we see that with the sole exception of shopping, all these

tasks are usually thought of as women's work. All domestic work is considered women's work, while the men's work is centred only on a few activities, gardening, home repairing shopping and to a limited degree childcare.

In support of these explanations, for instance, each respondent in the interview sample was asked the following question:

"Can fathers do all the things that mothers do?"

Many respondents (69.3 percent) answered "No", while only 24.7 percent answered "Yes", and the majority mentioned that women's work was different from men's work. Therefore, the majority have seen that men cannot do all the things which women do. This answer must be expected, because of the patriarchal structure of Turkish family. Women accept the traditional wife/mother roles which are assigned to them without questioning and internalise the traditional division of labour within the household. Due to the traditional values and ideas about women's roles and responsibilities at home, women workers interviewed have forced themselves to fulfil these responsibilities even under the most difficult conditions.

Sociological research efforts range from broadly descriptive treatments (see Komarovsky 1962; Lopata 1971; Oakley 1974) to determinations of household apportionment of labour (for example, Pleck 1977; Berk and Berk 1978). Researchers specialising in time-budget descriptions of daily life, have focused on the relative time allocations to household labour by family members (Shelton 1992). An examination of husband's household activities can give a clearer picture about to what extent her domestic responsibility has changed by working outside the home.

Our interviews were conducted only with women, therefore the husbands' views were not taken into account. Information about the husbands' participation in domestic work belong to the women. What did my respondents have to say about the role played by husbands/fathers in the work at home? What had been the extent of the husband's participation in the tasks of housework? There was a minority within our sample who shared domestic tasks and childcare with their husbands. A few women reported that their husbands/fathers played a significant role in performing domestic tasks. But only two husbands took part in caring for their children.

Some women explained that their husbands carried out certain tasks on a regular basis. A few husbands prepared meals, or did household cleaning. Saadet's husband (see appendix A) was more than usually active in performing household duties. She said:

> *"He does cleaning in the house, he cooks meals, and so on.... You know we share everything.. Especially, when we had our first child, I tended to look after the baby more and he helped me in housework. To be honest, he carried out all work at home."*

A few working women praised their husbands as being very 'helpful' in the house, but it often occurred that their husbands did not do anything very tangible towards the actual housework. They may have overemphasised the extent of any help they get from their husbands. It usually means that they would entertain or supervise the children so as to enable their wives to get on with their cooking or washing without interruption. In childcare, their help does not usually involve basic chores such as feeding, changing nappies, bathing and dressing, but they fondle and play with their children under the pretext of childcare. Moreover, a few working wives mentioned that their husbands would help out with cooking or cleaning if there was an unusual accumulation of work at the weekend, but this was uncommon.

On the other hand, most of the married women declared that they do not get any help from anybody at home in performing housework and do all the work themselves. Several of the women workers interviewed told us:

> *"I do all the housework myself... It is my responsibility to run the household, because my husband does not help me out, even in an emergency, and yet he does expect the house to look nice and tidy."*

## 3. Income Allocation and Decision Making

The previous section dealt with the impact of women's paid work on the allocation of work at home. Two other spheres need to be discussed. These are control over household budgeting and authority as the household head. How does women's employment affect their control and spending of income? And, does women's decision making power increase when they are working outside the home?

The situation of women workers varied according to the type of household they live in. For example, if it is a joint household, then income is traditionally controlled by the father/grandfather of the family. Women have little say in decision making within this sort of household. Some women live with their husbands and children, like Geher and Meliha, or with their husbands and brother-in laws and sister-in laws, like Mucella (see appendix A).

Now, let us analyse how money and domestic tasks are allocated in families where women workers work full-time in outside employment.

### *Income Allocation*

Women of working- and lower class households tend to be seen as supplementary wage earners, dependent on men as the primary breadwinners. The husbands' earnings are much greater than those of the women, which contribute to the increase of the average per capita income of these families and reinforce the idea that the female wages are only important in terms of complementing their husbands' income.

Although there are no detailed studies of budget control in Turkey, studies suggest that working women do not enjoy much independent control over their earnings. Researchers also point out the double standard of consumption in Turkish households (Kiray 1982, 1984) with men spending more and more freely for their own consumption. Maher's (1981) study of Morocco suggests a close connection between authority and consumption patterns in the household.

The composition of the family income and, within it, the significance of the wage contribution of the female workers become more explicit when the financial responsibilities held by the interviewees, are analysed in terms of the basic items in the domestic budget. For example, the women workers interviewed were asked where their wages have been spent in the household, 33.3 per cent of women workers answered that their wages were overwhelmingly used for food and general household goods and 50.0 percent of them spent their wages for their homes.. The majority of single women were preparing their trousseaus with a certain part of their wages. Thus, a large proportion of these female workers were responsible for guaranteeing the families' food and/or preparing their trousseaus.

Moreover, the importance of women in the generation of household income is apparent, when we look at the husbands' earnings compare with that of wives. Our

findings also showed that 27 per cent of the wives earned as much as their husbands and 9.4 per cent earned more than their husband.

Most women workers organised their lives on a daily basis within their households, that organised the basic necessities for survival (food, shelter, clothing). In these households, they put together a number of different kinds of income in order to provide basic needs.

Let us look at their thinking on their own earnings: Only 22 women (see Table 7.4) declared that their wages were their own independent income. That is, they spent their wages personally, as they did not have a financial problem at home.

Table 7.4: How women workers thought their wages

| Opinion | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 6 | 4.0 |
| A part of my family budget | 122 | 81.3 |
| My own independent income | 22 | 14.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

The majority of them (122 women ) indicated that they thought their wages were a part of the family budget. Many women stated that they gave their earnings to their parents or their husbands.

We have seen that there are three dominant modes of budgetary control characterising women workers' households. We can conceptualise them as the traditional, patriarchal form; the household allowance; and pooled income. The first form is that members of the family give all or part of their wages to the father/husband. Father/husband is empowered with authority to decide about income allocation and oversee the payment of household expenditures. If there are savings, the account bears

only the father's/husband's name. The second form, the household allowance, is that the woman is given funds to cover basic expenditures such as food and clothing. Her responsibility is to manage these funds to ensure the daily maintenance of the family. Her authority over decision-making and the management of income allocation exists within this very basic part. By contrast, the father/husband is the principal decision-maker for long-term and costly expenditures. In the third form, pooled income, all income-generating members donate a specific amount of their wages to fixed household expenses, such as food, rent, electricity and water bills.

Information from intensive interviews reveals the majority of their households were characterised by the traditional, patriarchal form, but only a few women mentioned that their household operated with pooled household income. In addition, the household allowance occurred only among some of them. Among those units characterised by the household allowance form, the women's incomes were most commonly directed toward the household, rather than personal items of consumption.

The pooling of income was not the predominant mode of budgetary control within the nuclear household. The minority of married women workers made joint decisions in relation to some major purchases and savings. Sometimes a couple planned expenditure or drew up a budget together and then split the work of implementing the budget between them. Müjgan and Geher were a good example of this. Mujgan stated:

> *"We put our money together into the family budget when we get our salaries. Nobody asks any question about money because we share all the expenses of the household. First of all we pay our rent and electricity bills, then we think about other expenses."*

Geher described arrangements in her household as follows:

*"We both supervise the expenses. Our family is not as such that we hide things from each other. When we get our salary we both sit down and make a list of expenses for the month. We discuss what the priorities are. If there is any big item of expenditure we discuss it again. Then he gives me the sum we have decided upon for shopping for the household. He does things like paying the rent and electricity bill and other debts."*

As we have seen in the above statements, Müjgan and Geher controlled the household income and joint decisions were made in relation to some major purchases and savings. However, both of them come originally from rural extended families which were controlled by men as father and grandfather, but they have joined together to manage their money within the household. It should be noted that their husbands were unemployed at that time.

Women's contribution to family income is a very important factor which increases the standing of women in the household. However, this power position modifies in accordance with the type of household. On the other hand, we should not forget that contributing to the family income does not bring equality in sharing housework between male and female members of the family. Though some couples may resist being controlled by tradition, they do not institute a completely egalitarian household. The chores are not divided equally. Patriarchy is not dead.

On the other hand, the management of financial resources is influenced by the income level. For example, higher income levels are correlated with the independent management of financial resources. At the middle income levels, couples seem more likely to adopt either the allowance system or the pooling system. Komarovsky suggested that the upper and lower social classes are characterised by greater husband-wife autonomy than are the middle income classes (Komarovsky 1961).

Furthermore, Edwards illustrated the income level effects on financial arrangements as follows:

> *"In lower income families, particularly where the wife did not earn, the wife was more likely to manage the finances. If the wife did earn either she managed the finances herself or she and her husband did so jointly. At higher income levels, if the wife did not have paid employment, the husband was likely either to manage the finances himself or to give his wife a housekeeping allowance. At higher income levels, if the wife did earn, either a shared management system or an independent management system was likely; the latter form of financial management was more likely if the wife made a significant contribution to family income."* (Edwards 1981, 132)

In our case, though women workers have made an important contribution to their lower income households, they do not have enough power over the spending of the money. Generally, interview results showed that a few single women workers (14.7 percent) were controlling their wages.

A higher proportion (81.3 percent) of the respondents said that their money was given to their families. Dilek, a single factory worker, who lived with her family, said: "I give money directly to my parents, it is used for our family's subsistence, and I receive a small amount of money from my parents for my personal expenditure".

When asked about money given to parents, Sengul answered:

> *"I always give my money to my mother, which is a good feeling, because the money is from my work. My wage is very low, but it is an important help for my family, because my mother is no longer working ."*

As seen, single women do not spend their wages independently, they give them to their mothers or fathers, because they feel a responsibility to give their earnings to their

parents. We can say that there is a sense of obligation and a belief that single women ought to contribute as much as they are able. Dilek summed up the matter in this way:

> *"As a daughter, when I get money, I give it to my family, because I feel I ought to, it is the right thing to do, not because my parents demand it. After all, when we were growing up at home we spent so much of our family's money."*

Şennur (see appendix A) explained her actions in the same way: "our parents raised us for a long time; if you do not give what you earn to your parents, who would help them?" Aysel said "my family needs this help, and it is embarrassing to ask for spending money."

Single girls are still very much under the influence of their families and patriarchal attitudes of their parents, but going out to work broadens their social attitudes. Even while most married women are subject to strict patriarchal controls, they also think that they would be totally dependent on their husbands if they did not work. They now have some economic independence enabling them to take care of their personal needs. Some women reported that they feel stronger by working, and others said they enjoy using their 'right' to work.

On the other hand, when we consider our compulsory question as to whether (a) the only reason for a woman to work outside home is financial need, or (b) a woman should work outside home is so that she can have a little bit more say at home, 64.0 percent of women workers interviewed chose the latter.

Meliha was more comfortable about admitting the personal advantages of having an income:

*"A working woman always feel more self-confident. When a woman sits at home, she is dependent on her husband. Asking for money from your husband is very different than working and having your own money."*

This above statement has also showed the importance for women of not only having an income of their own, but earning a good one as well. In the view of the women workers, having income is important to the women both for its being a means of their maintaining their family's standard of living, and as the source of improving their self-confidence.

As shown in Table 7.5, it has been seen that it was important to them for a woman to have her own income. Only a small minority (10 percent) said differently, but they were mostly single women and from household with no financial problems.

Table 7.5 Importance of having her own income for a woman

| Importance | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 4 | 2.7 |
| Very important | 131 | 87.3 |
| Not so important | 8 | 5.3 |
| Not important | 7 | 4.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.00 |

The majority of women interviewed (87.3 percent) pointed out that it was very important to have her own income. Many of them mentioned that a woman loses self-confidence through staying at home, and that staying at home leads a woman to feel cut off from the world. The feeling that work was necessary to maintain confidence and avoid social isolation was especially marked amongst widowed, divorced and separated women.

*Expenditure*

Studies on women's contribution to household income indicate that women contribute more of their income to the household -especially for food, clothing, and education for children, while men retain more for personal use. The same holds true for our women workers' households in this study.

Most women spend their wages on food and household goods, and not on goods for themselves. They take care of the day-to-day matters. The women are in no doubt that two salaries are necessary for a minimum standard of living. It was seen in Chapter 4 that for majority of the women the fundamental reason for working outside home was insufficient family income. Findings also showed that women's wages make up a substantial part of the total household income and are spent on the household's basic living expenses and debts. Among our 57 married women respondents, 13 women earned the same wages as their husbands, 5 women's wages were higher than those of their husbands, and 4 women were the sole earners in their families. Thirty five women earned less than their husbands.

In general, the father/husband as a breadwinner continues to control personal expenditures.

To assess their ideas on spending women's earnings, respondents were asked which one of two statements is closer to their opinion:

(a) " Women should retain some money for their personal spending just like men do".

(b) " Even when men retain money for their personal spending, the needs of the family should come first for women".

65.3 per cent of the respondents accepted the view that women should retain some money for their personal spending just like men do. In 32.7 per cent of respondents, this view was rejected and they believed that the needs of family should come first for women.

Despite the beliefs of the majority how were their spending patterns in practice? In order to find out where their money is generally spent, we asked this question:

"Which of these things do you spend your own earnings on?"

As shown in Table 7.6, most respondents agreed that 'Improving the home (furnishing, decorating, domestic appliances, dowry, etc.)' and 'the normal day-to-day running of the household (food bills, general household goods) ' were their priorities.

Table 7.6: Allocation of women's wages

| Expenditure | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 2 | 1.7 |
| Personal needs | 17 | 11.3 |
| Children's needs | 6 | 4.0 |
| Improving the home, dowry. | 75 | 50.0 |
| The normal day-to day running of the household | 50 | 33.3 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

In general, married women said " there is nothing left over, for personal expenses because we have hardly enough money for rent, food, electricity, gas and the like". Many single girls were preparing their dowry with what they received back from their parents, because most of them first give the whole of their wages to their parents. For example,

in Hazer's case, she was engaged the year before and she was spending a portion of her wages for her dowry.

All daughters/wives are socialised in such a way that they place family interest above their own, and they recognise that they work in order to help their families. Their interests may not always coincide with those of their families, but family obligation in the form of economic assistance takes precedence.

In addition, they were far from having savings, because many women had been paying debts. Moreover, their low incomes do not buy much in this inflationary time in Turkey. The price of everything increases daily, but workers' wages are precisely the opposite. That is to say, the power of their purchase has been decreased every day, every second. Only three out of a hundred and fifty women said they managed to save. Three of them bought gold. Of these, two were divorced women with living their parents, one was a single girl.

***Decision Making***

Traditionally, sociological analysis of power within family has used measures built out of replies to questions about which partner was responsible for making specific decisions. The decision-making is an activity that takes place in the foundation of family life. Decision-making mechanism involves a number of different practices within the household. One of them is the control of family funds which is generally a sensitive question. This topic is tied-up with the exercise of power in family circles. The control of money is a crucial factor in domestic power relationships. Money is a source of power in societies, and income and wealth are central expressions of advantage. The relative economic positions of husband and wife reflect in their relationship. The balance of power between husband and wife is determined by their control over economic resources.

Pahl has made a distinction between control, management and budgeting. He represents different points in the flow of money through the household, the flow from earning to spending. He pointed out that:

> *"**control** is mainly exercised at the point where money enters the household. It is concerned with decisions such as which allocative system should be adopted within the household, which spouse should have the final say on major financial decisions, and with the extent to which spouses have control over personal spending money of their own and access to joint money... **Management** is concerned with putting into operation the particular allocative system which the couple have adopted...While management is partly concerned with the way in which money is allocated between expenditure categories, **budgeting** is concerned with spending within expenditure categories. Thus, for example, deciding between food and insurance is management, while deciding between steak and mince is budgeting. Budgeting is closely related to the work of shopping."* (Pahl 1983, 244-45)

When we turn to look at decision making system within the household, we have to bear in mind these allocative systems namely, control, management and budgeting.

Early sociological work in Turkey suggests that the decision making, authority and influence in the family all operate in favour of the male members of Turkish family. Father/husband has a hegemony in the family power structure. For example, in the 1950s Stirling (1965) observed Turkish traditional rural society and he pointed out that male and female roles were strictly determined, women were economically dependent on men and men controlled family funds.

On the other hand, since 1970s, there have been several studies on women's place in society and in the family in particular. They have indicated that variations exist among families in terms of women's place within the family power structure. One of them was

carried out by Timur (1972). She argued that family power structure was strongly correlated with the family type. She stated that in the patriarchal extended family, the authority of the father was very important and all members were under his hegemony. The father made all monetary and other decisions concerning the family. The nuclear family was relatively egalitarian in terms of husband-wife relations in which the wife could participate in decision making.

Magnerella (1974) and Kiray (1976, 454) studied women from the lower-middle class and traditional class, respectively, in small towns. Kiray argued that in nuclear families, the inferior position of the wife was reduced and sharing in activities between the spouses increased.

Holmstrom (1973) found that:

> *"the urban upper-middle class Turkish family was small and nuclear, more egalitarian and less patriarchal, with shared division of labour, shared or wife-dominated decision making processes, close companionship and integrated friendship patterns, very different from that of rural families."*

Moreover, the findings on rural migrant family groups revealed that husbands were still the traditional head of the household but behaviourally exercised much less authority than the ones in rural areas.

Some of the examples from the existing literature have shown that studies vary in terms of the emphasis given to factors such as class, residence, type of family, and so on. In general, writers agreed that there was a tendency towards a more egalitarian family structure in urban life in small families and increased educational level of spouses.

We should emphasise that the above studies do not particularly deal with working women. They do not give an answer to the question "To what extent are the women's

status and power within the family power structure influenced when they work outside home?" In this matter, we can find only Kuyaş' study, which is particularly concerned with the effects of employment on women's perceptions and consciousness related to urban household dynamics and power structure. She examined 'middle class' and 'lower class' working women.

Her findings mainly showed that "employment has more subtle effects on family organisation and women's powerlessness" (Kuyaş 1982, 194). She stated:

> *"working women were not relieved to any large extent of their daily domestic responsibilities through employment...They lost what little financial autonomy they had as housewives."* (Kuyaş 1982, 195)

She argues that in lower class families woman's employment does not bring her any real resource in the power relation, since she has very little control over it. In other words, their labour is appropriated as a family resource rather than an individual one. Their wages have be to turned over to the head of household. On the other hand, in her findings, Ecevit, who studied gender and wage work, showed us that:

> *"despite the fact that women workers turned their wages over to their husband, this remained as a symbolic act and did not hamper women's participation in the organisation of family financing. Decision about the allocation of money was usually taken together."* (Ecevit 1986, 338)

She points out that with the employment of women there have been numerous changes regarding the women's status in the family which led to very complex and serious problems.

While Kuyaş states that in the lower classes, "the exchange value of women's labour never reaches a sufficient level for her to appropriate it as a means towards social emancipation" (Kuyaş 1982, 195). Ecevit argued that "it is not always necessary for

women to control and appropriate their wages to become more powerful within the family structure." She argues that:

> *"in very poor families, women's wage relieves the family budget radically and even if she does not control it herself but shares control with her husband, her ability to make decisions within the family power structure does appear to increase."* (Ecevit 1986, 338)

Therefore, she suggests that in very general terms, women workers have gained a considerable degree of power in their family as a result of their employment.

We would argue that although women workers' participation in money management, especially in budgeting and joining the decision making within the household increases by their employment, the main important part remains untouched which is the participation in decision making about social and economic concerns within the family.

Relying on the answers given by the respondents in decision making regarding their own lives, we would suggest that women's employment does not provide much advantage on their control or autonomy in various family and personal decision areas.

For most women, the head of the family is either the husband/father or the grandparent, who gives the last decision at home? For example, only a small number of women workers perceived themselves as autonomous in deciding to work outside. Among 150 women workers, only 17 said that they themselves had made the decision to work. Most of them reported that they made the decision with their husbands, but added that their husbands had the right to say the last word.

When they were asked: "In general, how do you make decisions in your household?", almost all women whom I intensively interviewed said that in general

decisions concerning work (e.g. whether to leave a job or to take another one), and problems concerning political and trade-union participation, fathers/husbands had the power to influence their decisions. They themselves made most of the decisions about leisure time activities, such as visiting friends and doing housework. Elfidan's position was common among the married women:

> *"My husband and I sometimes take decisions together, but these are generally not very crucial things. For example, my employment decision and decisions concerning our children, especially formal education issues and financial matters have been mostly controlled by my husband until today. What I mean is that my primary role is on the management of household matters. My husband is primarily involved in planning and accounting . If there is any major expense, I have to ask him. I can only spend money if he gives it to me."*

In general, for most women, day-to-day activities after work-hours and making friends are the major areas of decision-making.

In her study, Kuyaş showed the importance of class differences in examining family power relationship. She also emphasised the importance of socialisation structure and socio-economic factors which need to be assayed along with the women's employment, when their power status in the family was evaluated.

When we have a look at the socio-economic factors of our women workers interviewed, some differences appear in relation to their type of marriage and family, the education level of the spouses, and their origin ( rural-urban), despite their similarity in these matters. Therefore, when we examine women's power status in the family in terms of their employment, we also have to bear in mind their socio-economic factors mentioned above. For example, Saadet, who has a nuclear family, said that "we take decisions together. I believe that we have the same responsibility in shouldering the

bread winning. Life is shared in our family." Teslime (see appendix A), whose husband is a well-educated person compare with others', described her situation at home as follows: "I believe that my husband and I share everything in the family. We try to take the responsibilities equally." However, as to the women who have extended families like Sirin (see appendix A), the situation was quite different. Many of them had similar experience in terms of the participation in decision making within the household. Like her friends, she stated that:

> *"My husband usually makes the decision himself about crucial things within the family. He has never asked me so far what I think on any issue which he has decided to do himself. He usually asks my parents-in-law. Moreover, my mother- in-law exercises greater control in the management of our home."*

*Conclusion*

This chapter has attempted to provide a broad picture of the household lives of women workers, emphasising the socio-economic structure of their families, division of labour in the household and power structure in the family.

The findings of this study indicate that women's employment was only weakly related to family structure, because we have seen that women, both with or without pre-school children, and with extended or with nuclear families, were forced to work outside the home by reason of their insufficient family income. Their wages make a major contribution to household incomes, and 9.4 per cent of women workers are the prime earners for their families, but this paid employment has not given them more authority in the household. In other words, there is no significant improvement in women's power or role in the family gained by the paid work. It should be pointed out, that a small minority of women did indicate a different response - i.e. they saw their wages as a source of independence and in another context they indicated that they did participate in decision

making. However, some of these women were married to men who were un-employed or they were young, single women who may have been expressing an aspiration rather than a reality. Generally, my observations, fieldwork and living in Turkey indicate that there is in fact very little change in these areas of gender relations. The typical pattern of power structure in their families was the husband-dominant type, with a small proportion of the autonomic type. The fundamental characteristics of patriarchal rule persist within the power structure of their households.

Our study showed that women workers continued to have the full burden of domestic work and childrencare even though they work long hours outside the home, whether it is night or day. In other words, women workers in our sample mentioned that they continued to hold major domestic responsibilities and performed the majority of housework and work related to children. Therefore, patriarchy was maintained to rule women workers' lives by ideologies of womanhood and motherhood.

It is therefore, of some interest to go on and examine the social construction of women worker's identity, and consider to what extent it reinforces the above conclusions. This will be done in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER VIII

# THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTING OF IDENTITY

In this chapter I aim, first, to give some ideas about the way women think of marriage and the family; secondly, how they identify with their society and their status in it; thirdly, I discuss some of the aspects of women workers' attitudes about gender. In the other words, I examine women's gender awareness by looking especially at how working women feel about gender-based division of household work and men's participation in it. Moreover, the study attempts to examine whether the women feel that their status has improved in the family and whether they think they are able to make independent decisions.

The study also probes opinions about educating sons and daughters, and about whether women should be obedient to elders and their husbands. In addition, what do they aspire for in the future? Finally, this chapter exposes women's attitudes towards work and their work satisfactions.

## 1. The Ideas of Marriage and Family

Marriage normally involves the coming together of a man and a woman into a common household. Marriage itself may be seen as an institution designed to meet certain vital needs of the participants. People get married because they believe that in living together they will find sexual fulfilment, emotional response, companionship, and the new experience of parenthood. Almost all of us live in families. Family identity and

belongings are so much part of our lives that we seldom think about them. In most of the occasions it is taken for granted that family, the 'basic cell of society', refers to a couple and their children, i.e. the nuclear family.

In Turkey, marriage is still regarded as the apex of a woman's life. That is, marriage is central to women's life. Within marriage, a woman is expected to be subservient to her husband, to obey him, and serve him. Women have accepted marriage as a fact of life: something which they have to do as an obligatory task. They have seen marriage as their fate. Fatma (see appendix A) stated her view on marriage as that:

> *"when the time comes, women and men get married; may be forty per cent of the people make an informed decision about marriage. The other sixty percent do it just for the sake of getting married."*

Furthermore, traditionally in our society, the ideal woman to marry is someone who is sexually pure, submissive, and obedient to the authority of the man. In other words, the qualities of an ideal wife are attachment to home and faithfulness. She is expected to defer to her father, brother, and husband, and to serve dutifully at home. That is, a woman who pleases her parents and other members of her family, also makes her husband happy.

Most women want to have a good marriage and a happy family. In this study, that opinion is illustrated by answers to various questions to the women workers in the sample. Women were asked to comment on the following statements:

(a) "For a woman, fulfilment in life comes from having made something for herself."

(b) "For a woman, fulfilment in life comes from founding a good family."

Research data elicited that 60 per cent of the respondents took the view that founding a good family was more important than having made something for herself. It should be noted that 40 percent agreed with the first view, and that the majority of these were young, single women. When the women were asked the following question the high proportions of respondents (75.3 per cent) preferred the peace at home to having financial independence from their husbands:

Which opinion is closer to yours?

(a) "The most important achievement possible for a woman is having financial independence from her husband."

(b) "The most important achievement possible for a woman is to ensure peace at home."

Respondents' opinions were sought concerning a good marriage and being a good wife, by asking with which of the following statements they agreed:

(a) "A woman should do whatever is necessary for her children and be able to take care of all their needs."

(b) "Foremost, a woman should be a good wife and serve and please her husband."

Almost all women considered these two statements to be equally important. They saw both of them as their responsibilities but their views depended on their marital status and whether or not they had children.

Respondents were also asked to express with which opinion they agreed in the following statement:

(a) "In a good marriage, a wife should be able to do certain things (like going somewhere, buying something) without having to get her husband's permission."

(b) "In a good marriage, the husband should be able to maintain the household on his own."

The majority of the women reported that a wife in a good marriage should be able to do certain things without having to get her husband's permission. Only 30 percent of the respondents chose the latter, the proportion choosing the former was 68 per cent. Of the former most were less educated, older married women.

But what are unmarried women's views on marriage? In general, the unmarried women though that men looked for a working woman to marry in today's Turkey. Among eighty unmarried women (single, divorced, widowed), 68.7 per cent stated that they would get married any time. Their aim is to get married and to have children. This is the standard thinking. They do not really look for something else. Some of the single women work in order to increase their chances of finding a good spouse. After getting married, they work with the aim of helping family income.

On the other hand, many married women work to help family income and they tend to stop working as their economic situation improves. Many of the single women said that they would stop working after marriage if their spouses' income was good enough. So, women are more likely to stop working as a result of marriage.

31.2 per cent of the single women did not intend to get married soon, but they wanted to get married in the future. In general, a delay in marriage may be due to their job. It may also be due to factors such as the urbanisation and modernisation process.

How did the women meet their marriage partners? Among 78 women who got married or engaged, 15.3 per cent of them said that they met their husbands within the family, while 35.8 percent met their husbands among their friends, and the percentage of meeting them at work was 48.7.

Modern marriage, as viewed by these women did not include living with a mother-in-law. This meant that a woman could exercise greater control in her house than those who lived with a mother-in-law. That is, these women showed that the presence of elderly members in the family restricted women's freedom in the household.

Moreover, findings showed that the dominant type of marriage (involving 64 percent of the sample) was love marriage, which is a non-traditional type of marriage. The percentage of traditionally arranged marriage was 35.8. Unlike her friends, Ayse supported arranged marriage:

> *"Arranged marriage is better because parents always want the best for their children. As a result they find a good husband for you. Look, I am very happy."*

Many women did not agree with the arranged marriages. For example, Sengul mentioned that, "I would like to choose my husband and get to know him before I get married." So, many of them want more control over their marriage. Ayfer (see appendix A), a divorced woman, from her own experience, disagreed strongly with the traditionally arranged marriage. She stated that she did not like the man and she got divorced after a year. Afterwards, her parents gave her freedom to meet anyone because the man they had chosen was no good for their daughter. They decided that next time she could choose for herself.

## 2. Their Views on Society

This section is concerned with the women workers' general ideas on society in which they live. Firstly, we discuss women workers' alienation to the involvement of public life. Secondly, we examine the women workers' perception of society on the base of gender.

Alienation is defined here as a sense of powerlessness in political matters; a lack of meaning and clarity about what one is supposed to believe; a disorder and confusion in moral norms. Alienation is considered to be one of the important factors influencing people's involvement in public life. It is a rather common belief that women are more alienated than men.

Questions were used to explore this issue. Respondents were asked to choose the among answers 'agree' or 'disagree' in respect of the following three statements:

(a) "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on."

(b) "A person like me cannot try to influence the course of the events."

(c) "Life is nowadays so confused that one does not know how to distinguish right from wrong."

As seen in Table 8.1, 55.3 percent agreed with the first statement whilst 44 percent disagreed. 61.3 percent of respondents felt powerless to influence events. In the case of the last statement, there is a clear tendency to agreement among our women workers, as Table 8.1 shows 63.3 percent of women interviewed agreed that 'life is

Table 8.1: Responses on the statements

| Statements | Agree | % | Disagree | % | Total | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A) Some times politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on | 83 | 55.3 | 67 | 44.7 | 150 | 100 |
| B) A person like me cannot try to influence the course of the events | 92 | 61.3 | 58 | 38.7 | 150 | 100 |
| C) Life is nowadays so confused that one does not know how to distinguish right from wrong | 95 | 63.3 | 55 | 36.7 | 150 | 100 |

nowadays so confused one does not know how to distinguish right form wrong'. On the other hand, it is not surprising to find that 40 percent of them tend to express the opposite points on these statements, because they are from the more educated section of our sample. It can be considered that this minority showed that education can have an influence on their views about society and politics. However, this can also be a way in which an educated person can rationalise their environment.

It is clear from Table 8.2 that an overwhelming majority, 68 percent, did not agree that in Turkey everybody is as free as everybody else. In fact 14 percent strongly disagreed. The data provides no explanation for the 15.3 percent who differed in their response.

Table 8.2: Responses on the statement
"Some people say that today in Turkey everybody is as free as everybody else."

| Response | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 2 | 1.3 |
| Agree | 21 | 14.0 |
| Disagree | 102 | 68.0 |
| Strongly disagree | 21 | 14.0 |
| No idea | 4 | 2.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100 |

The majority of respondents believed that men have more freedom than women in doing what they want to. For example, Gülben mentioned that "a man leaves in the morning and comes back at night, but a woman can never do that. She will be thinking of the children even when she is at work."

We also tested the women workers' opinion concerning whether or not women in our country have the same opportunities as men have in terms of obtaining professional training, finding a job and holding a leadership position. The majority of our respondents shared the opinion that women do not have equal access and equal opportunities.

## 3. Women and Identity

Identity, I would argue, overlaps with subjectivity in that both concern one's sense of self and place in the world, as well as specifically referring to general groups of people and social categories such as gender, class, nationality, ethnicity, sexuality, region, religion, parental status, etc. So, in one person there are several social and cultural identities. For women workers in our sample, being a woman, a mother, a wife or a worker are only some of their identities.

The empirical findings of this research revealed some perceptions about women workers' identity in the capitalist-patriarchal world. Their primary identities are of being a wife and a mother. At the same time, these social identities which are provided by family are also a source of their subordination in the capitalist labour market, as cheap labour, because women's income is considered as secondary by the traditional norms.

Interviews, highlighted the fact that there was a considerable similarity in the self-descriptions of themselves as compared to their mothers. However most of them saw themselves as being more independent, ambitious and realistic than their mothers, though

they still see themselves as men see them -as sex objects, wives, mothers, cooks and nurses. They still considered themselves dependent on a man, and their pay as marginal to a man's.

According to the view of Fatma, one of our interviewees, being a woman is 'a kind of slave to man's world'. It is described similarly by Serpil (see appendix A) as follows:

> *"If you are a woman, you are closely subject to the authority and control of the men in your: father, brother, husband, in our society. . In the home, it is women who bear all the responsibility for running the family."*

Almost all of the women workers interviewed expressed sentiments similar to what Mujgan, who said that, "For me to be a woman, it means to think of my family more than myself and to respect my husband."

On the other hand, they mentioned that the job contributed something extra, which they did not get at home, but they saw no great conflict for women workers between 'being a woman' and 'being a worker'. This may be a particular problem for career-oriented women but for women workers in our sample, the family as a source of emotional and material support and social identity provides them with primary identification as wives and mothers despite their increasing importance as wage earners.

The women have some important things in common. They work full-time, and do similar tasks. Also, these women have in common the industry they work for, one that is part of Turkish's traditional industrial sector.

An important research question of the study is: Do the respondents' attitudes towards sex roles present a picture of homogeneity of attitudes due to the commonality of their experience, or do they differ because some of their demographic characteristics

and households are different? Very few past studies have investigated the question of attitudes towards sex-roles in women. Studies on modernisation have found a link between modern factory work and modern attitudes such as personal independence, gender equality, and interest in current events.

## 4. Women and Attitudes about Gender Equality

What is women workers' gender ideology? Most respondents are of the view that women in Turkish society have no equal rights with men in the social and economic life, despite the fact that these rights are granted to them by law i.e. the education system is open to every citizen regardless of gender.

When they were asked if they agreed or not with the following statement, that 'some people say that with an educational system, and legislation against sexual discrimination at work, women have all the opportunities they may want, most disagreed.

On the other hand, as shown in Table 8.3, many women workers supported the view that boys and girls have different tasks in life and should, therefore, be brought up differently.

Table 8.3: Responses to "if some people say that boys and girls have different tasks in life and should, therefore, be brought up differently, would you agree with them?"

| Their opinions | Number | percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 3 | 2.0 |
| Strongly agree | 8 | 5.3 |
| Agree | 82 | 54.7 |
| Disagree | 41 | 27.3 |
| Strongly disagree | 14 | 9.3 |
| No idea | 2 | 1.3 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

These results are quite important as they show that gender issues are still quite relevant to Turkish patriarchal society, although these opinions and attitudes are affected by related factors such as urban residence, or education of self and husband. Thus, it is not surprising that almost 40 percent disagreed with the statement. The data shows them to be of urban background and with a level of education. This suggests that some changes are taing place. However, the social context of conducting the interviews may also have affeted their answers and may be the 40 percent is not quite as significant as it apppears at first.

It can be definitely said that women in this study seem to have traditional practices, with regard to gender issues. Although a large majority express the opinion that men should help with housework, when asked to elaborate on the idea of work sharing, many women defended the traditional division of work.

Let us look more closely at these opinions. On the one hand, they generally said there was no job that a woman should not do if she wanted to do it. Typical responses women gave when asked if there was any job a woman should not do were:

Semra (see appendix A): *"No, but there's a lot of jobs women can do better than men. I think it should be equal all the way."*

Fatma: *"Physically there must be jobs that women can't do, but apart from that there should be no discrimination on the grounds of sex.'*

On the other side, some of them said there were some jobs women should not do and they tended to mention very stereotypical men's jobs involving heavy work for example:

Mujgan said that coal mining, and lorry driving are heavy work such as a man should do, not a woman.

In addition, some of them, like Meliha, who said there was some work that women should not do were concerned that the work would be too heavy for women, not that women should not do 'men's work' as traditionally defined. For Meliha, there are some things a woman can't do, for example, lifting heavy things.

When the respondents were asked what they thought about the job a man should not do, they generally said that there was no job a man should not do if he wanted to do it, but still there were some jobs men should not do, for example, cleaning.

Among women workers interviewed the belief that 'a women is by nature much more ready to obey than a man is' was common -in fact 68.7 percent agreed. The majority stated that obedience to elders and their husbands in family is for them an important value within the society.

However, the important thing to note is that there is something a contradiction in opinions on the issues of independent decision-making among the workers who also believed that obedience as a good trait in a woman. A majority of women in the sample claimed that they enjoyed independence in making decisions on issues concerning themselves.

Women's views of themselves and their families were assessed from their responses to this simple question: What is your greatest wish for the future? The responses ranged from "death in peace," "good marriage for children," "good job for children," "good job for husband," to, "happy family," "happy retirement", and "financial welfare." The responses were recoded into two simple categories "family-oriented

wishes" as opposed to "self-oriented wishes". Overall there was a similarity in their feelings and aspirations for the future.

## 5. Women's Attitudes toward Work and Work Satisfaction

In this section we shall present the women's attitudes towards work and their work satisfactions. There are many deeply entrenched beliefs concerning women's attitudes towards work. All of them, directly or indirectly, are connected with the assumption that for women the fulfilment of feminine drives has precedence over other things, and that men approach work quite differently from women.

*Women's Attitudes toward Work*

The study shows that women still saw their employment as marginal and their husbands/fathers as breadwinners. Some women also expressed the view that they would not wish to earn more than their husbands.

The married women interviewed saw their role as wife and mother as being more important than employment. Ideally, they accept the view that a married woman should give up her job if it involves spending much of her time out of the house. But, in fact, 57 percent of the married women accepted that they should continue to work, although their jobs sometimes made difficulties for them, especially the over time working. One reason for this is their financial difficulties. It is necessary to work outside the home to earn money to maintain family life. The majority said that they would leave their jobs if their husbands earned enough to keep the family.

Few of the women interviewed are critical of their workplace. Those who are believe that supervisors are not fair, or that safety conditions are not satisfactory. On the other hand, many women workers tend to be complacent about their workplace, because they know how difficult it would be to find a new job which has better conditions, in today's Turkey. As a result of this situation, they do not grumble about treatment accorded them by their supervisors or the poor health and safety standards maintained at their workplaces. When asked to make suggestions to their firms, the majority of women workers focused on wage increases.

We found that women gave importance to a friendly or family atmosphere in their workplaces. They were asked why they were working in this factory. As shown Table 8.4, the most common response to this question (39.3 percent) was 'money', but an important consideration was that their friends were working there. These responses have been included under the category "others" (33 percent). Friends may not be a primary motivation for women seeking work outside of the house, but may be an important reason for choosing or finding a particular job. The emphasis on good relations between workers and the desire for a good working atmosphere was a major concern for women workers. It sholud be noted that only 10 percent indicated "interest".

Table 8.4: Respondents' main reasons for choice of these factories

| Reason | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Money | 59 | 39.3 |
| Interest | 15 | 10.0 |
| Both | 26 | 17.3 |
| Others | 50 | 33.3 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

*Work Satisfaction of the Factory Women Workers*

Jobs are important, but they are not the only way by which a man or woman contributes to society, finds an identity, meets friends or makes money, which are all usually given as the reasons for having a job. Work provides people with the opportunity to satisfy themselves, to improve, and to work with and for others. In another words, work is in its real meaning essential to the full expression of our humanity.

Work, for instance, can be viewed as a commodity or a profession. If it is a commodity, the worker is selling his or her time or skill for a price. He or she is entitled to look for as high a price as possible, whilst the buyer, the employer, will pay as little as possible. It is a bargaining process, ritualised in the collective bargaining of trade unions and employers. Where work is a profession, it is done because you want to do that particular work; it is your interest, your profession, your commitment, maybe even your passion. It is through work that you improve yourself and also win the respect that you really appreciate from colleagues and friends, which is one kind of satisfaction.

Many occupations have been the subject of satisfaction studies, though factory and office work have predominated in these studies. The various sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction that people have from their work give some indications about how well or how badly the organisation and content of the work is suited to their needs. The different meanings that people tend to attach to work according to the type of job, and the widespread feeling of alienation from work, are other aspects that merit special attention. Finally, we may consider the probable changes in the occupational structure that are likely to affect satisfaction from, meaning of, and alienation from work.

We can draw out some of the main themes which emerge from people's statements about what makes work satisfactory or unsatisfactory for them: creating

something, using skills, working wholeheartedly, using initiative and having responsibility, and mixing and working with people who know their job. In contrast with this, we can see several themes of dissatisfaction, such as doing repetitive work, participating in only a small part of the production process, doing unnecessary or very simple tasks, feeling a sense of insecurity and being too closely supervised.

In analysing women's job satisfaction, economists usually argue that a woman's age, health, family background, education, work experiences and the size of the labour force are the determining factors for her to get a satisfying job (Carroll 1973; Andrisani 1978). Whilst family circumstances are viewed as constraints, the wages and prestige status that the job provides are viewed as the measurable rewards. Economists tend to assume that the only utility that women derive from paid work is the financial reward, whereas in fact paid work may give more or less the same satisfaction as domestic activities do.

Nevertheless, the classification of occupations on the basis of sex and the existence of segmented labour markets interact to limit most women to a fairly narrow range of jobs in the occupational structure. Appelbaum argues that this makes a straightforward relationship between education and work experience on the one hand and the quality of the job and job satisfaction on the other difficult when it comes to women (Appelbaum 1981). In her study, she paid special attention to the effects of the woman's family responsibilities and her perception of her husband's attitude towards her employment in her level of job satisfaction.

In the late 1950s, Komarovsky (1964) observed that working-class women clearly work for money. She also noted that apart from money there are "other rewards of working: the enjoyment of social life in the job, the pleasures of workmanship etc."

Komarovsky also concluded that a job does not need to "be a highly skilled one to yield the worker some satisfaction from its execution" (Komarovsky 1964, 70). Sometimes it is the social environment in the factory that gives the real satisfaction.

Interviewees were asked several questions. The first was how do women workers in the factory perceive their work and what is their level of job satisfaction? In trying to ascertain how women workers felt about their jobs they were encouraged to speak freely about their likes and dislikes. Many found difficulty in finding any aspects of their jobs that they enjoyed.

Most of them were dissatisfied with their job content and conditions of work because of their fragmentary and repetitive task. Most of them described and evaluated their jobs as being boring, and fatiguing. As one of them put it: "It is the most boring job in the world. It's the same thing over and over again. There is no change in it. It does not require thinking. It makes you awfully tired. I just put up with it for the money." Most of the women workers that I talked to expressed sentiments broadly similar to that, evaluating their work conditions negatively. Moreover, the material rewards (pay and social benefits) were described as poor, and the majority criticised working hours.

To the question, "Would you advise your daughter to apply for a job like yours?" most of the women workers I interviewed in detail replied that, "I want my daughter to get a better job." They mentioned that factory work for a woman was not preferable unless she has no chance to find a more promising job.

The respondents were asked their reasons for choosing factory work as a job. Several women specifically said that they only chose the job for pecuniary reasons despite wages rate being so low. Others argued that they lacked educational qualifications, and

factory work was one of the very few jobs which were open to them. It was seen preferable to agricultural work and other informal urban jobs.

Table 8.5: Responses to If you had your choice would you rather stay at home or keep working

| Response | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 3 | 2.0 |
| Home | 80 | 53.3 |
| Work | 67 | 44.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

As Table 8.5-6 show, the data revealed that given the relevant opportunities, the majority of women workers (53.3 per cent of our respondents) would like to stop work or change jobs (68.7 per cent of our respondents). They have remained in their jobs due to factors beyond their control, such as, lack of availability of another job, lack of relevant qualifications/experience in other fields, and lack of family income for poorer women. Involvement in paid work is usually not a choice or a search for 'alternative' satisfaction. Poorer women are usually pushed into the labour force by economic needs (Papola 1982; Jelin 1982)). However, over 40 percent of the women, the majority of whom were single, indicated that they wanted to stay in work. This may be because their income make them attractive to potential husbands.

Table 8.6: Intention of changing for another type of industrial work

| Intention | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 4 | 2.7 |
| No | 43 | 28.7 |
| Yes | 103 | 68.7 |
| TOTAL | 150 | 100.0 |

Therefore, the matter of job satisfaction for women workers is not an important factor in terms of choosing a job. For our interviewees, working conditions have been seen as more important than job satisfaction .

Moreover, interviewees were asked some 'control questions' since direct questions about their work lives may have made them feel defensive and thus unwittingly invited overoptimistic evaluations. To the direct question, " Do you intend to continue working in this factory?" 47.3 per cent of the whole sample replied "Yes" and 48.7 per cent said "No". In spite of that result, when they were asked as a control question, "Provided everything else was equal, would you still like to change your job?" they provided a completely different figure. In answering the latter, of the 150 interviewees, 68.7 per cent would like to change their job if they ever had the opportunity, whilst 28.7 per cent preferred to continue to work in their current job.

*Conclusion*

What conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing discussion in this chapter? In this section, the perceptions and views of women on family, society and their identities have been discussed. Then, women's attitudes toward work and their work satisfaction were examined. It is evident among the women workers studied here, that they continue to identify primarily as wives and mothers despite their increasing importance as wage

earners. Almost all of these women consider paid employment part of their family's survival rather than for their own self-esteem or personal autonomy. Concerning the perceptions of their identities and status, it can be said that they identify with the family unit primarily.

It should be noted that there is a minority of respondents among the women workers replying in a different way on some important questions, but this minority is not consistently composed of the same people. In some cases it is younger, educated single women who indicate a degree of "modern" attitudes and values that is significantly different from the prevailing customs and traditions in Turkey. This may be seen as an indication of social change, though it can also reflect the problems of conducting fieldwork with questionnaires. For example, several young, educated single women tended to respond to me personally when they were answering the questions rather than what they actually felt. In other words, they were "embarrassed" to express or agree with "traditional" views in front of a young, female, educated academic. Thus, it should not be immediately concluded that there is a substantial degree of change. For such a conclusion, more in-depth participatory observation is needed. In fact, from my extended structured interviews it was clear that the degree of social change is far less than that indicated quantitatively by the minority responses.

Thus, it can be concluded that despite significant and important transformations there has been very little change in either the status or role of women and in their own perception of themselves. The preceding four chapters have used fieldwork data and interviews to explore the possibility of change. The data, however, suggests that if any change has taken place it is minor and women's subordinate position has remained at both the household level and the other levels of society. This conclusion should be related to the discussion in the first part of the thesis which also indicated that Turkey, despite

experiencing major economic, and political transformations, is still a dependent peripheral capitalist society in the world capitalist system. It is not surprising that Turkish women workers are also dependent and peripheral in the economy, like any other capitalist developing country in the world capitalist system. In this sense, what was indicated, vis a vis women workers, in the conclusion of chapter four, has been confirmed in the second part of this thesis by an examination of the fieldwork data.

# CONCLUSION

## LIVING WITH CAPITALISM AND PATRIARCHY

I have already mentioned some of the gaps and weaknesses in social science research on women workers in Turkey. A major problem is still lack of data in this area. Therefore, this study is an attempt to fill a small part of one of the gaps; its deficiencies will be an objective for future research.

The primary objective of this study, as stated in the introduction, is to see to what extent the participation of paid female labour in Turkey, as a result of capitalist industrialisation, impacts on their personal and social lives.

With this major objective, women workers in the textile/clothing factories in Manisa city of Turkey have been examined with particular emphasis on the factors which influence women's paid work. The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the salient findings of this study and to point out how they fit into the general context of existing knowledge concerning women workers in paid work in other countries. The objectives of this study have been carried out using description, comparison and analysis. The fact that very little was known about Turkish factory women workers necessitated detailed description of many aspects of their employment within a wider perspective of development and the present industrial situation.

I compared Turkish women's experience of paid work with that of women in advanced industrialised countries and other developing countries. This comparison revealed that there were differences as well as similarities between Turkish women's experience and those of women in other historical and geographical settings. Moreover,

in this study I analysed the extent to which current theoretical approaches were relevant to Turkish women.

What, then, is the significance of the observed similarity between the findings of this study and previous work pertaining to the labour force behaviour of women, for the rest of Turkey as well as other developing countries? As it is known, labour force participation rates are products of demand and supply factors, which interact within a socio-cultural framework. The present results suggest the following generalisation: if the effects of supply factors on the female labour force participation are in the same direction, for women in different developed and developing countries alike, then the differences in the women's activity levels are primarily a result of variation in a) the demographic structure (age, education, etc.) and b) demand conditions (employment opportunities and wages).

On the basis of this study some initial and tentative conclusions can be drawn. On the one hand, perhaps the most important general observation to be made is that state intervention and the implementation of a series of radical reforms have done much to improve the position of women in the Republic of Turkey and to make it in this regard one of the most advanced countries in the Middle East. Legal reform, the democratisation of education and the encouragement of women to enter employment have removed some of the worst formal inequalities between sexes in a relatively short period of time. On the other hand, the current picture of these revolutionary efforts clearly indicates that only some partial changes have resulted, confined to the status and role of women in Turkish society, but they have not been able to remove essentially wide national disparities in class, between urban and rural areas, and between regions.

I presented the development of Turkish capitalist industrialisation and its impact on the female labour force as the background and undertook an analysis of social, cultural and ideological factors in the explanation of women's secondary position in the society. There was a relationship between the development of industry, the demand for a particular type of labour and the characteristics of the labour force at specific historical periods. Women became a preferred labour force in certain sectors due to the low cost of their labour, and the ease with which they could be controlled. Employers derived continuing advantages from the assumptions about women: their dependency on man and family, their low attachment to work, their submissiveness and their acceptance of low wages.

Our findings showed that the typical woman factory worker was single and young, or married with an average of two children. Most women had a rural background and had migrated to Manisa with their families. So, our sample with the majority of women workers as single was in common with the pattern of the Far East countries, but the number of married women was more than the expectation from the Far-Eastern pattern where they are undervalued. Factories have preferred young girls as apprentices and set upper limits for the initial entry age, and this caused many women to stay outside the organised sector and increased their likelihood of employment in casual jobs. On the other hand, lack of unionisation, very low wages, heavy industrial discipline and lack of social services for workers have also undermined women's labour force and familial gains. Young women workers still strongly believe that they will leave factory work behind when they get married.

Most women who have worked in textile/clothing factories have had only primary school or junior high school education. In our sample, primary schooling was the most common level of education among the workers, but women with higher schooling also

worked in the factories. The majority of women workers had left school at a very early age, because of their family economic reasons or ideologies about daughters' education.

Married women were in greater need of employment. The majority of women workers lived in nuclear families and had a small number of children. The relationship between the number and age of children and the employment of women we found to be very weak. Instead, inadequate family income is the primary reason for which women took up employment. Therefore, both single and married women are making major contributions to this inadequate family income, whilst the women's wages are considered 'supplementary' to the family budget. Most women said they have worked for 'their families' rather than 'for themselves'.

Our research revealed that women workers were concentrated on the shopfloor. Labour intensive production activities required cheap labour and women were well suited to this purpose. In other words, women workers have been a capitalist's ideal labour force, highly productive and characterised by low militancy and willingness to work for low wages. Their docility and submissiveness were also important in maintaining labour control. Women workers were employed in certain departments and performed unskilled jobs, leaving the skilled jobs and supervisory positions to men.

Women's work histories showed that they had encountered many difficulties ranging from family opposition to scarcity of jobs, but that they were determined and anxious to find a job. It appeared that women could not be selective, given their acute economic necessity and limited job opportunities. The majority of women found their jobs through relatives and friends. Many women started to work at very early ages, mostly in small workplaces, having low paid, insecure jobs.

Shift work produced generally unfavourable working condition but was accepted by many women because of lack of choice and economic necessity. Married women were much more affected by shift work.

On the other hand, factory work did not greatly enhance either the single or married women's decision-making role in the family. Nor did it lead to independence from family ties. As seen from our findings, patriarchal patterns predominate in some areas of the household, though even here some renegotiation of husband/wife roles is taking place. At home, the employment of women was found to have very little impact on the sexual division of labour. Women continued to hold major domestic responsibilities and performed most of the housework and the work related to child care. Ideologies of womanhood and motherhood continued to govern women workers' lives.

Contrary to the persistence of the traditional sexual division of labour at home, there were however signs of women's autonomy in other areas. Within the limitation of existing data, it can be argued that, in most families studied, the power structure was not wholly male-dominated. The tendency was towards joint decision making in some areas of family life. Women's earnings made up a substantial and crucial part of family income. Women seemed satisfied with their role in the allocation of money and with their participation in decision-making at home, while few of them were dissatisfied with their joint decision making at home.

The theoretical perspectives discussed in chapter 2 reveal that an understanding of the subordination of women as wage labourers is only possible through an examination of the mutual relationship between two spheres: the labour market and the family. The particular social relations with regard to cultural expression of capitalist patriarchy also seem to account for the way in which women are exploited as cheap labourers.

Throughout this study, I have emphasised the significance of this relationship in terms of women's wage work and argued that neither of these spheres was solely responsible for the disadvantaged position of women as wage workers. In other words, I have stressed the dialectical relationship between the structure and operation of the labour market and women's place within the family. This relationship was reinforced by the ideologies of gender which were effective as assumptions in both spheres. Therefore, I would argue that the nature of women's wage work in a particular social formation is influenced by the characteristics and development of the given economy on the one hand and the characteristics of the family on the other. I tried to show this relationship first in terms of the development of the Turkish economy. I argued that changes in the economic structure generated by capitalist development affected women's wage work. Women activity rates are more sensitive to the interaction of conditions determining the labour demand and supply. They are heavily influenced by changes in the structure of the labour demand through variation in the levels of wages and income. The transformation of the economy and the growth of factory production opened up employment opportunities for women. I also argued that despite the growth of factory production historically only women from lower class families who were economically desperate entered the factories.

At the individual level, a person's entire way of life is heavily influenced by her labour force status. It is not only in terms of economic well being that labour force status is important, but also through social status and personal identity. In this sense women make up a distinctive source of labour supply because the substance and structure of the lives of most women are determined primarily by their familial functions as wives, mothers and homemakers, rather than breadwinners.

There is a weak association between labour force activity and the geographical mobility of females. Our results also suggest that migrants from rural areas are more economically active than those from urban places.

This study suggests that the identity of women workers in the capitalist labour market is largely determined by the patriarchal cultural structure of the Turkish society. I should like to point and that contrary to assumptions about 'modernisation', factory work is not really providing the bridge to development of the social status for working-class women in Turkey, where massive structural differences between regions, and immense inequalities among social classes exist. As it is clear from my findings, most women did not indicate dramatic changes in their lives.

In addition, their parents/husbands have control over the economic decisions of women workers; that is, there are highly patriarchal and patrilineal kinship systems found in our respondents' families, where parents/husbands almost completely control their daughters'/wives' decisions, behaviour, labour, and income. This is similar to the patriarchal East Asia and Middle East countries.

The majority of respondents indicated that their decision to obtain waged work was economically motivated. The women saw waged work as an 'unavoidable' but 'temporary' necessity that would benefit their family in the future or improve the family's current standard of living. Women's market wage levels, for several reasons having to do with the family, were not high enough, or not seen by the family as high enough, to justify any neglect of their homemaking duties. Although the women's responses indicated that 'traditional' roles in the family have been slightly modified, the division of labour in the household has not changed significantly. The sex division of household labour is strongly maintained, and after marriage and children, women's domestic work

increases. Women are still burdened with the major responsibility for household tasks and child care, although they work outside the home.

Tight control over the women in the workplace allows for very little interaction among them. Discussions with factory workers about the union and their political participation indicated that, although they were not indifferent or unaware of their condition, they were not ready to engage in any form of practical resistance. If they were unhappy about their situation , it was merely with their fate as individuals not as part of a class.

Questions related to improvements in women's status and position must be explored through macro and micro interchange. Women's equality presupposes changes in the socio-economic structure concomitantly with changes in the social construction of that structure. These changes must necessarily be part of the on-going struggle for political emancipation from all forms of exploitation and oppression, be it class, gender, or race preference.

Although socio-economic variables showed an association in the labour force participation of women at the individual level, the degree of this association, and sometimes even the direction, was found to be different among women workers regarding the demographic factors. Thus, our findings clearly reveal that the labour force participation of women varies with specific or different conditions of socio-economic structure. That is, socio-economic factors usually affect the labour force participation of women directly. In addition, female workers are constrained by both patriarchy and capitalism, but how individual women are affected depends on their class position.

Working class husbands cannot guarantee economic security for their wives, but in order to maintain their position as patriarchs they have to deny that they need their

wives' income. In these cases women are exploited both as workers and as wives. Their employment outside the home intensifies the existing forms of gender subordination at home (cf. Rubin 1976; Sen 1980).

There is a general assumption in Turkey that industrialisation will bring more jobs, that it will enable workers to enjoy better life chances and that it will result in the production of cheaper and higher quality goods that will better meet people's needs. The examination of women workers in the textile factories in Turkey leads us to be quite skeptical about this easy assumption. The technology in the industry has continued to be almost entirely imported from the developed countries, and there has been essentially no upgrading in the quality of human labour in the industry. It is still primarily a low-skill labour intensive industry within the country, and the organisation of work has continuously devolved to layers of subcontracting firms. From the workers' point of view, then, this type of industrialisation does not look like 'development'.

In conclusion it can be said that traditional familial authority patterns are being partly challenged in the some areas of the household, that is, a more egalitarian family structure is emerging, but ideological pressures still lead women to choose on-going relationships with a male provider, and women still say they work for family survival rather than for personal autonomy. The effect of industrialisation on women in these cases is contradictory. That is, for women workers in working class families, the family goals remain more important for women than do individualistic goals of personal achievement.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that women workers' families act within the constraints imposed by world capitalism and state development policy, as well as the patriarchal cultural structure of Turkish society. This study suggest that the mutual

relationship between these systems is important for explaining questions related to women's status in both places: labour market and family.

In closing, it should be noted again that studies, like the present one, are generally restricted by the availability of data and the necessity to focus the scope of analysis upon a limited field. Consequently, most research raises questions which remain to be investigated in the future. Each research project inevitably offers further research directions. That is, we should not forget that, for the future researches on women workers in Turkey, there are still various relevant aspects, for which the evidence from this study is limited. The results of this study, as for many others, are also subject to verification, modification and elaboration by further research.

# APPENDICES

## Appendix A

## Personal details of 22 women who were interviewed in-depthly

**1-*Müjgan:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 32 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family(childless)

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Seasonal worker

Length of time in job: Six years

Trade Union: Non-member

***2-Geher:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 30 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family (two children)

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Factory worker

Length of time in job: Eight years

Trade Union: Member

**3-*Dilek:***

Place of Birth: Town

Age: 20 years-old

Marital status: Single

Type of family: Extended family

Education:  Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Self employed

Length of time in job: One year

Trade Union: Member

**4-*Ayşe:***

Place of Birth: Town

Age: 38 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family (three children)

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Worker in an institution

Length of time in job: Eight years

Trade Union: Member

**5-*Mine:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 22 years-old

Marital status: Engaged

Type of family: Nuclear family

Education: Primary School

Husband/father's occupation: Worker in an institution

Length of time in job: Five years

Trade Union: Member

*6-Şengül:*

Place of Birth: Town

Age: 21 years-old

Marital status: Single

Type of family: Nuclear family

Education: High school

Husband/father's occupation: Workshops' worker

Length of time in job: Five years

Trade Union: Member

***7-Nadire:***

Place of Birth: Foreign country

Age: 31 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family (two children)

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Unemployed

Length of time in job: Four years

Trade Union: Member

**8-*Hatice:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 25 years-old

Marital status: Single

Type of family: Nuclear family

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Farmer

Length of time in job: One year

Trade Union: Non-member

9-*Gülbcn:*

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 34 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family (two children)

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation:

Length of time in job: Seven years

Trade Union: Member

**10-*Meliha:***

Place of Birth: Town

Age: 32 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family (two children)

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Officer

Length of time in job: Four years

Trade Union: Member

**11-*Nursel:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 19 years-old

Marital status: Engaged

Type of family: Nuclear family

Education: High school

Husband/father's occupation: Farmer

Length of time in job: One year

Trade Union: Non-member

**12-*Aysel:***

Place of Birth: Foreign country

Age: 17 years-old

Marital status: Single

Type of family: Nuclear family

Education:  Secondary school

Husband/father's occupation: Worker in an institution

Length of time in job: Two years

Trade Union: Member

**13-*Saadet:***

Place of Birth: City

Age: 29 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family (two children)

Education: Secondary school

Husband/father's occupation: Factory worker

Length of time in job: Five months

Trade Union: Non-member

**14-*Mücella:***

Place of Birth: City

Age: 29 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Extended family (one child)

Education: Vocational school

Husband/father's occupation: Factory worker

Length of time in job: Six months

Trade Union: Non-member

**15-*Şennur:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 21 years-old

Marital status: Single

Type of family: Extended family

Education: High school

Husband/father's occupation: Dead

Length of time in job: One year

Trade Union: Non-member

**16-*Elfidan:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 32 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Extended family (three children)

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Fcatory worker

Length of time in job: Five years

Trade Union: Non-member

**17-*Teslime:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 38 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family (childless)

Education: Vocational school

Husband/father occupation: Health officer

Length of time in job: Five years

Trade Union: Member

**18-*Şirin***

Place of Birth: Foreign country

Age: 20 years-old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Extended family (She was pregnant for the first child)

Education: Secondary school

Husband/father's occupation: Factory worker

Length of time in job: Two years

Trade Union: Non-member

**19-*Fatma:***

Place of Birth: Village

Age: 32 years old

Marital status: Married

Type of family: Nuclear family (two children)

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Officer

Length of time in job: Eight years

Trade Union: Member: Member

**20-*Ayfer:***

Place of Birth: City

Age: 23 years-old

Marital status: Divorced

Type of family: Extended family

Education: Primary School

Husband/father's occupation: Retired worker

Length of time in job: One year

Trade Union: Non-member

**21-*Serpil***

Place of Birth: Town

Age: 27 years-old

Marital status: Single

Type of family: Nuclear family

Education: University

Husband/father's occupation:  Factory's officer

Length of time in job: One and half years

Trade Union: Non-member

**22-*Semra:***

Place of Birth: Town

Age: 26 years-old

Marital status: Single

Type of family: Nuclear family

Education: Primary school

Husband/father's occupation: Farmer

Length of time in job: Four months

Trade Union: Member

## Appendix B

## QUESTIONNAIRE I

*A History of the factories and general characteristics.*

Q.1 When was the factory's establishment and commencement of production?

Q.2 What kind of capital was used in its establishment?

Q.3 What does the factory produce?

Q.4 What is the factory's market position (domestic and/or international)?

Q.5 What percentage of the total materials-supply is from the domestic market and what percentage imported ?

Q.6 Has there been an increase or decrease in the factory's export activities in recent years?

Q.7 What is the total number of employees, male and female respectively?

Q.8 The number of employees in administrative positions?

Q.9 How do you employ workers and what criteria do you use in selecting?

Q.10 How many shifts does each production unit operate on?

Q.11 Is overtime used in your factory?

Q.12 Has there been any Trade Union in your factory ?

Q.13 Have there been any major strikes in recent years?

## Appendix C

# QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE WOMEN WORKERS

INTRODUCTION:

My main areas of interest are family life and work. I shall be asking questions about how you make plans and decisions in these two areas of your life. I am, however, also interested in other aspects of your life, and I shall be interested in these things which you feel have been and are of importance in shaping your life.

The interview consists of different question sections. The first section is concerned with your personal, social and attitude details. The aim of this is for you to give a rough outline of your life. This section is mostly about family life, although it contains some questions about domestic works and the way in which your husband/parents may have affected your plans and attitudes. Moreover, it also contains some questions about your attitudes, ideas, beliefs, interests, etc. The second section is mostly about work, although it touches upon other aspects as well. Is there anything you want to ask me before we start ?

FORM NO.....

Place of interview :.....

Date of interview :.....

## PART- I

### *SOCIAL AND ATTITUDE QUESTIONS:*

Q.1- How old are you?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Below 18 .....( )

2. Between 18-20 .....( )

3. Between 21-23 .....( )

4. Between 24-27 .....( )

5. Over than 28 .....( )

Q.2- Where were you born?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Town.....( )

2. Village.....( )

Q.3- Where do you live at present?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Town.....( )

2. Village.....( )

Q.4- Have you ever lived anywhere else?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Yes.....( )

2. No.....( )

Q.5-If 'Yes' where ?

Place(s):

1. Village:.....(  )

2. City:.....(  )

Q.6- From which school did you graduate?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. I did not go to school.....(  )

2. Primary school.....(  )

3. Secondary school.....(  )

4. Vocational school.....(  )

5. High school.....(  )

6. University.....(  )

7. Other.....(  )

Q. 7- Did you get a certification ?

1. Yes.....(  )

2. No.....(  )

Q.8- Why did you leave or not continue ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. There was not any school around.....(  )

3. My family did not let me go to school.....(  )

4. I had to work because I was responsible

for my family's livelihood.....(  )

5. I did not want to.....( )

6. Other.....( )

Q.9- Which do you consider it more important to educate ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. More important to educate boys.....( )

2. More important to educate girls.....( )

3. Equally important to educate boys and girls.....( )

Q.10- Are you married? What is your Marital status at present?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Single.....( )

2. Divorced.....( )

3. Widowed.....( )

4. Engaged.....( )

5. Married.....( )

6. More than one marriage.....( )

7. Other.....( )

*(If she is a single women go to the Q.24 ))*

Q.11- Where is your husband's or fiancee's birthplace?

0. No answer.....( )

1. From same place.....( )

2. Other.....( )

Q.12-( If she is married or engaged ) What is your husband's or fiancee's educational level?

0. No answer.....( )

1. He did not go to school.....( )

2. Primary school.....( )

3. Secondary school.....( )

4. Vocational school.....( )

5. High school.....( )

6. University.....( )

7. Other.....( )

Q.13- Did he get a certification ?

1. Yes.....( )

2. No.....( )

Q.14- ( If she is married or engaged ) What is your husband's or fiancee's job?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Unemployed.....( )

2. Farmer / farmer worker.....( )

3. Factory worker.....( )

4. Tradesman.....( )

5. Craftsman.....( )

6. Merchant.....( )

7. Officer.....( )

8. Other.....( )

Q.15- If 'Yes', If you don't mind how much salary he gets ?

His salary:.....

Q.16- Where he works in ?

His work place:.....

Q.17- ( If she is married or engaged) How did you meet your husband?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Within the family.....( )

2. Through my friends.....( )

3. At the my work place.....( )

Q.18- How long had you known each other before you got married?

0. No answer.....( )

1. 6 months-1 year.....( )

2. 2 years.....( )

3. More than 2 years.....( )

Q.19- Was it an arranged marriage or a love marriage?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Arranged.....( )

2. Love marriage.....( )

Q.20- Do you have a child?

0. No answer.....( )

1. I haven't any children.....( )

2. I have .....(  )

Q. 21- If you have, How many ?

1. One.....(  )

2. Two.....(  )

3. Three.....(  )

4. Four.....(  )

5. Five.....(  )

6. Six.....(  )

7. More than six.....(  )

Q.22- Who looks after your children when you work ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Me.....(  )

2. My husband.....(  )

3. My parents.....(  )

4. Neighbours.....(  )

5. Other.....(  )

Q.23- Would you like to have children or more children some time in the future ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No.....(  )

2. Yes.....(  )

Q.24- Can fathers do all the things that mothers do?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No.....(  )

2. Yes.....(  )

Q.25- (For single women only) Are you thinking of getting married in the near future?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No, I am not thinking of it.....(  )

2. Yes, I am thinking of it.....(  )

Q.26- What is your greatest wish for the future?

.....

**Domestic Questions**

Q.27- How many of you live under the same roof ?

1. (1-3).....(  )

2. (4-5).....(  )

3. (6-7).....(  )

4. (8-9).....(  )

5. (10-11).....(  )

6. More than 12.....(  )

Q.28- What kind of family do you have ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Nuclear family.....(  )

2. Extended Family.....(  )

3. Other.....(  )

Q.29- If your parents live separately from you, how many people live in their household?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Number:.....(  )

Q.30-What kind of family do they have ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Nuclear family.....(  )

2. Extended family.....(  )

Q.31- If your parents live separately from you, where do they live ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Town.....(  )

2. Village.....(  )

Q.32- How is taken decisions about your family affairs in the household?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. My mother.....(  )

2. My father.....(  )

3. All family, jointly.....(  )

4. Joint decision husband, wife.....(  )

5. Joint decision but husband is more influential.....(  )

6. Joint decision but wife is more influential.....(  )

7. Husband.....(  )

8. Parents, parents in law.....(  )

9. Herself.....(  )

Q.33- Do you live in your own house at present ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. It is rented.....( )

2. It is my parent's own house.....( )

3. We live together with my parents / husband's parent.....( )

4. I am single, living with my parents.....( )

5. Yes, I own it.....( )

Q.34- If it is rented, how much do you pay?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Less than 150.000 TL.....( )

2. 150.000- 300.000 TL.....( )

3. 300.000- 400.000 TL.....( )

4. 400.000- 500.000 TL.....( )

5. more than 500.000 TL.....( )

Q.35- What kind of house is it?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Squatter's house.....( )

2. Flat.....( )

3. Goverment house.....( )

4. Private.....( )

5. Factory's house.....( )

6. Other.....( )

Q.36- As far as you remember, has your father ever been unemployed ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No.....(  )

2. Yes.....(  )

Q.37- If 'Yes' How much total duration:

0. No answer.....(  )

1. less than 6 months.....(  )

2. 6 months - 12 months.....(  )

3. More than 1 year.....(  )

Q.38- What is your father's educational level?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. He did not go to school.....(  )

2. Primary school.....(  )

3. Secondary school.....(  )

4. Vocational school.....(  )

5. High school.....(  )

6. University.....(  )

7. Other.....(  )

Q.39- Did he get a certification ?

1. Yes.....(  )

2. No.....(  )

Q.40- Has your mother ever worked?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Yes.....(  )

3. No.....(  )

Q.41- What was/is her occupation ?

.....

Q.42- Did she go out to work when you were a child?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No, she did not .....(  )

2. Yes, she did.....(  )

**Questions about attitudes, beliefs, interests and social relations**

So far we have spoken mostly about the importance to you of work and family life. I am, however, aware that there may be other aspects of your life which you feel are very important - perhaps more important than things which we have spoken about so far. Some people, for example, have strong religious beliefs. Others may be deeply committed politically, or to some specific cause. Others again may have special interests, like hobbies, or just like doing something a great deal. It is things like these which I would like to talk to you about now.

Q.43- Some people say that it is increasing difficult to maintain an acceptable standard of iving if there is only one wage coming into the family. Do you think the statement is true or false ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. True.....(  )

2. False.....(  )

3. I have no idea.....(  )

Q.44- Some people say that having children is the most important thing in a woman's life Do you agree with that or not ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Strongly agree.....( )

2. Agree.....( )

3. Disagree.....( )

4. Strongly disagree.....( )

5. No idea.....( )

Q.45- How important is it for a woman to have her own income? Is it important to you?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Very important.....( )

2. Not so important.....( )

3. Not important.....( )

Q.46- Do you think that the roles of being a wife and mother on the one hand and being a factory worker on the other conflict or not ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Yes.....( )

2. No.....( )

Q.47- Some people say that with an educational system which is open to all and legislation against sexual discrimination at work, women have all the opportunities they could wish for. Do you agree that this is true or not ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. True.....(  )

2. False.....(  )

3. No idea.....(  )

Q.48- Some people say that a woman is by nature much more ready to obey than a man is. Do you agree with that or not ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Strongly agree.....(  )

2. Agree.....(  )

3. Disagree.....(  )

4. Strongly disagree.....(  )

5. No idea.....(  )

Q.49- Some people say that boys and girls have different tasks in life and should, therefore, be brought up differently. Do you agree with that or not ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Strongly agree.....(  )

2. Agree.....(  )

3. Disagree.....(  )

4. Strongly disagree.....(  )

5. No idea.....(  )

Q.50- Should women, in your opinion, have the same chances as men have to hold a position of leadership ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Yes.....(  )

2. No.....( )

Q.51- Some people say that today in Turkey everybody is as free as others. Do you agree with that or not ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Strongly agree.....( )

2. Agree.....( )

3. Disagree.....( )

4. Strongly disagree.....( )

5. No idea.....( )

Q.52 Some people say that you need to be lucky from birth to have a comfortable life. Do you agree with that or not ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Strongly agree.....( )

2. Agree.....( )

3. Disagree.....( )

4. Strongly disagree.....( )

5. No idea.....( )

Q.53- Some people say that if you suffer in this world you will be happy in the hereafter. Do you agree with that or not ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Strongly agree.....( )

2. Agree.....( )

3. Disagree.....( )

4. Strongly disagree.....( )

5. No idea.....(  )

In your opinion, do women in our country have the same opportunities as men to:

Q.54- Obtain a professional training ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Yes.....(  )

2. No.....(  )

Q.55- Find a job ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Yes.....(  )

2. No.....(  )

Q.56- Hold a leadership position ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Yes.....(  )

2. No.....(  )

Do you agree or not with the following three statements ?

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* |
|---|---|---|
| Q.57- Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on..... | (  ) | (  ) |
| Q.58- A person like me cannot try to influence the course of the events..... | (  ) | (  ) |

Q.59- Life is nowadays so confused that one does not know how to distinguish right

from wrong ?.....(  )  (  )

Imagine that there are two women who have different ideas about issues concerning work and family. I would like to read to you what each thinks on these various issues and ask you to tell me whose opinion is closer to yours.

Q.60- (1) For a woman, fulfilment in life comes from having made something of herself.....(  )

(2) For a women, fulfilment in life comes from founding a good family.....(  )

Q.61- (1) The only reason for a women to work is the financial need at home. Otherwise, why work outside when she can work at home.....(  )

(2) A women's work outside the home is not just for money alone but so she can have a little more say at home.....(  )

Q.62-(1) Women should retain some money for their personal spending just like men do.....(  )

(2) Even when men retain money for their personal spending, the needs of the family should come first for women.....(  )

Q.63-(1) The most important achievement possible for a women is having financial independence from her husband.....(  )

(2) The most important achievement possible for a women is to ensure peace at home.....(  )

Q.64-(1) No matter how much a women works at home, men do not see it as work. Therefore, employed women should take it a little easy with housework and think more about themselves.....( )

(2) Employed women should be as meticulous with housework as women who stay at home and should serve their husbands and children just as well as if they didn't work.....( )

Q.65-(1) A woman should do whatever is necessary for her children and be able to take care of all their needs.....( )

(2) Foremost, a woman should be a good wife and serve and please her husband.....( )

Q.66-(1) In a good marriage, a wife should be able to do certain things (like going somewhere, buying something) without having to get her husband's permission.....( )

(2) In a good marriage, the husband should be able to maintain the household on his own.....( )

## PART-II

### *WORK AND EARNINGS QUESTIONS*

***Labour-saving devices:*** Some people think the availability of labour-saving devices has made it easier for women with families to go out to work

Q.67- Could you tell me which of the following things you have in your home ?

1. Automatic-washing machine.....( )
2. Vacuum cleaner.....( )

3. Refrigerator.....( )

4. Dishwasher.....( )

5. Electrical or gas cooker.....( )

Q.68- Do you think of the money you earn as part of the family budget, or your own independent income ?

0. No answer .....( )

1. Family budget.....( )

2. My own independent income.....( )

Q.69- Which of these things do you spend your own earnings on ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Personal things for yourself (e.g. clothes, make-up, etc.).....( )

2. Things for your children (clothes, toys, school things).....( )

3. Family holidays.....( )

4. Improving your home (furnishing, decorating, domestic appliances, etc.).....( )

5. The normal day-to-day running of your home (food bills, general household goods, ).....( )

6. Entertainment.....( )

7. Other items.....( )

Q.70- Could you tell me how much your overall monthly income is?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Income:.....

**Questions concerning working life**

Q.71- What was your first paid job since leaving school?

.....

Q.72- Have you ever been a paid worker somewhere else ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. No.....( )

2. Yes.....( )

3. Other.....( )

Q.73- If "Yes", How old were you when you started to work for the first time?

0. No answer.....( )

1. I was..... when I started to work the first time.....( )

Q.74- If you had your choice, would you rather stay at home or keep working ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Home.....( )

2. Work.....( )

Q.75- If you were to stop work, do you think you would miss working or not ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Yes.....( )

2. No.....( )

Q.76- (If she started to work before) Could you tell me what kind of work you have done until now ?

.....

.....

Q.77- Where did you work ?

.....

.....

Q.78- Have you been working continuously since you started to work ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. No, I have been unemployed .....( )

2. This is my first job.....( )

3. Yes.....( )

Q79- When did you first start working in this factory ?

.....

Q.80- Why did you take up factory employment ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Money.....( )

2. Interest .....( )

3. Both.....( )

4. Others.....( )

Q.81- Did anybody in particular have an influence on this decision ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Husband.....( )

2. Father.....( )

3. Relative.....(  )

4. Friends.....(  )

Q.82- How did you get this job ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Husband.....(  )

2. Father.....(  )

3. Relative.....(  )

4. Friends.....(  )

Q.83- What qualifications did you need for the job in this factory ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Primary school.....(  )

2. Secondary school.....(  )

3. Technical school.....(  )

4. University.....(  )

Q.84- Generally speaking, how important would you say work is in your life ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Important.....(  )

2. Very important.....(  )

3. Not so important.....(  )

Q.85- Everything else being equal, would you like to change to some other type of industrial work ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No.....(  )

2. Yes.....(  )

Q.86- If "Yes", State type of work and why?

.....

.....

Q.87- How dependent are you on your present job for a livelihood ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Important.....(  )

2. Very important.....(  )

3. Not so important.....(  )

Q.88- Has there ever been a time when you did not want to work ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No.....(  )

2. Yes.....(  )

Q.89- How does your pay compare with that of other workers in the same department ?

0. No answers.....(  )

1. Higher.....(  )

2. The same.....(  )

3. Lower.....(  )

Q.90- How does your pay packet compare with that of other workers in the factory in general ?

0. No answers.....(  )

1. Higher.....(  )

2. The same.....(  )

3. Lower.....(  )

Q.91- How would you describe the pay you get in your job ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Excellent.....(  )

2. Good.....(  )

3. Fair.....(  )

4. Poor.....(  )

5. Very poor.....(  )

Q.92- How easy or difficult do you think it would be to find a similar job in this area with better pay ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Very easy.....(  )

2. Quite easy.....(  )

3. Quite hard.....(  )

4. Very hard.....(  )

5. Don't know.....(  )

Q.93- Have you ever felt discriminated against in the work situation because you are a women ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No, I have not.....(  )

2. Yes, I have.....(  ).

Q.94- How important is it for you to get along with your workmates ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Very important.....(  )

2. Important.....(  )

3. Not important.....(  )

4. Not so important.....(  )

5. Unimportant, indifferent.....(  )

Q.95- How important is it to you that you get along well with your supervisors ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Very important.....(  )

2. Important.....(  )

3. Not important.....(  )

4. Not so important.....(  )

5. Unimportant, indifferent.....(  )

Q.96- How hard are you usually working on your regular job?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Not hard at all.....(  )

2. Not very hard.....(  )

3. Reasonably hard.....(  )

4. Very hard.....(  )

Q.97- Is there any problem about your health ? If you don't mind, could you tell me what it is ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. There is not.....(  )

2. There is.....(  ) :.....

Q.98- Which of the following two aspects do you value most ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. MONEY; pay-packet, high wages, getting good money.....(  )

OR

2. RESPONSIBILITY; being given a job to do, but also taking the credit.....(  )

Q.99- Which of those two do you value most ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. JOB SATISFACTION; work fulfilment, being competent and skilled at one's job and taking pride, satisfaction and fulfilment from doing it well.....(  )

OR

2. WORKING CONDITIONS; good working conditions, clean, not noisy, well heated, ventilated, good canteen, and so on.....(  )

Q.100- Do you belong to a trade union?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No.....(  )

2. Yes.....(  )

Q.101- Have you ever belonged to any trade union ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. No .....(  )

2. Yes.....(  )

Q.102- What are the most important things you look for in a job ?

.....

For the following questions you are given a choice between two aspects of work and I want you in each case to choose that aspect of work which you value most. Which do you value most ?

Q.103- ACHIEVEMENT, successful completion of a job, seeing the results of one'swork.

1. YES.....(  )

2. NO.....(  )

Q.104- INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS: getting on well with one's workmates and supervisors, good work relations.

1. YES.....(  )

2. NO.....(  )

Q.105- SUPERVISION: competent supervision, supervision that one is contented and/or happy to work under

1. YES.....(  )

2. NO.....(  )

Q.106- PROMOTION: advancement, or the chance to get ahead

1. YES.....(  )

2. NO.....(  )

Q.107- How important is it to you to have security in your job ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Unimportant.....(  )

2. Not so important.....(  )

3. Indifferent, doesn't matter.....(  )

4. Important.....(  )

5. Very Important.....(  )

Q.108- Which is the more important to you to earn good wages or to have a secure job ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. To earn good wages.....(  )

2. To have a secure job.....(  )

Q.109- Do you work overtime in this factory ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Yes.....(  )

2. No.....(  )

Q.110- Do you agree or disagree with working overtime ?

0. No answer.....(  )

1. Agree.....(  )

2. Disagree.....(  )

Why ?.....

Q.111- Do you intend to continue working in this factory ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Yes.....( )

2. No.....( )

Q.112- How do you compare your present job with the jobs that men have in this factory?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Better.....( )

2. Same.....( )

3. Not so good.....( )

Q.113- How do you compare your present job with the jobs that men have in other factories in this area ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Better.....( )

2. Same.....( )

3. Not so good.....( )

Q.114- How do you compare your present job with the jobs men have in Turkey ?

0. No answer.....( )

1. Better.....( )

2. Same.....( )

3. Not so good.....( )

Imagine you were offered the following possibilities in your work place, would you accept them or not ?

Q.115- To move to a higher level position that has considerably more obligations and responsibilities for you.

1. YES.....( )

2. NO.....( )

Q.116- To move to a higher level position that requires a training that entails many sacrifices on your part.

1. YES.....( )

2. NO.....( )

Q.117- To move to a higher level position where you may be frequently criticised.

1. YES.....( )

2. NO.....( )

Q.118- To move to a higher level position in which you would have a group of `problem' employees working for you.

1. YES.....( )

2. NO.....( )

Q.119- To move to a higher level position in which there are more worries connected with your work than you now have.

1. YES.....( )

2. NO.....( )

Q.120- To move to a higher level position even though it will make difficulties for your family.

1. YES.....( )

2. NO.....(  )

Q.121- If a decision concerning your work was made with which you totally disagree, what would you do ?

1. Nothing.....(  )

2. Complain to supervisor.....(  )

3. Complain to head of workplace.....(  )

4. Go to a party or union.....(  )

5. Contact mass-media.....(  )

Q.122- Now, from the different job factors in the above question, I want you to choose which is the most satisfaction to you in your workplace?

0. No answer, there is not any satisfaction.....(  )

1. Money.....(  )

2. Security.....(  )

3. Promotion.....(  )

4. Workmates.....(  )

5. Supervisor.....(  )

6. The work itself boring/interesting.....(  )

7. Responsibility.....(  )

8. Work conditions.....(  )

9. Say in company policy.....(  )

Q.123- Which is the most dissatisfaction to you in your workplace?

0. No answer, there is not any dissatisfaction.....(  )

1. Money.....(  )

2. Security.....(  )

3. Promotion.....(  )

4. Workmates.....(  )

5. Supervisor.....(  )

6. The work itself boring/interesting.....(  )

7. Responsibility.....(  )

8. Work conditions.....(  )

9. Say in company policy.....(  )

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND PATIENCE IN ANSWERING

## Appendix D

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE WOMEN WORKERS

*I would like to ask you some questions about your work and family life.*

Q.1 I'd like you to describe to me a day's work and duties (choose a day when you go out to work) starting from when you get up, through the day until you either sit down and relax or go to bed at the end of the day. (If you work different shifts, I would like to hear about each one separately).

Q.2 In general, how are decisions made in your household? Can you give me an example?

Q.3 Are there areas in which you can make decisions on your own and carry them out? What kinds of decisions?

Q.4 How about decisions regarding your social activities? Are there restrictions on your social life?

Q.5 Who usually has the veto power over the others' decisions? Who can change the other person's mind more easily?

Q.6 Compared to other women you know, do you feel more free to do things you would like to do, or less free?

Q.7 To what extent does your husband/father share in the domestic duties (both running the home and looking after the children)?

Q.8 Could you give me some examples of the things he does at home?

Q.9 How are decisions made about who is doing which task?

Q.10 How do you feel about the way tasks are allocated now?

Q.11 If it were up to you, how would you allocated these different tasks?

Q.12 Can men do all the tasks that women do at home?

Q.13 Can women do all the tasks that men do at home?

Q.14 Among the tasks that I mentioned below, is there any that you don`t find fitting for a man to do ? Which one(s)?

| | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|
| Cooking | ( ) | ( ) |
| Washing up | ( ) | ( ) |
| Washing clothes | ( ) | ( ) |
| Ironing | ( ) | ( ) |
| Cleaning | ( ) | ( ) |
| Food shopping | ( ) | ( ) |
| Repairs (in household) | ( ) | ( ) |

Q.15 Can you tell me what sorts of things you tend to do in your spare time?

Q.16 What sorts of things do you spend money on - apart from things for the family, housekeeping and so on?

Q.17 I would like you to try to tell me how you see things fitting into your life. If you had to grade the different aspects of life that are important to you, including work and family life, which would come first? Do you see the different aspects of your life as being in conflict with each other?

Q.18 How would you like to raise your daughter(s)?

Q.19 Can you see your daughter(s) working in the future?

Q.20 What do you think is the most important thing in a woman's life?

Q.21 What is it like for you to be a women?

Q.22 If you have, or were to have, the responsibility of educating a family at the present time, what education would you like them to have?

Son(s) .....

Daughter(s) .....

Q.23 Can you tell me what happened when you had pregnancies in the past? Would you say that that has had a significant effect upon your life or not?

*Labour-saving devices:*

*Some people think the availability of labour-saving devices (automatic washing-machine, vacuum cleaner, refridgerator, dishwasher, electrical or gas cooker) has made it easier for women with families to go out to work.*

Q.24 Do you think having these things is important in enabling you to cope with having both home and work responsibilities?

*Use of Earnings:*

*I don't want to ask you detailed questions about money, but I would like you to tell me about the kind of things you spend your earnings on:*

Q.25 If you didn't have your own earnings, which of these things if any, would you have to spend less on or go without:

Personal things for yourself (e.g. clothes, make up,etc.)
Things for your children (clothes, toys,school things)
Family holidays
Improving your home (furnishing, decorating, domestic apliances,etc.)
The day-to-day home-running - food bills, general household goods

Entertainment

Q.26 How comfortable are your parents or husband with asking money from you?

Q.27 How comfortable do you feel with asking for money from him/them?

Q.28 How comfortable do you feel with giving them money when asked for it?

*I would like us to talk about work some more.*

Q.29 Could you tell me some of the feelings you may have about working? Have you experienced any changes in your feelings since you first started working?

Q.30 What would it be like if you did not work? What would be different?

Q.31 Which factors did you consider when you made the decision?

Q.32 What is your father's/husband's attitude towards your employment?

Q.33 If you have felt discriminated against in the work situation because you are a woman, could you tell me how you felt?

Q.34 What is it like to work in a factory as a woman?

Q.35 Is it any different from being a man working in the factory? How?

Q.36 What do you think of the factory as a workplace for women?

Q.37 What are the woman-to-woman relationships here like?

Q.38 What is it like to work with men here? How do you interact?

Q.39 If you are a member of a Trade Union, how satisfied are you with it?

Please give reasons for your answer, and also make any comments or suggestions you may wish.

Q.40 (If she is not at all involved in a Trade Union) Has anyone ever approached you at work and asked you to join a Trade Union?

Q.41 Why did you choose not to join?

Q.42 Does anyone else in your family belong to a Trade Union?

Q.43 What are the most important things you look for in a job ?

1st in importance: .....
2nd in importance: .....

Q.44 In general, what are the two things that you dislike most in your job?

1st: .....
2nd: .....

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