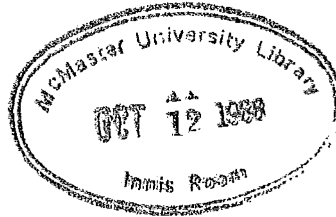
FACULTY OF BUSINESS



RESEARCH AND WORKING PAPER SERIES

GENDER DIVISIONS IN TURKEY'S LABOUR MARKET

By

Isik Urla Zeytinoglu
McMaster University
Faculty of Business

Human Resources and Labour Relations Area

WORKING PAPER NO. 305

July, 1988

INNIS LIBRARY
NON-CIRCULATING

Innis
Ref
HB
74.5
.R47
no.305

Mc UNIVERSITY
128(Vest
Har Canada L8S 4M4
Tele 25-9140

GENDER DIVISIONS IN TURKEY'S LABOUR MARKET

By

Isik Urla Zeytinoglu
McMaster University
Faculty of Business

Human Resources and Labour
Relations Area

WORKING PAPER NO. 305

July, 1988

GENDER DIVISIONS IN TURKEY'S LABOUR MARKET

by

Isik Urla Zeytinoglu
McMaster University
Faculty of Business
Hamilton, Ontario
Canada, L8S 4M4

* This paper was presented at the 1st Industrial Relations Congress of the Americas, Study Group 7: Urban Labour Markets in Developing Countries, held at Quebec City, August 24-27, 1988. The author thanks Christine Peters for research assistance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	1
II.	Public Policy Treatment of Women	2
	1. Pre-Islamic Period	
	2. Ottoman - Islamic Period	
	3. The Awakening Period	
	4. Independence War (1918-1923) and Afterwards	
	5. Present Day Legislation	
III.	Women in the Labour Force	8
	1. Data and Definitions	
	2. Labour Force Participation	
	3. Occupational Distribution	
IV.	Explaining Sex Segregation	12
	1. Labour Market Theories and Gender Divisions	
	2. Socio-Cultural Factors Influencing Gender Divisions	
	3. A Closer Look at University Educated Women	
V.	Conclusive Remarks	22
	Tables	
	Footnotes	
	References	

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960s, women in paid employment have become a major topic of interest to researchers in the Western World, the result being a rich literature on employment issues related to women (Koziara, Moskow, and Tanner, 1987). In an attempt to answer questions on women and work, research has focused on a variety of issues ranging from labour force participation, wages and unionization to career and family responsibilities of women.

The role of women in developing countries' urban labour markets, however, received limited attention in the Western World (Gregory, 1988). Furthermore, many original work that may have surfaced from those developing countries do not reach the Western audience[1]. This study attempts to partially fill that gap by examining gender divisions in a developing, secularized, and predominantly Muslim country: Turkey.

The purpose of this study is to present an overview of the current status of women in paid work in Turkey's labour market, and to discuss the achievements and problems encountered by Turkish women. In the following sections we will first trace the evolving public policy treatment of women in Turkey throughout history. We will then analyze the occupational distribution of the labour force by gender. Finally, we will provide explanations for segregation in Turkey's labour market.

II. PUBLIC POLICY TREATMENT OF WOMEN

The evolution of public policy on women is a reflection of the economic development, the class structure and the socio-cultural values that prevail in that society. The identification of Turkey as a developing country and as one having its cultural value system derived from Islam, are both indicators of the status of women in the country (Kazgan, 1981). In an attempt to understand where women workers stand in Turkey's labour market, we will briefly examine the evolution of public policy on women throughout history and present a summary discussion on present day legislation.

II. 1. Pre-Islamic Period

The ancient history of Turkey can be traced back to the Hittite Empire (c.a. 1600-1200 B.C.) which was followed by the East Roman Empire and later on by the Byzantine Empire (Shabon and Zeytinoglu, 1985). In this section our analysis will focus on women in Hittites as it represents the Turkish culture existing under the Shaman religion, prior to the influence of Islam.

At the time of the Hittite Empire, women had respectable positions in society. In the extended family hierarchy women were equal partners in the marriage relationship and had equal ownership of the family property (Velidedeoglu, 1983). Women could work in any occupation they chose, including military occupations (Arat, 1986). Respect for women was partially due to the fact that they gave birth to and raised children, therefore, they symbolized the continuation of kinship. The oldest male in the family was considered the head of the household but he would act more as a manager of family affairs than the authoritarian ruler. However, in

making major decisions, such as marriage, which would influence the future life of the female, their consent was not required (Altindal, 1975).

II. 2. Ottoman - Islamic Period

The status of women in Turkish society deteriorated drastically when Turks were converted to Islam (Xth Century A.D.). Starting with the XIII Century A.D., Muslim religion, adopted, interpreted and defended wholeheartedly by the Ottoman Turks, played a significant role in shaping culture.

In the Ottoman - Islamic period, women literally became slaves to men (Velidedeoglu, 1983). They did not have any economic, social or political rights. For example, they were not allowed to leave the family property without the permission of their husband or other males in the family; they could not speak to any male other than their immediate family members; they were required to wear a veil to cover their face, and they were not allowed to go to school. Thus, they were looked upon as sex objects and as a means of procreation. Their status improved slightly only if they had male children. Except for rural women working on the family farms and women engaged in domestic services in the houses of the rich, the female population was precluded from economic activity in the market (Kazgan, 1981).

The Islam religious law, Sharia, considered men superior to women. In courts, two women witnesses were required for each male witness. Upon the death of the father, the daughter would inherit only half of what the son would inherit. Husbands were permitted to divorce their wives but the opposite of that was not even thought of. Polygamy was allowed, therefore a

man could marry up to four women (Arat, 1986; Altindal, 1975). In summary, women were imprisoned in their homes...first in their father's home, then in their husband's home.

II. 3. The Awakening Period

In the XIXth Century we started to see signs of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire and as a result of this, a relaxation of the Shariah rules and an awakening among upper class women. At that time, the official government policy was to provide more and better education for women so that they could contribute to the overall welfare of the family.

The relative freedom provided to women in the XIXth Century showed its impact particularly after the return to the constitutional rule in 1908. Women in urban areas established various associations, such as the "Association for the Betterment of Women" in 1908 and the "Ottoman Society of Women" in 1910, to discuss women's issues and problems. Women were allowed to work but only in occupations of nursing and teaching, which are seen as the extension of their nurturing positions at home. There were even journals published by women (Abadan - Unat, 1981).

Although small in number and restricted to the urban, wealthy and educated women, the accomplishments of these women and their associations opened the gates of the restrictive Ottoman Turkish-Muslim society to feminist - progressive women.

II. 4. Independence War and Afterwards

After World War I, the Ottoman Empire lost not only much of its previous territory but also its sovereignty. Under the leadership of Ataturk, the Turkish nationalist groups fought the Independence War (1918 - 1923), defeated the English, Italian, French and Greek invasion and abolished the Ottoman Empire's government in Istanbul. Consequently, in 1923, Turkey was formally declared a Republic (Shabon and Zeytinoglu, 1985).

As a result of the crisis of war, women were offered jobs in ammunition and food factories, in public service and hospitals. Some were even enrolled in the nationalist revolutionary army. At the same time women were permitted to enter university which meant not only opening up all the levels of education to women but also establishing coeducational classes (Abadan-Unat, 1981).

The political crises, improved education and the independence war provoked the political consciousness among a small number of urban women. Although women from all social classes had fought for the independence as militants and soldiers only an educated elite from the urban centres sought recognition. However, they were excluded from discussions in the Grand National Assembly on structuring the Republic. Although men from all social classes - bureaucrats, soldiers merchants, and landowners - were represented, women did not have any representatives in Parliament and, therefore; did not have a voice defending women's rights. As a result, the powerful coalition of religious fundamentalists (present in all social classes), and the landowners representing the feudal economic and social structure defeated a bill to provide universal suffrage (Arat, 1986).

Although the unfavourable economic and political conditions made the implementation of modernization projects difficult, Ataturk, the founder of the Republic, kept on preparing public opinion for deep seated changes. Within a few years, he managed to secularize the state, abolish religious schools, the Arabic transcript and poligamy (Shabon and Zeytinoglu, 1985). He brought suffrage rights to women, and equal treatment of women and men under the law. The majority of the new legislation was adapted from Continental Europe. For example, the Turkish Civil Code of 1926, took the Swiss Civil Code as a model (Velidedeoglu, 1983) and copied into Turkish legislation its traditional values of the family and the role of women in the family unit.

Once the extraordinary conditions of war had passed, women who had worked in industry as wage labourers or fought as soldiers were forced back into their homes, leaving their jobs to the men returning from war. With the exception of a handful of progressive, "elite", educated women in urban areas, the majority did not object to this process (Tekeli, 1981). In summary, all major rights were not fought for but were granted by men during the war crisis, and after the war they were taken back without any resistance.

II. 5. Present Day Legislation

Present day employment laws are based on the equality of both sexes at work. In practice, however, there are deviations from the legally set standards. Although it is illegal, it is socially acceptable for women to be paid lower than men in the same job (Ozbay, 1981) or women to be denied

promotion because of her sex. Furthermore, the Turkish Civil Code is a major obstacle for the advancement of women in paid employment.

The Civil Code does not contain the principle of equality in the household. It defines the husband as the head of the household (Article 152) and requires the wife to live in the home selected by the husband, and to be responsible for household chores and raising children (Article 153). In addition, according to Article 159, the wife has to obtain the husband's permission in order to work for pay (Akinturk, 1986). Since the type of work is not defined in the law, it can be interpreted as any paid work at home or outside the home. The Civil Code discriminates against women and defines their role as secondary in the family and in society. Then what are the possible reasons that Turkish women do not attempt to change this legislation? A brief look at the Turkish socio-economic structure suggests some explanations.

A legislative change requires political and economic power. Women in the Turkish political system, however, lack power. They represent half the electorate, yet voting decisions are made by men and dictated to women (Arat, 1986). Very few women are politically active (Tekeli, 1981) and those that are in elected positions generally occupy their seats because of "family" connections. Furthermore, those few women parliamentarians do not believe in women's rights --- they promote the existing social norms and the dominance of men in society.

A change in the legal system also depends on economic power. As the next section presents in detail, many women work on small family farms as unpaid farm labour or are 'homemakers' and therefore, they are financially dependent on their husbands or fathers. This economic dependence reinforces

their subservience to the men in the family in making all major decisions, including voting for political parties.

Another obstacle for women in gaining equal rights provided under the law, is the lack of formal education. The majority of Turkish women are illiterate. It is difficult to expect social consciousness among women if they cannot even read and write their names.[2] Education enlightens the world of every person. In Turkey many women are denied the basic human right to be educated, and even if they want to, they cannot get the education they deserve because their economic dependance on men in the family restricts their attainment of education. Under existing circumstances women are trapped in a vicious circle which is difficult to escape.

III. WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

III.1. Data and Definitions

For our investigation we use published Census and the 1985 Labour Force data prepared by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS). The study is not confined to adult workers, but includes any person 12 years or older who is not institutionalized. Such a low cut off age is not taken arbitrarily; it is the officially (SIS) accepted labour force participation age. Schooling until 12 years of age is required but child employment is permitted and is common after 12 years of age.

Census data includes people working without renumeration on the family farm as part of the labour force, therefore it gives an indication of where people are employed as paid and unpaid labour. Census data also gives a

listing of those groups not in the labour force. This list includes a section, entitled 'homemakers', which provides an important source of information for our study, indicating where women who are not in the labour force are concentrated.

III.2. Labour Force Participation

As it is in most developing countries of the world (Adossana, 1987), women in Turkey have always been engaged in rural activities. They have worked as unpaid labour on small family farms performing manual tasks in an effort to improve the family income. In addition to agricultural activities, these women are also involved in home-based production of goods and services.

In the 1950s, approximately 80 percent of the population in Turkey was actively engaged in agriculture, of which women made up over 50 percent (Kazgan, 1981). In the decades following that, the country's transition from an agriculturally based society to a semi-industrial one resulted in a decline in the agricultural labour force (to 63 percent in 1980). Nevertheless women continued to be employed predominantly in agriculture (86 percent in 1980) (SIS, 1988).

As presented in Table 1, the labour force participation rate (LFP) of women was approximately 37 percent in 1980. However, if farm labour is excluded from the data, the LFP of women decreases to 12 percent indicating the small percentage of women employed as wage earners. Although in comparison to 1950 when women employed in the non-agricultural labour force was only 3.5 percent (Kazgan, 1981), in the 1980s women have improved their share. Yet, they still occupy a relatively unimportant place in Turkey's

urban labour market. About 88 percent of working age, urban women are not in the labour force, resulting in a tremendous amount of unutilized labour. These women are primarily engaged in child rearing and the day to day activities of their household but are not active in the productive labour market.

III.3. Occupational Distribution

The concentration of women in a small number of occupations is well documented both in developed (Holden and Hansen, 1987; Reskin, 1984; Blaü and Ferber, 1987) and developing countries (Adossama, 1987; Oral, 1987; Kazgan, 1981). The most casual inspection of the Turkish labour market reveals that females and males tend to be employed in different occupations (see Table 2). Females are heavily concentrated in unpaid farming occupations. They also have a considerable share in professional, technical and clerical occupations. Men are heavily represented in managerial and administrative occupations, as well as in production, transportation, sales and service occupations. The occupational distribution of females and males has not drastically changed since 1975. Data in Table 2, however, indicates that as the country becomes industrialized men occupy those industry and related urban jobs of sales and service, leaving unskilled farming jobs to women.

Table 2 suggests that in comparison to developed countries (see, for example, Reskin, 1984; Blau and Ferber, 1987), a relatively small percentage of women are employed in clerical and service occupations (28 and 8 percent, respectively, in 1985). In a developing country, where non-agricultural

jobs are scarce and the unemployment rate is high, the low paying, repetitive and manual jobs, typically held by women in developed countries, are filled by men. In Turkey it is common for men to be employed as administrative support or clerical staff, waiters, janitors and sales persons.

Data on Table 2 does not reveal the full extent of occupational distribution by sex. For example, among professional and technical workers, which have a substantial proportion of women workers, women tend to be in professions that are considered to be appropriate for a women to work in, such as teaching, banking, nursing, law and medicine. The few women that are employed as engineers fall into the "more delicate" engineering fields such as chemical engineering, industrial engineering and architecture. These fields attract females either because it is presumed that the work environment provides physical protection, such as a laboratory or office, or the job requires concentration and precision. Since women are assumed to possess those traits, or the occupation is considered more of an art than science, it is therefore appropriate for women to work in.

In production occupations, a small number of women (8 percent in 1985) are employed in assembling, tobacco, textiles-apparel, food processing and packaging jobs. Women are totally excluded from the skilled and/or physically demanding occupations of mining, manufacturing and construction. Certain service occupations which may require close contact with male clientele, such as trade, transportation, communications and protective services, are almost closed to women (Velidedeoglu, 1983; Kazgan, 1981).

Gender differences are often referred to as "occupational segregation" by sex which refers to the relative distribution of men and women in the labour market. This definition excludes the strictly segregated area, the

home, and analyzes the distribution in the less segregated one -- the market for paid labour. Perfect integration prevails if men and women appear in each occupation in the proportions in which they are found in the total labour force, and total segregation exists if men and women work in completely different occupations.

The degree of segregation can be measured in various ways. The one most commonly used is the Duncan and Duncan's (1955) segregation index.[3] It indicates the proportion of women in the labour force that would have to switch occupations in order to be distributed like men. The index in Table 3 presents the sex segregation in Turkish labour markets. It is interesting to note that occupational segregation appears to rise over time, rather than decrease, indicating that as the country's industrialization level increases and as women enter into the non-agricultural labour force, they are channelled into occupations that already have a large number of women. Kazgan (1981) has also noted the same phenomenon for the 1950 - 1975 period. Possible reasons for this occupational segregation will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

IV. EXPLAINING SEX SEGREGATION

The occupational segregation index shows the distribution of women and men in the labour force but it does not give any explanations about the process by which jobs are allocated. As stated by Beller (1982), "If more than half the population is denied access to 60 percent of the occupations, being crowded in a few at lower earnings, equality of opportunity does not exist. ... The major issue is whether the dramatic differences in the

occupational distributions of sexes result from different choices made by each, given equal opportunities, or from unequal opportunities to make similar choices."

Various approaches have been developed by social scientists to explain this phenomenon. The labour market theoreticians have either claimed that it is the result of processes on the supply side by which women and men, due to different preferences or human capital investments, choose different occupations (Corcoran, Duncan and Ponza, 1984), or that employers discriminate by assigning women and men to different types of work (Blau, 1984). Class conscious explanations suggest that not only capitalism but patriarchy is a factor holding women back in the labour market in order for men to maintain power within the family (Hartmann, 1981; Velidedeoglu, 1983).

Sociologists focus on socio-cultural factors, such as norms, values, attitudes and religion, which influence an individual's decision to choose an occupation or to be placed in one (Abadan-Unat, 1981; Coldwill, 1987). Institutional economists as well as human resource specialists have argued that, organizational processes and workplace mechanisms constrain the sexes' occupational outcomes. They have focused on formal mechanisms such as recruitment, placement, evaluation and training policies, as well as informal mechanisms such as, mentoring and workplace socialization, in channeling people to sex-typed career paths (Roos and Reskin, 1984).

In this section we will provide explanations to sex segregation in Turkey's urban labour market by referring to a combination of these approaches because none of them can alone fully explain the reasons for segregation but each has an impact.

IV.1. Labour Market Theories and Gender Divisions

The human capital model assumes that women and men's life styles as well as their investment in human capital are different. Men are expected to enter the labour force after completing their education and remain in it until retirement. Women, on the other hand, are expected to work only if they can find jobs that do not conflict with their domestic obligations (Blau and Ferber, 1987). Therefore, men will invest in job-oriented education and on-the-job training, while women will choose general education which could also be utilized as a homemaker.

For the employers, education is an important predictor of success (Stone and Meltz, 1988); showing the capacity to acquire knowledge and perform jobs that may require new technology. Although agricultural jobs in Turkey can still be performed with none or minimal education, most non-agricultural jobs require formal education.

As displayed in the first three columns of Table 4, the majority of women in Turkey lack education. Although it is legally required for each Turkish citizen to have an elementary school education, in 1980 still 51 percent of the population (6 years old and above) were illiterate (SIS, 1987). Within the illiterate group 60 percent were women. Furthermore, as the education level increases the number of women graduates decreases. For example, in 1980 while a sizeable number (41 percent) of elementary school graduates were women, only a minority (25 percent) of university or community college graduates were women.

The low educational attainment within the female population is cause and consequence of the low level of participation and segregation in urban labour markets.

As presented in Table 4, in 1980 only 1 percent of the illiterate women and 5 percent of the elementary school graduates were able to participate in the non-agricultural labour force. Participation of women increased in proportion to the increase in the educational level. In 1980, close to half (46 percent) of female senior high school graduates and a majority (71 percent) of the female university or community college graduates were in the labour force.

How can labour market theories explain such a contrast in the labour market activity of highly educated and uneducated women?

If we are to assume that the woman's decision to work in paid employment is a family decision and is related to investment in human capital, then for the uneducated and unskilled woman, the rational decision is to stay at home and not participate in the paid labour market. In Turkey, urban women who choose, or are forced, to be homemakers, can still contribute to the family income by producing time-consuming, manual goods and services such as house cleaning, food canning or preserving, at home. Market jobs will not pay them a sufficient salary to buy these goods and services. Thus, for a great majority of uneducated women, non-market activity may be the best available option.

In addition, if they choose to work, these uneducated women will qualify only for unskilled occupations. Yet, due to the low level of industrialization, a large supply of labour compete for a small number of nonagricultural jobs and because men are considered to be the primary workers and the 'breadwinners', they will have priority in filling vacancies.

Still some women would seek paid jobs for economic reasons. They would work in any available job in order to contribute to the family income. Most

of these women would be employed as clerical staff if they had a high school education, or they would be hired as labourers in the internationally competitive export industries, such as textile, light manufacturing or assembling, or agri-businesses of tobacco, tea, cotton, and hazelnut processing and packaging. Employers in these industries would hire women only because they are cheaper to employ, the supply is abundant, the work force is obedient and willing to work in factories that resemble the sweat shops of early industrialized North America.

As the education level increases, and women become professionals and specialists, their market wage also increases to a level that can compensate the foregone production of home-made goods; work in a paid job becomes economically feasible. These well-paid women can afford to buy most home produced goods and services, such as house-cleaning and child-care and can therefore, actively participate in the labour force.

IV.2. Socio-Cultural Factors Influencing Gender Divisions

The neo-classical labour market approach assumes families and individuals make rational decisions in investing in human capital. In practice, however, socio-cultural factors have a major influence on labour force participation decisions. As Velidedeoglu (1983) suggests, the secondary position of Turkish women in the labour market is not only an economic disability, but also a result of the prejudices of men towards women, and of men who resist giving up their power over women. Furthermore, religion is one of the most important cultural factors reinforcing the primary position of men (Arat, 1986).

Consider a hypothetical example of a Turkish family living in an urban area. Assume that they have two children; a daughter and a son. They have to decide which one of these two children will be educated. Rational decision making should dictate that the most "able" child should be provided with the opportunity to go to school. For this family, however, the decision will be to educate the son, not necessarily because he is more "able" but because he is more valuable to the family (Kongar, 1978; Kagitcibasi, 1981). When the son grows up, he will be in charge of the family property; he will provide old age security to the parents; and he will carry on the family name. The daughter, on the other hand, will be educated only to a level where she can contribute to the household responsibilities. Quite often, educating daughters is considered "wasting" money on a consumed good because they will be married "out" and take the family investment with them to the husband's family.

The social conditioning, that men are more valuable than women, and that a woman's place is at home, is so influential that many women do not even consider themselves as equals to men nor do they demand equal educational opportunities. Only a small number of women are able to overcome the economic and social barriers to education. As an extension of that, when they are employed, they must overcome the barriers in the workplace, such as sex-role conditioning and stereotyping.

As Colwill (1987) discusses, sex roles are rooted in the history of a country; they are defined by the religion, delineated by the legal system, and reinforced by the culture. Sex role socialization, the process by which people learn their sex roles, starts at the time of birth. It is learned at home, at school and in all social settings. It influences the occupational preferences, knowledge, skills and traits of women and men (Marini and

Brinton, 1984). It creates sex-role stereotypes, beliefs about how women and men will behave. Therefore, women and men at work develop prejudices against each other. Thus, people are assigned to different jobs and are treated differently based on sex (Colwill, 1987).

Women workers in Turkey's urban labour market are faced with the same social conditioning and sex-stereotyping that exists throughout the world. The only difference in Turkey is that there is a blatant sex discrimination, particularly for those few who would like to break into male dominated occupations. This is because society accepts sex discrimination in hiring men as opposed to women with the same educational background.

At work, women are channeled into positions which are an extension of their home responsibilities of organizing and care-giving but they are not employed in decision making managerial and administartive jobs. As presented in Table 2, in 1985 women occupied only 3.5 percent of managerial and administrative positions whereas 23 and 32 percent, of the faculty of business graduates in the universities in 1980 and 1985, respectively, were women (SIS, 1988 and Table 5). In addition, Table 4 displays that in 1980, 71 percent of female university graduates were in the labour force. Then what are the possible explanations of such a low representation of women in managerial and administrative positions? One can assume that after graduation some may have dropped out of the labour market to become homemakers. Many faculty of business graduates, however, are discriminated against and are placed into non-decision making positions, such as administrative support-staff jobs.

In the popular press, and among some academic circles in Turkey (Oral, 1986; Velidedeoglu, 1983; Asena, 1987; Ozbay, 1981; Gokturk and Cakir, 1987; Altindal, 1975), it is an accepted fact that educated women, particularly

the women in male dominated fields, are faced with discrimination in recruitment, selection, placement decisions and in job-assignments even if they have the same pre-employment training as men. Although our data does not suffice us to reach such a conclusion, a combined analysis of the data in Tables 2, 3, and 4, suggests sex discrimination in employment opportunities.

IV.3. A Closer Look at University Educated Women

In a country where women comprise a small number in the nonagricultural labour force, it is interesting to observe that the majority (71 percent) of female university graduates choose to participate in the labour market. In this section, we will focus on this select segment of the female labour force and attempt to answer the question of why these women choose to work in a paid job, and the type of occupations they are in.

Table 5 displays the field of study of the female university and community college graduates. Although data does not present the occupational distribution, it gives us an indication of the type of jobs they may hold in the future. Here the analysis is based on two assumptions. First, we assume that at least 70 percent of the 1984-1985 (academic year) graduands will work at a market job; second, that they will work in their field of specialization.

As Table 5 presents, in 1985 female graduates were heavily concentrated (42 - 45 percent) in the traditionally female dominated fields of education, fine arts, and social sciences. About one-third of law and business school (31 and 32 percent, respectively) graduates in 1985 were women. In medical sciences 41 percent of the graduates were female. Furthermore, within this

field, females comprised a large minority (40 percent) in medical school, dentistry and pharmaceutical graduates. Even in the male dominated engineering occupations 17 percent of all graduates are women.

Data in Table 5 presents interesting findings on gender divisions. Some professions, such as nursing and teaching, generally considered as segregated in the Western World, are also segregated in Turkey; some other professions, such as law, medicine and pharmacy, where women in developed countries have not been able to enter into in large numbers until the last decade, have a high percentage of women graduates and potential job occupants. In fact, according to one study, even a decade ago, 25 percent of all practitioners in law and medicine were women (Oncu, 1981).

What are possible explanations for such a high participation rate among professional women in Turkey? First, in contrast to the classic professional image they have in the Western World, the professions of law, medicine and certain areas of engineering are new to Turkish society. These professions date back only to 1920s when the Turkish Republic was formed. Therefore, professional associations which restricted the entrance of women to professions in Western societies, did not exist in Turkey until recently. After they were formed they did not adopt policies that resulted in discrimination against women. On the contrary, these associations became the major defenders of human rights and social justice; they supported the equality of women and men in their profession and in all the aspects of life.

Second, public policy has always been designed to increase the number of people in these professions by opening it up to society. Upon entering these professions, there are no special education requirements other than a high school diploma and receiving an acceptable score in the general

university entrance exams. Therefore, the training for these professions is open to and female or male students.

A third reason is that the most educated women in Turkey come from families with a higher socio-economic status than men with the same level of education (Kagitcibasi, 1981). Therefore, they are more easily acccepted into these professions where men may come from lower-social classes.

Fourth, women in these occupations are able to accommodate their professional and marital roles because domestic labour is cheap, child-rearing tasks can be either delegated to other members of the family[4] or women can afford expensive and limited child care facilities.

Lastly, as a result of the large number of women participating successfully in these occupations, there is no "masculine" image of law, medicine and other related occupations (Oncu, 1981). On the contrary, they are considered as desirable occupations for women (Ozbay, 1981).

V. CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

This study has attempted to present an overview of the current status of women in paid work. We examined the achievements and problems encountered by women in Turkish labour markets throughout history.

In discussing gender divisions in the labour markets and women's participation in market activity, we traced the influences of public policy throughout history, and the impact of economic and socio-cultural factors. Our goal was to provide the reader with a better grasp of the relationship of women and work and such basic issues of development problems, illiteracy, dependency and the struggle for social change.

In examining gender divisions in Turkey's labour market, we observed the low participation rate of women in urban centres and the predominance of women as unpaid farm workers.

Data on occupational distribution of workers revealed that females and males in Turkish labour markets tended to be employed in different, sex segregated occupations. In explaining gender divisions in Turkey's urban labour markets, we took economic and socio-cultural theories developed in the Western world and blended those into the Turkish economic structure and culture dominated by the Muslim religion.

We found the low educational attainment of females a cause and consequence of their low level of participation and segregation in urban labour markets. Analysis of the data also revealed that if women received education, particularly a professional degree, they were more active and successful participants of the labour market. Economic underdevelopment and the cultural restrictions on women were the major barriers women had to overcome in order to work in a market job.

The future is optimistic only for the elite segment of educated, professional women. They have a greater chance of improving their status in the working world, and to bend the social barriers in their favour. For less educated women, however, participation in the labour force would be dependent on the economic development and change in social and religious norms.

TABLE 1

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX
1975 - 1980

YEAR	LABOUR FORCE TOTAL	LABOUR FORCE FEMALES (%)	NON-AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE TOTAL (%)	NON-AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE FEMALES IN NON-AGR LABOUR FORCE (%)
1975	17,384	36.0	34.8	12.8
1980	19,212	37.0	42.0	12.2

Source: 1975 and 1980 Population Census, Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1987, Ankara, State Institute of Statistics, 1988, pp. 55.

TABLE 2

LABOUR FORCE DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION AND SEX

Occupation	1975			1985		
	% of Male Labour Force in Occupation	% of Female Labour Force in Occupation	Women as % of Workers in Occupation	% of Male Labour Force in Occupation	% of Female Labour Force in Occupation	Women as % of Workers in Occupation
Professional & Technical	4.2	2.8	27.0	6.9	5.7	26.6
Managerial & Administrative	0.6	0.0	5.8	2.5	0.2	3.5
Clerical workers	3.6	2.1	24.9	6.0	5.3	27.7
Sales Occupations	4.8	0.5	5.9	11.0	1.1	4.3
Service Workers	4.7	0.9	9.5	9.5	1.8	7.5
Farming, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting workers	52.8	87.5	47.9	30.1	78.9	53.1
Production & related, Transportation Occupations	29.3	6.0	10.3	33.0	6.8	8.2
Other	....	....	....	1.0	0.2	0.6
Total 1[a]	100	100	35.7	100	100	30.2

a: Total may be less than 100 percent due to rounding off.

Sources: 1975 Population Census and the 1985 Labour Force Survey, Statistical Year book of Turkey 1987, Ankara, State Institute of Statistics, 1988, pp. 56 and 188.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION INDEX OF WOMEN
(1975 - 1985)

YEAR	INDEX
1975	34.8
1980	43.9
1985	48.8

Sources: 1975 and 1980 Population Census, Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1987, Ankara, State Institute of Statistics, 1988, pp. 56 and 188.

TABLE 4

FEMALE LITERACY AND NON-AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION, 1980

Education Level[a]	# of graduates in each level (1)	# of female graduates in each level (2)	% of female in total (2/1)	# of females in non-agr. labour force (3)	% of female graduates in non-agr. labour force (3/2)
Illiterate	18,402	11,106	60	153	1
Elementary School	14,216	5,821	41	289	5
Junior High School	2,137	691	32	89	13
Senior High School	1,902	682	36	311	46
University or Community College	844	215	25	153	71

a: Numbers in thousands.

Source: 1980 Population Census, _Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1987_, Ankara, State Institute of Statistics, 1988, pp. 47 and 57.

TABLE 5

Percentage of Female Graduates from Universities and Community Colleges in the Academic Year 1984 - 1985[a]

Field of Study	1984-1985 Graduates
Humanities	24
Educational Sciences	42
Fine Arts	45
Law	31
Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Computer Sciences	43
Social Sciences	42
Business Administration	32
Engineering	17
Medical Sciences	41
Agriculture	27
Total	33

a: The separation of the field of study has been made according to the classification of UNESCO.

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, 1987, Ankara, State Institute of Statistics, 1988, pp. 130-131.

FOOTNOTES

1. Most of the studies on Women in the Third World have been published by the United Nations, the ILO, the UNESCO and various small women's presses.
2. Readers should be reminded here that for the illiterate, TV and radio could be major sources of information. However, these information sources are owned by the Turkish government and are used as propaganda to promote official policies.
3. The index is defined as $I(t) = 1/2 \sum_{i} [m(i,t) - f(i,t)]$, where $m(i,t)$ is the percentage of all men in the labour force at time t that are employed in occupation i, and $f(i,t)$ is the same percentage for women in occupation i.
4. Extended families where grandparents live in the same house or close-by, are common in Turkey.

References

Abadan, Unat, "Social Change and Turkish Women," in Nermin Abadan-Unat, ed., Women in Turkish Society, Leiden, The Netherlands, E.J. Brill, 1981, pp. 5-31.

Adossama, Pierre, "Equality of Opportunity and Treatment in Employment: A Growing Awareness," Women at Work, 2(1987), pp. 2-5.

Akinturk, Turgut, Medeni Hukuk, Istanbul, Sevinc Matbaasi, 1986, pp. 200-219.

Altindal, Aytunc, Turkiye'de Kadin (Marksist bir yaklasim) Istanbul, Birlik Yayinlari, 1975.

Arat, Necla, Kadin Sorunu, Istanbul, Say Yayinlari, 1986.

Asena, Duygu, Kadinin Adi Yok, 36th ed., Istanbul, Afa Yayinlari, 1987.

Beller, Andrea H., "Occupational Segregation by Sex: Determinants and Changes," Journal of Human Resources, 17 (Summer 1982), p. 372.

Blau, Francine D., "Occupational Segregation and Labour Market Discrimination," in Barbara F. Reskin, ed., Sex Segregation in the Workplace Trends, Explanations, Remedies, Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, 1984, pp. 117-143.

Blau, Francine D. and Marianne A. Ferber, "Occupations and Earnings of Women Workers," in Karen Shellcross Koziara, Michael H. Moskow and Lucretia Dewey Tanner, eds., Working Women Past, Present, Future, IRRA Series, Madison, Wisconsin, Industrial Relations Research Association, 1987, pp. 37-68.

Colwill, Nina L., "Men and Women in Organizations: Roles and Status, Stereotypes and Power," in Karen Shallcross Koziara, Michael H. Moskow and Lucretia Dewey Tanner, eds., Working Women Past, Present, Future, IRRA Series, Madison, Wisconsin, Industrial Relations Research Association, 1987, pp. 97-117.

Corcoran, Mary, Greg J. Duncan and Michael Ponza, "Work Experience, Job Segregation, and Wages," in Barbara F. Reskin, ed., Sex Segregation in the Workplace Trends, Explanations, Remedies, Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, 1984, pp. 171-191.

Duncan, Otis Dudley and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes, "American Sociological Review, 20 (April 1955), pp. 210-217.

Gokturk, Gulay and Rusen Cakir, "Turbanll Feministler," Nokta, 50 (20 December 1987), pp. 46-57.

Gregory, Ann, "Where Are We Coming From and Where Are We Going? Theoretical, Research and Methodological Perspectives on Women in Management," in Women in Management, Proceedings of the Research Symposium, April 27-29, 1988, Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, pp. 1, 1-16.

Hartmann, Heidi I., "The Family as the Locus of Gender, Class and Political Struggle: The Example of Housework," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 6 (Spring 1981), pp. 366-394.

Holden, Karen C. and W. Lee Hansen, "Part-Time Work, Full-Time Work, and Occupational Segregation," in Clair Brown and Joseph A. Pechman, eds., Gender In the Workplace, Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1987, pp. 217-239.

Kagitcibasi, Cigdem, "Value of Children, Women's Role and Fertility in Turkey," in Nermin Abadan-Unat, ed., Women in Turkish Society, Leiden, The Netherlands, E.J. Brill, 1981, pp. 74-95.

Kazgan, Gulten, "Labour Force Participation, Occupational Distribution, Educational Attainment and the Socio-Economic Status of Women in Turkish Economy," in Nermin Abadan-Unat, ed., Women in Turkish Society, Leiden, The Netherlands, E.J. Brill, 1981, pp. 131-159.

Koziara, Karen Shallcross, Michael E. Moskow and Lucretia Dewey Tanner, eds., Working Women Past, Present, Future, IRRA Series, Madision, Wisconsin, Industrial Relations Research Association, 1987.

Kongar, Emre, Imparatorluktan Gunumuze Turkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapisi, 2. Basim, Istanbul, Cem Yayinevi, 1978, pp. 410-428.

Oral, Zeynep, Kadin Olmak, 9th ed., Istanbul, Milliyet Yayincari, 1986.

Oncu, Ayse, "Turkish Women in the Professions: Why so Many?," in Nermin Abadan - Unat, ed., Women in Turkish Society, Leiden, The Netherlands, E.J. Brill, 1981, pp. 180-193.

Ozbay, Ferhunde, "The Impact of Education on Women in Rural and Urban Turkey," in Nermin Abadan-Unat, ed., Women in Turkish Society, Leiden, The Netherlands, E.J. Brill, 1981, pp. 160-180.

Ross, Patricia A. and Barbara F. Reskin, "Institutional Factors Contributing to Sex Segregation in the Workplace," in Barbara F. Reskin, ed., Sex Segregation in the Workplace Trends, Explanations, Remedies, Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, 1984, pp. 235-260.

Shabon, Anwar M. and Isik U. Zeytinoglu, The Political, Economic and Labour Climate in Turkey, Multinational Industrial Relations Series, No. 10.b, European Studies, Philadelphia, Industrial Research Unit, University of Pennsylvania, 1985.

SIS (State Institute of Statistics), Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1987, Ankara, 1988.

Stone, Thomas H. and Noah M. Meltz, Human Resource Management in Canada, 2nd ed., Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1988, pp. 173-252.

Tekeli, Sirin, "Women in Turkish Politics," in Nernin Abadan-Unat, Women in Turkish Society, Leiden, The Netherlands, E.J. Brill, 1981, pp. 293-310.

Velidedeoglu, Hifzi Veldet, Toplumsal Yasam ve Hukuk, Istanbul, Hil Yayin, 1983.

Innis Ref.
HB
74.5
.R47
no. 305