BEING AND BECOMING PROFESSIONAL: WORK AND LIBERATION
THROUGH WOMEN'S NARRATIVES IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

BEING AND BECOMING PROFESSIONAL: WORK AND LIBERATION THROUGH WOMEN'S NARRATIVES

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This study focuses on the relationship between women's work and women's liberation and emancipation from male domination by examining, within a feminist epistemological and methodological standpoint, the personal and occupational experiences of women doing professional work in Turkey. The aim of this study is to make a conceptual discussion by referring to the field of professional work and the particular form it takes in the Turkish case.

Patriarchy at professional work, which operates differently than it does in waged work, has been approached with a socialist feminist standpoint. However, socialist feminist conceptualisation of patriarchy at work has been interpreted with a special focus on different forms of patriarchy. According to this, patriarchy is an incomplete formation which

manifests itsef in different actual forms. Due to its changing and fluid nature it is maintained in different social practices. This interpretation of patriarchy with the notions of "manifestation" and "practice" provides for conceptualising the contextual features of patriarchy without being lost or dispersed in the contextuality of the patriarchal operations. It connects different contexts that arise from regional, religional, ethnic, racial, or class-based effects or social, economic, political and historical conditions without reducing them to a generalised sameness.

In this context, women's becoming and being professionals in Turkey in the early republican period appears to be a significant example. In Turkey, Kemalism appears to be the practice which determines not only the professions but also the conditions of women's entery to the public realm as educated professionals. In this connection patriarchy is manifested within the interacting practices of professionalism and Kemalism. As the research design of oral history narratives of 18 women and some other biographic and historical sources indicates, women internalised professional values above and beyond Kemalist values together with their patriarchal contents. Although being professional has a certain liberating effect on women's lives they had to deal with patriarchal manifestations within the practices of professionalisma and Kemalism.

Keywords: women's work, patriarchy, professions, oral history

ÖZ

KADIN PROFESYONELLER: TÜRKİYE'DEN YAŞAM ANLATILARINA BAŞVURARAK ÇALIŞMA VE ÖZGÜRLEŞME ÜZERİNE

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Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de uzman meslekler alanında yer alan kadınların öz yaşam deneyimlerine başvurarak, kadının çalışması ile erkek egemenliğinden kurtulması ve özgürleşmesi arasındaki ilişkiyi feminist bir yaklaşımla sorgulamaktadır. Amaç, uzman meslekler alanının ve Türkiye örneğinin verdiği ipuçlarından hareketle, çalışma yaşamında ataerkilliğin kavramsal içeriğini tartışmaktır.

Uzman meslekler alanında, ücretli emek alanında olduğundan farklı olmakla birlikte meslek ideolojisinin öngördüğü biçimlerde tezahür eden ataerkillik, sosyalist feminist bir perspektifle ele alınmıştır. Bu perspektifin kavramsal çerçevesi ataerkilliğin farklı görünümlerini dikkate alarak yorumlanmıştır. Bu yoruma göre ataerkillik farklı pratikler ya

da pratikler bütünü içinde, farklı formlarda tezahür eden tamamlanmamış bir yapılaşmadır. Ataerkillik, değişken doğası sayesinde farklı pratiklerin doğal parçası haline gelerek devamlılığını korur. "Tezahür" ve "pratik" kavramlarını kullanarak yapılan bu yorum, ataerkilliğin, din bölge, ırk, etnik köken, sınıf gibi toplumsal farklılıklara; politik, ekonomik, tarihsel ve sosyal koşullara göre değişen yapısını, tekbiçimliliğe düşmeden ve çeşitlilik içinde kaybolmadan kavramsallaştırmaya çalışır.

Bu çerçevede, Türkiye'de, erken cumhuriyet döneminde kadınların, özellikle erkek egemen uzmanlık alanlarına girmeleri ve bu alanlarda yer almaları dikkate değer bir örnektir. Erken cumhuriyet döneminde Kemalizm, uzman meslekler alanının kendisini ve kadınların mesleki becerilere sahip profesyoneller olarak kamusal alanda yer alma koşullarını belirleyen bir pratik olarak karşımıza çıkar. Bu bağlamda uzman meslekler alanında ataerkillik, etkileşim içindeki profesyonalizm ve Kemalizm pratikleri içinde tezahür eder. Cumhuriyetin ilk 20 yılında meslek sahibi olmuş 18 kadının sözlü tarih anlatılarına, tarihsel dokümanlara ve tanıklıklara başvurularak gerçekleştirilen araştırma sonuçları göstermektedir ki, meslek sahibi olmak, Kemalist değerlerin yanı sıra mesleki değerleri tüm ataerkil içerikleri ile birlikte benimseyen kadınlar için özgürleştirici bir etki yaratmıştır. Buna karşılık, Cumhuriyetin ilk nesil meslek kadınları eğitimde, çalışma yaşamında ve aile içinde ataerkilliğin çeşitli tezahürleri ile mücadele etmek durumunda kalmışlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadının çalışma yaşamına katılımı, ataerkillik, uzman meslekler, sözlü tarih

To Özgür ERGİN

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the relationship between women's work and women's emancipation from male domination and liberation[1] by referring to the personal and occupational experiences of women doing professional work in Turkey, within a feminist epistemological and methodological standpoint. The main question is whether doing professional work provides a basis for women on which they can build their emancipation from male domination.

It is a feminist study, which is, for women, about women and by women: It is for women because it intends to serve women's emancipation through an understanding of the forms of women's subordination and the nature of patriarchy. It is about women, because it questions the relationship between women's liberation and women's participation in professional work. It is by women, because it is built upon a feminist evaluation of women's personal life experiences through interactive and participatory methodological approaches. The end product will belong to all women who participate in this study.

Here, the main theoretical intention is to reveal the operations of patriarchy. I believe women are living under a system of oppression in which patriarchy determines their personal, social,

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[1]Kandiyoti (1997) posits these two concepts of emancipation and liberation in the context of Turkish modernization and questions the difference between attaining social legal and political rights and being liberated. With respect to her explanation, in the present study "emancipation" is used to refer to the process against male domination, while "liberation" is used to refer to the ideal, final stage to be obtained by liberating struggle.

political and even physical existence. Their subordinated position within the entire society is caused by the patriarchal content of the social system. It is also important to take into consideration that "working life" is one of the main realms of patriarchal practice and at the same time source of emancipation and liberation. Women, via participating in working life, maintain the channels of emancipation. However, since patriarchal practices condition women's work, women are obstructed from being able to benefit from those channels, making women's liberation through work becomes very problematic. In this regard, questioning "how patriarchy conditions women's work" is primary for the present study. In order to understand the relationship between women's work and women's liberation, it is necessary to acknowledge the system of oppression in which patriarchy manifests its various forms.

Within this context, patriarchal practices at women's work are considered, and theoretical approaches to these practices are discussed. These discussions and considerations give rise to the question "which forms can patriarchy take?". Knowledge concerning the effects of patriarchy on women's work is generally produced with reference to women who are engaged with types of work which are directly under capitalist exploitation[2]. To see various forms patriarchy takes, I chose to focus on professional work[3]. How does patriarchy operate within a type of work which is directed by a strong occupational ideology called professionalism? Does patriarchy operate within professional work in the same way it does in other types of work? Or, is there any possibility to identify a form of patriarchal oppression specific to the realm of professional work? If we take a look at the other side of the coin, can the professional women's experiences of oppression provide us with additional knowledge concerning the forms and the operations of patriarchy within women's work? These questions, therefore, form the basis around which the theoretical framework, as well as the theoretical assumption, of the present study are built.

Upon those theoretical bases, the research questions focus on the work experiences of the first generation of professional women in Republican Turkey. I tried to question the meaning

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[2] Such an expression is based on the assumption that "the professional labour does not participate directly in the production of surplus value, it is in strict terms unproductive. The free professionals escape therefore capitalist exploitation" (Larson, 1977, 214).

[3] Although there is an increasing number of studies nowadays, it is still possible to agree that, like the study of women, "the study of professions has been marginal to the mainstream of sociological theory and research" (Burrage, 1990; 1). Due to this marginality, the conceptualisations of the impact of patriarchy on women's work do not really include or consider the realm of professions.

and the nature of being professional for women in the early Republican period within a contextual perspective. The relations between women's liberation and professional work and the emancipating character of professional work are raised: What were the conditions of being professional in the early republican period? How was the structure of professions, gendered or equalitarian? Did professional work constitute a means for women's liberation? If it did, then to what extent it could emancipate women? What were the other components affecting the relationship between women's liberation and professional work? For example, how did class positions affect women's participation in professional work and their liberation? What are the historical determinants of the relationship between professional work and women's liberation?

Although the focus was on women's participation in professions in the early Republican period, the intention was to see manifestations of patriarchy on women's work overall. Thus, by asking the questions above questions the operations of patriarchy in different forms and levels and its reciprocal relationship with other social, economic, politcal and cultural structures is attempted to be conceived within a historical and contextual approach to the phenomenon of professional work. In addition, this study refers to one of the three qualities of feminist research[4], which is political, while the other two are epistemological and methodological. Since I intend to carry out a feminist study, I try to include the political as well as tha epistemological and methodological bases of feminism. Here, the question of liberation of women from male dominance should be raised as a political strategy within the context of professional women.

1.1. The Meaning of Patriarchy

Patriarchy is the answer while the question is "liberation from what?" This study is based on the assumption that women are subordinated. The world of the 21st century, which is

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[4] For Liz Stanley and Sue Wise feminist research has three main qualities; First, a feminist research directly focuses on a women question. This quality is related to the sources and positions of knowledge and forms the epistemological basis of feminism. Second it separates male quantitative methods from female ones. Feminism tries to find the non-hegemonic knowledge by referring to women's personal life experiences, which can only be gathered by qualitative methodological approaches. Third it has a political intention to create the needed knowledge which contributes to women's emancipation and liberation. (1990)

organized around the hierarchical relations of the two sexes, is still welcoming the subordination women. Women, who constitute sixty percent of world's labour power, produce fifty percent of all nourishment, while having only one percent of world wealth and creating only ten percent of world income (N. Arat, 1998), are oppressed by patriarchy through its operations for transforming women's biological differences to social, cultural and political sources of oppression.

The definition of the concept of patriarchy is one of the most important point in feminist studies. As Bradley points out, it is the key concept used in feminist critiques of other types of social, political and cultural theorising (Bradley, 1989: 51). Theoretical concerns towards patriarchy ask: "why has an unjustified subordination occurred, how has it been sustained, and what would life have been like without it?" (Connell, 1983: 51). Furthermore, the definition of patriarchy is not only important but also problematic. The various types of women's oppression make the concept complicated and hard to define. There are many different theoretical accounts of the basis and the main realms of the operations of patriarchy. However, the need to point out and conceptualise women's shared oppression increases the need for a single concept of patriarchy.

Theorists generally start with referring to and criticising Max Weber's definition of patriarchy as a system of government in which men ruled societies through their position as heads of households (Barrett, 1995: Walby, 1992: Bradley, 1989). Walby states that this definition has evolved since Weber. The element of the domination of women by men has developed and the issue of how men dominated each other has been less emphasised(Walby, 1992: 19).

Hartmannn makes clear the relationship between the actors of this system of domination by defining patriarchy as a "set of social relations between men which have a material base, and which through hierarchy, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women" (Hartmann, 1981: 15). Walby (1992)goes one step further, points out the systematic and structural character of patriarchy by arguing "patriarchy is a system of structures and practices in which men dominate and exploit women".

The difficulty about defining patriarchy stems from its widespread existence. As Ehrelinch states, "If patriarchy is everywhere, it is difficult to construct a definition that will distinguish among variations" (Ehrelinch, 1981: 117). Walby explains that "the concept of

patriarchy is essential to capture the depth, pervasiveness and interconnectedness of different aspects of women's subordination, and can be developed in such a way as to take account of the different forms of gender inequality over time, class and ethnic group" (1992; 2). Following this line, Connell argues:

> The definition of patriarchy ranges through the origins of the subordination of women, the cultural practices that sustain it, the sexual division of labour, the formation of character and motive, the politics of sexual object choice, the role of the body in social relations, the strategies of resistance movements and the conditions for an overthrown male dominance. The theory of patriarchy is far from being tightly-knit logical system. It is rather a network of insights and agreements about the relations between various things (1983: 51).

Definitions of patriarchy that emphasise one social moment, such as production relations or sexuality, over others and neglect of the different aspects of women's subordination leads to a problem of reductionism and essentialism. In order to cope with this problem, Walby refers to the different forms of gender inequality over time, class and ethnic group, by focusing on the different abstraction levels and several bases for patriarchy rather than one.

> At the most abstract level it exists as a system of social relations ... At a less abstract level patriarchy is composed of six structures; patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, patriarchal relations in cultural institutions" (Walby, 1992: 22).

An account of patriarchy simply takes two possible directions, for Young: the first direction is to conceptualise patriarchy as an ideological and psychological structure. The second direction assumes an account of patriarchy as a system of material relations itself (Young, 198: 146). However, it is increasingly possible to identify a third direction, which has arisen from with the post-Marxist challenges to the economic reductionism of materialist thought. The materialist accounts that are mainly concerning the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, as well as the radical accounts that are mainly concerning ideological aspects of patriarchy, (Bradley, 1989; Connell, 1983), are interpreted with the articulation of the materialist approach to the ideological realm. Barrett (1995) claims that the articulation of ideology to the materialist definitions of patriarchy has started with the studies of Althusser, together with the trend to place women's subordination within the ideological realm. For example, while the concept of reproduction had been interpreted by radicals as a matter of sexuality, and by Marxists as a part of production relations, as a third alternative, Connell

asserts that "reproduction can be seen as a matter of culture and psychology-shaping people" to place them in the system of production and harmoniously adapt them to the "social principle of hierarchy and subordination" (Connell, 1983; 56).

In this regard, the economic reductionism of materialist approaches is criticised, the importance of political and ideological aspects is attentively considered, and the political and ideological are articulated with the economical (Barrett, 1995; 36).

In light of all these explanations on patriarchy, I believe that women and men, who are biologically male and female, are genders that are socially constructed within the present sex/gender system[5], namely patriarchy. The social structures we are living in are patriarchal. If we leave aside the disagreements concerning the explanations of the origins of women's oppression by men, daily practices show us various forms of this oppression. The irrationality of placing women at a lower status originates from the disappearance of the material causes constructing the hierarchy of sexes, and then the replacement of realities with the ideological speculations of patriarchy. I agree that patriarchy is

> .... the creation and maintenance of men's social, ideological, sexual, political and economic dominance.... Not only the power of men in general over women in general but also the hierarchical character of male power and the ideological legitimating of this power as natural, normal, right, and just..... (Ramazanoğlu, 1989; 33-34)

As Connell assumes, "we have a social dynamic which incorporates, uses and transforms biological differences" (Connell, 1983: 60). Regarding Connell, I suggest that, patriarchy is an ideological formation in which sexual and biological differences are transformed into social, economic, cultural and political sources of oppression. In saying so, I am trying to refer both to the power relations between genders and to the wider ideological structure, which is formed by these power relations. With this respect patriarchy can be seen as something rather abstract.

The materiality of patriarchy lies in its forms of existence, which are changing due to existing material structures as well as political and ideological ones. The material feature is more likely to be found in its practices, which means patriarchy itself and its dominant

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[5] Gayle Rubin assumes that "sex/gender system is a set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied" (cited in Hartmann, 1981).

categories, such as men, women, masculinity or heterosexuality, are products of "practice". The various forms patriarchy takes within practice stem either from the interaction with other structures such as culture, ideology, politics and economy, or by various other forms of relations like correspondence or conflict. Patriarchy is manifested in different forms within different practices. The manifestation is determined by the components of various relationships with the agents of the practice. Thus it is possible to say that patriarchy has an incomplete, changing and fluid nature. Due to its nature patriarchy appears in different actual forms. This approach to patriarchy enables one to conceptualise patriarchy beyond its various practices or manifestations. This interpretation of patriarchy provides conceptualising the contextual features of patriarchy which is basically an hypothetical, ideological and incomplete formation without being lost or dispersed in the contextuality of the patriarchal operations. It connects different contexts without reducing them to a generalised sameness. It provids a single conceptualisation of patriarchy without being universal which may potentially refer to each differentiation originated from regional, religious or ethnic diversities and different kinds of relationships or articulations. In this respect, I suggest that patriarchy is neither only ideological nor material nor constructed by the articulation of ideological and material. It is rather a social abstraction that can exist within *practice*. I agree that

> The categories of patriarchy are produced as participants in relations of domination and exclusion, the nature and location of boundaries between them being defined by social structure.... Analysis of their social production is and can only be the history of an ongoing set of practices, in which distinctions are made and sustained, power wielded, people formed (Connell, 1983;57-8).

1.2. Why Work?

As an underlying assumption, I believe that women's liberation and emancipation from male dominance are closely related with women's participation in working life, since patriarchy realises itself by controlling women's labour power and sexuality. As a gender, men claim rights on women's bodies and labour power. For Hartmannn

> The material base, upon which patriarchy rests lies most fundamentally in men's control over women's labour power: Men maintained this control by excluding women from access to some essential productive resources

(in capitalism, jobs) and by restricting women's sexuality" (Hartmann, 1981; 159).

However, unlike Hartmannn, I assume that men's control over women's labour power is not the fundamental source, but the main manifestation of patriarchy. Within the course of this research I will try to focus on different manifestations of patriarchy at women's work and intend to understand the strategies of patriarchal manifestations.

I also agree that work relations are the main terrain of women's oppression. The realms where it reproduces and objectifies itself are first the household, then gradually the workplace. The patriarchal control of women is originally arranged and organised within the private realm of the home. Women are systematically excluded from the spheres where social power is constructed.[6] So, they are also misrepresented in power relations. However, as women are engaged in paid work, they are expected to become visible in public realm and to be represented in social power. In workplaces, women share their personal experiences of gender based oppression. These shared experiences of oppression help them to become more conscious of their gender position. Thus, participating in paid work may be a possibility for women, first, to become 'free' labourers rather than domestic servants; second, to enter the political realm and affect social power; and third to question the patriarchal system which forms their gender position.

However, women in paid work cannot realise those possibilities since the production relations are not free from patriarchy. In contemporary societies the operations of patriarchy

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[6] In this study, the public–private dichotomy does not include the hierarchical valuation of these two spheres of the life. Against the public-private dichotomy, feminist theory makes two major claims. First it is claimed that "personal is political": This claim highlights the importance of the determination of the so-called "private life" and the private realm in women's lives. Secondly, it is claimed that the organization of power and women's exclusion from power relations are determined by the pseudo-division of public and private realms. Here the emphasis is on the exclusion of women from power relations by restricting their public sphere participation. Elson and Pearson explain the subordination of women by referring to the duality between social and individual power: "the process of subordination of women as a gender can be understood in terms of exclusion of women from certain activities, and their confinement to others: where the activities from which women as a gender are excluded are some of those which are constituted as public, overtly social activities, and the activities to which women as a gender are confined are some of those which are constituted as private, seemingly purely individual activities....The importance of activities in which social aspect is dominant, which are overly represented as social, is that these confer social power" (1996: 76). In the present study, the concept "public realm" is used in order to refer to the realm where the social power and the regulation of social life are organized and reproduced. The public and private spheres dichotomy does not indicate any graduation between the value or importance of the two spheres. However it helps us emphasize the production of power relations and women's representation within and exclusion from the process.

are considered closely related and corresponding to the capitalist mode of production which has discusses in the second chapter. Since the two basic agencies –patriarchy and capitalism– operate together, the characteristics of women's oppression would be included more within production relations than other realms. Walby states that "the most important set of patriarchal relations when the patriarchal mode of production is in articulation with capitalism is that in paid work" (1992, 23).

Women's paid work has always been an important and primary issue in feminist theory since work is one of the main realms of patriarchal practice and at the same time source of liberation. Studies on and explanations for women's work, which are mainly driven from Marxist or socialist feminist approaches mostly assert that women's disadvantaged position within the labour market is caused by the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy. The variations among these studies are determined by the different ways of formulating the relationship between these two exploitative systems, namely patriarchy and capitalism. However those studies have some limitations: they generally concentrate on feminised areas of work, or factory work, in which women's participation is already constructed by patriarchy and capitalism together. Besides, their analyses are constructed on the basis of capitalist production relations.

1.3. Why Professional Work?

In this study, the focus will be on the realm of professional work to question the meaning of "being professional" for women, since women in professional occupations have different experiences than those of men. I am basically interested in an area in which Kandiyoti (1996) complains about the lack of knowledge: it is the everyday life and work experiences of professional women.

Professional work has become increasingly important as a contemporary form of work. Harold Perkin notes that the modern world is the world of the professional expert. Just as pre-industrial societies were dominated by landlords, and industrial societies by capitalists, so post-industrial societies are dominated by professionals (Perkin, 1996:1). Thirty years before this assumption, Vollmer and Mills mentioned that professional activity was coming to play a predominant role in the life patterns of increasing numbers of individuals of both

sexes; "occupying much of their waking moments, providing life goals, determining behaviour and shaping personality" (Volmer and Mills, 1966: 10). Professional work has an increasing importance in society, since the phenomenon itself stems from the need for expertise regarding some vital moments of social and biological life. Gross emphasises that "the professionals provide services which may be essential to the health or the welfare of the individual asking for the service" (Gross, 1958: 80)

In this study professional work is considered as a work pattern, which has some particular characteristics different from that of other work patterns (Abbott, 1988). A systematic body of theory and a higher degree of generalized and abstract knowledge (Greenwood; Goode, 1969), which can be gained via specialized intellectual and formal training in institutions of higher learning (Carr-Saunders 1969; Slocum, 1967), and the monopoly over its use (Alvarez et al, 1996); an orientation to community interests which are more important than the professionals' own personal interests (Barber); a shared occupational identity which consists of common norms and values, language and jargon, and shared ethics in general (Taylor, 1968; Slocum, 1967; Greenwood, 1966 ; Volmer and Mills, 1966); personal and collective control of occupational activities (Carr-Saunders, 1969) that is institutionalised in the form of occupational autonomy (Slocum, 1967; Goode, 1969; Turner and Hudge, 1970; Taylor, 1968) and shielded by organizations like associations and chambers (Carr-Saunders, 1966; Slocum, 1967) are some of those particular characteristics of professional work which differentiate it from other forms of work.

Professionals have a distinctive place in capitalist societies not only because of the unique characteristics of their production which is not directly regulated, controlled and used by capitalist production relations, but also because of their class location which depends on their credential/skill assets or cultural capital. For professionals the maintenance of the status-quo is crucial since they want to secure and sustain their privileged position. Thus, their class interests are bound with the dominating classes. On the other hand, the strong occupational ideology called professionalism surrounds them, and controls and secures their place in the professional markets. That is to say, although "the model of profession was originally shaped by the historical matrix of competitive capitalism", the control and the power of professions appear more likely to be professionalist then capitalist (see Larson 1977).

Besides, being an important form of work in contemporary society, professional work is also important for its relationship with women's liberation. Ann Wittz (1992) claims that

compared to working-class women, middle-class women who are working as professionals have more available means to struggle against the exclusion from the labour market. It is argued that, apart from other strategies, having a qualified education and occupation provides professional women, most of whom are upper-middle and middle class members, with some important means for bargaining with patriarchy[7].

At first glance, women's entrance to professional work can be seen as a great opportunity as will be discussed in the second chapter. Considering the professional women's higher levels of skills and human capital; place on the highest levels of occupational hierarchy; respectful positions within the public domain; close proximity to power relations; and privileged positions and class locations within the society it is possible to say that with all its positive effects on women's lives professional work contributes to women's liberation.

However professional women are still subjected to male domination within work as well as at home. The disadvantaged position of women in work relations continues in professions (Epstein, 1970). It is assumed that motherhood and other family responsibilities decrease women's performance in their professions (Fox&Hessbiber, 1984; Epstein, 1970; Homans, 1987). Women are marginal in male dominated professions (Spencer and Padmore, 1987). Moreover, sex typing of professions (Epstein,Gray, Fox&Hessbiber, 1984; Nicolsan, 1996), the male character of professional culture (Fox&Hessbiber, 1984) and the language used by professionals among themselves (Coates, 1996), all indicate the sexist basis of professions which will be discussed in the second chapter. Work experiences of professional women show us how ideological the subordination of women in the workplace is.

It is possible to say that professional occupations are dominated by patriarchal ideology and women have certain difficulties entering and participating in such occupations. The professionalisation process itself can be seen as a strategy to construct the social, political and institutional locations of male power. In this respect, it can be assumed that the realm of professional work includes certain patriarchal strategies against women, which limit and control women's participation.

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[7] The term "bargaining with patriarchy" is first used by Deniz Kandiyoti (1988). As Kandiyoti mentions "these patriarchal bargains exert a powerful influence on the shaping of women's gender ideology in different contexts". She conceptualises the process of bargaining as a reason which differentiates patriarchal structures from one geographical and cultural region to another. Here I use the term "bargaining with patriarchy" for referring to the professional women's strategies to survive and identify themselves in a patriarchal society.

Knowing these characteristics of women's participation in professions, I believe, professional work, beside other work patterns, enables us to understand the operations of patriarchy on women's work. Explanations concerning the impact of patriarchy on women's work are generally driven from the experiences of women in capitalist production relations and especially in industrial work. Thus, they generally concentrate on the relationship between class and patriarchy and suggest analytic formulations deriving form this relationship. Although their assumptions and formulations concerning the articulation of patriarchy with capitalism are presented as the answer for the question of women's work, they include only certain types of work.

The question of the present study is, are those formulations of women's labour force participation applicable to women's participation in professions? Can the subordination of professional women who have high levels of education and qualified occupational skills, as well as participation practice in the public realm and closeness to public power, be explained by the class based explanations of the effects of patriarchy on women's work or do we need new formulations to understand women's participation in professions? For professional women have qualifications, as mentioned above, which gives them the tools to struggle with capitalist exploitation, as well as with the contemporary forms of patriarchal oppression, which are totally integral to capitalism but mainly to professionalism.

On the other hand I believe, by focusing on professional work we can question the impact of the forms of patriarchy on women's work and reveal the strategies of the manifestations of patriarchy on work relations. That is to say, analysis of the realm of women's professional work helps us to understand the operation of patriarchy because in professional work, it is easier to detect patriarchal oppression within capitalist exploitation. I agree that

> capital and patriarchy are distinct forms of social relations and distinct sets of interests, which do not stand in any necessary relationship and even exist in potential conflict. Even though it is difficult to separate analytically the specific elements of society, which belong to patriarchy and those, which belong to capitalism, we must do so (Young, 1981; 45).

By focusing on professional women, I intend to discuss if the articulation of patriarchy with capitalism is inevitable and if the formulations that have come out of this articulation are capable of explaining women's subordination at work. In fact, in professional work patriarchy does not operate in the same way it does within the practices of capitalist

production relations. Instead, in professional work, patriarchy takes another form which is shaped by the rules of the occupational ideology called professionalism. As a consequence of this, it becomes problematic to understand the manifestations of patriarchy in professions without considering professionalism.

Within the present study, to understand the conditions of women's participation within professions I refer to the socialist feminist standpoint which considers patriarchy not only as it exists independently but also as it unites with another system or coexists within a dual system, conceptualising it as an articulating structure. In interpreting socialist feminist assumptions I suggest women's oppression at work is a result of *manifestations* of patriarchy within and with regard to the *practice* of capitalism. Within this interpretation instead of articulation, I prefer the "notion of manifestation" which refers to the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. Also, I consider the "notion of practice" to refer to any social, historical, political, economic, cultural and ideological structures and processes including "class" and capitalism. This interpretation is also in accordence with the definition of patriarchy as an unfinished, hypothetical formation that occurs within a practice which determines its forms and which transforms the agents of the practice in which it manifests itself.

In this connection I sugest that it is possible to understand women's participation in professions by applying this interpretation of socialist feminism to the realm of professions. According to this view, within professions patriarchy manifests itself according to the requirements of professionalism and it operates within the occupational practices.

1.4. What i Special About Professional Women in Turkey?

When analysing the relationship between patriarchy and the professions, Turkey can be considered an original example. This consideration results from two dimensions, which are dynamically related to each other: the first is the relatively high rate of professional women[8]

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[8] According to the State Institute of Statistics, House Hold Labour Force Statistics, 2003, Annual, The highest labour force participation rates for women in urban areas are in professional occupations. 23 per cent of the female labour force in urban areas consists of professionals. Industrial sectors are the second (%20) and the service sector is the third (%19).

and the second is the historical and political developments of women's professional work in Turkey.

In Turkey, there are important gender inequalities within the realm of work[9], which make it highly probable that the number of professional women would be low. However, professional women form the biggest group among economically active women in urban areas. The significant position of professional women in Turkey is related with the Turkish modernization project and its reflections on women's lives. The process by which the conditions and nature of women's existence in professional occupations in Turkey grew is based on reforms of the late Ottoman and early Republican period. In this regard, the main focus of this study is the very beginning of women's entry to the professional occupations in the early Republican period.

Particularities of the participation of Turkish women in the professions originate in the Ottoman modernization project and are closely related to educational reforms. Especially in the 18th century Ottoman Empire, the important role of women in raising future generations and guaranteeing the peaceful family that was the basis of the prosperity of a nation were beginning to be perceived. Therefore, educating women was seen as crucial for a modern society (Durakbaşa, 2000; 93-97). In this manner, educational opportunities for women increased since "Ottoman reformation projects were originated from the assumption that the starting points are the schools" (Tan, 2000; 31). Women, even whose walking on the streets was restricted by laws in the 1750s, gained some rights in the period of Tanzimat (Period of the Ottoman Reformation. In 1842, instruction in medicine; in 1858 middle school classes; in 1869 the first technical schools; and in 1860s the beginning of the construction of teacher training schools for women, were all significant steps giving educational opportunities to Ottoman urban women (Güzel, 1983: 853). These developments were followed by the increasing participation of women in working life due to the impact of the First World War. The Kemalist Revolution inherited the ideal of the modern women from the Ottomans under these conditions as discussed in the third chapter of this study.

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[9] Ecevit (2000; 136) notes that there are inequalities in labour force participation, occupational segregation, and wage. The primary work done by women in Turkey is agriculture (%72 of women's labour force participation). Most women are working as unpaid family labourers in rural areas. Moreover, with urbanisation, which has been accelerated in the 1950s, "housewifezation effect of migration"(Ecevit, 2000) led women away from labour force participation.

For Kemalism, women were centrally important in the period of modernization. The image of the modern, educated, westernised woman was the icon for the construction of the modern secular state, and indicated the success of the war against the theological regime (Durakbaşa, 2000; Kandiyoti, 1997; Moghadam, 1993). Moreover, the education of women was considered crucial since women were conceived of the mothers of the young Turkish Republic. Within the positivistic tradition of the Kemalist ideology, middle class urbanite women were offered higher education in science and technology. It is within this framework that the tradition of higher education for women in Turkey was constructed. By means of education, women participated within the trained workforce as the professionals of the Turkish Republic.

That is to say in the Turkish case women's entry into professions was very much determined by the political and social conditions of the early Republican period. Women's entry to professional occupations in relatively high numbers and the structures of professions were determined by the Kemalist ideology which was a nationwide, sovereign ideology of the Turkish Republic especially in the early Republican period. The women professionals in Turkey have emerged under the condition that was a combination of professionalism as the occupational ideology, Kemalism as the national-state ideology and patriarchy as the ideology embedded within both.

In this regard, I believe that an analysis of the experiences professional women in Turkey in the early Republican period would enable us to see the responses of patriarchy to different ideological structures and help us to understand its operations within different practices.

1.5. How to Get Information?

I assume that, Turkish professional women in the republican period were surrounded by three structures: patriarchy, professional work, and the dominant ideology of the society, namely Kemalism. Thus I am dealing with three bodies of literature: the first consists of the analysis of the relationship between women's work and women's liberation; the second contains the analysis of women's professional work; and the third is made up of the historical and contextual analysis of the professional women in Turkey.

In order to understand the specific position of professional women in Turkey, it is necessary to make both qualitative and historical research. Although useful in obtaining overall information quantitative data do not allow us to understand the specificities, differences, or diversities of the phenomenon under study. To see the manifestations of patriarchy in various forms I find it important to refer to the narratives of participant women including their personal life experience within home and work as well as the social and political conditions of the period. Such an approach enables me to understand the participation of women in professions within a historical context from their own way of understanding and experiencing it as a dynamic reality. Thus it allows for going beyond a static knowledge and a blurry image in my mind as a researcher considering professional women of the the early Republican period.

In this study, qualitative methodology will be developed from the feminist methodological and epistemological standpoint. There are several reasons for preferring the feminist approach: First, as a sociologist, I believe that the ontological position of women proves that the classical approaches have some limitations in explaining social reality most of which stem from their methodology since it generalises the specificities and ignores the diversities and thus ignores gender. Second, as a woman, I have experienced that the discursive formation of the life we live is not only so distant from our realities, but also oppressive. On the other hand, the reality of the social life experienced by women is hidden within their own personal experiences. Thus, the best way to understand women's experiences is to reveal their personal stories that are assumed to be less affected by hegemonic discourse, which is structurally patriarchal[10]. Third, the subjective forces that surround and direct me within this study[11] invite the consideration of subjectivity within a sociological inquiry, which is rejected by the positivist approaches. This subjectivity is critically considered by feminist methodological approaches which I try to explain in the methodology chapter of the present study.

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[10] Since women are living in a patriarchal society their experiences are determined by patriarchy. They do not understand and even notice the patriarchal effect on their life since they themselves are situated in a patriarchal social system. However, their personal life experiences which include their personal understanding and interpretation of the lives they live, and exclusive stories which have been determinant in their lives are full of examples of women's subordination. During the research they do not only tell these stories but also reinterpret their lives from a different standpoint which is women's standpoint which Hennesy (1993) defines as "a way of conceptualising reality form the vatage point of women's lives: their activities, interests and values" (1993: 67).

[11] My being a woman and a professional played an important role in shaping the present study.

The technique I prefer to use in order to obtain the information concerning occupational experiences of professional women is "oral history". My intention is to understand the nature and the meaning of being professional for women in Turkey. To that end, I turned to professional women themselves and tried to construct my analysis on their personal experiences rather than on general variables. Therefore, I am concerned with the personal experiences of the first generation of professional women in Turkey, who in turn witnessed[12] the development of the Turkish Republic. In this study, professional women between 75-90 years of age who actively have worked professionally for a certain period of time are the main source of information.

1.6. Plan of The Study

This study consists of three levels of abstraction, which are developed on the (political) basis of women's liberation. In the highest abstraction level, the relationship between women's work and liberation, and the patriarchal strategies in the realm of work are theoretically questioned. In the second abstraction level, considerations of the characteristics of professional work and women's participation in professions are added. In the third level, a focus on the historical and contextual qualities of the women professionals in Turkey is brought into the study. In this study, I intend to challenge the existing knowledge on the relationship between women's work and women's liberation and the operations of patriarchy in the realm of work.

Table 1.1. Abstraction levels of the Study

	political dimension	*theoretical dimension*	*theoretical dimension*	*historical dimension*
political base:	Women's liberation			
1.abstraction level	Women's liberation	&women's work in general		
2.abstraction level:	women's liberation	&women's work	as professional in particular	
3.abstraction level:	Women's liberation	& women's work	as professional in particular	in Turkey

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[12] The women's being witness to the development of the Turkish Republic makes them important historical sources. Thus their testimonies are not only valuable sources of information for the specific topic of the present study, but also for the general social history of the Early Republican period in Turkey.

In Chapter II, first, I have sought the answers to the questions about women's work: What is the relationship between women's work and women's liberation? What are the characteristics and determinants of women's work? Which structures affect women's work in paticular? How do sociologists explain women's labour force participation? Here, I have started with explaining the characteristics of women's work, and the mainstream explanations and considerations of those characteristics. From these evaluations, I have concluded that women's labour force participation is affected by two structures, namely capitalism and patriarchy, which reciprocally affect each other. Here I have focused on the feminist theoretical assumptions on women's work which deeply consider the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. Secondly, with the guidance of the question "is there a different form of work which may challenge the existing explanations of women's work and the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy?" I have concentrated on professional work. Here, I have asked the following questions: What are the characteristics of professional work? What makes it special? What are the conditions of women's participation within such a form of work? This chapter is concluded by questioning whether the existing theoretical assumptions on women's work explain women's participation in professional work. Here to understand the experiences of professional women in Turkey I suggest a theoretical model that shows the manifestations and forms of patriarchy that are possibly exist or perpetuated.

Chapter III has a historical and contextual content, which forms the third abstraction level. Women in Turkish modernisation and the construction and the participation of women in professional work are the two main headings.

In Chapter VI, I have focused on the methodological approaches used in this study. The feminist standpoint has been discussed and qualitative and historical methods have been dealt with within feminist methodological approaches. Then, the oral history technique and feminist oral history has been studied. In the second part of this chapter, first I introduce the written sources, then I give short biographic information about the participants, including the place and date of birth, the place and education, the department, graduation year, specialisation, the occupational life, and marriage and family life. Additionally, the story of my own research has been mentioned.

In Chapter V, I try explain participants socialisation as professionals; First, the influence of the family, social and material effects on women's decision towards being professional, role

models, their willingness to be educated, their aims are discussed. Second their experiences in their education are evaluated. Finally their professional identity and the Kemalist effect on this identity is argued.

In Chapter VI, I continue with arguing the conditions of women's existence in realms of professions. I tried to focus on the conditions of women's acceptance to professions and the ideological effects of their being professional; Women's interpretation of their positions and experiences. By doing so, I intend to question what kind of practices conditioned women's existence within professional work, how Kemalism determines patriarchal content of professionalism and how professionalism is important in women's self identification. Then, I turn my attention to participants family lives to see if their being professional has changed their traditional gender roles. I have focused on their strategies of balancing professional responsibilities with family responsibilities and questioned how they experienced work and family dilemmas, and overcame the double burden of familiy and work responsibilites. Besides I also examine if and how their family lives effect their career as a professional and visa versa and how.

In the final chapter I came to the conclusion that a three-fold analysis of women's participation in professions in Turkey which considers the effects of Kemalism, professionalism and patriarchy is necessary to understand the phenomenon under study. In the highest abstraction level I discuss what professional women in Turkey tells us about the manifestations of patriarchy that appears within and influences the participation of women in professions in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION, PROFESSIONAL WORK AND NEW MANIFESTATIONS OF PATRIARCHY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is mainly concerned with how patriarchy operates on women's work in general and professional work in particular. In the first part, I intend to question the relationship between women's work and women's liberation and understand the operations of patriarchy on women's work with reference to the theoretical approaches. After mentioning the determinants and the characteristics of women's work in contemporary capitalist societies, I review the mainstream approaches and feminist theories on women's work. In the second part of this chapter, I focus on professional work to challenge those approaches and raise questions about whether the current explanations concerning women's work in general can also explain the experiences of professional women. In order to show the different position of professions in production relations I start with examining the traits of professions, the process of professionalisation, de-professionalisation and proletarisation and the position of professionals within the social stratification system. Then I review the approaches to women's professional work and focus on the gender inequalities within the realm of professions. Here I focus on women's identification as professionals and their strategies to cope with the problems they face due to their gender positions. To show the intersectional and conceptual features of being professional for women I give the examples of studies concerning professional women within different regional, religious, legal, historical and ethnic contexts.

2. 2. Women and Work

Some theoretical approaches having the intention of advancing the social position of women focus on the relationship between women's work and women's liberation. As Ecevit (2000) puts it, there are two main approaches concerning the relationship between women's work and women's liberation. According to the first approach, waged work empowers women within family and society. It lessens women's economic dependency and creates the channels of liberation. According to the second approach, waged work is a "double burden" for women since working women have to be engaged both with(in) reproduction at home and with(in) production at work. Workplaces are the terrains of patriarchal oppression and waged work increases women's subordination (Ecevit, 2000: 120).

Despite this underlying opposition, it has been accepted by both approaches that deep gender inequalities in production relations construct the characteristics of women's labour force participation. The characteristics of women's labour force participation can be listed as follows:

1.Women are believed to be less suited to the labour market than men. A prejudicial view prevails that the first place of a woman is her home. Because their existence is seen as unusual, women are faced with gender discrimination when they enter the labour market. Moreover, while men are conceptualised as rational and pragmatic and suitable for the public realm and technical work, women are conceptualised as irrational and emotional and suitable for the private realm and service work (Davidson & Gordon, 1979).

2.Women enter the labour market where the tasks they can undertake have already been defined (Ecevit, 1998). Which sectors, occupations and patterns of work are suitable for women and which are not is pre-defined. However, this definition is structurally unequal (Barrett,1995). In Hakim's words, women are faced with horizontal segregation in the labour market (Hakim 1979 cited in Walby 1988). Especially in the industrial sectors, women are generally employed in secondary labour market jobs, which are temporary or part-time and characterised by low wages, insecurity, poor working conditions, low possibility of advancement, weak trade unionisation and unskilled status. (Sinclair, 1991)

3.Even in the same occupational pattern or same sector, women are concentrated in lower levels of the work hierarchy. Women are not only excluded from high status and better paid jobs but also excluded form the higher positions of certain jobs. This is due to vertical segregation (Hakim 1979 cited in Walby 1988) which means women are being employed in lower positions while men occupy higher positions within the same occupation (Cockburn 1988; Barret, 1995; Alvarez et al., 1996).

4.Women's skills are not considered as "valuable" since the definitions of skills are "saturated with sexual bias" (Philips & Taylor, 1980: 79) and ideologically male (West, 1989; Cockburn, 1988; Walby, 1992). Thus women are generally employed as unskilled labourers.

5.Women's formal education is poorer than that of men's. In the beginning of industrialisation, "women appear to have been less well trained than men and to have obtained less desirable jobs" (Hartmann, 1990: 157). As Anker puts it, "many parents decide to give their daughters less education than sons, and women decide to accumulate less labour market experience than men partly because women do not have the same labour market opportunities as men" (1998: 15). Moreover, women's formal training within the workplace is also poor since employers assume that women have a lower degree of attachment to the firm than men and prefer to train male workers (Sinclair, 1991: 15).

6.Women are less unionised and less organized. For Hartmannn it is based on the lack of organizational skills among women. Historically it is men who have the ability to organize themselves (Hartmannn, 1990). Thus women do not have the chance to proclaim their needs. On the other hand, within the unions men have a superior position and women are generally subordinated (Ecevit, 1998). Thus, women-centred issues are ignored. In fact, the structure of unions and other organizations are not women-centred. (Needleman &Tanner, 1987).

7.Women are open to the enforcement of "last in first out". In the period of economic depressions women labourers are discharged first (Barret;1995, 150).

2.2.1. Non-Feminist Accounts of Women's Work

In terms of the capitalist labour market, the above characteristics of women's work are the natural consequences of women's gender positions. In other words, it is assumed that the exclusion of women from the labour market naturally results from women's social and cultural existence. This social and cultural existence is explained by the "sex role socialization" approach, which we call *gender ideology*. According to gender ideology, women's natural existence in the labour market results from sex role socialization, which is conceptualised as a natural phenomenon rather than an ideological fiction. It is assumed that males have an instrumental role and females have an expressive role within the society. As a function of socialization, sex roles are complementary and sexual division of labour increases the stability of society (Stacey and Thorne, 1998). Men are conceptualised as rational and pragmatic while women are irrational and emotional. The functionalist way of conceptualising sex roles has no meaning other than keeping women subservient to men.

From the standpoint of the market, women are likely to prefer to stay at home and to bear children. In fact, as soon as it is possible, they leave their jobs rationally to be able to realize their domestic responsibilities, which are assumed to be the first duties of a woman. Therefore, they don't need a market-oriented type of education and training. Still, the market can provide women some places in the labour force generally within the types of work that are likely to be the extension of their domestic work. On the other hand, due to their lack of capital-intensive skills, it is difficult for the market to pay them as much as skilled labourers are paid. As a result, the capitalist market cannot include women as easily and equally as men both in terms of occupational segregation and labour market segmentation. Women's wages are supplements of men's who are seen to be the main breadwinners and earn the family wage anyway. According to mainstream approaches, the functional and natural form of the (patriarchal) household supports the idea that men are breadwinners and women are homemakers. Moreover, the market lets women out first, so that they can reunite with their beloved housework. Thus, the uniqueness of the family –consisting of "male bread winner" and "wife as full time mother" (Bradley, 1989; 67)- can be saved. The doors of a reserve army of labour[13] are still open to women which means they would be very welcomed if they

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[13] The reserve army of labour is an indivisible part of the capitalist control mechanism. It weakens worker's bargaining power. It includes labourers who are not working and ready to work instead of the ones who are asking for better conditions and wages (Barret, 1995: 152; Bradley, 1989: 66). Walby explains "The function of reserve according to Marx is to prevent workers being able to

accept to work in poorer conditions than the actual workers. However, in reality women are working and want to work; to practice the professions in which they were educated for many years and succeeded; to create a path of self realisation and to have economic independence or mostly just to survive.

To explain the position of women in the labour market, non-feminist approaches and economic theories on women's work refer to the terms of human capital, rational choice, deskilling, labour market segmentation and occupational segregation, and new home economies.

The non-feminist assumptions try to explain gender inequality, especially in terms of wages, within capitalist market relations first by human capital theory. It is assumed that women's work is determined by their home based human capital. Human capital is the investment of the worker in oneself to increase the grade of qualifications which are gained via education and training in one's lifetime. It is a sort of capital, because it increases one's price in the labour market. The human capital theory in general gives explanations to wage differences. As Bradley puts it "the worker with the least human capital goes to the back of the queue and gets paid least" (Bradley 1989; 64). She also mentions that women are seen typically to possess less human capital largely because of the interruption of their work careers when they have children. On the other hand, the size and type of investments in human capital is also the main cause of occupational choice of individuals according to human capital theory.

It is also assumed that the character of women's human capital, which is geared towards domestic responsibilities rather than market demands, is their own rational choice (Jonung, 1998). According to rational choice theory "people know what they value (have stable preferences) and act rationally to achieve their aims to maximise or optimise their desire" (Hakim, 1996). Thus, it is assumed that women have rationally chosen to believe that their first place is home and domestic responsibilities are primary.

With respect to women's home-based human capital, which is claimed to be chosen

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bargain up their wages and conditions of employment in times of increased demand for labourers. This reserve could be of different types: floating, latent or stagnant. The floating reserve was composed of people who had been employed in capitalist industry and been made unemployed. The latent reserve comprised people who had not been employed by capitalist industry previously but who were now able to be as a result of changes in that area of economy. The stagnant reserve consisted of those whose employment was at a very low level and intermittent.... later Marxists have argued that the notion of a latent reserve may be applied to married women." (Walby, 1990: 35)

rationally by themselves, women develop home-based skills. Although these skills can be used in industrial production and human service, they are devalued and less remunerated in market relations. Devaluation of women's skills by patriarchal definitions is the characteristic of a women-specific deskilling process (Bravermann, 1974), which operates to make them cheap labourers due to their lack of capital-intensive investments in their human capital. However, definition and determination of skill is a gendered process and generally an arbitrary decision (Ecevit, 1998: 282). It relies on devaluation of women's skills that comes from their gender socialization. Thus, they are paid as unskilled workers. As Bradley explains, women are forced to be employed in unskilled jobs and the skills that they do have, such as cooking, caring for people or sewing, are ignored (1989: 68). Women are being considered not as skilled but rather as suitable for certain types of jobs. (Philips & Taylor, 1980; West, 1989; Cockburn, 1988; Walby, 1992).

The non-feminist theory of a segmented labour market tries to explain women's concentration in some patterns of work but not others. According to the Marxist segmented labour market theory, primary and secondary labour markets are differentiated in advancement possibilities, working conditions, security and so on (Armstrong and Artmstrong 1990; Fine; 1992; Reich, Gordon and Edwards, 1980) Primary sector occupations, which are well paid and high status jobs with good career chances, are generally identified as white and male with respect to women's so-called unwillingness to forego raising a family in order to work or have a career. Thus, women are generally employed in the secondary sector occupations that are temporary dead-end or part-time jobs and characterised by low wages, insecurity, poor working conditions, low possibility of advancement, weak trade unionisation and unskilled status (Bradley, 1989; Armstrong and Armstrong; 1990). But it is not explained "why it takes a gendered form?" (Walby, 1992; 38). Moreover, the segmented labour market theory considers gender differences as given and explains that different subject positions are employed in different types of occupations where men and women are segregated with respect to their genders, but it fails to explain why it is always women who are employed in the secondary labour market. (Armstrong &Armstrong, 1990)

Finally, the explanations of new home economies try to show that the family is a functional and natural economic unit where the division of labour within the household between men and women is determined by the principles of productivity and benefit.

According to new home economies the family is viewed as a production unit, a small firm, trying to maximise its utility by producing final commodities for the family...The person who can receive the highest market wage will spent more time in market work, while the person most productive in the household work will take the major responsibility in this area........The specialisation results in differences between men and women in the extent and pattern of their labour supply and consequently in the size and type of investment in human capital they chose to make. Inequalities in labour market reflect differences in the labour force experience and the human capital acquired by men and women. (Jonung, 1998: 48)

Moving from those characteristics of women's work in the capitalist labour market and their mainstream interpretation by non-feminist theoretical assumptions, one can assume that women are subordinated in the realm of work. In light of the "malestream" explanations, we can say that there is a dual exploitation of women's reproductive and productive labour in contemporary capitalist societies. The operations of patriarchy are determined by capitalist production relations. It is evident that capitalism and patriarchy operate together to exploit women's labour force in the labour market. Since there is a reciprocal relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, the realm of work becomes a front for the struggle against women's oppression. It is also important to note that as Ecevit stated

there is a growing body of evidence that increased employment would give women greater autonomy and status, would broaden their life options, and would strengthen their self esteem, thereby eventually enhancing their influence with and outside of the household. Women's work outside of the home can be a primary avenue of their empowerment (2004: 93).

2.2.2. Feminist Accounts of Women's Oppression in Work Relations

In feminist theory, women's labour force participation has always been an important issue since work is one of the main realms of patriarchal practice and at the same time the source of liberation and emancipation. Liberal feminists concentrate on the individualistic successes of women and suggest that in order to be emancipated from oppression, women should increase their market abilities and gradually maintain androgynous characteristics (Tong, 1989). They are mainly concerned with equal rights for women in education and challenge the prejudice against women (Walby, 1992). In contrast, radicals focus more on sexuality and reproduction. "Radical feminists used patriarchy to refer to a social system characterised

by male domination over women" (Hartmann, 1981:13). Postmodernists reject using general and essentialist concepts like feminism or patriarchy since these concepts may exclude historical and cultural variations and reduce diversities among women to class positions or a single oppressed category, limiting definitions of women's oppression (Tong, 1989). Yet, women's work and the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy have been the main concern of Marxist and socialist feminist theory.

2.2.2.1. Marxist Feminist Theory

In Marxist analysis women's subordination and exploitation are part of a broader and general social problem. (Editions Sociale, 1996; 34). According to Marx and Engels, who were concerned with the position of women within the capitalist social and economic structure (Editions Sociale, 1996 ; 21-25), the most vulnerable groups who are exposed to capitalist exploitation are women and children.

The Marxist formulation of patriarchy is based upon historical and anthropological assumptions about the family. According to Engels, the patriarchal monogamous family, where the father leaves his property as an inheritance to his own children with no doubt they are his progeny, is a result of private property. Since the monogamous family is a result of economic causes, its form is expected to change with respect to economic change (Editions Sociale, 1996: 97). Therefore, women's massive entrance into the labour market potentially displaces the male authority within family. This leads to the creation of new type of family in which women are not the servants of men. Only then, women become a part of the struggle against capitalist exploitation, and then emancipation from male domination becomes possible. That is to say, women's entrance into the labour market would challenge the patriarchal family, while their entrance into class struggle as a part of the working class would challenge capitalism (Editions Sociale, 1996 ; 41). According to Engels, the individualistic family, which constitutes modern society, depends on women's slavery within the household. But, the exploitation of women within family and within production relations can only be stopped by the struggle against capitalism (Editions Sociale, 1996 ; 110-111).

In addition to these approaches, Lafargue emphasizes the connection between capitalism and patriarchy and states that women are subordinated at home as well as at work. Women were

called to enter production relations only for capitalist exploitation. Thus, capitalism did not challenge the patriarchal structure of the family and women continued their housework after they did their work at offices, factories or schools. Moreover, by assuming that women's needs are less than those of men, capitalism pays less to women and benefits from women's subordinated position (Editions Sociale, 1996 ; 119).

With the strong influence of a Marxist approach, Marxist feminism considers women's oppression within the context of capitalism. Marxist feminists analyse "women's position in terms of their specific role within capitalism, employing the existing vocabulary of 'labour power, reserve army of labour, reproduction and so forth" (Bradley, 1989; 57). Marxist feminists consider gender inequality in terms of capitalism, thus for them, there is no notion of an "independent system of patriarchy" (Walby, 1992) and no need for "a separate theory of the relations between men and women" (Bradley, 1989; 57). Class struggle is the central feature of social structure and it determines the nature of gender relations (Bradley, 1989). Capital benefits from an unequal sexual division of labour within the home where women's reproductive labour is in the service of capitalism. Women provide day-to-day maintenance of male workers, produce the next generations of labourers, and socialize their children corresponding with the existing system.

Some key examples of the Marxist feminist approach include Benston's description of the socialization of domestic work that shows how socially necessary this work is and how important it is to move women from the private realm so that they can come together and have a chance to create consciousness of their oppression, and Dalla Costa's suggestion of establishing waged housework which would make the importance of housework recognized and provide women a chance to strike (Tong, 1989).

In short, Marxist feminists assume that capitalist exploitative relations are responsible for women's oppression. For them, the women's movement has structurally become an anti-capitalist ideal. It is believed that, by replacement of capitalist production relations, women will be emancipated form patriarchy.

However, Marxist feminism ignores the dangers of functionalism and reductionism (Barrett ,1995). According to Barrett, Marxist feminism reduces the root cause of the social phenomenon of women's oppression to capitalism by conceptualising patriarchy as a function of capital (1995: 28-29). Marxism gives primary importance to the labour/capital

relationship and ignores women until they join the labour force (Hartmann, 1981). Moreover, questioning patriarchy within class analysis is also problematic. Delphy suggests that instead of mentioning the class division of women, whose class positions depend on their husbands' or fathers', feminism should emphasise the shared and common character of the specific oppression of women by patriarchal exploitation (Delphy, 1992; 89).

Thus, Marxist feminist attempts towards integrating Marxism and feminism are criticised for being unsatisfactory, since "they subsume the feminist struggle into the larger struggle against capital" (Hartmannn, 1981; 2). For Hartmann, Marxist feminist approaches first failed to focus on the differences between men's and women's experiences under capitalism and second, didn't recognize the lack of concern men had in women's subordination (Hartmann, 1990). Apart from reductionism of the women's question to economic relations, reductionism of capitalism itself to the economy is also problematic. I believe the conceptualisation of capitalism only as an economic system which is organized around production relations and its ignorance of cultural and ideological dimensions, which are the real determinants of exploitation of women both as labourers and as a gender, are the main results of reductionism.

2.2.2.2. Socialist Feminist Theory

According to the socialist feminist approach, Marxist feminists ignore the independent existence of the system of patriarchy and thus fail to conceptualise the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. This relationship is the main concern of socialist feminism.

Opposing the reduction of patriarchal relations to class relations, socialist feminism considers the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy to be more complex. According to the underlying assumption of the socialist feminist approach, "neither an account of patriarchy nor of capitalism alone will adequately explain sexual division, thus an analysis in terms of both gender and class is needed" (Bradley, 1989; 58).

Socialist feminists claim that, as Delphy (1992) puts it, the main theoretical aim of feminism is to reveal why and how these two exploitative systems support and strengthen each other. In contemporary capitalist societies, the classical forms of women's subordination for the

sake of male domination changes direction for the sake of capitalist interests. Ramazanoğlu (1989) assumes that patriarchy is always operating for capitalism. She reminds us that wage inequalities and a reserve army of labour, de-skilling, a secondary labour market, an informal labour market, unpaid work, and part-time work are the concepts that are related closely with women.

According to West, the disadvantageous position of women within the patriarchal family structure "underplays the nature of capitalist economic and political power" (1989: 268). Patriarchy, first, by systematically limiting and controlling their existence in the public realm, keeps women away from public power, which forms and transforms the social power that is characteristically male. Second, it constructs a hierarchical division of labour by sex on which women's labour depends.

Moreover, women and men are entering into the labour market in a definitely divided position. According to Barrett "the division of labour by sex is not only oppressive for women but also deconstructive for the working class. A working class, that is divided by sex, is a weakened class" (Barret, 1995:156). Capitalism enjoys carrying on the existing hierarchy of the sexual division of labour, thus waged work in many industrialised countries differentiates depending on gender. Niki Charles (1993) emphasizes that capitalist production has been patriarchal since it is organized in a way which reflects the family type of authority relations which are patriarchal.

In this respect, the socialist feminist approach claims that women's oppression should be examined as a product of both capitalism and patriarchy. The socialist feminist approach is largely the result of Marxist feminist dissatisfaction with the essentially gender blind character of Marxist thought (Tong, 1989). It is also an attempt to answer the questions which could not be answered by traditional Marxism and radical feminism (Young 1981, 45). Socialist feminist theory:

> "seeks the 'laws of motion of the system of patriarchy, the internal dynamics and contradictions of patriarchy, and articulates how these interact and perhaps conflict with the internal dynamics of capitalism" (Young, 1981; 44).

Socialist feminism conceptualises the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy within two formulations, one of which is a unified system and the other of which is a dual system

(Tong, 1989; Bradley, 1989).

2.2.2.2.1. Dual-System Theory:

According to dual-system theory, both capitalism and patriarchy as systems are present and important in the structuring of contemporary gender relations (Walby, 1992). As Bradley puts it, the dual systems' approach rejects Marxist feminist reduction of gender to class or class to gender (Bradley, 1989; 58-59). "Each must be theorised separately although at any given historical moment they are found interacting" (Bradley, 1989; 59).

Dual-system theorists can be separated into two subgroups: non-materialist approaches and materialist approaches (Tong, 1989). Non-materialists assume that class relations and gender relations are different spheres of social totality. For example, Mitchell discusses gender in terms of a separation between the two systems; the economic level is ordered by capitalism while the level of the unconscious is ordered by patriarchy (Walby, 1992). With this respect she claims that patriarchy is an ideological and biosocial phenomenon[14] and it is not created by capitalism nor does it exist only within capitalism. Thus, she suggests to use the "Marxist strategies to overthrow capitalism and psychoanalytic strategies to overthrow patriarchy" (Tong, 1989: 178). This version of dual-system theory reduces the differences among women and it lacks historical and contextual vision. Moreover, patriarchy is represented as "a universal system having the same basic structure" (Young, 1981: 46).

To solve the problems of a non-materialist account, several dual-system theorists posit patriarchy as a system of the mode of production itself, which exists alongside the mode of capitalist production (Young, 1981; 47). Hartmann and Delphy are important examples of the materialist approach.

For Hartmann, patriarchy is crucially operating at the materialist level of women's labour power, and not at the level of ideology. According to Hartmann, patriarchy has a material base:

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[14] For Millett, since it is biosocial and ideological, changes in the mode of production would not challenge patriarchy as a whole. Just the "economic aspects of patriarchy can be altered by material means. Its biosocial and ideological aspects can be altered by only non-material means by rewriting psychosexual drama." (qouted in Tong, 1989: 179).

> The material base upon which patriarchy rests lies most fundamentally in men's control over women's labour power. Men maintained this control by excluding women from access to some essential productive resources (in capitalist societies, for example, jobs that pay living wages) and by restricting women's sexuality (Hartmann, 1981; 15).

According to Hartmann, social structure is organized both in capitalist and patriarchal ways. She assumes that the hierarchical division of labour is not new and distinct to capitalist societies and hence cannot be reduced to it. By referring to anthropological studies she posits that patriarchy predates capitalism (Hartmann,1990: 153). However, the accumulation of capital both accommodates itself to patriarchal social structure and helps to perpetuate it" and "patriarchal relations tend to bolster capitalism"(Hartmann, 1981: 3).

Here it is important to note that "patriarchy and capitalism is not inevitable; men and capitalists often have conflicting interests particularly over the use of women's labour power" (Hartmann, 1981; 19).

There should be a tension between capitalism and patriarchy (Walby, 1992; Hartmannn, 1990; Young, 1981) over the use of women's labour power. The disagreement might be concerning whether the labour of women is reserved for domestic responsibilities for the benefit of men, or for labour market demands for the benefit of capitalism (Hartmannn, 1990).

On the contrary, capitalism benefits from the tension itself: first it uses women's reproductive labour, and then it starts to exploit women in the labour market in various forms. The ground of engagement between patriarchy and capitalism, that should structurally disagree about the use of women's labour power, could only be constructed by the fact that the subordination of women's labour within the private realm continues in the labour market in order to make women a vulnerable group of labourers. In other words, the hierarchical division of labour by sex within the patriarchal family determines women's labour force participation (Delphy, 1992; Hartmann, 1990; Barret 1995).

Historically, patriarchy was internal to the negotiations between labourer and capitalists, and within such conditions, capitalism has taken the form of patriarchy while patriarchy develops

a capitalist form[15]. In the labour market, the family wage created wage differences between genders, and wage differences created job segregation by sex, which is the main form of appearance of patriarchy in production relations. Hartmann suggests that job segregation by sex is the "primary mechanism in capitalist societies that maintains the superiority of men over women". The vicious circle, (see table 1.1.) which is created by the reciprocal relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, determines women's position in society as well as production relations.

Table2.1.Hartmannn's Vicious Circle

Women get low wages →→ depend on men's wages →→ performs domestic work
↑   ↓
↑   ↓
←←←← domestic responsibilities weaken her position in labour market ←←←←
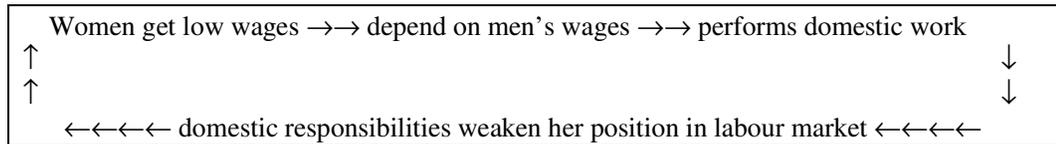
Hartmann suggests, "by the extension of patriarchal relations to the labour market, women are subjected to capitalist production system as a vulnerable group who is weakened by patriarchy" (1990: 147-148). According to this:

> job segregation by sex . . . enforces lower wages for women in the labour market. Low wages keep women dependent on men because they encourage women to marry. Married women must perform domestic chores for their husbands. Men benefit then from both higher wages and the domestic division of labour. This domestic

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[15]In the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, especially women and children were recruited to participate in production relations since they were seen to be less capable of resistance, easily exploited, and influential in decreasing the capacity for resistance by male labourers. Thus, their participation in the labour force was beneficial for capitalism (Hartmann, 1981). However, it was men who bargained with capitalism with their organizational abilities and it was male ideology which transformed capitalist relations. According to Hartmann, the determination of capitalist relations of production by patriarchal discourse originates from this negotiation between workers and capitalists in the early period of industrialization. (Hartmann, 1990;157). Women as a gender are totally excluded and misrepresented within this organized bargaining. Men forced capitalism to include their minimum interests which are structurally male and patriarchal. They assumed they were protecting women from the exploitative practices of capitalist production relations by being salaried enough to maintain the needs of the whole family (Hartmann 1990). The result is three-fold: First, women are excluded from the public realm and kept distant from the power relations that organize and form social life; second their labour is in the service of men's sexual and social needs and the reproduction of the labour force is guaranteed by women; third their primary responsibility is mentioned as domestic work and their presence in the labour force is conceptualised as an unusual and temporary situation. So, they become a marginal group of workers in the labour market who are vulnerable to exploitation.

division of labour in turn acts to weaken women's position in the labour market. This process is the present outcome of the continuing interaction of two interlocking systems, capitalism and patriarchy (1990: 147-148).

Similarly, Christian Delphy focuses on the dual exploitation of women created by the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. For Delphy, women's labour is subjected to the relations between two modes of production, one of which is the capitalist mode of production and the other of which is the patriarchal mode of production. Since she states that there is no difference between use value and exchange value, women's reproductive labour and household production are also commercialised processes (Delphy, 1992; 78). Thus, the family should be seen as an economic unit depending on women's labour power. After industrialization, the separation of home and work created the dual exploitation of labour. First, the vast majority of goods are produced industrially and second, housework, child bearing and rearing, and the production of some of goods are women's duties within the household production system. The first mode of production creates capitalist exploitation while the second mode of production creates family exploitation, or patriarchal exploitation. For Delphy, women's unremunerated labour supply is nothing other than slavery. Exploitation of women's labour via marriage creates the common oppression of all women. In capitalist industrial relations, men are free labourers while women are domestic servants, or in Delphy's words, slaves.

Neither the materialist nor the non-materialist approaches of dual-system theory really succeed in eliminating the limitations of Marxist feminism to explain the manifestations of patriarchy. Although they conceptualise patriarchy and capitalism as separate systems, the operations of patriarchy on women's work are evaluated within the tradition of Marxism. Young assumes that, "not unlike traditional Marxism, the dual- system theory tends to see the question of women's oppression as merely an additive to the main question of Marxism" (Young, 1981: 49). Dual-system approach has been criticised for its focusing on Marxist gender blind categories like family wage and job segregation. It is possible to assume that dual-system theorists, like Marxist feminist, bear the structural essentialism of Marxism: thus, they ignore the ethnic, regional, and cultural differences among women. They also exclude issues like violence and sexuality and overemphasize the determination of production relations.

2.2.2.2.2. Unified-System Theory

According to the underlying assumption of unified-system theory patriarchy should not be considered as separate from capitalism, and the marginalisation and subordination of women is an essential and fundamental characteristic of capitalism (Tong, 1989). Unified system theorists do not conceptualise patriarchy as a function of capitalism as Marxists approaches do. They claim that patriarchy predates capitalism. As Eisenstein mentions "It depends on male domination constructed within sex roles and institutionalised within family. Since it is used by capitalism, the definition of patriarch serves the interests of capital" (Cited in Barrett , 1995; 21-22). The unified-system approach assumes that capitalism and patriarchy are inevitably united like Siamese twins. Tong identifies unified-system theory as "attempts to create a unifying theoretical framework which can include radical, Marxist, psychoanalytic and even liberal approaches" (Tong, 1989; 186).

In order to create a unifying theoretical framework Young, for example, uses the category of division of labour. Young's unified-system theory is built upon the analysis of the gender division of labour, which "brings the gender relations and position of women to the centre of historical materialist analysis", and explains "the origins and maintenance of women's subordination in social structural terms" (Young 1981; 53-54). She claims that the category of division of labour is broader, more fundamental and more concrete than that of class and it ensures the analysis of other relations of domination within classes such as race and ethnicity (Young, 1981; 51). Within the concept of gender division of labour she emphasises "the symbolic and ideological significance and implications of gender differentiation". According to Young, "Explaining variations in the kind or degree of women's subordination in a society requires references to what women concretely do in a society" (Young 1981, 55).

From the analysis of the gender division of labour, Young concludes that, "marginalisation of women and thereby our functioning as a secondary labour force is an essential and fundamental characteristic of capitalism" (cited in Tong, 1989: 184). In other words, she claims that in accepting the existence of patriarchy free from capitalism, there is no other form of capitalism apart from patriarchy. Young also argues that patriarchy predates capitalism. Nevertheless, she mentions that patriarchy should not be considered as a system separate from capitalism just because it exist first.

For Allison Jaggar, it is the concept of "alienation" which creates the unifying theoretical

framework. Jaggar believes that "under capitalism woman's oppression takes the form of her alienation from everything and everyone, especially herself, that could be source of integration for her" (Tong, 1989: 189). She interprets the Marxist concept of alienation in relation with sexuality, motherhood and intellectual capacity (Tong, 1989: 189). Thus, she intends to integrate the ideological, biological and material aspects of women's oppression[16]. In such a conceptualisation of alienation, Jaggar uses the concept of labour power with regard to women's reproductive (both the reproduction of the next generations and their own labour power) and mental labour:

> Women must, stressed Jaggar, understand that within the structures of late-twentieth-century capitalist patriarchy women's oppression takes the form of women's alienation from everything and everyone, especially themselves. Only when women understand the true source of their unhappiness will women be in a position to do battle with it (Tong, 1998: 127).

Breadley criticises unified-system theory for "integrating class and gender analysis into a totalistic theory of capitalist patriarchy or patriarchal capitalism" (Bradley, 1989; 58).

2.2.2.2.3. Walby and the Dual Conceptualisation of Patriarchy

According to Walby, the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy is more complicated than that explained by the unified-system and dual-systems theories. This complication is based upon major historical and ethnic variations. Moreover, she suggests that the role of the state as well as other structures such as violence and sexuality should be considered and the concept of patriarchy needs to be developed towards those considerations (Walby, 1992). Walby builds her approach upon such critiques. First, she mentions the determinants of women's experience and second, she emphasizes the multiple interacting structures of patriarchy.

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[16] Just like a worker and his/her product, women lose control of their own bodies and their production; hence the production process becomes alienation rather than objectification. The second component of a woman's alienation appears in her reproductive activities. Motherhood becomes an alienating process since a woman has lost the right to make decisions both about her reproductive capacity and about her children whom are the product of her reproductive activity. Jaggar also points out the subordination of women's intellectual capacity (Tong, 1989).

Walby assumes that women's experiences should be explained with respect to a three-fold relationship: the interaction of "race, class and gender" within the structures of "collectivity, work and family", mutually determined by the systems of "ethnicity, capitalism and patriarchy" (Walby, 1992).

Table 2.2. Walby's conceptualisation of the systems which determines women's experiences interrelatedly.

interaction between	Race	Class	gender
Within the structures of	Collectivity	Work	family
determined by the systems of	Ethnicity	Capitalism	patriarchy

To avoid restrictions and limitations, she extends her analysis to six key patriarchal structures; 1)patriarchal relations in paid work; 2)patriarchal relations in state; 3)male violence, 4)patriarchal relations in sexuality, 5)patriarchal relations in cultural institutions, and 6)the household. For Walby, the specification of several rather than one base is necessary in order to avoid reductionism and essentialism and "to theorise the different forms of patriarchy which are produced as consequences of their different articulation" (Walby, 1990: 36). They also provide analytical tools to deal with historical and cultural variations.

The interaction between these structures changes due to time and place. She emphasizes a moving and changing structure of patriarchy. Walby gives the example of change in the form and degree of patriarchy in Britain over the last century[17]. In light of her historical evaluations, Walby claims that understanding the changing structure of patriarchy and the principles of change, which should not be reduced to historical accident, is crucial to analysing women's oppression (Walby, 1992; 177).

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[17] For example a balance in wage inequalities can be seen as evidence of the elimination of patriarchy. However other aspects of patriarchy have intensified. Patriarchy has shifted from exclusionary strategy to segregation strategy. Historically "the exclusion strategy is predominant among craft unions of 19th and 20th century Britain" and the first forms of segregation appeared in 1940s: part-time work and full-time work were separated and married women performed part-time work generally. However, "the conditions of work are different between 'part-time' and 'full-time' in two main respect; part-time jobs pay less and part-timers have less secure contracts" (Walby 1992; 54).

In fact, there are different accounts about variations of the form of patriarchy. They distinguish private patriarchy from public patriarchy with respect to some particular areas of oppression such as state, sexuality and labour. Walby gives examples of these approaches and focuses on the studies of Dworkin (1983), Brown (1981) and Hernes (1984). She finds them limited since they are not able to take into account the full range of patriarchal relations (Walby, 1992; 174-177).

According to Walby, private patriarchy is based upon household production. It is a patriarchal control of women individually and directly in the relatively private sphere of the home. Public patriarchy is based upon structures other than the household, such as state and work. Institutions conventionally regarded as part of the public domain are central in the maintenance of patriarchy in the public form (Walby, 1992; 178). For Walby, private patriarchy is an individualistic and direct subordination of women for the advantage of men, who is husband or father in the family system. On the other hand, in the public patriarchy, "the expropriation of women is performed more collectively than by individual patriarchs" (Walby, 1992: 178). Here Walby clarifies that there is a process of change in the form of patriarchy from private to public patriarchy: She states that the shift from private to public patriarchy "is a movement from an individual to a more collective form of appropriation of women" (Walby, 1992; 179). For Walby with the advancement of the collective form of women's oppression, the household is no longer the centre. Walby is not mentioning a directly linear historical process in which the beginning of public patriarchy starts where the private patriarchy ends. Nevertheless, she is likely to support the idea that public patriarchy is the strongest form of women's oppression in contemporary systems and there is a shift from private to public patriarchy.

Table2.3. Walby's classification of private/public patriarchy (1992)

	Private	**Public**
Dominant structure	Household production	Employment / State
Wider Patriarchal structures	(Sexuality, violence, culture) Household production	(Sexuality, violence, culture) state
Period	C19th	C20th
Mode of expropriation	Individual	Collective
Patriarchal strategy	Exclusionary	Segregationist

The exclusionary strategy of private patriarchy depends on the individualistic mode of expropriation. The patriarchal structures in the private form are sexuality, violence, culture and mainly the household production of the 19th century. For public patriarchy, the mode of expropriation is collective while the strategy is segregationist. Similar to the private form, public patriarchal structures are sexuality, violence and culture. However, the dominant structure is no longer household production, but employment and state for the public form of patriarchy today.

Walby's conceptualisation integrates the dual-system with the unified-system approaches. She does not conceptualise dual or unified existence of a single form of patriarchy and a broader system of capitalism. Rather, she conceptualises two different forms of patriarchy. In the private form, as it is conceptualised in the dual-system approach, patriarchy appears free from capitalism. It is an ancient formulation of 19th century patriarchy. In the public form, as it is conceptualised in unified-system approach, patriarchy is internal to the broader social structure, articulates with it and operates via the institutions of modern societies.

As Gal puts it, feminist approach has challenged the assumption of separate spheres. According to this, "most social practices , relations and transactions are not limited to the principles associated with the sphere"(Gal, 2002). Women's oppression by patriarchy in Walby's approach is one of these practices. This approach also includes the assumption that the "personal is political" which stresses the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of the public and private spheres. Although the separate spaces approach is widely challenged by feminist research, Walby prefers to use the existing classification of spheres to explain the shift within the patriarchal. However, Gal states that "spaces that are undoubtedly public in one context can be turned into private ones" since there is a fractal distinction between the two spheres. In this respect Gal defines that:

> public and private are not particular places, domains, spheres of activity or even types of interaction. Even less are they distinctive institutions or practices. Public and private are co-constitutive cultural categories. But they are also, and equally importantly indexical signals that are always relative ….Then the public/private dichotomy is best understood as a discursive phenomenon that once established can be used to characterise, categorize, organize and contrast virtually any kind of social facts. (Gal, 2002: 80-81)

In this regard, Walby's separation of public patriarchy/private patriarchy is rather confusing.

Walby's concept of private patriarchy refers to a personalised or individualistic form of women's oppression based on traditional gender relations. Her concept of public patriarchy refers to an institutionalised form of women's oppression where patriarchy creates new forms of women's oppression within changing gender relations.

For Walby, paid work is one of the public forms of patriarchy. In production relations, women are subjected to public patriarchy. Within the conceptualisation of public patriarchy, Walby does not directly talk about capitalism but social institutions such as state and employment. However, since the mode of production is capitalist, patriarchy articulates with capitalism and then operates on women's work . Thus, in order to understand the patriarchal structure of paid employment she suggests focusing on the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. In this regard, Walby's conceptualisation of women's work does not structurally differentiate from that of dual-system theorists. However, unlike dual-system approaches she emphasises the tension between these two exploitation systems and the historicity of this relationship (Walby 1990). She also emphasizes the need for considering state, ethnicity, race and capitalist restructuring such as flexible work and international division of labour while approaching women's work. Not only class but also the intersection between race, ethnicity, class and gender is determinant on women's work (Walby 1990). Accordingly, she states the differentiation of patriarchal strategies in paid work and assumes that there is a shift from an exclusionary strategy to a segregationist strategy.

Although she creates a fertile theoretical framework to understand patriarchy and its changing structure in terms of women's paid work, Walby's formulation of patriarchy is not considerably different from Marxist and socialist feminist formulations. She suggests considering the relationship between different structures like race or state, but she conceptualises women's work structurally within the determining system of capitalism and class relations (see table 2). While conceptualising women's work, like socialist feminist formulations, she concentrates on the realm where capitalism and patriarchy intersect.

2.2.3. The Evaluation of the Theories of Women's Work

Until now, in order to conceptualise the operations of patriarchy on women's work, I have questioned the structures that surround women in the labour market with respect to the

feminist theories concerning women and work. I conclude that all these approaches are explaining women's disadvantaged position in the labour market and exposing the capitalist and patriarchal strategies that oppress women, most of whom are in the secondary labour market and are all pinched in capitalist production relations. As Witz (1992) mentions, these approaches focusing on the relationship of patriarchy and capitalism are generally close to Marxist class analysis, thus focusing on "working-class women".

These feminist accounts offer different formulations to explain women's subordination in the capitalist labour market as they are schematised in Table 1.4: According to the first formulation of the Marxist feminist approach, capitalism is a necessary condition for patriarchy while patriarchy is a sufficient condition for capitalism. Capitalism brings patriarchy into existence. Capitalism is *sine qua non* for patriarchy. For the second formulation of dual-system theories, the social structure includes the dual existence of patriarchy and capitalism as separate systems. However both systems depend on and support each other through interaction. The third formulation of Unified-system theory suggests that the social structure, which is defined by the term "capitalist patriarchy" or "patriarchal capitalism", is characterised by the omnipresence of capitalism and patriarchy. In practice, capitalism operates within patriarchy, but patriarchy does not necessarily appear within capitalism. In terms of classical logic, capitalism is a sufficient condition for patriarchy and patriarchy is a necessary condition for capitalism.

Table 2.4. Different approaches to patriarchy-capitalism relationship

	Marxist feminism	**Unified-system approach**	**Dual-system approach**
Social Structures	capitalism >patriarchy	capitalist ≡ patriarchal patriarchy capitalism	capitalism $\wedge$ patriarchy
Operational principles	~capitalism$\Rightarrow$~patriarchy	capitalism $\Rightarrow$ patriarchy	patriarchy $\Leftrightarrow$ capitalism
Relationship	sine qua non	Omnipresence	Interaction

Capitalism sustains and strengthens any form, which articulates with its never closed and totally constructed form. In terms of this capitalist strategy, patriarchy is one of these supplements of the system. On the other side of the coin, patriarchy corresponds and articulates with existing social, economic and political structures and present power systems or sources. By doing so, it avoids being destroyed by those structures. Similarly, it

corresponds with the social system of capitalism. That is to say, the survival strategy of patriarchy is to reform itself to contemporary forms of societies, while the exploitative strategy of capitalism is to include and support any exploitative idea that corresponds with itself and excludes and rejects any contradicting form.

Capitalism never lets any contradicting idea live within its own structure. Thus, it is possible to assume that capitalism is not supporting directly the ideology of patriarchy and women's subordination by men, for the sake of male domination. It is rather interested in the sexual division of labour to increase its political and economic benefits and resorts to patriarchy to meet this goal. The pragmatist relationship between these two exploitative forms creates the present social structure of modern capitalist societies as well as developing countries. I believe that in modern capitalist societies male power on women is formed by patriarchy, which is re-formed by capitalism.

Here one can ask if that relationship and the proposed forms are the only forms of patriarchal manifestation on women's work. However, I suggest that to challenge and question those formulations and observe the different strategies of manifestation of patriarchy, we can carry the argument to the realm of professional work. The question is if the existing formulations with respect to women's waged labour are applicable to women's participation in professions or whether we should develop another conceptual framework or formulation.

Within this context we can seek for the answers of the following questions: Have women in the labour market who have relatively better positions and have undeniable skills, been emancipated from oppressive practices? Can such a position make any differentiation in their assumed gender roles? Can being skilled, educated and employed in higher positions create a much more liberating effect on women's lives? What are the conditions of participation of women in professional occupations and what is the meaning of being professional for women? Before answering these questions a focus on the meaning and the characteristics of professional work is needed in order to understand the social-political and economic realm of professions It is necessary because the characteristics of women's participation in professional work are inevitably related with the original characteristics of professional work in general. Thus, in the second part of this chapter first I try to explain the realm of professions and then I focus on the characteristics of professional women.

2.3. What is Professional Work?

In contemporary urbanized societies professional occupations are increasingly dominating the realm of work. According to Taylor, the character of work is shifting in its meaning from the physical to the idea, the type of work from blue-collar to white-collar work (Taylor, 1968; 396).

It is possible to think that the need for professional occupations is increased with the rise of industrialization. Scientific development was necessary to increase productivity and reduce the costs of production. Thus, fundamental and applied sciences were supported and raised as requirements of modernization. The control of nature by science was increased synchronically with the strong idea that sanctifies reason and development.

Actually, according to Taylor (1968), the rapid expansion of the professions since the second half of the 20th century is closely related with modernization and urbanization industrialisation. "Idea power, particularly as manifested among professionals, is the energy –the dynamic- of the urbanized industrial societies" (Taylor, 1968; 482). The increase in the number of professionals and the growth of professionalism "has been generally accepted by social scientists as a major if not a defining characteristic" (Johnson, 1972:9) of industrialization and modernisation.

Harold Perkin (1996) assumes that the modern era is the era of the professional expert. According to Perkin(1996), the rise of professional expertise is the third revolution in the history of civilization. The first revolution in human history is the Neolithic revolution when human beings settled agricultural production. The second revolution is the industrial revolution characterised by the large scale of production, organization of production relations through industry, and rise in the standard of living. Professionals are the actors of the third revolution. Perkin claims that technology itself is not the source of advancement of society, thus it cannot mark the period. It is created and used by professionals. To supply the sophisticated needs of this new and more complex industrial civilisation, specialisation proliferated, numberless new occupations arose and gained power within society:

It also is argued that at a micro level professional work has deep effects on people's lives. Vollmer & Mills assume that professional activity is coming to play a predominant role in the life patterns of increasing numbers of individuals of both sexes, occupying much of their

waking moments, providing life goals, determining behaviour, and shaping personality (1966; 10). For professionals work is something of a nearly total way of life: "many professionals value their work as central in their life. For some it is an end in itself" (Taylor, 1968; 399).

There are different ways of defining professions and professionals. Slocum defines professionals as occupational specialists who deal with phenomena from a particular point of view (Slocum, 1967; 129). Carr-Saunders defines professionalism as the intellectual technique that performs a service for society that is acquired by special training and that is unavailable to those outside the profession (1966). According to Taylor (1968), professions are primary sector occupations that are characterised by occupational security, good pay, comfortable working conditions, opportunity for advancement to higher paying positions, and the possibility of promotion (Taylor, 1968). Greenwood suggests that "a profession is a group which is constantly interacting with the society that forms its matrix" (Greenwood, 1966; 11). As Goode (1969) states, it appears, disappears, forms and reforms itself with respect to the social need to that occupation. Thus, the professions have a socially determined meaning. Larson states that professions are occupations with special power and prestige which society values because professionals have special competence in esoteric bodies of knowledge linked to central needs and values of the social system (Larson 1977).

2.3.1. Approaches to Professional Work

In sociological theory, professional work is considered within two main approaches. The first, which we can call the trait approach, considers the professional attributes that construct the unique product of the division of labour in society, and the second approach considers professional power by questioning the special role of professionals within industrial societies (Hall,1994; Johnson, 1972; Burrage, 1990). The first approach poses the questions of "what are the similarities among professionals" and "what are their differences from non professional work" while the second argues that "professional status is based on power rather than on the possession of a set of attributes" (Hall 1994; 46).

2.3.1.1. Trait Approach

Although they are criticised for being essentialist, fundamentalist, and for ignoring historicity and variations, the trait approach can give the first insights about the particular characteristics and attributes of professional work. "What constitutes the distinctiveness of the professions from non-professions" and "what an occupation had to do to turn itself into a profession" is mentioned by the proponents of trait approaches (Witz, 1992; 40).

According to trait approaches, professions depend on a systematic body of theory. A basic body of abstract knowledge is the crucial distinction of professions from non-professions (Greenwood, 1966). Goode (1969) emphasizes the characteristics of professional knowledge as follows: (1) the professional knowledge should be applicable to the concrete problems; (2) it should be abstract and organised into a codified body of principles; (3) members of the society should believe that it solves the problems (see also Gross, 1958; 77).; (4) the professional him/herself should help to create, organize and transmit the knowledge; (5) the amount of knowledge and skill and the difficulty to acquire them should be great enough that professionals consider themselves and are considered as special (Goode, 1969; 275-278; see also Gross, 1958; Parsons, 1966).

Such theoretical orientation of professionals (Turner and Hodge, 1970) is said to be achieved "best through formal education in an academic setting" (Greenwood, 1966). For professionals, deep personal investment in the form of many years in education and specialised intellectual training in institutions of higher learning is a prerequisite (Taylor, 1968; Carr-Saunders 1966; Slocum, 1967; Volmer & Mills, 1966). They are licensed based on their technical competence in generally accepted standards of their service by educational institutions (Parsons, 1966).

The professional monopoly over their work depends on their competence in the subject, which is gained via specialised intellectual training. Also, because of the extraordinary complexity (Parsons, 1966) and the unstandardized, non-repeatable and unique character of their professional service (Gross, 1958), professionals have the right to consider their own practices, the definition and the organization of work and the definition of skill and knowledge (Turner & Hodge, 1970; Freidson 1970; Slocum, 1967; Burrage,1990). By this monopoly over their work "the professional dictates what is good or evil for the client who has no choice but to accede to professional judgment... because he/she lacks the requisite

theoretical background" (Greenwood, 1966; 12).

This monopoly creates the internal control, which Barber (1996) calls a "high degree of self control of behaviour" and Taylor calls "a collective control over practitioners" (Taylor 1968; 481-82). This collective control is also related with the maintenance of the community sanction to the professions. For Gross, the community sanction is the creation of the personal relationship between client and professional in order to build confidence (1958 ;78). Goode says that:

> The social control of professional community over its members may be seen as a response to the threat of the larger lay society to control it. Failure to discipline would mean both a loss of prestige in the society and a loss of community autonomy(1969; 198).

This monopolistic and self-controlled entity, which is supported by the community sanction, ends up with the autonomous organization of professionals where they determine the regularities and supervise the practitioners by themselves[18].

Freidson (1970) states that the autonomy of professionals consists of legal, educational and ethical elements. A profession has obtained a legal or political position of privilege and has the right to self-regulation, education controls the production and application of knowledge and skill in the work it performs, and codes of ethics declare to all that the occupation can be trusted.

The institutions where this autonomy is exercised are the professional associations. In the modern era[19], professional associations have taken the mission of defining and forcing the rules of professions as well as constructing the regulations which form the material base for a profession. Membership is vitally important since the members of professional associations

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[18] Slocum (1967) reminds us that professionals are working under the authority of hospitals, engineering companies or government, and states that "although the professional ideology emphasizes the idea that the qualified professional is supported to be an independent and self-directing person, it seems clear that this goal has not yet been achieved". Although the work they do is still determined totally by them, they are bound by their organization's interests. This threatens their independence and freedom. Similarly, Goode (1969) claims that over-specialization and employment of professionals in the bureaucratic organizations are the threats of professional autonomy.

[19] Slocum states that, "professional associations incorporating many of the features of medieval guilds, which is not strange since the older professions actually evolved out of guilds" (1967; 129). The occupational organizations in the form of guilds, were the bases of higher educational institutions where professional knowledge is created.

"mutually guarantee not only their competence but also their honour" (Carr-Saunders, 1966; 6).

Passing through all those educational, organizational and institutional structures, professionals create a special type of occupational identity, consisting of shared norms and values, ethics, special language and jargon that is commonly understood by practitioners, and codes of proper behaviour and appropriate roles for the professionals in relation to their clients and other professionals (Slocum, 1967; Taylor 1968 Greenwood).

As the main outcome of their common identity and ethics, professionals are expected to provide service to whomever requests it without privileging personal friendship, money, ethnicity, social class, age, income, kinship, politics, race, sex, religion or status of the client (Greenwood, 1996; Gross, 1958). Johnson (1972) states that professions are to be distinguished by their collective-orientation rather than self-orientation. Parsons calls this orientation disinterestedness which is the main feature that distinguishes professions from profit-oriented types of work (see Parsons, 1966: 35-36). Professionals are not only collective-oriented but they are also career-oriented rather than family-oriented in their personal lives (Taylor, 1968).

With respect to this high degree of organization and the professional culture, Goode (1957) conceptualises professions as a community interacting with the larger society. Goode states that the profession is a community within a larger social system where "the larger society and professional community [are] interacting in a complex way*; "* Its members are bound by a sense of identity and "share values in common;" the community has power over its members and "its limits are reasonably clear, though they are not physical and geographic but social;" it does not produce the next generation biologically, it does so socially through its control over the selection for professional trainees, and a socialisation process of adult professionals. (1957: 194-195). Larson also emphasises that

> These uncommon occupations tend to become "real" communities, whose members share a relatively permanent affiliation, an identity, personal commitment, specific interests, and general loyalties. These communities are concreantly identifies by typical organizations and institutional patterns: professional associations, professional schools and self administrated codes of ethics (Lason, 1977: x).

2.3.1.2. Professions and Power: Marxist Approach

The limitations of trait approaches are brought up by the approaches questioning professionalization and its relation to power. Trait approaches are mainly criticised for focusing on ideal types. Larson claims that ideal typical construction of professions do not tell us what a profession is, it can only tell what it pretends to be because " the elements that compose the ideal-type of profession appear to be drawn from the practice and form the ideology of the established professions" (1977: xi). It is, rather, the self-justification of the professional privilege. Moreover, the trait approaches ignore historical conditions and possible variations. They impose a universally applicable process of professionalism and a linear view of development of selected occupations, thus they are unable to analyse real variations in the organizations of occupations culturally and historically (Johnson, 1972, 37).

According the critical and neo-Marxist stance of the power approach, which was developed in the 1970s and 1980s (Witz, 1992; 40), the way professionals prove their distinctiveness, the relation between professions and class structure in contemporary capitalism, the strategy or the project they follow, the power they exercise within the society, and the threats their power is subjected to, are the main concerns to understanding the professions. According to Witz, the neo-Marxist approaches to professions and professionalism mainly consider the function of professions in the reproduction of capitalist culture and class relations from their relatively free position in capitalist production relations (1992: 54). Within the power approach the professionalization process itself is seen as a power relation; "What makes a profession different is that they have successfully persuaded the public and the state legislature that they are devoted to public service" (Hall, 1994: 47).

Johnson attempts to "understand professional occupations in terms of their power relations in society –their source of power and authority, and the way in which they use them" (Johnson, 1972; 18). He emphasises such analysis of power should be historical. The sources of power and autonomy according to Johnson, are the specialized skills and the social distance created by the social and economic dependence on those skills. For him a profession is not an occupation per se but a mode of controlling the occupational activity. There are three different types of controlling an occupation which are colleague control, patronage and mediation. In the first type, which Johnson calls the collegiate control, the principles of professionalism are clearly defined: sense of identity, colleague loyalty, shared values, equal

competence in generating the public trust, internal control, high degree of self consciousness, monopoly over the occupational skills which are gained by long years of special training, are the requirements of professionalism. In the second type, the consumer defines his/her own needs and the manner in which they are to be met. This type of control which Johnson calls patronage appears in the form of oligarchic patronage in the 17-18th century traditional aristocratic societies or in the form of corporate patronage of the bureaucratic organizations of modern, industrialised societies of the contemporary world. In the third type, the relationship between producer and consumer defines both the needs and the manner in which the needs are met. Within this type of control, which Johnson calls mediation, the intervention to the profession can be made either by the state or by the capitalist entrepreneurs (Johnson, 1972; 52-79)

Similar to Johnson's radical conceptualisation of a profession as an occupational control, Larson uses the term "professional project" as an analytical tool to understand how the occupations we call professions organized themselves to attain market power (1977). The professional project refers to "a process and development whereby a distinct occupational group sought a monopoly in the market for its service and status, and upward mobility (collective as well as individual) in the social order" (cited in Evetts, 2002, 4). The output of the professional project is the shift from the mode of profession to the ideology of profession which functions as a part of dominant ideology. Larson, like Johnson, emphasizes the importance of considering professionalisation within broader sets of structural and historical systems and conceptualises professionalisation within the matrix of capitalism and capitalist institutions (Witz, 1992: 55).

According to Larson in capitalism, labour power which is a value creating substance, becomes a commodity in the labour market. For professionals, the value creating substance is the specific skills that are gained by education. Here education appears to be the producer of marketable commodity which is the special skills: "homogenised years of schooling and standardised credentials provide a universal equivalent into which these exchange values can be translated and by which they can be measured" (Larson, 1977: 211).

Moving from these assumptions, Larson focuses on the distinguished place of professional work within the structure of capitalism: for the classical personal professions, like medicine and law, the essential feature is that their product "tends to be immediately used or consumed (as advise or ministration) by the client and consumer" (Larson 1977: 213). For

her, this immediate realisation of the use value makes the product of professionals independent from capitalist relations of production. From a Marxist view, professional work, in the sense of free professions, appears to be an unproductive work for capitalism:

> In terms of Marx's theory of exploitation, this implies that professional labour sold on a market under the form of direct services –independently, that is, of capitalist relations of production- does not contribute to capitalist accumulation of producing surplus value. Since only labour which produces surplus value is productive, professional service sold directly on a market are, strictly speaking, unproductive….The free professionals escapes therefore capitalist exploitation. (Larson, 1977: 213-214)

However, in the form of salaried experts the same kind of labour which is performed for the benefit of a capitalist firm may be productive: this is not structurally different from any other form of work in capitalism. For such kind of professionals the occupational ideology is primary but they could not easily perform their professions totally independent from the firm. In this respect, their connections with their professions are subjected to a capitalist firm.

To distinguish different types of professional practice, Larson classifies professions depending on "the degree to which an expert occupation is subordinate to capitalist relations of production, and the degree to which its relations to the production of surplus value is direct or indirect" (1977: 215). While mentioning this she adds that the state support is inevitable for professionals and the free professionals are supported by the governmental elite.

In this respect, it is possible to say that the similar approaches of Larson and Johnson introduce some critical points into the analysis of professions. First, they suggest a historical and contextual approach to the phenomenon; second, they point out the importance of the interaction between the profession and the broader social system; third, they specify the interaction within the system of capitalism, capitalist market relations and institutions. In the last instance, Larson and Johnson both emphasize professionalism as an ideological stance.

Besides these early representatives of the power approach, Illich (1994), Zola (1994) and McKnight (1994) investigate the relationship of power between the client and the professional. By keeping the former explanations about the historical, contextual and interacting characteristics of professions within the broader social structure in mind, they

follow the explanations on professional ideology and bring a micro glance to the realm of professionals.

The main focus point is the meaning and the role of "needs" which is the key concept to analyse the domination of professions for Illich (1994), Zola (1994) and McKnight (1994). According to them, needs are determined and even created by professionals who are radically conceptualised as "designers" by Illich (1994; 11). A "need" is defined as a lack or shortcoming and to eliminate it becomes an obligation (Mcknight, 1994). Thus, the suggestions of professionals become necessary. This makes the professionals and their authority necessary. They are assumed to have the knowledge of the secrets of human nature and to be capable of using this knowledge. They use their authority to determine the clients' needs and the solutions that the clients claim to be looking for (Illich, 1994; 18). Thus "needs" become a tool for exercising domination. In this respect, social sanction is nothing other than a deception, since the needs of clients are created and forced by the professionals. Not only to create needs, but also to deprive clients of solving and even understanding their problems are part of the professional project (McKnight, 1994; 85-86). Moreover, professionals ignore the historical and contextual features of the clients' needs and possible variations with respect to those features (MacKnight, 1994; Zola, 1994).

2.3.2. Professionalisation, Deprofessionalisation and Proletarization

The construction, the loss, and the redirection of power are the major issues in the sociology of professions. For this reason the process by which professionals gain power, the developments that threaten their power, the changing forms of professional service and the different forms of professional identity are argued.

In the broadest sense, an occupation becomes a profession through a process which is called professionalization. For Volmer and Mills it is a trend toward more formal occupational associations and more formalised occupational codes of behaviour in many diverse lines of work. It is an advancement of an occupation from an unorganised occupation towards a profession. Within the process an unorganised occupation develops the special characteristics which the trait approaches explain and becomes a profession. For Collins "the strong professions are those which have surrounded their work by social rituals, and

turned their mundane jobs into the production of 'sacred' symbols" (1990: 25-26). For the power approach, within the process of professionalization "particular groups of people attempt to negotiate the boundaries of the area in the social division of labour and established their own control over it" (Larson, 1977: xii).

Larson (1977) sees professionalization as the process by which producers of special service sought to constitute and control a market expertise. According to Larson the project of professionalisation represents "a collective attempt to protect and upgrade relatively specialised and differentiated activities" (1977: 219) in the phase of liberal capitalism. Professionalization is a process which started with the constitution of the professional market in the nineteenth century. According to Larson

> the professionalization movements of the nineteenth century prefigure the general restructuring of social inequality in contemporary capitalist societies: the backbone is the occupational hierarchy, that is a differential system of competences and rewards; the central principle of legitimacy is founded on the achievement of socially recognised expertise, or, more simply, on a system of education and credentialing (Larson, 1977xvii)

It is also important to note that the process of professionalism was different in the Anglo-American societies and in Europe. In the Anglo American Sociology of professions the professionals constitute an organic community who has a privileged position in the professional market. However, in the European societies because of the state intervention and the existence of the strong centralised government professions were less spontaneous (Larsons, 1977; xvii). In this respect, the professionalization process has a different direction than that of Anglo American type of professionalization. Larson distinguishes two modern means of professionalisation to understand how it differs from the Anglo-American type:

> "Autonomous" are those means in the definition or formation of which the professional (or pre-professional) groups played a significant, if not major, role; "Heteronymous" are means chiefly defined or formed by other social groups. This dimension overlaps with the preceding one (traditional and modern means) in part. (Larson, 1977: 67)

The autonomous means are "institutionally located in professional schools and the modern university" while the heteronymous means are "institutionally located in the state" (Witz, 1992: 59).

To challenge the hegemony of the generalization of the Anglo-American scenario of professionalization, another alternative conceptualisation is developed by McClelands (1990) who focuses on the professionalization in Germany and does a classification of professionalization including both forms of professionalization. According to him, measures that show the success of the professionalization of an occupation in the Anglo-American conceptualizations are mentioned as the level of autonomy, market control and monopolisation, which fails to understand the cultural and historical determinants and ignores the other possible ways of professionalization. With respect to German experience he conceptualises two different ways of professionalization: as "professionalization from-within" and as "professionalization from-above". According to him if a profession is constructed and the professionals themselves determine professional culture within a long period, it is called "professionalization from within". This type of professionalisation is close to the "autonomous means of professionalization" in Larsons approach. If professions corporate with state or other social forces such as politicians or capitalists and construct a profession then it is called "professionalization from above" or the construction of the occupation. This type of professionalisation is related with the "heteronymous means of professionalisation" in Larson's approach. McCleland mentions that the Anglo-American approaches on professions cannot explain the case of Germany. In Germany "access to professional qualifications was cheaper than in Britain and America because of a large state subsidies, and as long as Germany's economy was expending rapidly, more and more professionals were needed" (1990: 102).

The future and the maintenance of the privileged position and the occupational autonomy of professionals which are the rewards of professionalization were the major debates in the sociology of professions after the 1980s. The contemporary process by which professionals lose market control and power was conceptualised by the Deprofessionalization (hypo)thesis as claimed by Haug (1996). Deprofessionalization means the loss of professionals' specific traits, monopoly over knowledge, social sanction against them, occupational autonomy, and the authority which professionals have over the clients. According to Haug (1996; 146), deprofessionalization can be a result of the computerization of academic knowledge; the democratization of the professional knowledge that anybody can reach; the erosion of their autonomy by the clients' increasing will to control the professional service they are given; and the newly establishing professions. In other words, deprofessionalization is the loss of social power which professionals have gained via the process of professionalization.

In contemporary societies, other evidence of the loss of professional power is their status as being professional workers who are expected to be proletarised. The proletarization thesis is suggested by Martin Oppenheimer according to which the white collar proletarians shift into the professional worker who works in the highest level of the occupational hierarchy. Professionals were increasingly working for the private or public bureaucracy (Oppenheimer, 1996: 151). Professionals are being less and less self employed and more and more waged workers because they were employed by the professional companies and in the government. Under such working conditions they become dependent on the company or the government which means they lose their control over their professional service. As further evidence of proletarization, Oppenheimer points out the trend towards unionisation of the professionals.

Freidson suggests a third standpoint concerning the future of professions that professions are relatively autonomous. Freidson claims that the problem of the proletarization and deprofessionalization theories are their unclear conceptualization of professions. From their point of view the professionals are the community who are totally autonomous and highly respected (1996, 123). In other words, those approaches unconsciously think in terms of ideal types. For Freidson the deprofessionalization thesis is not based on concrete and persuasive claims. On the other hand, the proletarization thesis can only be meaningful for the individual professionals who work in relatively lower levels of the organisational hierarchy. However, since they are managed by the other professionals who work on the upper levels of the organisational hierarchy, the profession itself is not threatened by the proletarization.

2.3.3. Professions as Social Class or as Social Closure

The social integrity professionals form within the social structure is critical to understanding the professions. For several reasons, professionals' class location is problematic within class analysis, because the class position of professionals is not formed according to the principle of ownership. First, like proletariat, the professionals are organised around production relations, which are directed to the production of professional service. On the contrary, as Larson thinks, "their superiority over and distance from working class is one of the main characteristics that all professions and would be professions have in common" (Larson,

1977: xvi). However, at the same time, like bourgeoisie, they have the motive or the will to secure their privileges and common interests within society and aim to attain market power. Second, although they do not have ownership of the means of production in a material sense, they have ownership of the abstract body of theory, which their service depends on, and they have the right to exercise "considerable control over their activity within production" (Marshall, 1998; 118). Third, they are subjected to capitalist exploitation like proletarians, but they themselves use domination and control both in their work and on their clients needs like bourgeoisie. That is to say, the social stratum of professionals can be called neither proletarian nor bourgeoisie. Besides these contradictions, professionals have a certain autonomy determined by their occupational ideology, including shared norms, beliefs, and values. This ideological stance prevents professionals from building up or joining in a particular class consciousness.

Larson states that "the professionalization movements of the nineteenth century prefigure the general restructuring of social inequality in the contemporary capitalist societies" (1977, xvii). Professionals are closely related with the stratification system that depends upon the unequal distribution of wealth, power and knowledge. She points out that, depending on their socially recognised expertise, they occupy the privileged position within the occupational hierarchy via translating their specific knowledge and skills into social and economic rewards.

According to Wright, the class location of this heterogeneous and differentiated stratum, which can and cannot be close both to proletariat and to capitalists at the same time, are contradictory. In this respect, if these class locations "could be understood as simultaneously in the working class and the capitalist class" and "since the class interests of workers and capitalists were inherently antagonistic" (Wright, 1989b: 302), then they should "typically hold contradictory interests with respect to the primary forms of class struggle in capitalist society, the struggle between labour and capital" (Wright, 1989a: 26). For example, professionals who are highly skilled wage earners in capitalism "are capitalistically exploited because they lack assets in capital, and yet they are skilled exploiters" (Wright, 1989a: 24). Wright States that:

> On the one hand they are like workers, in being excluded from ownership of the means of production On the other hand their interests are opposed to workers because of their effective control of organisation and skill assets. Within the struggle of capitalism, therefore, these middle classes

do constitute contradictory locations, or more precisely, contradictory locations within exploitation relations (Wright, 1989a; 26).

Wright also attracts our attention to the importance of the choices of professionals and various types of class locations created by those choices. Thus Wright suggests characterizing such locations not only as "contradictory locations within class structure" but also as "objective ambiguous locations".

As a suggestion to explain the contradictory position of professionals within the class structure, the concept of middle class has been used. Together with the expansion of the middle stratum of industrial societies and the enlargement of the white-collar sector (Giddens, 1981:178) in the last hundred years (Marshall, 1998; 414), the intermediate categories including professionals have started to be conceptualised.

It is important to note that this conceptualisation ignores the position of professionals in Marxist class analysis. Professionals, in Marxist class analysis, are not counted as a part of this middle stratum which is supposed to become proletariat, but rather as a part of the dominating classes[20].

Although Weberian and Marxist middle class analysis considerably differ from each other, in the last instance both Marx and Weber count professionals as members of a privileged class which aspires to and tries to secure their privileged positions within society and thus to sustain the existing class system within the social structure.

It has been argued that what distinguishes professionals from other middle locations in the class system/structure are their cultural or skill assets (Becker, 1989). For Wright, the professionals and managers do not have property assets as capitalists do, but instead they have organisation assets and skill/credential assets. (Wrigh, 1989a; 24). A similar approach has been built upon the empirical and historical research concerning the formation of the

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[20] According to Marx, the middle stratum, which is supposed to become proletariat, is the small entrepreneurs, merchants who are not effective any more, craftsmen and farmers (see Edgell, 1992). It is a temporary or even imaginary position. The proletarization of the middle class can be defined very roughly as a shift from the status of entrepreneur to employee, property owner to wage worker. However, this definition does not correspond with the position of professionals, since their being employed or being free professionals does not make any change on the professional practice.

middle class in contemporary Britain by Savage et. all..[21] According to them, there are three assets that offer different potential class formation: property assets, organisation assets and cultural assets:

> Property assets offer the most robust bases for class formation, since they allow other people's labour to be readily exploited and also can be readily stored as capital. But the situation is different for organisation and cultural assets. Organisation assets allow super-ordinates to exploit subordinates, but they cannot easily be stored. Cultural assets can be stored and transmitted –though not as effectively as property assets- but need to be translated into other contexts in order to actually produce material rewards. Hence middle class formation is crucially concerned with the way in which cultural and organisational assets relate to each other. (Savage, 1995: 17-18).

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is also relevant to understanding the social positioning of professionals[22]. However, Bourdieu's conception of class is totally different from the conception that "sees class as clearly defined groups that exist in the real world as a compact and sharply deliminated real entity" (Bourdieu, 1991: 230). For him, class means "a production of social relations" and class difference is "a production of differing conditionings." Cultural capital is one of the capitals whose combination determines the social positioning of the agent. Sources of power are based on different types of capital: *economic capital* which is "the level of material sources as income property and so on" (Crompton, 1993); *cultural capital* "which is largely acquired through education and describes the intangible 'knowing'" (Crompton, 1993); *social capital* which is "what ordinary language calls connections" (Bourdieu, 1995: 32); and *symbolic capital* that is "commonly called prestige, reputation, fame, ect., which is the form assumed by these different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1991: 230). These four different forms of capital together "empower agents in the struggle for position within social space" (Cropmton, 1993: 173).

According to this model, professionals are located neither in contradictory class position nor

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[21] Savage et. al. differs from other theorists focusing on the middle class because they reject defining middle class as an abstract position or in-between position and argue that "the middle class should be seen as social classes in their own right, rather than as simple functionaries, or intermediate groups. "Social classes are first and foremost stable social collectivities*. "* (Savage, 1995: 7-8).

[22] Within the problematic of this paper, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of capital helps us to understand the differentiation of professionals as a group within social space as well as the differentiation of professionals among themselves in terms of position in social space which was determined by the "differences in volume and compositions of capital" (Brubaker, 1985: 765).

in the middle class but in the dominant classes. For Bourdieu, the control of economic capital as well as cultural capital are the two main sources of power of dominant classes. Thus, the intellectuals who "disproportionately control the cultural capital", and the bourgeoisie who disproportionately control the economic capital" are the two major camps of the dominant classes (Milner, 1999: 140). What creates inter-class differentiation is the proportion and the composition of the cultural and economic capital. In this regard, within the dominant class, professionals together with executives are located close to the bourgeoisie who are "rich in economic capital and relatively poor in cultural capital". On the other hand, professors and artists are considered to be intellectuals who are "rich in cultural capital and relatively poor in economic capital" (Milner, 1999; Brubaker, 1985). Thus the professionals and the bourgeoisie have common interest in maintaining their privileges in the class society.

There are several other theorists who consider the similarities and connections between professionals and dominant classes. For example, Mills suggests that the new middle class (the salaried non-property workers) is not only different from the old middle class (in the form of independent and free enterprise), but they are also different from other waged-workers. Although the means of livelihood is the same for both categories, both the prestige and the salary of new middle class is higher than that of workers. (Mills, 1964; 297). Thus, as Mills (1964) states, the proletarization thesis cannot be applied to professionals who are supposed to be conceptualised within the dominant class locations[23]. For Goldthorpe, professionals and experts appear to be a conservative component of the status quo since they want to protect their privileged positions and economic and social interests which are provided by the existing system. Thus, they seem to be close to dominant classes (cited in Edgell, 1998). Similarly, Bottomore mentions that although they have a diverse social and political orientation, the vast majority of the middle stratum supports the capitalist economic system (1992: 42-43).

According to Savage et. al., since capitalists can no longer carry out all their activities personally, they delegate them to groups of people and it is these managers, professionals

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[23] In contemporary societies as an evidence of the loss of professional power the proletarization thesis according to which the white colour proletarians shifts into the professional worker who works in the highest level of the occupational hierarchy and who are increasingly employed in the private or public bureaucracy is suggested by Martin Oppenheim (1996).

and administrators who form the service class, to collectively carry out the functions of capital. The service class, which is a descriptive grouping of managers, professionals and administrators, has a privileged market situation. Poulantzas, on the other hand, analytically shows the impossibility of conceptualising professionals as working class; he rather calls them the new petty bourgeoisie (quoted in Burris, 1989: 159). Wright also considers the class locations of professionals as petty bourgeois but unlike Poulantsaz, he suggests that these class locations are simultaneously working class and petty bourgeoisie which he calls semi-autonomous employees (see Wright, 1989b: 303). But, "in terms of interests in material welfare and in terms of interests in material power, professionals who accumulate significant savings and investments begin to share interests with capitalists" (Wright, 1989b: 332-333)[24].

From a neo-Hegelian perspective Gouldner (1993) calls the intellectuals and technical intelligentsia (including professionals) the "new class". According to his definition "The new class is a cultural bourgeoisie that holds the advantages of the historically and collectively produced cultural capital in their private property" (Gouldner, 1993: 35). The new class was a part of the bourgeoisie and in the beginning strongly tied to it. However, it distinguished itself from the capitalist class by their technical superiority and together with the rise of the public education system it is reproduced as a new class: "The autonomy of the new middle class and its independence from the politic and commercial interests is based on the technical competence and the cultural capital" (Gouldner, 1993: 34). Gouldner claims that the collective interests of professionals should be driven from the notion of equal division of wealth which is also a notion of socialism. In this respect, the professionals can be considered as the new class which has the potential to challenge the capitalist system. However, the professionals who were the members of the new class use their cultural advantages to secure a privileged place within the society and thus look for more political power and more income (Gouldner, 1993: 35).

On the other hand, Larson suggests that

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[24] What relates professionals to capitalists is the rent component on their wages. Since major institutional mechanisms for reproducing such rents are credential Wright refer to these as credential rents. With the credential rents professionals have a specific labour market privilege which distinguishes them within working strata.

professionals can be viewed as themselves constituting a class –especially if class is reduced to its indicators, socio-economic status and occupation. But the emphasis on the professionals' cognitive mastery and the implication of class naturally place them, rather, in the stratum of educated and socially unattached intellectuals (1977: xiv).

Here Larson refers to Gramsci and focuses on the relation between the position of professionals and intellectuals with respect to the social role of intellectuals. According to Larson, the Gramscian analysis of traditional intellectuals who tend to constitute closed, caste-like bodies is relevant for understanding the position and function of professions in a class society. She relates the problem of professions to the more general problem of intellectuals in a class society. She states that "the professions are situated in the middle and upper middle levels of the stratification system....Both objectively and subjectively professions are outside and above the working class as occupations and as social strata" (1977: xvi).

Here the question is whether it is possible to use class analysis to understand the phenomenon under study, namely women's participation in professions in Turkey. I strongly believe that within the problematic of this dissertation, focusing on the class location of professionals is important for acknowledging the similarities and dissimilarities of the social position of professional women from the social position of women in other work patterns, especially women in the working class since this is the group on which Marxist and socialist approaches to women's work mainly focus. However, because of the various explanations, class analysis can not offer appropriate analytical tools to understand women's position in professional work. "Contradictory classes", "objectively ambigious class locations", "capitalists (in terms of interests)", "dominating classes", "the new petty bourgeoisie", "semiautonomous employees", "the new class" are the different terms that aim to describe the professionals' class positions. This variety indicates the ambiguity of the phenomenon. On the other hand, class analysis itself has been criticised for being gender blind and having some limitations in explaining women's class positions.

To that end, it is possible to say that the class analysis of professionals is extremely problematic and complicated. What makes it complicated for professionals when we try to consider them within the class structure is the non-capitalist relations of production within professions. Within professional work the categories like mode of production, labour or exploitation are replaced by concepts like respect, trust, knowledge, competence, and

sanction. In this respect, some Weberian themes suggest analytical tools to understand the social position of professionals without neglecting their specific characteristics:

> the notion of hierarchy of prestige or honour that is irreducible to any economic base; the notion that positively privileged status groups tend to develop a distinctive style of life; the notion that stylization of life often requires an inhibition of strict economic calculation; and the notion that positively privileged status groups tend to legitimate their privilege through the cultivation of a sense of natural dignity and excellence (Brubaker, 1985: 761).

With the influence of Weberian notions, the neo-Weberian approaches which introduce an alternative conceptualisation of the position of professionals in society refer to the Weberian social closure theory[25], which is developed by Murry (1988) and Witz (1992), and:

> gives explanation of the process by which groups might be able to achieve a specific position in society through the process of exclusion and inclusion. Social closure works through one group restricting access to a certain prized good or service, so enhancing its own position at the expense of other social groups.(Savage, 1995: 4).

During the 1970s and 1980s, Anglo-American sociological analysis of the professions focused on the concept of closure. The main interest was towards the "closure of the markets for professional service to archive monopoly control in order to promote and further their own professional self interests in terms of salary, power and social stratum returns" (Evetts; 2002).

Weber's analysis draws attention to the groups with interests in common and their engagement in social closure in the course of furthering their interests by which they exclude others from their group and usurp the privileges of the other groups (McDonald, 1995; 27-28). Such interest groups endeavour to become legally privileged groups whose purpose is always monopoly and the closure of social and economic opportunities to outsiders (Evetts, 2002).

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[25] Weber used the term closure to refer to the process of subordination whereby one group monopolises advantages by closing off opportunities to another group of outsiders beneath it which is defined as inferior and inelligible. Any convenient, visible characteristics such as race, language, social origin, religion or lack of particular school diploma, can be used to declare competitors to be outsiders. (Murphy, 1988)

Within the Weberian tradition, Collins (1990) conceptualises the professionals as a group with interests in common. She starts with explaining the inapplicable character of class to the professions. According to this, when classes "become communities, sharing a felt identity, ideals and standards for the conduct of life" and "go beyond the cold material calculation of market interests", "they can be transformed into status groups"(Collins, 1990: 24) which are communities of lifestyle and of cultural consciousness. For Collins (1990), an occupation can transform into a status group within the division of labour and may structure the market itself. Collins defines this transformation process as market closure. She suggests that "instead of merely responding to market dynamics, as in the model of class conflict stemming from Marx, occupations attempt to control market conditions"(Collins, 1990: 25) . For Collins (1990), occupational structure is dynamic and changing like capitalism. Those occupations which are successful in the struggle to gain closure over their market become professions which Collins (1990) simply define as Weberian status groups, formed within the division of labour.

Although Weberian analyses successfully includes and conceptualises the non-capitalist relations within the professions, it is still inappropriate to be applied to experiences of women's positions within professions in Turkey. Additionally, its analytical tools such as the status group and social closure are not satisfactory to conceptualise inter-group relations and thus gender differentiation.

However, to understand women's participation within the professions it is important to see the elements which seem to have a strong idealistic structure that construct the professions as well as the conditions of existence of the professionals within the realm of professions. In that case, the question is "what is the ideology of professions?"

2.3.4. The Ideology of Professions: Professionalism

In light of the aforementioned early and contemporary theoretical approaches on professions, the professionalization process, and the position/class location of professionals within society, it is possible to conclude that the people doing professional work constitute a social

integrity which has a privileged place in the broader society. The highly respected, autonomous and self-governing integrity of professions carries on its privileged position by the formation of occupational ideology, which we can call professionalism.

According to Collins , "professionals are surrounded by their work with an ideological covering. It is a 'calling', not merely a job." (Collins, 1990: 35-36). For Larson:

> The persistence of profession as a category of social practice suggests that the model constituted by the first movements of professionalization has become an ideology –not only an image which consciously inspires collective or individual efforts, but a mystification which unconsciously obscures real social structures and relations….the model of profession passes from a predominantly economic function –organizing the linkage between education and the market place- to a predominantly ideological one –justifying inequality of status and closure of access in the occupational order (Larson , 1977: xvii- xviii).

Self-representation of professionals, which is successfully inserted into the social structure, is accepted by society without questioning. It naturalises and legitimises the inevitability and uniqueness of professionals.   Professionalism suggests a closure organised around professionals' common interests or a project that constructs and secures the privileged and powerful position of professionals. Practically, professionalism is generally explained by referring to the moral and cultural aspects of professions as well as material ones. It suggests to its members how to live, how to behave, how to practice. Approaching professionalism as an ideological formation is the common point shared by Marxist power approaches and Weberian social closure theories. Both neo-Marxist theorists of power like Johnson, Larson and Illich, and Weberian theorists of social closure like Murray, Witz and Perkin refer to the ideology of professions, namely professionalism.

By using Bourdieu's concept of habitus[26] it is possible to argue that "professionalism" is the representation that is produced by the practices within the realm of professions in social space which are produced by habitus. Professionalism, what Bourdieu would call the product of habitus of professionals or the "homologous habitus" of professionals (Bourdieu, 1990: 55), dictates the rules of practice and "tends to generate all the 'reasonable', 'common-sense'

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[26] Habitus is a system of internalised dispositions that mediates between the social structure and practical activity, being shaped by the former and regulating the later (Brubaker, 1985: 758). It is formed under "conditions" and it produces the practice. Through the practice which is produced by the habitus, social life is sustained and the structures are produced or transformed (Brubaker, 1985: 758).

behaviours" (Bourdieu, 1990: 55-56).

By using this conceptual basis it is possible to assume that professionalism is not itself a habitus which is the "principles which generate and organise practices and representations" (Bourdieu, 1990: 54-logc), because it is not the principle but the representations and practices which are generated and organised by the habitus. Professionalism is produced by the habitus which is the realised ends, procedures to follow and paths to take (Bourdieu, 1990: 54) and internalised by the "set of individuals who are endowed with the same habitus" which Bourdieu calls a social class (Brubaker, 1985)[27].

Professionalism appears to be a distinguishing feature of the social integrity of professionals within the stratification system or class society. For Freidson what distinguishes the professionals from other dominating classes is the occupational ideology called professionalism. Professionals are sponsored by the political and economic elite and their privileged position is secured by them. However, they are not dependent on these dominant classes, because, with the help of professionalism ideology, the production of knowledge appears increasingly to play an important and strategic role and thus professionals become more and more autonomous. This makes them close to the dominant classes but at the same time have an independent ideology (see Larson, 1977: xii-xiv). Gouldner(1993) also states that the new class that once was a part of the bourgeoisie, distinguished itself via developing an independent collective consciousness called professionalism which claims its technical and moral priority to the bourgeoisie.

To that end it is possible to say that the concept of professionalism refers to the constructing element of the distinguished position of professionals within the society. It points out the qualities that makes professionals privileged.

On the other hand, the concept of professionalism appears to be more functional for understanding the conditions of women's participation in professions than the concept of

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[27] The concept of habitus also creates the connection between professionalism as an ideology and professionals as a class, because it provides a definition of class as "group of biological individuals having the same habitus, understood as a system of disposition common to all individuals who are products of the same conditioning" (Bourdieu,1990: 59).

class which is itself a blurred concept when applied to women anyway[28]. Moreover, within the context of this study, since I am looking for patriarchal manifestations within a social integrity, rather then their place in the social stratification system, the major constructing component of this integrity namely professionalism, should be emphasized. Professionalism articulates and even operates with patriarchy and inscribes the subordination of women in the very body of the professionals. Going one step further, it is possible to state that patriarchy is a major component of professionalism which is originally masculine. With such a content, professionalism is the process by which the patriarchal nature of professions is being created. Women's position within professions is very much connected with this patriarchal nature of professions and professionalism.

However, within various approaches to professions, as reviewed above, the conditions of women's participation in professions and the question of gender are hardly considered. A gender blind sexism is the most common characteristic of sociological theory on professions and professionals. It is possible to say that women are not only excluded from professions but also are ignored by the sociology of professions, which has appeared to be gender blind. On the one hand, for trait approaches, being professional depends on some objective criteria that are supposed to be gender neutral. On the other hand, power approaches ignore the effect of "gender" relations while conceptualising professionalization as a project to gain and exercise power.

By using the arguments of these approaches it is possible to think that women's entry to professional work can be seen as a great opportunity for them for various reasons: First, women in professions have higher education in the abstract body of knowledge, on which their particular profession depends. They have skills and human capital. These qualifications place them on the highest levels of occupational hierarchy, which are highly remunerated compared to lower occupations. Second, due to specific characteristics of their work, they are not directly exposed to subordination and exclusion in the capitalist labour market. On the contrary, women who are the members of a privileged group such as professionals have a respectful position within the public domain that inserts them into power relations. Because

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[28] Crompton states that "According to a major feminist criticism of occupational class classifications has been that because of persistence of sex discrimination within the labour market, together with patterns of occupational segregation they (a) produce very different outcomes when applied to male and female populations and (b) the same occupation (i.e. class situation) may be associated with different life chances for men and women" (Crompton, 2000: 165).

of their class interests and cultural assets, professionals are distinguished even from the middle classes and considered to be close to the dominating classes. Third, due to their privileged positions and class locations their income is high, they can buy services for their domestic chores. Thus, their occupations do not become a second burden for them. Fourth, being professional gives women the opportunity to participate in the public realm, where they can influence the collective power. To affect the realm of knowledge as a subject, being professional has some strategic consequences. With all its positive effects on women's lives professional work may contribute to women's emancipation.

On the other hand, the studies and approaches concerning women in professions reveal that women are excluded from and subordinated within the male dominated professions. In the next step, the studies focusing on the characteristics of women's participation in professions will be analysed/considered in order to show the obstacles women face and to understand the material and ideological determinants of their participation in professions.

2.4. Women in Professions

> Feudal and capitalist societies had always submerged women since men owned the most of the land and capital and made the laws of property to ensure that they held on to it. Professional expertise by contrast cannot easily be monopolised by men, though many still try to keep women out of the main professions or restrict their promotion. Once women broke into higher education and proved beyond doubt that they were as capable as men of acquiring human capital they could no longer be excluded from a share of the job market . . [However] Women still have both biological and cultural disadvantages, which unfairly restricted their appointment, and promotion prospects in a male dominated professional world. They have now a ticket to ride, but it does not take them very far (Perkin, 1996; 13-14).

Women's participation in professional work is seen structurally as an unusual and extraordinary phenomenon. In professions where men have predominated, being female has typically meant being unlike and therefore unsuitable (Epstein, 1970: 152). Both the professional culture and the occupational ideology, namely professionalism, are structurally male. Women are misrepresented and less effective within such structures. The image of the

professions is a society of men that women do not belong to and should not want to belong (Epstein, 1970: 176).

Unfortunately, to have a professional qualification, which Perkin calls the ticket to ride, does not guarantee women's equal participation in professions, because it is not determined materially, rather, it is surrounded ideologically and politically by patriarchy which is very much internal to the occupational ideology surrounding professional work (Collins, 1990). Women are regarded not only as different but also less capable of being professional. They are "inferior types of beings. 'Different' in this context clearly does not imply 'equal' as well, because the difference is something towards which 'tolerance' and 'patience' must be extended" (Spencer and Padmore, 1987; 126). As Spencer and Padmore put it, "the notion that women are problematic acts as a useful rationalisation for keeping women in a position of subordination within the profession" (1987; 121). The inner-control mechanisms and the autonomy of the professionals which extends from their professional service to their personal lives, as argued before (see 1.3.1.1.), operate in a gendered way and are dominated by men.

Women do not have access to professional specialisation equally with men. Women and men share the areas of work in a certain profession unequally. The areas, which women are claimed to be appropriate for, are low status, financially less rewarding, less demanding and less visible areas of professional work (Spencer and Padmore, 1987).

Fox and Hess-Biber mention that women's status in professions is related to their subordinated position in the labour force at large which is mentioned in the beginning of this chapter (see 1.2.). "Within professional occupations, as elsewhere, women are concentrated in the lower ranking and lower paying positions, and in the less powerful and prestigious places and locations" (Fox and Hess-Biber, 1984; 151). Women professionals are generally concentrated in relatively low status specialities. Based on their research on the medical and academic fields, Fox and Hess-Biber argue that, "there is a negative relation between female composition and occupational prestige level" (Fox and Hess-Biber, 1984; 129-31).

In order to understand the subordinated position of women in professions Solokoff (1992) suggests two ways of approaching professional women. From an individualistic and liberal view, a woman's success or failure in professional work is considered to be a matter of her personal limitations. It is assumed that "reaching the required levels of education and training and changing their attitudes toward and behaviours associated with gender roles,

children and work commitment and continuity" (Solokoff, 1992;15) ensures women's participation in professions. However, as Freeman puts it:

> Women's absence in those positions is not a function of contrary psychological needs or personal short coming; rather it is a function of the limits of structural social change . . . difficulties persist not because of females' unmet, unconscious needs for connection but because of structural obstacles and persistent, albeit subtle, discrimination. (Freeman, 1994;4).

Thus, to see the real determinants of women's absence or the conditions of existing, it is necessary to focus on the whole structure of the professions. The structuralist approach mainly deals with the structures surrounding women's labour force participation. This view suggests "the jobs and labour markets in which women are employed are organised to their disadvantage and segregate them from men" (Solokoff, 1992; 15). The structuralist approach enables us to understand the gender characteristics of professional work. In order to understand the operations of patriarchy within professions and the gendered characteristics of professional work, the structuralist approach, rather than individualistic approach, is helpful. For this reason, in the present study the structuralist analysis of women's position in professions is employed. In this respect, the focus will first be on the sex typing of professions and the sex role socialization of professionals; second on the characteristics of women's participation within professions; third on the gender based closure of professions; and finally on contextual differences of women's participation in professions with respect to regional, religious and racial differences.

2.4.1. Gendered Professions

To understand women's participation in professional work it is useful to consider the gender dimension of professions and professionalisation at first. To begin with, it is important to remember that professional work is very much related with industrialization and modernization as has long been argued (Taylor: 1968; Slocum, 1967; Johnson, 1972; Perkin 1996; Witz, 1992) and cannot be free from the patriarchal formation of modernity as a

whole[29] at a macro level.

At a micro level, gender stereotyping of the professions comes into consideration. According to gender stereotyping, the definition of professions is harmonious with male attributes rather than female characteristics (Alvarez et al., 1996; Spencer and Padmore, 1987).

The gender stereotyping of professions is generally helpful for men, while restrictive for women. Characteristics associated with males –for example, rational, decisive, power oriented, competitive- have positive effect on men's careers. Female images on the other hand –for example, empathetic, people-oriented, collaborative- have a negative influence on women's careers (Gray, 1987).

As Spencer and Padmore discuss (1987), stereotypes about the nature of the professions, which are claimed to be aggressive, competitive or physically demanding, are very much linked to stereotypes of masculine attributes. Even the language of professions, which "tends to be information-focused and adversarial in style, favouring linguistic strategies which foreground status differences between participants" like all-male discourse[30], is unfamiliar to women since "women's talk in the private sphere by contrast, is interaction-focused, favouring linguistic strategies which emphasis solidarity rather than status" (Coates, 1994; 78-79).

"Female" characteristics are assumed to contradict with the characteristics which should be

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[29] Modernity ideologically conceptualises women as irrational and emotional and close to nature, which modernity tends to control, and thus inappropriate for professional work. Meanwhile, men are conceptualised as rationally and culturally able to control nature. This control is ensured by the "body of knowledge". As Farganis states "The modernist ideology or the principles of enlightenment either has worked in such a way as to benefit men at the expense of women or has failed to deliver the equality and justice for which it stood" (Farganis, 1994; 24). For Irigaray it is clear that the values of enlightenment cannot be applied to women. Because of the trust in reason, the irrational elements of human consciousness was despised and the irrational was being controlled and manipulated by reason which is prescribed by men. Irigaray thinks that the reason of Enlightenment is almost totally male. Western culture is a monosexual culture. The value of women is lower than men. There is nothing neutral and universal in this culture. Everything considered neutral, for instance philosophy and science is depend on gender. Everything is the subject of a male discourse (Sarup, 1995; 142).

[30] She starts with examining that men are socialised in a competitive style of discourse, while women are socialised into a more co-operative style of speech. Coates mentions that the separation of public and private is the primary cause of women's oppression in that "the discourse style typical of, and considered appropriate for, activities in the public domain have been established by men". When women enter into the public they are "linguistically at a double disadvantage". This is caused first by their normal alliance to "using adversarial, information focused style expected in such contexts" and second by devaluation of women's more co-operative discourse styles (Coates, 1994; 72-73).

possessed by professionals. For example, Spencer and Padmore (1987) show that women are perceived to be emotional, unstable or indecisive, which conflicts with the notion of being 'not emotional but tough,' mentioned as a prerequisite for being professional by men. Since women are assumed to be emotionally involved, and thus subjective in their work, their characteristics do not correspond with the characteristics of professions that are defined within a male discourse. As Cavanagh puts it, qualities associated with the masculine such as "reason, rationality and autonomy are valued above the qualities associated with the feminine which are emotion and relational capacities" (2003: 41). This indicates an underlying contradiction between women's gender identity as feminine and occupational identity which is strongly masculine (Spencer and Padmore, 1987; Fox and Hess-Biber, 1984). Because of these contradictions, it is assumed that, as Spencer and Padmore quote from their male interviewees, "women are unprofessional or at least not as professional as men" (1987: 127).

As another result of gender stereotyping, women are occupied in professional areas which correspond with their assumed sex roles and socialization:

> It appears that the avenues of advancement open to women are today, as in the past, mainly in the sex segregated areas of specialisation considered suitable for the application of feminine qualities –that is detailed work and helping individuals with problems. (Gray, 1987; 229)

As an example, Blitz (1990) states that women are dominant in elementary school teaching because the profession of education was initially more cultural and less career-oriented, and the hours of work are attractive for mothers. Similarly, Riska (2001) states that in Nordic countries women in medicine are more likely to work in specialities pertaining to the needs of children and elderly than men. Epstein (1970) mentions that for women, expressive and person-oriented jobs such as nursing, social work and teaching are appropriate while for men, due to their qualities of coolness, detachment, analytic objectivity or object-orientation, law and engineering are appropriate professions.

> The "cult of domesticity" segregates women into roles associated with nurturing, rather than those associated with financial or narrowly defined traditional professional practice, thereby protecting or expanding men's professional dominance (Alvarez et al., 1996;118).

Sexual stereotyping creates the ideological basis for the gendered hierarchies within the professions. As Epstein puts it, sex typing and status-set typing is very important in the professional context in setting, and reflecting cultural expectations about the appropriateness of women's attainment of professional status and their subsequent performance as professionals (Epstein, 1970; 152). They are the constructing elements of occupational hierarchy by sex.

> The consequences of sex typing in making sex status salient are magnified for women, and have generally inhibited their occupational success. Even where men constitute a minority in an occupation, they seem to have better chance to do well and be upwardly mobile (Epstein, 1970;152).

In the hierarchical structure of the professional division of labour by sex, women are subordinated. They are generally placed in low-salaried and low prestige branches of the profession or in the less professional occupations (Riska, 2001: 181).

Those professions in which women are mainly occupied are conceptualised as less professional occupations. Women-dominated professions are generally semi-professions while highly regarded occupations are "reserved by men" (Epstein 1970:162; Unterhalter1985). In contrast, "female dominated professions are often viewed as less prestigious and they are usually less well paid compare to male dominated professions." (Cassidy, 1990: 112). This indicates how professionalisation or the professional project by which the professions gain market control (see, 1.31.2), is determined by the patriarchal ideology.

Moreover, even in the case of female-dominated professions, men do not suffer from the gender based hierarchy of the occupation like women do at least in terms of ease of entry, salary and status within these occupation (Blitz, 1990: Cassidy, 1990). The impact of professions in the maintenance of patriarchy results in the process whereby "the semi professions staffed by women as managed mainly by men" (Hearn, 1987: 135)

> Even though men are the minority group within the female dominated professions, they have been disproportionately represented in supervisory and administrative positions and they have received higher pay than women in these occupations. The opposite situation exists for women in the male dominated professional world. Women in this segment of the employment world typically receive lower salaries, occupy less prestigious positions and are at a distinct disadvantage when it comes to

sponsor-patronage system, valued characteristics and inter-actional patterns typically found in professional/managerial occupations (Cassidy, 1990: 115).

The process of sex typing of professions also appears in the history of some professional occupations. Epstein (1970) mentions that primary school teachers, secretaries and typists were not defined as female occupations from the beginning, but with respect to economic and social changes, revolutions and wars, the structures of such occupations changed and they became mislabelled as female occupations. The case of medicine also has a gendered historical background. The education and the institutionalisation of medicine caused women's exclusion from the medical service. It was women who gave medical care in medieval ages. However, women's access to the first condition of the professions as mentioned by the trait approach (see 2.3.1.1.) – i.e., competence in the subject as gained via institutionalised higher education- began to be hindered in the 14th Century European cities until the 1850s (Unterhalter, 1985: 1253). Thus, the profession of medicine has become a male- dominated domain. What made it male-dominated is not the nature of the occupation or the inappropriateness of women to such a profession but the patriarchal structure of the society which serves to reserve privileged positions for men.

However, it is important to note that all statements made up to now neither attribute a passive and ineffective role to women in professions, nor consider professions as inevitably and essentially male. The male-dominant character of professions and careers is neither the result of the shared success of men in professions nor the natural formation of the professional occupations. It is rather the consequence of the patriarchal structure of society in general and professions in particular. This structure reduces the bargaining potential of women within a profession. As a result, generally, men have the primary positions while women occupy the subordinated positions in professions.

On the other hand, one can assume that women's increasing entries into professions affect the structure of professions. From the results of her analysis, which are drawn from the domains of law, medicine and education, Coates (1994) indicates that women's increasing entrance into professional work effects the discourse of professionals, establishing the linguistic features of co-operative speech. She suggests that denial of the positive consequences of the female effect on the discourse of professionals would be a loss for the entire society. Similarly, according to Alvarez among others, contemporary developments in women's professional work and women's advancement in their professional occupations will

change the structure of the profession in general: "Issue of representation (whether women's perspective and self interests have been involved in defining valuable professional knowledge and practices) have come into play." (Alvarez et al., 1996; 122). Moreover, MacCrate (1989) argues that "female enrolment in law school rose from 4 percent to 40 percent in the span of 10 years" and with the increasing participation of women in law, the practice of law is questioned and the connections between family and career are recreated. Such changes may be promising for women in helping them deal with the gendered strategies of exclusion.

2.4.2. Gendered Strategies of Exclusion

The agents for the exclusion of women from professions operate morally in the form of identity, ethics and culture of professions, and structurally in the form of associations and educational institutions. The major determinants of women's participation in professions are rooted in the process of professionalisation, in which the patriarchal structure of professions are built. R Alvarez, L. Robin, M. Tuan and A. Shui-I Huang (1996) focus on the professionalisation process as a means of gendered exclusion and on women's handicaps within this process. Alvarez and others argue that there are three dimensions of professionalisation. They consider women's position with respect to each dimension.

The first dimension of professionalisation is the body of specialised knowledge and a monopoly over its use. This knowledge is subjected to social closure that determines who has access to what knowledge (see 1.3.2.). Professionals who "stand as the vanguard of knowledge" (Taylor, 1968; 478) use "knowledge" as a means of control and power (Johnson, 1972; Illich, 1992) which joins with patriarchal control and power. Through the gendered exclusion practices within the professional occupations, the power of knowledge is protected from women in the name of patriarchy. Women as a gender have been kept away from the process of producing knowledge in order to restrict their access to power. In modern western professions women are structurally excluded by restricting legal requirement for certification and licensing. Women struggle against these restrictions for access to knowledge monopolised by male professionals and try to obtain access to certification through professional associations and the licensure by state authorities. Although not legally restricted today, there are still some ideological and cultural codes that restrict women's

education on certain subjects. The lack of a mentoring system is a major problem since "women are not likely to be chosen as protégés, so they cannot benefit from the (sponsor-patronage system) to the same extent as their male colleagues" (Cassidy 1990: 115; see also Riska, 2001; Bagilhole, 1993: Spencer and Padmore 1987).

A research on women in medicine in Turkey similarly indicates that there are ideological restrictions concerning women's participation in the profession and limits on their advancement in male dominated areas of medicine (Bekata-Mardin et al., 2000). Despite the objective criterion of a central exam called TUS (Exam for professionalization in medicine), women are concentrated in the areas in medicine which are less prestigious and less well paid. Because they are discouraged by gender discrimination within the profession, they don't prefer to chose male dominated branches, such as surgery, which are generally well paid and highly prestigious.

The second dimension of professionalisation is the professional membership criteria. As Alvarez (1990) mentions, gender had been one of the categories that determined acceptance into the professional community in the past. In contemporary societies it is still a category that affects women's participation in a profession and acceptance into a community of professionals, because women are less involved in professional organizations where membership and participation are very important (see 1.3.1.1.). They are also excluded from the informal relations and activities which are so important to building a successful career (Spencer and Padmore, 1987: 2). According to Cassidy, women's statistical minority within male dominated professions restricts their access to and demands for participating in informal networks (1990: 115). Bagilhole also states that in academic professions where women are in a small minority, they "are less likely to have access to informal professional networks and contacts which can assist their career" (1993: 265).

 "Women's exclusion from men's informal circles of communication and interaction has critical consequences for occupational success in the professions." (Fox and Hess-Biber, 1984;141) since, as discussed before, the professional culture is formed within professional associations and informal relations. It affects women's professional socialization, which is not only maintained by formal education and occupational process, but also in informal interactions, and causes women's misrepresentation within and inability to change the professional structure. As Acar puts it, exclusion from informal collegiate networks causes women to be less informed about inter-occupational developments and less influential in

internal politics (Acar, 1991:154). This is related with the third dimension of professionalism.

The third dimension of professionalisation is political coalition. This coalition mainly creates and maintains professional knowledge, and sets standards of practicing the particular profession. They also affect the legal practices (see, 2.3.1.1 and 2.3.1.2.). However, women are always absent in these coalitions since "professional spokespersons are disproportionately chosen from among the most prestigious and must remunerated professional sectors" (Alvarez et al., 1996;118) where women are structurally excluded and have a low representation. Professional organizations are being established and run by men (Bagihole, 1993).

In this respect, it is possible to state that passing as a result of such a professionalization process the construction of the professionals' attributes and culture are the prolongation of traditional forms of patriarchy. Hearn radically defines professional control as patriarchal control and professional power as male power. According to him "the whole process of professionalisation are bastations of patriarchy" (1987: 135)

> Professionalisation is a process whereby men socialize and seek to control activities that relate to emotional experiences, biological reproduction of labour power. It has also been a process whereby men have wrested control over these activities away from women in the private sphere and reconstituted them as exclusively male activities within the public sphere (cited in Witz, 1992;61).

It is also possible to say that gender is a constructing element of hierarchical and hegemonic relations within professions. It is a source of closure to obtain male dominance within a profession. "Since the late 19th Century professionals were mainly concerned with creating boundaries to keep the right people in" (Cavanagh, 2003: 40) and gender has always become the main reference in this processes of closure (see 2.3.2.).

According to Witz, "the creation and control of occupational boundaries and inter occupational relations may be crucially mediated by patriarchal power relations" (1992;47). She suggests that since the concept of profession is implicitly gendered, it is necessary to move on to a less androcentric terrain and analyse the relationship between patriarchal structures of professional work. For Witz, it is also crucial to locate the gendered professional project within the structural and historical matrix of patriarchal capitalism and

deal with the "strategies of occupational closure, which aim for an occupational monopoly over the provision of certain skills and competencies in a market for service." (Witz, 1992; 5)[31].

> Gendered actors, who were engaged in professional projects as strategic courses of action, will have differential access to the tactical means of achieving their aims in a patriarchal society within which male power is institutionalised and organised...........gendered strategies and patriarchal structures are mediated through the institutionalisation and organisation of male power within different sites of social, economic and political relations. (Witz, 1992; 52-53)

The gender dimension of occupational closure appears in its use as a means of mobilising male power to secure the access to resources and opportunities. Witz redefines the exclusion and inclusion strategies from a gendered perspective, and develops the terms demarcation and dual closure with a gender dimension:

> 1.   Gendered forms of exclusionary strategies (which aim for intra occupational control over the internal affairs of and access to the ranks of a particular occupational group) have been used to secure for men privileged access to rewards and opportunities in the occupational labour market. They serve to create women as a class of 'ineligibles' through excluding them from routes of access to resources such as skills, knowledge, entry credentials, or technical competence, thus precluding women from entering and practising within an occupation. (Witz mentions the credentialist and legislative tactics which were used as a means of excluding women from the medical professions in 19th Century in Britain)
> 2.   The gendered strategy of demarcation closure describes processes of inter occupational control concerned with the creation and control of boundaries between gendered occupations in a division of labour ... The creation and control of occupational boundaries and inter-occupational relations may be crucially mediated by patriarchal power relations.
> 3.   The gendered strategy of inclusionary usurpation describes the ways whereby women, who are hit by gendered strategies of exclusion, do not

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[31] As argued before, the concept of the professional project is introduced to establish the concrete and historically bounded character of professions by Larson. Witz uses the Marxist notion of the professional project together with the neo-Weberian notion of social closure. According to Witz, the patriarchal strategies of social closure are the operational principles of the gendered professional project. She mentions that to understand the gendered character of professions and the relationship between professions and patriarchy, Weberian closure theory is useful, but closure alone is not sufficient enough. The contribution of Marxist approaches provides the dimension of power and the analysis of professions within an analysis of capitalist social, economic and political relations. While Weberian analysis provides to capture the variety of strategies of the professional project, neo-Marxist approaches see this gendered project of professionalisation within the "structural and historical parameters of patriarchal capitalism" (Witz, 1992; 59) .

simply acquiesce in the face of patriarchal closure practices but challenge a male monopoly over competence. They seek to be included in a structure of positions from which they are excluded on account of their gender. It is an inclusionary strategy of usurpation because it seeks to replace gendered collectivist criteria of exclusion with non-gendered individualist criteria of inclusion.

4.   Gendered strategies of dual closure, on the other hand, describe the manner in which women may contest demarcation. They involve a two-way exercise of power, in an upwards direction as a form of usurpation and in a downwards direction as a form of exclusion. (Witz, 1992;46-50)

2.4.3. Women-only Problems Within Professions

In spite of its male dominated structure, women's participation in professional work has increased dramatically (Alvarez et al., 1996; Cleveland, 1996; Solokoff, 1992). However, women's entrance into the professions does not indicate that gender equality has been built and that the gender stereotyping of professions has changed. Cassidy states that:

> Although the proportion of women in various professions and management has increased over the last three decades, women continue to be the minority population group within them. The occupational sex segregation is still very prevalent in all areas of the labour force (1990: 112).

Gary exemplifies from his research that one woman mentions her position in her profession as "occupied by a women-only, a dead-end, low paid job with little status". Another finds prejudice in business to be open and gross and meets with "absolute refusal to hire, promote, or utilize" her talent and skills (1987; 240-242). As mentioned before, women who managed to enter male dominated professional occupations are marked as deviants by society;

> As long as certain occupations are defined as male, women who seek entry to them will be defined as social deviants and subjected to social sanctions. As a result they will be less often motivated even to consider professions defined as incompatible with women's other roles. Women in these occupations will tend to be discouraged from seeking advancement when they perceive that the opportunity structure is limited for them (Epstein, 1970;166).

As Epstein (1970) emphasizes, the first problem of professional women is the fact that women are located in lower positions without having authority. Especially in decision making bodies the proportion of women is very low (Bagihole, 1993). Cassell's (1997) research on women surgeons indicates that authority is attributed to men, and thus when women have it they have to give extra effort to build it. Women surgeons have reported to have difficulties in using authority against female nurses. There is a tension between the subordinated women nurses and superordinated women surgeons. This contradiction causes some defects in giving professional service. One women surgeon states that "you had a leadership choice, you could be a pushover or a bitch (the male equivalent of a bitch would be a strong chief resident)" (Cassell, 1997: 50).

Women's lack of authority leads to the second problem; their political or cultural contributions to professions are weak due to their positions. As argued before, the defining characteristic of the professions is its being a self regulating and autonomous system (see 2.3.1.1). In this respect, the political and cultural contribution of the subject becomes the primary reference for the professions to be regulated. However, women's "lack of power within the profession is further demonstrated by their inability to achieve even minor organizational changes" (Unterhalter, 1985: 1258). Since they are underrepresented in higher administrative positions (Riska, 2001: 182), they have difficulties "getting themselves heard or noticed" (Bagihole, 1993: 267). Thus, women are not be able to "mobilise politically to break the institutional web that locked out representativeness of women and representativeness of women's standpoint" (Alvarez et all, 1996;119) due to their lack of power within the profession. According to Cassidy, it is mainly the statistical minority of women within professions that reduces women's access to the power structure (1990: 115).

As a third problem, women are expected to internalize the strong culture of professions that suggests common identity and ethics and which is determined by male discourse. According to Coates (1994), women's entry and increasing participation in professional work is dependent on their acceptance of and adaptation to the male discourse of professions, which is more assertive and more masculine. Most of the time women, without questioning, accept the masculine characteristics of professions which are forced by male discourse. "They had to adopt a masculine professional persona to gain credibility in the public sphere of professional work despite their culturally assigned female positioning." (Cavanagh, 2003: 55). For example women physicians in Turkey have mentioned they should be more

successful, thus they had to work harder than their male colleagues to be respected and accepted in male dominated branches of medicine and they should also abandon their female attitudes and act like men (Bekata-Mardin et al., 2000). Spencer and Padmore conclude from their research that women do not question the "masculine ethos of law". According to their research "there was no suggestion that this ethos should be questioned or subjected to change". Instead women are to modify their behaviour in order to conform to the supposed aggressive and competitive nature of the profession (1987: 119-120). In such an environment, where women's behaviours are structurally seen to be unsuitable, not the masculine ethos of the professions, but the female attributes of women, which conflict with occupational characteristics, are expected to change.

For Nicolson, socialisation into the patriarchal organization of professions is very complicated. The professional culture, which is inherently patriarchal, appears to be an inevitable and constant form of rules and values. Women's responses to this pre-existing structure of professional culture are problematic since the professional culture is patriarchal. For women, Nicolson classifies three stages of socialisation in such organizations: "shock on entry into the system; anger or protest and a decision to leave, or development of a cooping strategy; and finally internalisation of values" (Nicolson, 1996; 72).

On the other hand women are also expected to be less successful and thus, are under more surveillance and supervision than their male colleagues Under such pressure of over-visibility, women have to be more successful to be accepted by the professional community than their male colleagues. Accordingly, women's existence in male dominated professions is so visible that when their work is good it may get even greater notice than that of men.. Alice Young, a lawyer, states that "if you made a good impression as a lawyer, it was easier for people to remember you because you were a women". However, the opposite is also true. Women are so visible that their failures also get greater notice:

> One women expressed the feeling vividly: "... if you are a women, you have to make less mistakes. . . a woman must put greater effort into her work . . . because if you make a fool of yourself, you are a damn fool women instead of just a damn fool" (Epstein, 1970;191).

A university professor who has been in an administrative position complains that "I felt being a women made my job a great deal more difficult" (LaTeef, 1992: 149). Similarly Joan E. Goody, an architect, suggests that women whose professional work is so visible should

much better than men. She states that:

> There still are a fair number of people who are reluctant to give responsibility to a woman because they have limited experience or they are prejudiced or just don't think that a women can handle it... That of course is ridiculous. So I think as a women one has to be all the more thoughtful, strong, and careful to project such an image (LaTeef, 1992: 164).

The definition of success is problematic for women. Although they cope with the problem of over-visibility, they suffer from the definition of success with reference to men (Nicolson, 1996). Nicolson states that masculinity and femininity are defined in professional work so unequally that the former is related with success, achievement and power, while the latter is perceived by men as passivity within a traditional gender expectation. This has deep implications for professional women's psychology, their perception of themselves and other women, as well as femininity and gender identity.

Apart from the structural problems that women are dealing with, there are personal aspects that are politically assumed to have a negative effect on women's participation in professions, namely "marriage and the family". As it was argued in 2.3.1.1., professionals are assumed to be collective-orientated rather than self-orientated in their professional lives and career-oriented rather than family-oriented in their personal lives (Parsons, 1966; Taylor 1968). Such an assumption is, with no doubt, restricting for professional women.

Mary Catherine Baterson –an ethnography professor who joined the research held by LaTeef as an interviewee- states that "first women were told that they had to choose between home and career, then they were told they should try to have it all, home plus career" (LaTeef, 1992: 150). However, there was hardly any legal or cultural support for women to handle the responsibilities of both work and home. Women have been seen as responsible for coping with the double burden of work and family life, especially child bearing and rearing. Relatedly, Marienne Rut Neifert, a paediatrician, says that "If you don't put your family first no one else in your profession is going to put your family first for you. There will always be a pressure to drop your family to take care of a work related crises" (LaTeef, 1992: 238). Allen et al. states that:

> While there is an overall impression that it will be women who will make the career adjustment to accommodate children and their care, there is little support for a total departure from the labour market and

considerable interests in, if limited knowledge of, the sorts of work arrangements which would fit with children (2002; 23).

Instead of creating opportunities for accommodating family with work responsibilities within the structure of professions, women are required to be "superperformers"[32]. In this respect, when women make their career choice they generally are obligated to consider their family responsibilities, since no one else seems to care for this issue. Gray's (1987) analysis indicates that women's reasons for finding jobs in fields different from their original goals are related with their "family responsibilities" while for men it is changing interests and greater economic opportunities. Women mention the problems of "discrimination and family restrictions while men cited mobility, organizational policies and money". Especially the long hours of work, which is counted as a requirement of professions, is compelling for women (Epstein, 1970; 183). According to their research findings[33] Luukkennen-Gronov and Stolte-Heiskanen state that:

> The limitations concerning the length and timing of working hours, however, seem to be one of the most serious handicaps women researchers meet in combining family and research career (1983: 275).

Normal working life as defined by men gives no permission to leave for awhile. Therefore, marriage and family responsibilities become major obstacles for women's professional lives.

Besides these obligations, women are emotionally affected by sexual stereotyping. They are likely to accept their family responsibilities and sexual stereotyping of professions as given. Thus, they primarily define themselves by their roles in the family, while men are likely to define themselves by their professions first. Under the double burden of work and family obligations, women sometimes cannot succeed in both realms. A woman lawyer acknowledges her feelings: "I deal with the guilt and on occasion feel that I am not doing anything right. I have those anxieties" (LaTeef, 1992: 217). Generally, these anxieties are related with the role of motherhood. The role of motherhood is seen as contradictory and discordant with the role of professionalism. According to Luukenen-Gronov and Stolte-

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[32] The term superperformer is used by Slater and Glazer (1989) to indicate the effort given to balance work and family obligations and to cope with gender discrimination by the first generation of women professionals in United States.

[33] The research is focusing on the professional and family life of women scientists in Finland and questions the validity of the assumption that "marriage and children are incompatible with a professional career for women".

Heiskanen's research "one forth of the scientists have conflict feelings or a bad conscience because they neglect their children and family" (1983: 275).

These ratios indicate once more that professionals are assumed to be career-oriented more than family-oriented and society-oriented rather than community-oriented from a male standpoint. Women are excluded from professions as they are assumed to be family oriented. Family responsibilities are generally a big burden for women in professional occupations because of their double day and prejudice about their inability to combine work and family, while men have little or nothing to do with the issue.

According to Acar's research results, professional women believe that to get married with a colleague who shares the same work experiences and lifestyle makes life easier since their husbands would know the difficulties of work and could be more sensitive about their wives' professional responsibilities. However, even for those women who were married with a colleague, their professional status becomes secondary to that of their husbands'. As Fox and Hess-Biber (1984) put it, professional women married with professional men generally respect the demands of their husbands' career development. Residence is determined by males and there is a pressure on wives to follow their husbands.

Regardless of how hard women try to combine work and family responsibilities and how successful they become, family responsibilities are seen as a major restriction which decreases the quality of women's professional service. Thus, marriage and family, especially pregnancy, are taken as the main sources of disadvantaging women within the realm of professions which are structurally masculine. From her research "on the extent that women's perceived proclivity to pregnancy influences selection and promotion practices"[34], Homans concludes that pregnancy as an obstacle for professional success is a myth that is produced and continued by men who "did not seem aware of their own sexism and the effect it had on women" (Homans, 1987; 105). Some of the male interviewees think there is no such discrimination. Others, who think that unequal practices about women's work exist, do not feel personally responsible for these practices. Her interviews indicate that there is a

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[34]Homans (1987) examines the effects of sex role socialisation on women's professional work, and indicates the male based identification of women in professional work by exploring the dominant ideas that surround women scientists and technical staff of the health service. Her analysis driven from the research on both the facts and the attitudes reveals the ideological definition of women's abilities and attitudes towards work

widespread belief that women will leave the job to have a baby which influences the "notion of who can be manager... who would fit in... and who was worth a promotion" (Homans, 1987; 91-92). Homans' study reveals that for the male managers she interviewed, "women are not a reliable source of labour because they leave on pregnancy; as women are at risk of pregnancy they should not be promoted" (1987; 97).

However, the data show the opposite: Statistically pregnancy is the third reason women leave their jobs while lack of promotion is the first. Moreover, the majority of male leavers (50%) leave the job for a better one as a part of their career development. Women, on the other hand, leave the job mostly for pregnancy (%28), but it is understood that pregnancy is less important than men's will of advancement since the rate is still less than men's promotion rate. Maternity leave is one of the least effective reasons for women to leave their jobs permanently**.** Another statistic shows that "women who left because of pregnancy had the longest average lengths of service" (Homans, 1987; 101). 39.5 percent of women who leave the job want to turn back, while only 20 percent of men have the desire to turn back. (Homans, 1987; 102). These indicators prove that the prejudice about pregnancy is far from being reality. It is rather a myth.

Luukkennen-Gronov and Stolte-Heiskanen in *Myths and Realities of Role Incompatibility of Male Scientists* show that within a family where there are equal gender relations and division of labour, family life can even be helpful for the professional career. From their research held in Finland, which is among the Nordic countries "where maternity-parental leave system for children under age one and other legislations support women's participation and improve women's position in the labour market" (Riska, 2001: 182), the authors conclude that:

> Comparison of married and single men and women scientists suggests that there is no incompatibility between a scientific career and a family as such. On the contrary marriage seems to have a positive effect on the professional life of women scientists (Luukkennen-Gronov and Stolte-Heiskanen ,1983; 278).

According to this, one can assume that it is not directly marriage and childcare which restrict women's professional life but the hierarchical division of labour by sex within the patriarchal family.

2.4.4. Contextual Structure of Women's Professional Work

Up to here I have mentioned the approaches to women's participation in the professions, basically arguing that women's professional work is determined mostly by the ideology of professions and its articulation with patriarchy. However, since the social existence of women is so complex, the social and contextual environment is also critical in determining women's professional work. Studies about black women professionals in comparison with their white colleagues in the United States (Solokof, 1992), Hindu women professionals in comparison with Muslim professional women in India (Ahmad: 1996), French women in professions in comparison with British women in Europe (Hantaris et. al: 1996), and intersections of age, class and gender (Rodrigez, 2002) are examples of professional women in different racial, regional, religious and social contexts which have different implications for the nature of their participation in the professions.

Natali Sokollof (1992) has focused on the dimension of race within the professional work of women. She mainly studies occupational segregation by race and gender between 1960 and 1980 in the United States. First, she mentions that women's participation in professions increased in the 1960s and 1970s due to the expanding political, social and economic opportunities in the United States. Starting from the end of World War II, economic growth created white-collar and public sector jobs, while the civil rights and women's rights movements provided legislation that prohibited discrimination in employment, housing and voting. These changes, as Solokoff mentions, influenced women's participation in higher education as well as professions. On the other hand, labour force participation of ethnic minorities was secured by legislation in the 1960s and it created the new black middle class. However, Solokoff reminds that it would be just an illusion to see that black women and white women have equal opportunities in professional work since occupational segregation still continues within professions. Solokoff mentions that "although discrimination on the basis of gender has been directed against women of all races, racial discrimination is at least as important as factors in the work of racial/ethnic minority women" (1992; 3)[35]. She

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[35] Solokoff defines professions as elite occupations since they are accorded a high degree of honour and status in the United States.:"professionals are thought to derive a great deal of fulfilment from their work and to enjoy a high degree of respect, autonomy, control and status"(1992; 7). With this respect gender and race is considered in her study.

believes that "the importance of professions as an avenue of advancement for disadvantaged groups in our society can not be underestimated" (1992; 10). However, Solokoff complains that the studies about occupational segregation by sex generally ignore the impact of race, likewise studies of racial segregation do not respect the dimension of gender.

Solokoff argues that both approaches show the significant numerical increase of women in professions, but neither of them have the ability to explain the differences and similarities between black women and white women in professions:

> Both have paid insufficient attention to institutionalised racism, to the capitalist political economy, and to internalised oppression as these forces work in similar and different ways to affect as changes of black women and white women (Solokoff, 1992;16).

Without mentioning a feminist approach and women's standpoint directly, Solokoff claims that the data and the statistical definitions are not indicating the realities but their interpretations represent the viewpoint of seeing the glass either "half-full or half-empty". She concludes that increasing rates of women in professions may be seen as a success but their low positions within the professions as well as low percentages of participation indicate discrimination.

Another study has been done by Suhail Ahmad comparing professional women of both Hindu and Muslim backgrounds. Ahmad questions whether Hindu and Muslim women professionals' backgrounds are similar or dissimilar. The main objective of this study is to try to reveal who these women, who are engaged in teaching and medical professions, are. Her study, "sought to examine and compare the social context of the working women in both religious communities" (Ahmad, 1996; 95). The research is designed with both qualitative and quantitative techniques as interviews and questionnaires were applied to 70 Muslim and 70 Hindu women respondents living in India.

Ahmad observes that Hindu and Muslim communities have had historically different relations to modern education since colonial times. This fact, for Ahmad, has been incorrectly considered as a result of religious order and long-standing stereotypes. However, her analysis shows that:

the problem is located in the issue of gender, not in faith..... the modern education can be imparted within a "traditional" space, so that values of religion are no constraints on the educational development of Muslim women. the issue indeed is gender-based, not religion based (Ahmad, 1996; 96).

The study indicates that increasing numbers of women are entering primarily into the teaching and medical professions and their choice is determined by their family backgrounds, economic status and social position as well as personal inclinations and job opportunities. These results are valid both for Muslim and Hindu women. The women respondents are generally from the first generation of educated women (in their families) and have an occupation first because the entry of women to professions and higher education is a newly developing phenomenon, and second because of the fact that "the relationship between working experiences and the number of women in professions is inversely proportional: the longer the working experience, the lesser is the number of women" (Ahmad, 1996; 99). Although the social status of professional Muslim women is higher than that of Hindu women, meaning it is easier to be professional for Hindu women, the overall study shows that:

> Muslim women in teaching and medical professions are no different from their Hindu counterparts in terms of personality traits, role models, family-size and reasons for choosing these professions. They tend to come from urban middle strata and range all the way up on the social scale to the upper class. Despite cultural differences, both Hindu and Muslim women share a common social outlook and awareness (Ahmad, 1996: 100).

The fact that women from both religious communities have the same reason for preferring the teaching and medical professions is also critical. Ahmad mentions women feel that these two professions are suitable to married women and correspond with their family interests and responsibilities. Ahmad is correct about assuming that the position of professional women is a gender based phenomenon and not religion based, but his analysis is not sufficiently qualified to conceptualise this gendered area of life either methodologically or theoretically.

Apart from studies indicating the effects of ethnic/racial factors and religion, Hantaris, Crompton, Le Feuvre and Walters mainly study professional women in the context of similar societies in order to reveal the importance of the effect of social and political structure on highly educated women's professional and personal lives. With this intention, they have compared the professional and family lives of well educated women in France and Britain

(Hantaris et al., 1996: 4). The central thesis of their research is that "well qualified women in France should be in a better position to sustain an employment career and overcome occupational segregation compared to British counterparts" (Hantaris et. al., 1996: 91). This thesis rests on the two structures which historically and legally determine women's participation in the labour market in general and professional work in particular. Referring to their earlier studies, they suggest that:

> Historically trade unions in Britain were stronger than their French equivalents, particularly at the level of the organizations and workplace. Thus labour protectionism tended to build local coalitions and often took the form of the exclusion of women and other kinds of disadvantaged labour such as immigrants. In contrast relative weakness of the trade unions in France contributed to a strategy whereby labour sought protection through a centralised state, and the universalist provisions of French labour law were not denied to women (Hantaris et. al., 1996; 91).

Hantaris and others design their research for professional occupations and intensify their study on accountancy, banking, law and pharmacy. Life histories of sixty five French and British women indicate the cultural differences between the two countries in regard to the construction of maternity and paid work and personal experiences as professionals, while detailed background information was collected from national statistics on education, training, the function of professional occupations, and hierarchies and gender segregation within professions.

Hantaris and others mention a number of conclusions out of their research. First, they mention that in both countries gender inequalities and labour market segmentation appear within professions. In addition, age is the most important factor which determines women's lower status in occupational hierarchies, but it does not mean that the occupational hierarchies are gender neutral:

> Where women have only recently begun to enter an occupation in significant numbers, it is likely that, as younger members of the profession, they will be concentrated in low ranks..... the evidence does not, however, suggest that, even as the age of profile of professional women changes, there will be a dramatic shift in the gender balance in the higher rank of these professions in either country in the near future (Hantaris et. al., 1996; 91).

Secondly, they argue that in France the universalistic procedures of state policies help women to improve within professional occupations. On the contrary, in Britain the

professional associations are determining the structure of professions and the rational-universalistic control is replaced by more individualistic attitudes. Thus, by "individual selection on the part of dominant (male) establishment women do not gain positions to the extent that might have been expected" (Hantaris et. al., 1996; 97). However, it is important to note that the rational-universalistic approach applied to women also has a negative effect. Although it helped women to be treated equally, the fact that the universalistic assumptions are "particularly in relation to normative expectations in respect of their gender roles in both the domestic and employment spheres, seem to have worked to women's occupational disadvantage in both countries" (Hantaris et. al., 1996; 101).

Finally, the research indicates that although "social policies help women to make it easier to combine professional and family life" (Hantaris et. al., 1996; 100), as these policies are more developed in France than in Britain, the domestic responsibilities of women in each country shape their professional careers importantly.

Maria de Lurdes Rodrigues focuses on female engineers in Portugal. She studies the effect of women's entrance to the organization of the profession of engineering as well as the determination of age and social class together with gender to the professional practices of women. Rodrigues explains the determinants and results of the feminisation of engineering in Portugal. In her research, Rodrigues shows "how the entry of women in engineering has particularly benefited from the changes made in the educational system and the organization of engineering work" (2002: 2). She states that Portugal presents itself today as one of the European countries with the highest levels of participation of women in the world of work after Finland and Holland. 90,9 percent of men and 73,5 percent of women participate in the labour force in Portugal. As a part of the social movement that can be called 'feminisation', women enter to engineering in Portugal. Rodrigues explains that:

> Portuguese engineering was consolidated in the mid-nineteenth century with military engineering at the service of the state and large public works, structured and based on the values of order, hierarchy, discipline and service that characterized the military environment. It is obviously, like in other countries, a man's world whose transformation into a civil "thing" made the participation of women possible (2002:3).

The first women entered to the educational institution of engineering in 1931. During the thirties and forties, the presence of women was seen as exceptional at engineering schools. The first women in engineering in Portugal were generally "from families that already had

an academic tradition or belonging to political, economic and intellectual elites in Portuguese society" (5). Thus, they were supported by their families. However, those first generation women can be seen as volunteers, since it was a challenge for them to enter in such a male dominated field. Rodrigues states that voluntarism is a common word refering to the participation of the first women engineers in Portugal:

> They opted to do a traditionally masculine course, seeing it as a challenge. They abandoned the path of the arts that was sketched out for them beforehand for girls like them and they wanted to prove that they were just as competent in the field of engineering as men were (2002: 5).

From the fifties onward, women entered to the profession of engineering in large numbers in terms of schools and courses. At the end of the 1960s, women entered to higher education and consequently into the job market with the effects of democratisation of higher education, increasing levels of schooling as well as the increasing demand to work with respect to economic necessities. The entry of women into higher education and the engineering field did not create mass disqualifications or a loss of prestige and power for the professional group of engineers. However, there had been some structural changes. First, because of the entry of women into engineering courses, the field of engineering started:

> broadening to include areas of work with less technical emphasis and in non-manufacturing areas, offers a window of opportunity to women.(Rodrigues, 2002: 11)

Second, these newly established areas of practice were influenced by gender segregation:

> the differences in the occupational profiles of the men and women engineering graduates are significant: in the areas of research and development, planning and inspection and teaching, [where] women, although never being predominant, have greater weight; and by contrast, in the areas of production and execution of building work, techno-commercial and marketing, administration and management, the relative weight of men is clearly greater (2002: 12).

Women's massive entrance to engineering however, does not indicate a feminist success since the new structration of engineering is built around some gender inequalities. The evidence of unequal levels of remuneration and women's positions in the occupational hierarchies indicates the gendered character that engineering has in Portugal.

It is observed that women are generally concentrated in teaching, research and development or planning, while men have the administrative positions or work in the field as production or building engineers (Rodrigues, 2002: 12). Moreover, men, who are 86% of all engineers, generally occupy the highest positions like being the head of the department or the general director of projects. On the contrary, the vast majority of women, who are 14% of all engineers, predominantly work as educators according to the 1994 data. Women are occupied in the areas of research and development, planning, inspection and teaching while men are occupied in the areas of production, execution of building work, techno-commercial and marketing, administration and management:

> The correspondence between gender and position in the hierarchy is also very evident; 40% of the women have technical duties without leadership, compared with 20% of the men; 11% of the women are in secondary teaching, compared with 4% of the men; 10% of the women are in higher education teaching compared with 7% of the men (Rodrigues, 2002: 13).

Related to these hierarchical inequalities there are important inequalities in terms of the levels of remuneration as well. There is an indirectly proportional relationship between the earnings of men and women engineers. 8 percent of men, but 23 percent of women earn less than 2 million escudos, while 20 percent of men and 8 percent of women earn 5 to 7 million escudos (Rodrigues, 2002: 12-14).

Rodrigues concludes that there are four groups of people in engineering which are determined by the variables of age, class and gender:

> The first group combines, in association, the high position in the hierarchy of companies, high levels of remuneration, administration and management activities, middle-class. It is a world of private companies, men and graduate engineers. The second is defined by association of activities in higher education, research and development, which includes women, engineers with a master's or PhD's and from the upper-classes. The third combines the categories of public administration, local government, secondary education and technical functions with no leadership functions, again involving women and younger graduates. Finally, in the fourth group, there is a combination of categories related to activity in private companies, where technical engineers are included, from the lower social classes and among whom the access to leadership functions is associated to the ownership of the companies (2002: 17).

This study suggests that not only gender but also age and class matters in professions. Thus, it is important to see the effect of those variables as well as gender in order to have the full picture about women's participation in professions. As Rodrigues puts it, "social origin has a significant relationship with the grade of the engineering graduate, with the gender and age" (2002, 16) She also states that "despite the rise in the number of members, the profession maintains itself as a reproduction of elites" (2002: 16).

These four different examples show that women's participation in professions is very much related with the social, political and cultural characteristics of the society as a whole. Thus, to conclude, it is possible to say that studies focusing on women's participation in professions should pay attention to contextual differences between different societies and specific features of the women professionals being studied.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I start with questioning the approaches to the effects of patriarchy on women's work. I have argued that these effects have been mainly conceptualised within the Marxist and socialist feminist approaches. Those approaches focus on women who are waged labourers and the patterns of their work which are directly subjected to capitalist exploitation. They are mainly about the experiences of working class women, and the relationship between the capitalist exploitation and patriarchal oppression. Here, without falling into the trap of dualism which Crompton describes as 'class first' versus 'patriarchy first' (1988, 569), I would like to posit my point. I believe this overemphasis on the working class experience and capitalist production relations limits our understanding of the forms that patriarchy may potentially take.

In fact, this study relies basically on and is supported by the socialist feminist standpoint since it primarily deals with the effects of patriarchy on women's work and since, like socialist feminism, it rejects the idea that patriarchy or capitalism alone is responsible for women's oppression within production relations. In other words, this study is an attempt to see the different patriarchal operations at work and to go beyond the limitations of our

understanding of the operations of patriarchy at work.

With this motive in mind I have focused on a work pattern which has mainly an upper and upper middle class character and which is not directly under capitalist exploitation relations due to the characteristics of its production, the position of value it creates against capitalist production relations and its relatively autonomous position reproduced by the occupational ideology (see 2.3.1.2. and 2.3.2.). I question whether the existing formulations concerning patriarchal practices at women's work are applicable to another pattern of work such as professional work in which the power and the control is not only and directly determined by capitalism but rather by professionalism. I also question whether these formulations can explain the professional women's experiences and gender discrimination and subordination within professions.

To that end first I tried to summarise the approaches to professional work in sociological theory within the classical and contemporary traditions and second I reviewed approaches which consider the gender characteristics of professions and several aspects of women's participation within professional work.

In this context, I have discussed that if we use the conceptual framework driven from the experiences of working class women we come to a conclusion that professional women may be liberated because they have the qualities that help them to cope with the patriarchal manifestations as well as capitalist exploitation of women at work. However, the literature is full of examples of the fact that having professional qualities alone, which is expected to be a great opportunity for women to cope with the oppressing practices of the labour market, does not result either with women's equal participation within the labour market or their liberation.

Both the class-based approaches of Marxist feminism and socialist feminist approaches - including Walby's rich conceptual framework, which offers multiple bases for patriarchy, interaction of different structures and finally the public-private distinction- suggest the co-determination of class and patriarchy. In this respect they can only partly explain one to one and direct subordination of women in professions. It is because patriarchy is not manifested in the same way it is within the capitalist production relations.[36] Socialist feminism is still

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[36] For professionals who are considered to be close to the dominating classes because of their skill and credential assets or cultural capital (see 2.3.3.), capitalist exploitation relations are less determining on

the most comprehensive approach. However, I suggest that with an alternative interpretation of socialist feminism it is possible to understand better the phenomenon under study. As I pointed out before, socialist feminism approached patriarchy only within the determination of capitalist production relations. I think that instead of using patriarchy as socalist feminists do, if we formulate it as an ideological formation that embodies and manifests itself within practice, it can have more explanatory power. Here the practice can be capitalist relations of production and class, or it can be professionalism. Patriarchy can manifest itself in various forms towards the requirements of any practice as it does in capitalist relations of production. Thus, patriarchy can manifests itself in capitalist production relations, or it can also form itself towards the requirements of professionalism.

Socialist feminist approaches give satisfactory explanations about the manifestations of patriarchy on women's work which are directly subjected to the practices of capitalist production relations. However, since it restricts itself with these practices it excludes other determining pratices of women's work such as professionalism. In this connection I suggest that, interpreting these approaches by using the "notion of manifestation" and the "notion of pratice" extends their analytical content and increases their explanatory power. According to this I claim that what socialist feminists approached as patriarchy which operates at work can be understood as the manifestations of patriarchy at women's waged work following the requirements of the practice of capitalist production relations.

If I apply this interpretation of socialist feminism to the realm of professions I suggest that while patriarchy appears within the occupational practices and is manifested towards the requirements of professionalism, professionalism appears to be the *practice* within which patriarchy is manifested.. That is to say, women's professional work is determined by the patriarchal manifestations within the practices of professionalism and designate women's participation in professional work. Here patriarchy, in the sense it has been described in the first chapter refers to an ideological formation in which sexual and biological differences are transformed into social, economic, cultural and political sources of oppression, has a fluid,

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their production (see 2.3.1.2.). As Larsons said, "their superiority over and distance from the working class is the main common characteristics that all professions and would be professions have in common" (1977: xvi). On the other hand 'class' as an analytical category is also problematic when applied to women. It is argued that class theories which conceptualise industrial society as the different levels of abstract collectivises are gender blind (Crompton, 1988: 569). Even the class classifications considering occupational aspects includes a consideration about the professionals class locations still ignore patriarchal oppression of professional women.

incomplete, and changing nature while, professionalism refers to the major constructing element that builds the distinctive position of professionals within the entire society, and thus appears to be a functional concept to consider either the distant place of professionals within the stratification system or the conditions of women's participation in professions (see 2.3.4.)[37].

It is also important to note that the examples within the literature indicate the different experiences of professional women which vary depending on the different social, political, economic and cultural conditions (see 2.4.4.). French, British, Polish women, Black, Hindu and Muslim women's experiences within professions are slightly different from each other. Meanwhile, these experiences still have some common characteristics. In this respect, it is possible to say that formulations concerning the strategies of the manifestation of patriarchy within the practice of professionalism may not be satisfactory if different historical and social contexts that effect the manifestations of patriarchy were not considered.

I suggest that the notion of manifestation refers to the embodied or instrumental forms of patriarchy which are actually a continuing, incomplete formation, appearing in the surface of social practices depending on the existing social, political and economic system of a society in a certain period[38]. Thus, its manifestations within women's professional work may not be determined only by professionalism, but also by other social structures. From such a standpoint it is possible to understand women's experiences in different work patterns such as professional work or factory work; within the different production relations like socialism or capitalism; under the different ethnic, regional, religional positions; or in different political or historical contexts like Kemalism in Turkey.

Within the context of this study, the phenomenon of the manifestations of patriarchy within professions in Turkey and especially women's entry to professions in the Republican period in high numbers appear to be remarkable examples. Because of the original historical

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[37] Rather than the class locations, the occupational ideology called professionalism, which can be understood as the class conscious of professionals, determines the distinctive place of the professionals within the entire society.

[38] In fact, as discussed in the first chapter it is the changing nature of patriarchy that ensures its maintenance across different periods of time, places and sections of society. It bargains and cooperates with any kind of structure, and appears in a form for example, mainly within capitalism or in my case mainly within professionalism. If patriarchy was a constant structure, the interests of patriarchy would conflict with the interests of the hegemonic structure of the particular society in a particular period of time which may endanger the maintenance of patriarchy.

conditions of Turkey which determine the professionalisation as well as women's entry into professions, the manifestations of patriarchy become contextual. In the following chapters of the present study I try to highlight the manifestations of patriarchy in women's professional work and the social, political, and historical practices that surround and determine these manifestations.

CHAPTER 3

TURKISH PROFESSIONAL WOMEN: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1. Introduction

Until now, I have mainly questioned whether the theoretical formulations of patriarchy on women's work are applicable to different patterns of work such as the professions. In order to do this, I have reviewed theoretical accounts of professions and women's participation in professional work. I concluded that although professionalism seems to have an liberating effect on women's lives, it is still subject to oppression by patriarchal influences. It is possible to see this phenomenon in in the case of Turkey. Moreover, Turkey appears to be a unique example because in Turkey, it is evident that not only professionalism but also other social and historical determinants condition the manifestations of patriarchy. The phenomenon of women's entry to professions in relatively high numbers was a significant development that appeared in the early Republican period especially when the occupational ideology and culture of professions in Turkey were just beginning to appear. What distinguishes women's participation in professions in the Republican period from that of other periods and other countries is women's being involved in the development of the from-above construction of professions from the very beginning which gave women the chance to influence the masculine ethos of professions and professionalism as a whole. This phenomenon appears to be a fertile realm to observe the different forms patriarchy takes under different conditions depending on the contextual frame of the particular society in a certain period. To that end, the main focus of this study will be the effect of women's professional work in the early Republican period on the experiences of professional women who witnessed this period.

In this chapter, I intend to point out the interrelations between determinants of women's entry into professions in Turkey. Before discussing historical and ideological structures and determinants that condition the present situation, I will summarize women's participation in professions within the broader context of their participation in the labour force in Turkey. Then, in the second part of this chapter,I will focus on the process of modernisation which includes reforms and developments as well as different approaches concerning women during both the late Ottoman and Early Republican periods.

3.2. Women's Participation in the Labour Force in Urban Turkey Today: An Overview

In Turkey, women's participation in the labour force is structured around deep gender inequalities, as it is in many of the countries of the world. However, women's labour force participation in Turkey has some unique characteristics and structural contradictions. There are three major characteristics determine women's labour force participation in Turkey (Dayıoğlu and Kasnakoğlu, 1997).

First, in urbanized and industrialized Turkey, women are joining the ranks of the unemployed or are working as unskilled labourers. The rates of urbanization and immigration have increased since the 1950s. In this respect, production relations have shifted from agriculture-based to industry-based. Thus, "There has been a steady decline in female labour in Turkey" (Ecevit; 2004: 75). In 1955, the rate of women's economic activity was 72% and men's was 95.34% in Turkey's agriculture-based economy. The rate among women decreased to 42.76% in 1990, and to 26.0% in 2000, which is nearly one third of the rate of economic activity among men (Ecevit, 2000: 131).

Table 3.1. Changes in Ratios of Economically Active Women and Men, 1955-2000

Year	Ratios of Economically Active Men and Women	
	Women	Men
1955	72.02	95.34
1960	65.35	93.60
1965	56.62	91.83
1970	50.25	79.46
1975	47.28	80.87
1980	45.77	79.76
1985	43.61	78.26
1990	42.76	78.22
1995	30.5	77.3
2000	26.0	73.9

Source: Ecevit (2004), "Women's labour and Social Security", (unpublished) World Bank Report March 2004.

Second, it is often said that women are mainly working in agriculture and some of as unpaid family labourers. According to data from 1999, 72.3% of hunters, fishermen, agricultural, animal husbandry, and forestry workers are women. This ratio is 94% in rural areas and 13% in urban Turkey (Ecevit, 2000) (see table 2.2.).

Table 3.2. Labour Force Participation rates in Various Economic Sectors by Gender in Rural and Urban Turkey, 1999

Sectors	Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Agriculture	72.7	33.8	13.2	4.7	93.9	65.4
Industry	9.7	25.4	28.8	37.0	2.7	12.7
Service	18.1	40.8	58.0	58.2	3.4	21.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Ecevit, 2000

Third, a difference exists between urban and rural areas with respect to women's labour force participation in terms of the occupations in which they are engaged (see table 2.2 and 2.3). In the urban labour market, women, a vulnerable group, are offered the most difficult and exploited sorts of work. They are either exploited within or excluded from the labour market. Due to their lack of education and experience, which is necessary to survive in an urban environment as well as to employment in an urban labour market, women's labour force participation has decreased.

Table 3.3. Labour Force Participation by Gender, Urban vs. Rural Turkey, 2003

	Turkey	Urban	Rural
Men	72.14	79.95	63.20
Women	27.85	20.05	36.81
Total	100	100	100

Source: State Institute of Statistics, House Hold Labour Force Statistics, 2003, Annual

Women, contradictorily, are primarily employed in professional occupations in the urban labour market. Professional work is one of women's main economic activities in urban Turkey. According to 2003 Household Labour Force Statistics, the highest ratio of women's labour force participation in urban settings belongs to the highest rank of occupations: "Scientific and technical professionals, self-employed, and related works." In Turkey, 23.4% of the female labour force in urban areas is professional. The figure for men is very low; only 10.3% of men are professionals in the urban labour market. However, women's ratios in professional and related occupations are lower than that of men (see table 2.4.). This difference is smaller than the difference between women and men's participation rates in other patterns of work. This is a trend that should be underlined, as it is uncommon to see such a high rate of participation in professional work in a context where women's labour force participation mainly consists of agricultural work whereby they are generally unpaid family labourers. In this respect, one can assume that women's participation in professional work is in contradiction with the general trend of women's labour force participation in Turkey.

Table 3.4. Female and male labour force by occupations, Urban/Rural Turkey, 2003

Occupation	Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	W %	M %	W %	M %	W %	M %
Scientific and technical professionals, self-employed, and related works	10.6	7.8	23.4	10.3	2.6	4.1
Entrepreneurs, directors and managers	0.9	3.9	2.2	5.2	0.1	2.0
Administrative and related works	8.7	5.1	19.8	6.9	1.8	2.4
Commerce and salesclerk	5.2	13.8	11.0	18.9	1.6	6.9
Service workers	5.9	12.3	13.5	14.7	1.1	14.7
Agricultural, animal husbandry,forestry workers and fishermen and hunters	58.5	24.4	9.4	3.0	88.9	55.3
Workers in production units other than agriculture and transportation vehicle operators	9.2	31.6	18.5	39.7	3.4	19.9
Unknown	1.0	1.2	2.1	1,6	0.3	0.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: State Institute of Statistics, Household Labour Statistics, 2003 (Annual)

It is also important to note that education is a significant determinant of women's participation in the labour market, particularly in urban Turkey (İlkkaracan, 1998: 301). It is easier for educated women to cope with the strong gender inequalities within the urban labour market. Labour force participation rates increase with respect to education level, reaching the highest rates for women with university degrees (Dayıoğlu & Kasnakoğlu, 1997; 307; Ecevit et. all., 2000, Eyuboğlu et all, 2000a). Moreover, the effect of education on labour force participation among men is much less significant compared to that among women (Ecevit, 2000: 134).

Table3.5. The Effect of Education on Labour Force Participation by Gender (Turkey, Urban / Rural, 2003), Percent.

Education	Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Illiterate	17.7	2.9	4,1	1.3	26.1	5.3
Literate	4.0	2.4	2.0	1.2	5.2	4.1
Primary school	46.3	49.8	28.3	37.4	57.5	61.3
Primary education	1.2	0.6	0.7	0.5	1.6	0.8
Secondary school	4.8	12.7	7.9	14.3	2.8	10.3
Secondary professional school	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	0.1
High school	7.6	11.6	15.7	14.6	2.6	7.5
High professional school	5.6	4.4	11.4	11.5	1.6	7.5
College and university	12.3	10.3	29.4	14.4	2.6	4.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: State Institute of Statistics, Household Labour Statistics, 2003 (Annual)

Kandiyoti states that while the general characteristics of women's labour force participation in Turkey display important similarities with many third world countries and Middle Eastern economies, women's participation in professional work in Turkey seems more similar to that of developed countries (1997: 40). Öncü reminds us that, due to a decrease in the size of the male labour force and in order to meet the demand of rapidly developing industries, such a trend has also been seen since the Second World War in a number of developing countries, including Brazil, Argentina and Greece (Öncü, 1982: 257). In addition, it is interesting to see that in the 1970s, the rate of women's participation in professional life in Turkey resembles that of countries in which state intervention in professions is high, such as the former USSR, the former Democratic Republic of Germany, and Poland (see table 2.6.).

Table 3.6. The ratio of women lawyers and physicians by country, 1970

Country	Occupation	
	Lawyers	Physicians
U.S.A (1)	3.5	6.5
U.S.S.R. (1)	36.0	75.0
U.K. (1)	3.8	16.0
Japan (1)	3.0	9.3
Sweden	6.1	15.4
Germany (Fed. Rep.) (1)	5.5	20.0
Germany (Dem. Rep.) (1)	30.0	-
Italy (1)	2.8	4.9
India (1)	0.7	9.5
Denmark (1)	-	16.4
Poland (1)	18.8	36.4
Turkey (2)	22.70	14.1

source: (1) Epstein, (1970), (2) Öncü (1982)

However, relatively higher rates of women's participation in professional work does not guarantee the equal participation of women. On the contrary, occupational segregation is very evident in highly skilled work areas such that although women's participation rates are relatively high, women are generally restricted to professions that are assumed to be appropriate for women and that are less competitive and less prestigious branches of the professional world (Eyüboğlu, 2000). Moreover, women are concentrated in the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy and hold less authoritarian positions (see table 2.7.). Under these conditions, women's participation in professional work is, in Acar's terms, "pseudo-participation (1998 and 1996)."

Table 3.7. Women and Men in the Professions

Occupation	Women	Men
Professions (scientific & technical)	34.32	65.68
Professions (managerial & administrative)	8.78	91.21
Management	35.28	64.71

Source: Statistical Indicators, State Institute of Statistics, 1998

This segregation influences earnings and creates a wage inequality between professional women and men; as Ecevit (2000: 168) puts it, according to the 1999 data, women earn 53.6% of men's salaries in professional occupations.

Gender stereotyping leaves women at a disadvantage, especially in male dominated professions. According to the results of Günindi-Ersöz's research (2000), although they are in managerial professions, women are less frequently preferred for advancement, have difficulty with work-related travel and domestic responsibilities as mothers and wives, are not accepted as managers by their male colleagues, feel obligated to practice self-control at work. These problems are very similar to those faced by professional women, as mentioned in literature[39]. In the example of medical professions, despite the "Medicine Qualifying Exam/Tıpta Uzmanlık Sınavı (TUS)," which is supposed to be an objective criterion for entering the occupation, women are believed to be inappropriate for and excluded from certain branches of medicine (Bekata Mardin et al.: 2000).

Despite these obstacles, in Turkey professional women benefit from a support system that ensures relatively higher rates of women's participation in the urban professional workforce. First, because unskilled women offer a cheap labour force, professional women can easily hire them for domestic services: "Compared to their counterparts in European countries, working women in Turkey can more readily find other women to look after their children since child minders and domestic servants cost less" (Ecevit 2004: 88). In their research about the professional women in computer programming Ecevit, Tokluoğlu and Gündüz-Hoşgor pointout that these women employ "two groups of people, anmely child midners and domestic workers to ease their household responsibilities" (2004: 14) Thereby, they can reconcile their professional and family obligations. The exploitation of the "other women" who work as domestic servants provides professional women with a balance between professional and domestic responsibilities (see also, Öncü, 1982).

Second, traditionally, women can obtain assistance from their female relatives. This help,

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[39]Gray 1987 assumes that women's advancement is only acceptable for certain types of work. Epstein mentions that women are discouraged for advancement. Bekata-Mardin et al., (2000) points out the problems in women's advancement in male-dominated realms. Most of the researchers mention the problem of a double burden caused by being both mother and wife: Alvarez et. al. (1996) radically criticises the cult of domesticity and Homans (1987) reveals the myth of pregnancy. Due to the lack of role models, women are unsuitable for professions (Epstein, 1970) and women professionals are "inferior types of beings" (Spencer and Padmore, 1987).

especially in terms of childcare, provides professional women, who are generally coming from middle and upper middle class families, with a way of balancing their domestic and professional roles (Kandiyoti, 1997: 40; Öncü, 1981: 260; Kabasakal, 1998).

> To reduce the tension between domestic and professional responsibilities of women and save individual men and the patriarchal structure of the family from the effects of this tension, in some cases women relatives shoulder the domestic responsibilities (Kandiyoti, 1997: 47).

Even the most educated women rely on their female relatives, especially their own mothers or mothers-in-law for child-care (see Ecevit 2004). In this respect, in Turkey, professional women have some opportunities, such as a family support system and access to a cheap domestic labour force, which women in developing countries lack.

These features have significant effects on women's participation in the professions. However, neither economic nor social determinants are sufficient to understand the relatively higher rates of women's participation in the professions in Turkey. Because it is a historically specific phenomenon, it is impossible to understand this phenomenon without a historical perspective.

3.3. Women and Modernization in Turkey

If we approach women's participation in professions in Turkey historically, Turkish modernization and Kemalist ideology are the two important issues. As Tekeli suggests, in order to understand the effects of Turkish modernization on women's labour force participation, one should consider carefully the period starting from the declaration of Tanzimat reforms (1997: 171; 1985). In the present study, by "Turkish modernization", I mean both the late Ottoman and early Republican periods in which social, political and even cultural structures had been changed.

This part of the chapter covers the modernization project beginning in the Ottoman period. First, reforms concerning women and the family, and the different approaches to women's modernization in the late Ottoman period, and then Kemalist reforms concerning women's rights and their theoretical evaluations are discussed.

Despite some similarities, the question of women in Turkish modernization was considered in a way different from that of Third world and other Middle Eastern countries where women are centrally important for their Third World nationalisms (Altınay, 2000). Kandiyoti states that, "It is commonly conceded that among Muslim Nations, Turkey distinguishes herself by comprehensive, and yet unparalleled, reforms with respect to the emancipation of women" (1991: 22).

Berkes (2003) states that it was rarely the case that, following nationalist wars, a nation does not locate itself against its old traditional value systems and in contrast to the civilizations behind imperialist powers. On the contrary, a return to the traditional values, which were based on the very past, was seen as a trend for building the national unity (Berkes, 2003: 526). Within this trend, women were considered as the bearers of tradition, epitomizing the image of a unique cultural and national identity in contrast to Imperialist Western modernization (Durakbaşa, 1998a; Durakbaşa, 2000; Kandiyoti, 1997). In other words, the phenomenon of women's positioning in Eastern Islamic countries is the part of national resistance against 'colonialism' and the 'economic cultural hegemony of the West' (Durakbaşa, 1998a). Yuval-Davis explains that, for nation states, which consider Westernization to be part of the cultural imperialism of Europe and try to expand their hegemony by securing the maintenance of the cultural and religious traditions, women are not the symbols of change but rather are the bearers of the tradition. (2003, 121-122).

However, both late Ottoman reformists and Kemalists saw women as images of modernity. Because Turkey was never totally and directly colonized nor subjected to Western Imperialist intentions, "there was no strong reflection against western imperialism"(Kandiyoti,1997: 69). On the contrary, in the late Ottoman period, supporters of Westernisation, who considered westernization to be the strongest recipe for the emancipation of the state, and reformist intellectuals suggested that women should be saved from the restrictions of traditional sexist rules and be extended the quality of life enjoyed by their Western counterparts. Thus, they were supposed to be bearers of change rather than of tradition. This approach was sustained during Kemalist modernization period because reformers rejected Islamic Ottoman tradition and its institutions. The idea of a secular legal system structurally differentiates Kemalist from Islamist reformers because the Kemalist revolution was "a shift from theocratic monarchy to modern and secular republic which depends on the bases of public domination"(Ateş, 2002: 320). During Kemalist revolution,

and the subsequent modernization project, women were given an ideal of development and worked in the public sphere. In these conditions, women were invited to the nation-building project in many positions, one of which being professionals.

3.4. Reforms Concerning Women and the Family in the Late Ottoman Period:

In the beginning of the 19th Century, the Ottoman Empire had failed to catch up to the newly industrialised Western states and it retrogressed in economic, social and military terms. Under these conditions, in an effort to maintain the Ottoman Empire, reformist ideas began to be considered (Köker, 1988: 50-51).

The very first of the reforms of the social and juridical systems was the declaration of *Tanzimat Fermanı* (order of administrative reforms), officially announced on 3 November 1839. Kandiyoti states that Tanzimat suggested extensive reforms with far-reaching consequences in the fields of administration, legislation and education (1991: 24).

According to Berkes, the main purpose of the reforms was to restrict the heretofore-unlimited authority of the Sultan over the government but not over the public. Legislative authority would be given to the parliament, which would consist of the ulema, bureaucrats and military personal. The Sultan would be replaced by the Sharia as the reference point for legislation. Berkes states that Tanzimat was not built up around political representation of the public, but rather constructed the government's autocracy instead of autocracy of the sultan (Berkes, 2003: 288). The programme was to form a bureaucratic government beyond the autocracy of the Empire. However, due to the lack of staff necessary to implementing this programme successfully, it failed in many aspects (Berkes, 2003: 244-248). Despite its failure, the period of Tanzimat had set the stage for important changes, most of which were in the realm of education and had considerable effects on women.

Beginning in the 19th century, the advancement of women's social status began to be considered (Abadan-Unat, 1982; Baykan, 1999). Women, even whose right to walk in the streets were restricted by law in the 1750s[40], gained some rights in the Tanzimat period.

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[40] Gündüz Hoşgör points out some of the crucial restrictions related to women in the Islamic Ottoman Empire, which was ruled by Sharia as follows: men had more inheritance rights than women; a

Women's education was the major field of reforms because it was seen as crucial to Ottoman modernization. (Nausel, 1996 ; Acar, 1996; Durakbaşa, 2000 ; Ecevit et all., 2000). Although Western-style schools had begun to appear in the 18th century, the education had remained largely in the hands of clerical and Koranic institutions which refused to train students to be open minded (N. Arat and Güçlü, 1998: 29). In the 19th century, As Tanilli puts it, when the Ottoman modernization movement, which had previously been seen in armed forces, spread to the civil institutions, it mostly affected the realm of education (Tanilli, 1997: 111).

It was considered that women's education would be necessary first to secure the educational potential of the next generation and second to build the family which depends on love affair rather than traditional patriarchal restrictions (Durakbaşa, 2000: 97). The ideal woman was a supportive wife and educated mother, expected to be worthy of her husband. Women were considered as the main subject of the means by which society's stabilisation could be achieved. An educated woman would guarantee a peaceful family and the nation's prosperity. Thus, during the reformist period, women's education was of primary concern. In addition to education in general terms, professional education of women was also considered.

In 1842, the School of Medicine began to train local midwives; in 1862, a secondary school for girls was opened (Berkes, 2003: 231); in 1869, a girls' vocational school was established (Kız Sanayii Mektebi) to create a labour force for to produce textiles for the army; in the 1870's, the Women's Teacher Training College (Dar-ul Muallimat)[41] was established to meet the demand for women to teach in girls' schools; technical schools were opened to teach women home economics[42] (Kandiyoti, 1991; Z. Arat, 1998b; Güzel,1983; Köker,

woman was worth half a man in matters concerning testimony in courts; the Islamic law permitted men four wives; a marriage could be dissolved by a husband's repudiation; a women had to cover herself, including her face and head, when she was with men other than members of her household. In addition, public life was also very limited. In cities, women could only go to segregated public places: street cars and ferry boats had separate sections for women; Concerts and plays were repeated for female audiences(1996: 121).

[41] In the Tanzimat period, it was accepted that in addition to religious education, learning arts and crafts and practical knowledge in order to be helpful for other people was necessary. Women were even admitted to middle schools. However, the teaching staff was still coming from the 'medrese' and the transformation of schools from religious to modern was not easy. In this respect, teacher-training schools, one of which is Dar-ül Müallimat, were established (Berkes, 2003: 230-231).

[42] However, in this period, most of the professional schools for girls were closed because it was deemed undesirable that women be educated areas in which they were not allowed to perform due to the traditional value system (Danyal Köker, 1988: 53).

1988; Berkes, 2003). In 1876, the first constitution made primary education obligatory for both girls and boys (Köker, 1988: 54). In 1877, the first girls' arts and crafts school was established and three others followed between 1878 and 1879 (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996: 133). Primarily, urbanised upper class women benefited from these schools. Most of those living in cities and members of families belonging to the petty bourgeoisie and professional strata, especially in Istanbul, were privately educated because public education for women was not allowed until the second half of the nineteenth century (Gündüz Hoşgör 1996: 129).

Between 1871-1876, due to the failure of the Tanzimat regime, the Ottoman state was faced with a crisis, with the idea of building a constitutional state regime, by the affords the "Young Ottomans," who were a group of constitutionalist and Islamist intellectuals (Kongar, 2001: 67), made an agreement with Abdülhamit II, who desired to be the sultan, saying that he would accept the constitution, parliament, and the constitutional monarchy (Berkes, 2003: 313-316). The first constitution was accepted in 1876. However, through minor changes within the constitution, Abdülhamit II succeeded in building his oppressive regime that was, as Berkes writes, a "constitutional autocracy" (see Berkes 2003: 328-335). Abdülhamit II sent the framers of the constitution into exile or had them killed, closed the parliament, and bound the religious institutions and the military to the palace. Thus, the first constitutional period resulted in Abdülhamit II's oppressive regime, which lasted thirty years.

Despite the authoritarian nature of his regime, Abdülhamit II made many reforms in education. As can be seen from the education statistics of the period, the rates of schooling were increased in various levels of education. Technical schools and academies specializing in agriculture, fine arts, law, commerce, forestry, veterinary medicine, and metallurgy were established (Alkan, 2000). Yet, this quantitative improvement was not accompanied by a qualitative improvement in terms of modern and scientific education. In the second half of Abdülhamit II's sultanate, religious content began to be mentioned more and more (Alkan, 2000: 8).

Towards the end of the 19th century, the western world had improved in terms of economics, technology, and science and was becoming the most powerful civilization of the world. Meanwhile, in the Ottoman Empire, the modernization project was ended up with the construction of a religious dictatorship. The reaction against Abdülhamit's autocratic regime began among those of the educated young generation who had managed to hide themselves from the Sultan's informants (Berkes, 2003: 389-393). This authoritarian period ended with

a calm military rebellion commanded by the "Young Turks,"[43] which was a group of educated men gathered against the Ottoman Sultan's oppressive regime and organized around the "İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti" (Party of Union and Progress)[44]. The second constitution was approved in 1908 (Kongar, 2001: 68). In this period, to a great degree, the government was under the control of Party of Union and Progress.

The Ottoman intellectuals who were in touch with the West put the question of women on the agenda. According to them, the regression of Ottoman society had resulted from the traditional way of social life. They considered the adoption of a Western way of life as means of catching up to Western civilization. Within such an environment women themselves raised questions about their position in the society, stated their demands, and as Zihnioğlu claims, brought "the question of women's rights to the agenda of the society" (2001: 27). In this respect, women's position within society was concerned and women were seen as social beings with social responsibilities. In their regulations, there was an expression saying that "the society consists of women and men", indicating that women were seen as a part of social and political life (Köker, 1988: 58). In this period, the re-regulation of the society had been achieved via education and the reformists focused particularly on women's education. For instance, with the goal of advancing women's education, an English woman educator was commissioned to prepare a report on the conditions in girls' schools (Köker, 1988: 59).

The first high schools (İnas İdadisi) for girls were established in 1327 (1912), followed by the "The School of Industry for Girls" (Istanbul Kız Sanayi Mektebi) which was established in (1329) 1913[45] (Alkan, 2000). Women's admission to university was not possible until 1915, when women were allowed to participate in free conferences in Darülfinun. One year later, İnas Darülfünunu (The House of Sciences for Women), which consisted of

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[43] They wanted 'Kanun-i Esasi' (the Constitution) to come in to force again. They sent an ultimatum to Abdülhamit informing him of this requirement. Surprisingly, the Sultan, who foresaw the danger of being dethroned, accepted their requirements and brought the 'Kanun-i Esasi' into force (Berkes, 2003: 401).

[44] After the end of the Abdülhamit II's oppressive regime, "İttihat ve Terrakki" had become the major political organizational structure. Within a short period of time, local "Ittihat ve Terakki" organizations were formed. It eventually became an official political party in 1913 (Berkes, 2003:403-406). 'İttihat' refers to the "Ottoman unity", and 'terakki' means "enlightenment and development"(Berkes, 2003: 405).

[45] In 1905-1908, there were thirteen high schools for girls in different parts of the Empire. However, they were Armenian, French, English and Greek schools (see, Alkan 2000).

departments of literature, mathematics, and natural sciences, was established. In the same period, "İnas Sanayi-i Nefise" (Fine Arts School for Women) was established, consisting only of departments of painting and sculpture (see 3.5.1). Higher education institutions began training teachers for the newly establishing girls' high schools (Küley, 1998).

However, women from wealthy and intellectual families[46] continued to benefit from these opportunities, generally the young women who were residing in relatively big cities such as İstanbul, İzmir and Selanik (Tekeli, 1997: 173; Berkes, 2003: 231). Indeed, educational opportunities for women were available primarily in big cities. Thus, education did not affect women's lives in many areas of Turkey. As Gök mentions, in this period, education was seen as an apparatus used to maintain and reproduce hegemonic ideology[47]. It was an undeniable facet of the reproduction of class structure and the sexual division of labour (Gök, 1993: 182-183: Saktanber, 2002; 328).

In the Second Constitutional Period, it was believed that education reformation should be carried out "from above downwards" (Köker, 1988: 60). In this approach, which was called "Tuba Ağacı"[48], college and university education was given precedence (Alkan, 2000: 9) and high schools become more important than secondary schools. According to Köker (1988), as a consequence of this approach, educated women, who would be the first professionals of the

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[46] Here, I refer to middle- and upper middle-class families. However, I avoid using the term "class", since social stratification was not well-defined in the Ottoman Empire as it was in industrialised Europe, where the concept of class was formulated to explain the phenomenon of social stratification with respect to production relations. Both the stratification system and production relations were different in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, it would be incorrect to use the term without giving a detailed explanation. Mardin clearly explains the position of the middle class in this period. According to Mardin, there is evidence of the existence of a middle class in the 18th and 19th centuries in the Ottoman Empire, which consisted of Muslim Turks who were engaged in commerce and industry. However, following the commercial acts concerning the entrance of European goods to the Ottoman markets, the privileges of the local middle classes passed to Europeans and to other non-Muslim minorities. For this reason, middle class families encouraged their children to become military officers. After the Tanzimat period, this stratum reformed itself and created the governmental elite, which would undertake the task of creating the modern Turkish Republic (Mardin, 1992: 337-342).

[47] However, this is not unique to Turkey. Similar trends can be seen in Third Republican France. In the last ten years of the 19th Century, women were allowed to enter higher education institutions with the main purpose of strengthening the Republic and building a "happy" nation. They were seen as "teaching mothers" (Costas, 1996:118). It is not surprising that in the Constitutional Period, Western intellectuals who were in touch with the West, in particular France, created educational opportunities for women and later allowed them to enter certain areas of the higher education system, inspired by the same motive.

[48] It was the name of the tree of life in the Garden of Eden whose roots are above and branches are below.

future Republic, belonged to the elite group.

The developing idea of women's liberation necessitated regulations concerning women's participation in social life. It was acknowledged that education alone would not ensure women's advancement within society. They needed to have some rights to practice in the fields in which they had been educated. The right to work in the medical field was granted in 1917. Despite this, their entrance to medical schools was not granted until the 1922/1923 educational year. Women were allowed to enter the Faculty of Law in the 1921/1922 educational year (Köker 1988: 64-67).

Not surprisingly, upper and upper-middle class modernist and Westernist men who sought education for their future wives also sought social and legal reforms designed to remove those traditional forces which restricted their social and personal lives as young men. They began to criticise the traditional structures of marriage and the patriarchal family, which restricted their way of life (Durakbaşa, 1998a). As Berktay puts it, "the upper and upper middle class men who began to be modernised in western terms and were sincerely discontented with the traditional forms of marriage and family as well as the relations between the two sexes" (Berktay, 1994: 24).

To meet these demands, some regulations in civil law were made; in 1917, with the declaration of *Aile Nizamnamesi* (family regulations) women were given the right to divorce and polygamy became possible only if the first wife allowed it (Abadan-Unat, 1982; Baykan, 1999). However, like the educational reforms, these legal and social reforms were accessible only to a small minority of Ottoman bourgeois women who were "the daughters of the upper class families, educated by the private teachers from Europe" (Abadan-Unat, 1982: 10)[49].

All these reforms were followed by women's increasing participation in the work force, with the influence of the First World War. According to the *Tanin* which is a well known newspaper of the period, in commerce, governmental jobs and the service sector almost a thousand women were working in 1917 (quoted in Zihnioğlu, 2001). In a presentation, Zühtü Bey, who is a professor of economics and commerce, stated that in 1918 there were thirty

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[49] For example, just after 1908, women who used their rights in a small Turkish city, Aydın, had been attacked and punished. Then, the local government declared that whomever was caught in the act of talking to a woman would be punished by a fine, and the woman would be punished by bastinado (Güzel: 1983, 860).

thousand women participating in the labour force (quoted in Zihnioğlu, 2001). Via
"*Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti İslamiyesi" (association to make women work)* women were
encouraged to work to meet the labour demand of the post-war period (Saktanber, 2002:
324). Within the post-war conditions, a company called "The Market of Goods, Special to
Women" (*Kadınlar İçin Eşya Pazarı*) was established in 1917 (for detail see Okay, 1999).
Especially after 1908, women began to be involved in many different areas of the labour
market, due to economic development within the social environment of freedom (Güzel,
1983: 869). Women began to work in production units such as factories and workshops,
bureaucratic organizations such as post offices or banks, and hospitals[50]. In addition, a large
number of women labourers entered the workforce to be employed in textile, sewing, and
tobacco production (Berkes, 2003: 445; see also Güzel, 1983; Köker, 1988).

*Table 3.8. Ottoman Industry Distributed by Major Sectors, Showing Sex composition of
Workers in 1913 and 1915*

Sectors	1913 (percent)	1915 (percent)	1913 (percent)			1915 (percent)		
			F	M	T	F	M	T
Food	39.77	43.28	28.48	71.52	100	29.17	70.83	100
Solid	4.64	1.87	-	100	100	-	100	100
Leather	4.41	7.10	-	100	100	-	100	100
Woden	3.34	2.10	-	100	100	-	100	100
Textiles	36.84	38.57	54.26	45.74	100	45.57	52.43	100
Station	9.00	7.08	15.65	84.35	100	15.78	84.22	100
Chemistry	1.97	0.010	-	100	100	-	100	100
Total workers	21,077	17,885	3,316	17,761	100	4,601	13,284	100

Source: Gündüz, Hoşgör, A. (1996)

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[50] As an example, the Ottoman Bank employed the first woman in 1911 and first Muslim women in
1920. For detailed information about the first women employees of The Ottoman Bank, see Ammour,
L., and Baruh, T. L. (1999). For information about women teachers in the Ottoman period, see,
Akyüz, Y. (2000).

3.4.1. Agents of Reform: Male Feminism and the Women's Movement

In light of this evidence, one can expect that women's position within Ottoman society was considerably advanced by these reforms. However, even for those women who benefited most from the reforms, there was no substantial change concerning their traditional gender roles, Mainly due to the lack of women's involvement in the reformist actions.

Reforms that were primarily realised by men in the Tanzimat and construction periods did not go beyond educational regulations. In addition, regulations concerning marriage and family also failed to challenge the traditional gender relations and the assumed role of women within society. Those who were able to enjoy these reforms were the very agents of these reforms: progressive women and intellectual men.

There was an intellectual environment surrounding upper class women who began to raise ideas about liberation, due to their priority in public it was men who led the struggle against the patriarchal structures of traditional Ottoman society. According to White, women's debating the advantages of the nuclear family over the extended family, the idea arranged marriage, and the question of attire and concealing women's faces, hair and bodies in public resulted in the male reformers' being receptive to their demands and attaching great importance to the Woman Question (2003: 153). As Sirman (1989) puts it, young educated intellectuals' primary concerns were the ideals of freedom and equality as well as the notion of citizenship. These thoughts also influenced their approach to women. Under the affects of capitalism and Western ideals of freedom (Kazgan 1982), modern men struggled "for the emancipation of women in moralistic, sentimental and civilisation terms" (Kandiyoti, 1991: 26). Mardin (1992) gives several examples of Turkish novels that supported women's education, professionalism, and finally liberation[51]. Accordingly, Mardin suggests that among upper class people in Ottoman society, there was considerable agreement concerning women's liberation (Mardin, 1992: 34). Abadan-Unat defines this trend of intellectuals as "a moderate uprising against Ottoman patriarchal structure of the Ottoman Empire" (1998; 324). Tekeli states that the first feminists of the Ottoman Empire were modern men (1997:

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[51] Since we learn about Mardin's evaluations, the novels of Ahmet Mithat Efendi defended women's rights and suggested education and liberation for women. Besides him, *Serguzeşt* by Samipaşazade Sezai in 1889 and *İntibah* by Namık Kemal in 1876 criticized the phenomenon of cariye-female servant; *Zehra* by Naizade Nazım in 1894-1895, *İffet* by Hüseyin Rahmi in 1896, *Sefile* by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil in 1885 tried to explore women's realities and standpoints (Mardin, 1992: 32-34).

173). Kandiyoti calls their approach male-feminism (1995: 303). However, in terms of the modernization of women's position in society, only those reforms that were meaningful for men were undertaken. In that period, men dominated not only women's social and political existence but also the reforms concerning women.

In addition to these intellectual men, middle and upper-middle class women began to raise questions about their position. With the effect of Westernization, the Western feminist movement influenced the women's movement in the Second Constitutional Period (Durakbaşa, 1987). Within such an environment, where the modern and Western ideals of freedom and equality had arisen among intellectuals, women were able to question gender inequality. According to Tekeli (1977), Ottoman women between the years of 1910-1920 had challenged the traditional and legal structures of the state, had tried to advance their positions, and had required more equal conditions for themselves. In her novel, Zorlutuna describes those feminists, one of whom is her cousin, as follows:

> My cousin, as any other woman educated in the high society of Istanbul, had the ambition of equal rights with men. This ambition, I remember now, was mixed with romanticism... According to them, their own families could not understand them; left those poor girls in the arms of the insensitive, inconsiderate men. Days of sorrow start after a magnificent wedding for the young bride[52] (Zorlutuna, 1978: 87)

These women asked for more equal positions within the family and challenged the traditional forms of marriage and family as regulated by Shari'a. They believed education was the first step to their liberation. Via education, they could work and had economic independence, which was supposed to make them equal to men. Their main goal was to have citizen's rights and live as equals to men within society (Tekeli, 1997: 175). Within the liberal environment of the Second Constitutional Period, women declared their demands even louder within organizations and publications. According the Zihnioğlu the basis of their struggle was their demand for a "women's law" (Hukuk-i Nisvan) and for the "complate equality" (Musavat-I Tamme) (2001: 29).

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[52] In Zorlutuna's own words: Birinci Cihan Harbinden evvelki İstanbul sosyetesinin çok tahsil görmüş bütün kızları gibi hür olmak, erkeklerle eşit haklara sahip olmak sevdasında idi. Bu sevdaya, şimdi hatırlıyorum, büyük ölçüde romantiklik karışıyordu. ... onlara göre aileleri de kendi ruhlarını anlamıyordu; zavallıları kaldırıp rasgele hissiz, anlayışsız bir adamın kollarına atıveriyorlardı. Şatafatlı, sazlı, sözlü muhteşem bir düğünden sonra genç gelin için kara günler başlıyordu (Zorlutuna, 1978: 87)

In that period, there were some women's organizations that defended women's rights and could be called feminist. In addition, early Turkish feminist women engaged in gender debates in journals [53]. They began to argue their problems, gradually forming a feminist standpoint, and asked for some rights to be granted by those publishers, journals, organizations and associations. However, they were mainly in big cities like Selanik and İstanbul and were disconnected from the women in rest of the country. Berkes states that they were so distant that ordinary public women could not even understand what they were talking about and what their organization's name meant (Berkes, 2003: 446).

Yet, neither women's organizations nor men's pseudo-feminism[54] succeeded in questioning the traditional gender relations and the patriarchal structure of the society as a whole. They tried, rather, to advance women's position in society and rescued women from the oppression of traditional family and marriage relations.

Men were unable to see women's situation from their point of view and thus failed to bring the women's standpoint to reformist movements. The main intent of their so-called feminist requirements was to free themselves from oppressive marriage and family relations. In aspiring to the Western lifestyle, they claimed social rights for women. However, they did not question fundamentally the existing gender stereotypes. They still wanted women to devote themselves to their family and children. On the other hand, they also wanted them to be educated and intellectual. Although they were longing to make romantic marriages, women were still bounded to a strict definition of honour.

In fact, the women themselves did not question traditional gender relations within the reforms dominated by men. Rather, they required improvement in their social position without considerable challenge to the patriarchal structure of the society in which they were positioned. Some of the women's organisations, for example, did not question society's

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[53] Some women's organizations appeared: Osmanlı Kadınları İttihat Cemiyeti, Tefeyyüz, Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvan, Nisvan-ı Osmaniye, Müdafaa-ı Hukuk-u Nisvan ve Tealı-i Nisvan. In addition, there were some publications, some of which were published by those organizations: Kadınlar Dünyası (1913), Kadın Bahçesi (1912), Kadın Hayatı (1912), Kadın Duygusu (1913), Kadınlar Alemi (1913), Kadın Hayatı (1913), Kadın Kalbi (1991) (Dalyan Köker, 1988: 60).

[54] Since the reformist men's intentions are not structurally feminist, but rather modernist and Western, Unlike Tekeli and Kandiyoti, I call those attitudes of reformist men "pseudo-feminists" and the movement "pseudo-feminism".

sexist structure. They looked for solutions to their subordination without challenging it. Nezihe Muhittin, the head of the Turkish Women's Federation, mentioned her dissatisfaction with the mentality of the period's women's organizations and stated that, "neither of those women's organizations succeeded conceptualising womanhood strongly. Although they broke with the old stereotypes, they failed to imagine new goals for themselves" (quoted in Baykan: 1999).

In this regard, it is possible to suggest that the reforms regulated by the modernist elite affected certain parts of life without impacting the private realm or certain types of women who had access to the reforms.

3.5. Kemalist Reforms and Women's Rights

As Berkes states, in 1918, after the First World War, in which Ottomans were united by the motives of surviving, recovering, and even developing, there was not much left of the state. The unorganised but nationwide resistance against occupying states was channelled by the leadership of Mustafa Kemal into an organized liberation war. The national liberation war ended in victory. This victory made possible a number of reforms. The Republic was declared in 1923. These developments created a convenient environment in which to realise Ottoman intellectuals' reformist ideas[55] (Selçuk, 1997: 40-41). The idea of the nation state was victorious over the idea of the religious state (Berkes, 2003: 521). The idea of "breaking with the Ottoman tradition" had become a symbol of reform within a formal discourse (Coşar, 1999: 60). Coşar explains that the above character of reforms was justified by the claim that society had the potential to reform itself but needed the guidance of government, which would know what was best for society and be able to realize it. The only condition was to break with the Ottoman tradition. To do so, it was necessary to free institutions as well as society from the Ottoman tradition, and bring out and develop the "true" basis of

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[55] The intellectual agents, or, namely, the civil and military bureaucrats of the Turkish revolution and the Kemalist movement, were well educated men who attended schools offering education in the Western tradition. Ateş states that they were supporters of the *Tanzimat* (1839- 1871); before Meşrutiyet, they were called "new ottomans" or "Jöntürk"; in the period between I. and II. Meşrutiyet, they were named "İttihatçiler"; during the National Liberation War, they were "Müdafaa-i Hukukçular" or "Kuayi milliyeciler"; after the establishment of the Republic, they were the governing elite, the delegates of the first parliament, and members of the Republican Party (Ateş, 2002: 318).

Turkish tradition with reference to Turkish people (Coşar, 1999, 62). White writes that, "under the leadership of the charismatic war hero Mustafa Kemal, Turkey's first president, later given the honorific Atatürk or "father of the Turks", turkey was given a new image"(2003: 148)

For this new image, the recipe was Kemalism, which aimed to "create the liberal, democratic and secular society" (Y. Arat, 1998: 85). Kemalism can be defined as an ideal that aims to build a modern nation-state will achieve the status of Western civilization. It set the principles[56] of this transformation, which gradually "formed the official ideology of the regime when they became part of the constitution of the Republic in 1937" (Killi, 2003: 255). Because it was commonly believed that the Kemalist movement offered a hope of liberation, people from different standpoints supported it. Çelik argues that Kemalism happened to be a surface on which multifaceted practices, customs, and meanings were articulated (Çelik, 1999: 33). Women were also subjected to the principles of this surface.

The Turkish Republic is build upon a secular, rational and positivistic base (Mardin, 1997: 184). Atatürk suggested that a person's viewpoint should be shaped by positivistic science and that civilization can be made possible with the guidance of science (Mardin 1997: 189). Science was seen as key to achieving industrial and material development and to building a modern rationalistic society. Instead of emphasizing religion, he suggested a scientific approach to social life (Mardin 1997: 190-191). The women question is also considered within the context of Kemalism.

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[56] The principles of Ataturk's revolution consist of six themes: republicanism, nationalism, populism, laicism, etatism and revolutionism. These principles were first called Ataturkism because Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, formulated them (Mardin, 1997: 181). Killi (2003) states that the content of these principles was discussed during the fist years of the Republic. It became known as Kemalism after 1935, 12 years after the construction of the Republic and was include within the Constitution of the Republic. These principles were appropriated by the party congress and introduced into the 1937 Constitution (Zücher, 2002: 44).

3.5.1. The Kemalist Modernisation Approach on Women and Its Relationship to the Late Ottoman Reformist Ideals

The Kemalist vision of women was connected to differing considerations of women's social position in the late Ottoman period. Kemalism had rejected or accepted various features of past experience and created its own policy about women's advancement within society, corresponding to the project of nation building.

First, Kemalism refused to regulate society by the rules of Islam, which suggested adapting Western technology and material progress, deemed to be inevitable consequences of progress, and stressed that "western culture must by no account be allowed to contaminate the values of Islam" (Kandiyoti, 1991: 32)[57]. Thus, Kemalism did not embrace the Islamists' attitudes towards women. However, it also differs from the Westernist approach, which claims a total rejection of traditional and cultural bases and instead encourages the adaptation of a rationalistic and positivistic outlook on the West and advanced technology[58]. Republican ideology was built upon nationalist and populist discourses rather than Western Ideology.

Such an approach can also be seen in Turkism. Actually, the Kemalist projectdiffered structurally from the Turkist approach in terms of nationalism and the role of Islam[59]. However, Kemalism did refer to ancient Turkish culture and Gökalp's Turkism, to fill a gap, which might have been created by the strong break with Ottoman tradition (Durakbaşa,

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[57]The Islamist approach offers a modern Islamist perspective that suggests changes in women's lives which are compatible with the dictates of Islam (see Kandiyoti, 1991)

[58]Through a Western approach, the social revolution was extended to include family life as well: it was believed that in order to achieve a radical transformation, it was necessary to re-form family life and ensure gender equality. These thoughts were reflected in the lives of upper class intellectual women. However, these suggestions of Western intellectuals were alien to the rest, who comprised the vast majority of the public (Berkes, 2003:445).

[59] For both Kemalizm and Turkism, the Turkish State was modelled upon an ideal unity of the Turkish people (Mardin, 1992). However, Kemalism limits the idea of the nation to the geographical borders of the country. In contrast, Turkism was open to the idea of going beyond geographical borders and thus it suggested the ideal unity of Turks all over the world, an idea that can be termed *Turan*[59] (Killi, 2003: 104). In addition to this, Kemalist modernization differs from Gökalp's Turkism in conceptualising the relationship between Islam and the nation. Gökalp was arguing the mutual compatibility of Islam, Turkish culture and contemporary civilisation (1968). He suggested the adaptation of Islam to the Turkish nation and believed that religion is the source of power on which to build a nation (Zücher, 2002: 49). Meanwhile, "Kemal had opted for a model that required the total privatisation of religion and the full secularisation of social life" (Kandiyoti, 1991: 38). Between 1927 and 1931, Republican Party programs mentioned that the new national state was Turkish and that Turkish identity depends on language, culture and ideals (Zücher, 2002, 49). Zücher (2002) states that the absolute non-existence of Islamic content was the determining feature of Kemalist nationalism.

1998a: 139). Accordingly, Y. Arat claims that the ideal model for modernism was considered to be the pre-Islamic period for the Republican government.

> In the Turkish case, the founding fathers of the Republic sought to become Western as well as modern. Furthermore, the founding fathers exhibited creativity in imagining the national state by rejecting Islam, the traditional religion of the majority, and seeking to legitimize their project with reference to a pre-Islamic Turkish past. This period was idealized, if not invented, to legitimize the western values of secularism, equality and nationalism that the Turkish project of Modernity sought to adopt (Y.Arat, 2000: 108).

Gökalp considers gender relations, women and the family within the morality of Turkism[60]. He states that Turks were feminist and democratic in gender relations[61].

> Gökalp's views on moral Turkism, especially on the family and sexual morality, represent a significant departure from earlier approaches to the women question. He suggested that family morality based on ancient Turkish Cultural Values included norms such as communal ownership of land, democracy in the parental family as opposed to the autocracy of the patriarchal family, the equality of men and women, and monogamous marriage. He traces some of the labels as Turkish Feminism (using exact words). (Kandiyoti, 1991: 34-35)

As Berkes summarises, Gökalp defines women's liberation in three parts:

> a) Women's participation in public, especially in economic and professional life; b) to enable equality of education for men and women: c) to enable equality of law concerning the subjects of marriage, divorce and inheritance. In order to enable change in these three aspects, economic, educational and legal reforms would have to be undertaken (Berkes, 2003: 448).

Recognition of women's intellectual capacity, treatment of women as citizens, great importance given to the education of women who would be responsible for the education of the next generations, the formulation of an image of the ideal woman with high morality, intellect, and devotion to community-service, common to Islamist as well as Turkist views and passed on to the nationalists framework, and a critical approach to the structure of the

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[60] For this reason, he suggests a programme to accomplish the task of bringing out the Turkish national culture. According to Gökalp's program, there are eight elements of Turkism. He suggests Turkism consists of language, aesthetics, morality, law, religion, economy, politics and philosophy.

[61] Among ancient Turks, *Şamanism*, sanctifies women while *töyonizm* sanctifies men. Since both religions were equally respected, men and women were equal (Gökalp, 1968: 148).

traditional Ottoman family were the main points of these approaches (see Duyrakbaşa, 1983: 54-59).

For example, according to Halil Nimetullah's interpretation of populism (*halkçılık*), feminism was one of its features. According to Gökalp's approach to gender relations, populism supposes that women and men should participate equally in social and political life just as they did in pre-Islamic Turkish societies (Köker, 1988: 106).

The Kemalist modernization and development project was very much inspired by these approaches. Çelik states that the reformist claims of Late Ottoman intellectuals were interpreted on the basis of Kemalist nationalism or national statism (Çelik, 1999: 39).

The woman question was embedded in such a context. According to Kandiyoti,

> The decisive actions of Kemalism with respect to women's emancipation were the evacuation of Islam from the legislative and broader institutional sphere, and the inclusion of women into a new notion of citizenship dictated by the transition from a monarchy to a populist republic (Kandiyoti, 1991: 39).

Accordingly, the Republican state was deeply concerned with the advancement of women's position within society and with ensuring gender equality. As White points out,

> The republican state itself evolved into what later scholars called a feminist state, a male dominated state that made women's equality in the public sphere a national policy. The new government radically changed laws, encouraged women to unveil, to enter the universities and professions, become airplane pilots, and run for parliament -in many cases before other European societies did. (2003: 145)

3.5.2. Regulations Concerning Women in the Republican Period

Radical changes to women's social position took place in the period of the construction of republic and during Kemalist modernization. Süral states that,

> In Turkey, the reforms of the early Republican era eliminated, to a large extent, segregation and the differential legal treatment of women, clearing the way for comprehensive changes in the position of women (Süral, 2004: 14)

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Although some traditional approaches restricted women's social rights and political practices in the very beginning of Republican period[62], within a decade following the Constitution of the Republic, passed in 1923, women were given legal and political rights and reforms in various aspects of social life. These new rights were not always directly related to women, but nevertheless affected women's position in society. The following reforms were enacted in 1924-1925: abolishment of the Caliphate, unification and monopolization of education by the state, and abolition of the religious education system, namely the *medrese*,- religious courts, and *tarikats* (mystic religious orders). Following these reforms, religious affairs and the administration of the *vakif* (pious foundations) were attached to Prime Minister's office. Finally, "the constitutional provision accepting Islam as the religion of the state was abrogated in 1928" (Kandiyoti, 1991: 22). Through adopting the Swiss Civil Code, polygamy was prohibited and the right to divorce was granted to women in 1926[63]. Women and men were provided with(relatively) equal status within the family and treated as equal citizens by the state. Such a reform in the civil code was so unique that it has made "Turkey the only country with a Muslim population that has eliminated Sharia from its legal system" (Süral 2004: 14)

Beginning in 1927, the Turkish Women's Federation had made strong pressure about women's inclusion in politics and the Parliament. However, women had to wait until 1930 to gain some political rights. Without any reference to early feminist's political and legal demands, the right to vote and be elected was granted to Turkish women for municipal elections in 1930, to councils of elders or village councils in 1933, and in national elections in 1934[64] (Süral, 2004; Gürkan 1983). The reasons behind giving political rights to women

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[62] The first proposal for the civil law can be given as an example. During the first arguments on a proposed civil law after the Republic, it was claimed that the regulation must have been drafted with reference to Islamic schools of law. The new proposal was much more traditional than the 1917 civil law. In the first two years of the Republic, this proposed law was discussed and, in the end, was refused (see Berkes, 2003: 528-29; see also Köker, 1988)

[63] Berkes explains that the aim of the law was to regulate the civil relations of the public without reference to the present situation of traditions, habits, customs and religion, but with reference to what it should have been in contemporary terms. In this regard it was a revolutionary approach to law, but not a realistic one (Berkes, 2003: 531). It was believed that Western civil code corresponded more with the Turkish national lifestyle and the old Turkic heritage of women's rights, which was said to be rooted more in ancient Turkish culture than in the Islamic law (Y. Arat , 2000).

[64] It was said that one day in the classroom, Afet İnan (Ataturks adopted daughter) tried to hold an election to charge someone as a class representative. Both girls and boys wanted to join in the election. One of the male students said to the girls that they could not participate in the elections as candidates since they did not have the right to be elected. This made Afet İnan so sorry and at night when she returned home she told the story to Atatürk. After that, Atatürk made a decision to give

were not just related to ensuring women's participation in social life and the government. It was assumed that political rights given to women were indicators of the difference between the Turkish single party government and the newly rising fascist dictatorships in Europe at the time (Köker, 1988; Tekeli, 1997). Actually, the selection of women who would join the parliament was made directly by Atatürk. He selected women from each province and various occupations[65]. The 18 female parliamentarians of 1935 were well-educated and constituted 4.5% of the parliament[66]. Süral states that, "with the exception of Finland this was the highest percentage in the world. This, however, is the highest percentage ever reached in Turkey" (Süral, 2004: 18).

With these legal rights, women had reached the status of equal citizens. As equal citizens of Turkish Republic, women were required to be educated, hardworking, and equal to men in various aspects of social life. Such women were supported and encouraged to participate in the public sphere, to have an occupation, and to work. They were required to be modernized without going against the traditional structure of gender relations in society. That is, they were expected to be good mothers and good housewives who carefully and consciously provided reproductive services.

The educational reforms were established only at primary and university levels in 1924 and then at the middle school level in 1927, and lastly at the high school level in 1934 (Z. Arat, 1998c: 159-60). These reforms were the key determinants of women's advancement, especially for those who would be part of the first generation of professionals. The educational reforms were the primary concern of the revolutionary government[67] since

women political and legal rights. This well known story was also told by two of the informant women in this study who was one of the students of Afet İnan and who had heard the story from her. However, whether true or not, this story indicates the ignorance of the women's movements and their demands. Such regulations, which had long been demanded by the feminists, were realised without mentioning women's efforts.

[65] This information was taken form the memories of Belkis Egesoy.

[66] Women naturally responded to his task. They were ready to do it at least for a few decades. However, Turkish politics and politicians, as well as society, were not ready. In that sense, women's entrance to parliament in such high rates can be said to have been artificial.

[67] Arat points out that "The Grand National Assembly, about ten days after its own creation, founded the ministry of education on May 2 1920, which presented its education programme to the assembly the following week. In 1920, the ministry organized the Maarif Kongresi (Public Instruction Congress) in which Mustafa Kemal emphasized the need for the formation of the national education system.... "Education of all" had been already set as a goal.... Into the first constitution of the Republic, Article 80: "under the supervision of the State all types of education are free, primary education is mandatory and free in public schools" (Z. Arat, 1998c: 157).

education was seen as a primary apparatus for the nation-building project, which intended to "transform the Ottoman subjects into nationalist citizens with modern and secular minds"[68] (Z. Arat, 1998c, 158).

In 1923, elementary education had been made compulsory and free for both sexes (Z. Arat, 1998c: 157). In 1924, with the passage of the *"Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu"*(The Law of Unification of Instruction), which advocates secularisation, standardisation, and centralisation of education, traditional and religious schools were closed and other types of schools, such as military schools, non-Muslim schools, and others, were attached to the National Ministry of Education. Replacing Muslim schools and "Medrese", "İmam Hatip" schools for middle-level education and a Faculty of Theology were opened (Berkes, 2003: 533). The state's control over these schools ensured the secularisation and standardization as well as democratisation of education all over the country. In addition, some types of educational institutions, such as public classes and national schools were opened for adult education (Tanilli, 1997: 111-113).

These were the trends that increased educational opportunities for women. Women's education was important both in order to meet the educated labour force demand of the republic and because they were seen as responsible for raising up the next generations with the necessary qualities[69]. However, White points out that, as it was in the Late Ottoman period, in the Early Republican period upper class women benefited the most from the reforms, (2003: 146).

Concerning these reforms, it is very important to note that the will to advance women's situation in society did introduced not only for serving women but also for forming an ideal image of the newly established modern Turkish Republic. It is possible to conclude that within the Republican period, women were the images of the new modern nation as it was conceptualised by the bureaucratic elite of the young republic (Durakbaşa, 1998a;

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[68] Z. Arat states that "A government document summarised the objective of the educational system, which was to raise "republican, nationalist, populist, secularist, reformist citizens" and defined "the Republican Public Instruction" as an "apparatus that operates to raise nationalist citizens" (Z. Arat, 1998c: 158)

[69] As White suggests, the theme of "the need for women to become educated so that they would be able to carry out their political duty properly, that is, to bring up the children into whose hands the future would be entrusted, echoed in "the republican motherhood" of nineteenth-century France and the United States". (2003: 154)

Durakbaşa, 2000). The daughters of the republic were the representatives of modernity (Moghadam, 1993: 82). As Z. Arat states, "the ideal Turkish woman was an essential component of the Republican elite's 'nation building' project of" (1998b: 2). In the first years of the Republic, "The new women of the Kemalist era become an explicit symbol of the break with the past" and within this symbolism images of women were seen as the most influential advertisement of the young and modern Republic (Kandiyoti, 1997: 215). As Baykan mentions, women were counted both as the subject and as the object of the cultural change and gender issues were subject to the Republican's intentions (1999: 37). As N. Arat writes, for Atatürk, men and women collaborating in peace could realise reforms and development. He intended to create a social and political environment in which women could freely express themselves as individuals and free their subordinated, oppressed, restricted, secret talents (Arat and Güçlü, 1998: 23).

In the context of the reforms and revolutions, it is possible to talk about a "state feminism", in which women were granted political and legal rights and encouraged to participate in social life (Gümüşoğlu, 1998a: 76, Durakbaşa, 1998a: 140; Kandiyoti, 1991). According to Onay, such state feminism was necessary for the creation of advancements in women's social life in the first years of the Republic, the main object being the participation of women in nation-building (1969). Male feminism of the Ottoman period was transformed into a state feminism when the modernist and Western-oriented intellectuals of the Late Ottoman period formed the governing elite of the Turkish Republic.

As for women, they defined themselves in terms of multiple identities that were suggested by Republican ideology. In a journal called "Republican Woman", it was suggested that a Republican women should participate in intellectual life, art and sports while successfully playing the roles of wife, mother and housekeeper (Köker, 1988: 107). However, Köker claims that such statements generally reached only upper or upper middle class women who had the opportunity to read those journals (1988, 108). Additionally, in the 1930's, there were women writers, such as İffet Halim Oruz, Efzayiş Suat, Nezihe Muhittin, who mentioned their devotion to the revolution and wished to remind women of their new rights given by republic and of tasks they should be engaged with for the success of the revolution (Köker, 1988: 108). However, it was professional women who were most affected by the reforms and revolutions since all these new regulations reflected on their lives.

3.5.3. Theoretical Evaluations of Kemalist Reforms Concerning Women

Kemalist reforms concerning women as well as Kemalist feminism, which are based on the assumption that Turkish women owe their societal position to Atatürk's revolutions, are theoretically evaluated and criticized in many ways.

First, it is criticised for denying that the modernization movement began before the founding of the Republic. It is suggested that it would be unfair to consider the Republican period to be the very beginning of the struggle against women's subordination since Turkish modernization for women started in the 1870's, and the women's movement, in which women had struggled to advance their position in society, began 50 years before the founding of the Republic. According to Z. Arat, for decades Turkish women were made to believe that without any struggle they had been granted some rights by the Republican regime (1998b: 10). Kemalist theory ignores the fact that the women's movement began at the beginning of the 1900's, with Ottoman reforms for building the nation-state that created many changes in women's lives (Çakır, 1994). Tekeli reminds us that it was the first wave of the women's movements that was the underlying motive for the 1926 civil law and the citizens' rights reforms (Tekeli, 1998: 344).

Second, it is criticised for ignoring the women's movement. In other words, Kemalists were criticized for not collaborating with the women's movement while making regulations about women's political, social and legal rights. Since the reforms were made by men –generally by the political elite- they did not meet the real needs of women. Expectedly, such an approach could not incorporate the women's standpoint into the reform process and thus both the reforms and the reformers remained structurally patriarchal. These reforms can be considered pseudo-feminist as interpreted by the state. Such pseudo-feminism contains many contradictions. In the Republican period, feminist organizations and movements, like all other social organizations and movements, were under the control of and directed by the authoritarian structure of the single-party government of the Republic (Tekeli, 1998). As Kandiyoti puts it,

> On the one hand, it is during the first republic that women achieve their highest level of representation in parliament... On the other hand there is evidence that women's autonomous political initiatives were actively discouraged (1991: 41).

Saktanber similarly states that independent women were never allowed to raise their voices in opposition (2002, 327). Women's attempts to construct a political party were refused by the government and they were advised to found an association. This association was the Turkish Women's Federation (*Türk Kadınlar Birliği*), which was founded in 1924 and disbanded in 1935.[70] However, the dissolving or the self-elimination[71] of the Federation under directives from the government had a different impact on the women's movement in the Republican period:

> Independent women's organizations were discouraged by through the closing down of Kadınlar Birliği (Turkish Women's Federation) in 1935; the members of this association were encouraged to take on philanthropic work in the women's auxiliary in Republican Peoples' Party, CHP (Durakbaşa, 1998: 146)

In addition to this, intellectual women, like Halide Edip, were excluded from the system since the Kemalist regime expected appreciation and harmonious support from women rather than an active participation including opposition (Saktanber, 2002, 327).

As Tekeli (1998) puts it, it is important to note that the Kemalist reforms and the women's rights revolution left nothing to say to the feminist movement. Moreover, the state feminism was not moderated by the radical discourse of the women's movement. Instead, democratic and reformist discourse created "the surmise of achievement". Saktanber points out that Kemalist approach had the important effect of restraining women from questioning the patriarchy and becoming active participants in politics (2002, 325). Women were forced to believe in the assumption that, in terms of the civil and political rights given to women, all goals for gender equality were achieved. In Tekeli's terms, "for a long period, the republican elites repeated the mistake of believing that, thanks to Atatürk, the gender equality in Turkey was built" (1998: 338)[72].

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[70] The contradictory accounts of the end of the Turkish Women's Federation leads to contradictory thoughts about the relationship between Kemalism and the women's movement. While N. Arat states that it was shut down because of its inner problems, Z Toprak claims that, like other associations, it was shut down as a result of the single party regime in the 1930's. (also see. Baykan &Ötüş-Baskett: 1999).

[71] The president of the Turkish Women's Federation, Latife Bekir, claimed that "Turkish Women had achieved complete equality with full constitutional guarantees, and that the goal of the federation having thus been totally fulfilled there was no further justification for its continued existence."

[72] This was the grounding idea for the justification of the self-elimination of the Turkish Women's Federation (see footnote 4 and 5)

Third, the lack of women's viewpoint within the reform process was criticised. It was claimed that Kemalist reforms did not consider the emancipation of women, but instead tried to advance the social position of women in the name of the modern Republic. The Republic's revolutionary approach, which can be seen in many reformist movements, did not focus on gender relations. For Kemalism, equality was only considered when gender content was omitted and women's emancipation was argued for only as long as it was a part of a national struggle (Durakbaşa, 2000: 126). In Kemalism, as Y. Arat puts it, the relationship between women and men was visualised in the public realm, and was concerned with an artificial principle of sameness, thus the gender hierarchy between men and women in the private sphere was not questioned (1998: 90). In the end, women internalised the nationalist ideologies and avoided developing either personal identities or an independent women's movement (Berktay 1998). In this respect, "young Turkish men and women were visualized as the guardians of the reforms, progress, modernization and enlightenment" (Durakbaşa, 1998a: 142). Kemalists considered women of the modern Turkish Republic to be citizens who participated in education and worked equally with men and developed policies within this framework. On the other hand, White's claims indicate that the reformers not only lacked insight into women's standpoint, but were anxious about the possibility of women's questioning their assumed gender roles.

> Some early Republican reformers were wary of the Westernising aspect of modernization, fearing that encouraging women to be active in public might encourage individualism and a decline in their feelings of family duty and responsibility, thus leading to a moral breakdown of the society (White, 2003: 147).

Kemalism is, fourthly, criticised for reproducing the patriarchal structure of the society within a context other than that of the Ottoman patriarchy. As Saktanber puts it, Kemalism had failed to consider or even avoided questioning the society's gendered structure and did not fundamentally challenge the widespread gender values (Saktanber, 2002, 326). Similarly, White claims, "state feminism did not concern what happened behind the closed doors of the home" (2003: 146). Durakbaşa states, "Kemalism did not alter the patriarchal norms and morality and in fact maintain the basic cultural conservatism about male-female relations, despite its radicalism in opening the space for women in public domain (1988a: 140).

> Kemalism, although a progressive ideology that fostered women's participation in education and professions, did not alter the patriarchal norms of morality and in effect maintained the basic cultural

conservatism about male-female relations, despite its radicalism in opening a space for women in public domain.... Women's social recognition in the public domain did not challenge the direct male-female relations in the private domain (Durakbaşa 1998a: 140-144).

For example, despite its being a major debate, education reform was not from women's standpoint, so gender stereotypes were maintained and reproduced through education. These reforms failed to challenge the patriarchal structure as efficiently as it was thought that they would. The discourse from which the approach to the development of women's education was derived was structurally masculine. Within this discourse, women were expected to put their knowledge into practice first at home (Z. Arat, 1998c: 175). Arat states that "women's education was promoted not as a right –an end in itself- or as a means of liberation for women, but as a device to improve the quality of maternal care" (1998c: 175). A quotation Gümüşoğlu made in the primary school curriculum in 1930 exemplifies the situation. It was written in the curriculum that the aim of the education they were giving to female students was,

> To give the proper knowledge of domestic work which would be helpful with their holy tasks, to our girls, most of whom would get married and become housewives; to tell the ways how to be good housewives and keep a good house in detail; and teach them the principles of economics of the household (1998: 78). [73]

Similarly, the Kemalist reforms could not succeed in challenging the patriarchal structure of the family or the sexual division of labour. Y. Arat states that,

> Gender equality was granted in the public realm and women's professionalism was supported at the same time as patriarchal norms continued to be practiced and replicated in the private realm... Differences between men and women, especially in the private domain, were ignored. Without any recognition of the problem in the private realm, I Baltacıoğlu, one of the leading intellectuals of the day, argued that the issue of male/female equality in the polity was resolved (Y. Arat, 2000: 4-6).

On the contrary, it helped to reproduce those patriarchal structures. For example, the 1926 civil code extended state control over the family and prohibited polygamy. However, it included paragraphs that strengthened male dominance within the family (Z. Arat, 1998a:56-

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[73] For Further information about examples of the unequal practices at schools in the Republican period see also Z. Arat 1998 and 2002.

62: see also Gündüz Hoşgör, 1996 and White, 2003). Moreover, gender ideology suggesting that family responsibilities were primary for women were not challenged and women were mainly seen as mothers and housewives. Z. Arat argues that,

> The Republican leadership offered Turkish women a system of paradoxes. While women's participation in both economic and social life was considered to be essential for the development and transformation of the country, all the obstacles in their way were not removed. Women's primary contribution continued to be seen as being in the domestic sphere and as reflected in Ataturk's words, motherhood was emphasized as the most important function of

women (Z. Arat, 1998c: 175).[74]

Fifth, Kemalism is criticised for instrumentalising women. To explain these contradictions of Kemalist reforms and state feminism, Tekeli (1997) suggests the "instrumentalisation" thesis. According to this, Kemalists viewed women's rights as instruments to reach the final goal. In this respect, although Kemalism considered women to be citizens whose social status were equal to that of men, this instrumentalisation occurred on two levels. First, the break with the old regime had been declared through the new civil code and women had become the main supporters of the Republic. Second, after the failure of two democratisation efforts in 1925 and 1930[75], the political rights given to women were symbols of the Turkish democracy in contrast to the rest of the world (Tekeli, 1997: 178). Here, the role attributed to women within the democratisation period appears.

Sixth, Kemalism was criticised for defining a prototype of the "Turkish woman" which was a combination of the rural women who were considered to be hard working and honoured, and urban women who were connected with freedom and knowledge. By doing so, the variations among women were reduced to a prototypical Turkish woman by the populist discourse of Turkish modernist nationalism (Y. Arat, 1998; Kandiyoti, 1997). Because of this populist discourse (Z. Arat, 1998b: 2; Durakbaşa, 2000: 121), the modernist movement

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[74] Here, Z. Arat (1998c) refers to Ataturk's speech in İzmir in which he said, "the women's first duty is motherhood.... Our women, too will be enlightened and learned and, like men, will go through all educational stages".

[75] As a first try, in 1924, *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası(Progressist Republican Party)* was established as an Opposition Party, but closed in June, 1925 while the other opposing groups were passifized. The second attempt was the establishment of the *Serbest Fırka (Free Party)* in the beginning of 1930 as a part of the liberationist policy. Since the new opposing party happened to be the roof under which the groups opposing the regime organised, it was closed in November 1930 (Ahmad, 1999: 74-77)

could not reach all women and was unable to construct a base for a long-lasting feminist movement. On the other hand, it is important to note that not all women in the country but only those women who had class privileges had access to the rights given to women.

In light of these critiques, Kemalist reforms must be admired for their provision of a more egalitarian structure of gender relations. Through Kemalist policies, in a very short period of time women's situation was advanced to a certain point and many radical changes were made. The Kemalist modernization project created a progressive and liberal environment. Although Kemalist reforms for women were not brought about through a feminist approach and did not incorporate from women's points of view, Kemalism constructed legal and social reforms which advanced women's social position and created an environment in which women could develop and reach the goals of a possible feminist struggle. As Z. Arat puts it,

> Kemalism, while problematising women's position in Turkish society, did not conceptualise the problem of the hegemony and was not able to see that the basis of the problem was the patriarchal structure of the society. However, whatever their intentions were, Kemalist reforms provide women with a wider space within the society (1998a: 68).

It is clear that, for a woman, it is much more possible to develop a gender identity in a secular nation-state, than it is in a state governed by Muslim religious law (Berktay 1998: 4). However, it is impossible to assume that there was a comprehensive transformation of gender relations. While Kemalism freed women from an Ottoman patriarchy ruled by Islamist identity, it forced them to regulate their lives in accordance with a Western patriarchy (Z. Arat 1998a: Saktanber, 2002). Z. Arat states that Kemalists re-regulated social life by suggesting that the Islamic patriarchy was replaced by the secular, Western patriarchy (1998: 52). In opposition to this thesis, Gündüz-Hoşgör (1996) states that the social life, as well as some regulations made by the Civil Code, was still affected by a form of Islamic patriarchy. In this regard, she posits that,

> (1) Turkish women lived under sets of patriarchal ideologies: the ideology of Islamic social relations (Islamic-patriarchy) and the ideology of classical-patriarchy, the latter of which mostly cuts across the boundaries of Islam; (2) As in other peripheral countries, the traditional and modern values are not mutually exclusive, but rather have coexisted" (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996: 156-155)

I also agree with the idea that Kemalism was not the big bang, but rather was a spokesman of change, realising a social transformation that people were already preparing themselves for

and were demanding. Although some rights were given to women, the primary issues of women's lives and gender relations were not even debated (Kandiyoti, 1997: 71). As Kandiyoti suggests, to understand the effect of Kemalist reforms on women's lives, it is important to consider the difference between having legal and political rights and being truly liberated. On the other side of the coin, with reference to Berktay, the claim that rights were given to women by Kemalism from above is unfair because it shows the women's movement to be passive, ignoring women's demands for themselves and excluding them from history as subjects (Berktay, 1998)[76].

As a result, Kemalist reforms, for which economic development and Western modernization were the main objectives, neither focused on the women question from a feminist perspective nor collaborated with the women's movement. Thus Republican ideology continued to be structurally patriarchal.

3.6. Women's Professionalisation and Republican Ideology

Women's education and participation in professions as an educated labour force were important components of the Kemalist modernization project[77]. Women's position in professions demonstrates many of these revolutionist concepts. Professional women themselves appeared to be evidence of the realisation of the modernisation project. At first glance, they participated with men in the professions equally, in the absence of restrictive of Islamic rules, because the Turkish Republic was declared secular. Due to the effect of a strong belief in positive science and the priority of reason, women were committed to, and successfully practised in, their professions. In fact, whether it is admitted or not, these were the most definite result of the reforms, since the Kemalist regime did indeed construct the professions, invite women to be professionals, and encouraged their entrance into higher

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[76] An example of this is the fact that women who had graduated from the faculty of law in 1929 were required to become judges. After a year, they earned the right to become judges. In 1930's Europe, such a right was only granted to German women. (Topçuoğlu, 1984)

[77] Tekeli states that the concepts associated with Kemalist modernization are: freedom, equality, brotherhood by the influence of French revolution, laicism that suggests religious freedom, separation of government and religion, priority of reason against beliefs, importance of the individual and individualism, development defined by positive science, overarching reforms that were held by the state (1997:171). All of these concepts lead the modernisation project.

education. They were not directly restricted by the gendered structure of the professions. On the contrary, they were welcomed to the professional areas of education and work as agents of the Kemalist revolution.

That of the professional was one of the contradictory roles prescribed to women in the Republican period. Within the Kemalist context, they were given many different roles. Durakbaşa classifies these roles as follows: "an educated professional at work; a socially active woman engaged in organizing clubs and associations; a biologically functioning women in the family fulfilling reproductive responsibilities as a mother and wife; a properly trained women and wife; a feminine woman dressed in gowns and dancing at balls" (1998a: 147). Along the same lines, Saktanber (2002) sees Turkish women forced into two roles, one of which being a joyful, educated, attractive, fertile woman at home and the other being a serious, masculine woman in public as a professional. Women in professions were required to play both roles. The only target they were to strive to hit was that of modernization (Saktanber, 2002: 330).

3.6.1. Becoming Professional: Higher Education in the First Decades of the Republic

Before debating women's professionalisation in Turkey, here I want to focus briefly on the higher education institutions of the late Ottoman and early Republican Periods in which the first generation professional women, as well as their fathers, were educated. In this respect, the structure and the historical basis of these institutions are important to understanding the environment in which professional women were raised.

In 1846, the idea to establish an educational institution that went beyond high schools, technical schools and academies, was the initiated and Darülfunun (house of sciences) was founded (Berkes, 2003: 230). Education began in 1863 in the form of open seminars given by the intellectuals of the period (Kongar, 2001: 537). Although it had closed and been re-established several times, and "took the status of university in 1900, it institutionalised in 1912 and gained its autonomy in 1919" (Lök & Erten, 2002: 537). It was the major higher educational institution, including faculties of literature, biology, mathematics, medicine, law, and theology.

In 1914, seminars began to be offered to women four days a week on the subjects of mathematics, astronomy, physics, women's law, science, general health protection, history, pedagogy, handcraft and housekeeping (Köker, 1988: 64; Dölen, 1998: 12). Women's willingness to attain higher education forced the government to establish institutions for women's education. A university for women, which was called "*İnas Darülfünunu,*" was established in 1914. It offered women three years of education in the literature, mathematics and natural sciences departments (Köker, 1988). The first graduates of "*Inas Darulfünunu*" were 18 women who finished in 1917 (Dölen, 1998: 16). Table 2.9. shows the distribution of female students by department between 1914 and 1917.

Table 3.9. Numbers of Female Students in the Istanbul University by departments

Years	Department			Total
	Literature	Sciences	Mathematics	
1914	8	10	3	21
1915	7	10	3	20
1917	12	22	7	41
Total	15	28	9	52

Source: Dölen, E. (1998) "Cumhuriyetin ilk 15 yılında İstanbul Üniversitesinde Kız Öğrenciler", Sağlık alanında Türk Kadını, Novartis, İstanbul.

Additionally, for only one year in 1917(Dölen, 1998: 16), "special business classes for women were also started when in the Advanced School for Commerce a section for women was opened. It was so popular that a second one soon added" (Kandiyoti, 1991: 30). Women's massive entrance to the University was ensured by the Republican regulations of the university system.

With the idea of improving the institutions of education, the idea of reforming the *Darulfünun* was raised. According to Öncü, *Darülfünun* was accused of being unable to meet the reformists' needs of rapid modernization on the one hand and not reflecting the state

ideology on the other (2002: 525)[78]. With the 1933 University reform, İstanbul University had been established with 2500 students and 120 instructors, who were professors of old *Darulfünun*, young native professors who were educated in Europe's well known universities, and foreign professors, most of whom were German (Hirsch, 2000; Öncü, 2002). It consisted of faculties of law, science, medicine, literature, and religion, institutes of Turkish revolution, Islamic subjects, chemistry, morphology, and electro-mechanics (Köker, 1988: 122).

The university was seen as an institution for educating agents of the republican ideology. It was believed that an educated labour force with a strong would to serve the nation would meet the developing Republic's demands. It is true that in the 1930's and 1940's the universities internalised ideas of laicism, nationalism and etatism; the governmental elite were educated in these institutions, which had become part of the state's hegemony (Öncü, 2002: 528).

Mektebi Mülkiye (School of Political Economy) was another important institution, inherited from Ottoman modernization period. According the introductory guide published by the school, it was established in 1859 and attached to the Ministry of the Interior under the name of *Mektebi Mülkiye-i Şahane*. Later, in 1918, it was attached to the Ministry of Education and took the name of *Mektebi Mülkiye* (Tanıtım Klavuzu, 2001). *Mülkiye* was moved from İstanbul to Ankara and re-established as a School of Political Sciences in 1936. It become a faculty of political sciences in 1950 and was also attached to Ankara University.

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[78] According to the memories of German Professor Hirsch, who was invited to Istanbul University as well, Reşit Galip, the minister of education of the period stated that the new university had no connection with the *Darulfünun*, which was abrogated, and Istanbul University would create its own tradition (Hirsch, 2000: 210). In this respect, 157 professor and their assistants were dismissed (Lök & Erten, 2002: 541). One third of the institution's educational personnel was replaced (Öncü, 2002: 523). New departments were established and new professors of those departments were invited from Germany with the help of "the association of German scientists in foreign countries" in Sweden (Hirsch, 2000; Lök & Erten, 2002: 537-543). Those professors were expected to be scientists well-known worldwide. Öncü (2002: 526) states that over 30 well-known professors who came from Germany made up the newly established university's core staff, first in İstanbul and then in Ankara.

Table 3.10. The numbers of students in Istanbul University by Gender and Department 1923-1940

years	Theology M	W	Science(1) M	W	Medicine M	W	Law M	W	Literature M	W	Pharm.(2) M	W	Dentistry M	W	Econ. M	W	Total M	W
1923-24	-	-	77	60	397	23	406	22	226	-	370	-	427	-	-	-	1903	105
1924-25	284	-	306	104	374	38	347	18	229	120	294	2	342	4	-	-	2178	286
1925-26	205	-	324	142	293	32	450	19	225	125	161	3	223	5	-	-	1881	326
1926-27	267	-	326	104	397	44	444	22	114	82	117	10	152	6	-	-	1717	268
1927-28	53	-	365	107	367	46	429	31	155	107	67	10	84	4	-	-	1520	305
1928-29	35	-	342	125	361	32	520	35	136	101	57	5	91	7	-	-	1542	305
1929-30	35	-	200	40	386	12	757	69	95	76	51	8	109	28	-	-	1633	233
1930-31	22	-	371	90	387	11	751	72	129	155	46	7	99	27	-	-	1805	362
1931-32	22	-	377	88	512	17	1027	138	127	152	45	11	156	58	-	-	2266	464
1932-33	20	-	580	146	654	18	1241	200	133	186	65	22	208	75	-	-	2901	647
1933-34	-	-	760	226	849	35	1082	196	122	167	76	32	170	60	-	-	3059	716
1934-35	-	-	620	238	1132	66	991	173	161	206	90	47	160	43	-	-	3154	773
1935-36	-	-	746	272	1303	85	985	177	146	189	126	54	103	25	-	-	1409	802
1936-37	-	-	999	354	1466	114	997	164	161	229	69	28	89	26	104	14	1885	929
1937-38	-	-	946	368	1574	130	922	193	188	292	54	20	54	20	229	85	1967	1108
1938-39	-	-	1009	389	1701	159	887	214	204	377	44	19	58	22	408	116	4311	1296
1939-40	-	-	1187	401	1806	194	1184	276	235	547	118	61	61	28	522	119	5113	1626

(1)The first year of dentistry school was shown under the Faculty of Science since their lessons were common. (2) A section in the Faculty of Science. Thus the students were common. Source: (statistics Year Book, Volume 12, 1940-1941, State Institute of Statistics. p. 261

The historical basis of Istanbul Technical University rests on the *Mühendis-hane-i Bahr-i Hümayun* (1773) (Engineering school for Naval Forces)   and *Mühendis-hane-i Berr-i Hümayun* (1795) (Engineering School for Land Forces). After the Republic's founding, these institutions took the name of Istanbul Technical University and were reorganised with respect to the needs of the newly established state. It educated the Turkish Republic's first engineers, who built the country in a material sense. It got its share of the migration of German scientists to Turkey and become a primary technical institution of education in 1940. According to the İTU archives, the first women graduates of the School of Engineering in 1933 were Sabiha Ecebilen and Melek Erbuğ (Erdoğdu Erkaslan, 2002: 41).

"*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*" (School of Fine Arts), which was established in 1883 offered education in painting, sculpture, and architecture (Özgüven, 2002: 79; Zeytinoğlu, 2003: 15). In 1914, "*Inas Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*" (School of Fine Arts for Gilrs) was established to educate female students in painting and sculpture. In 1925, co-education was implemented (Erdoğdu Erkaslan, 2002: 39). In 1928, it took the name Academy of Fine Arts, adding many new departments and workshops.

Meanwhile, new higher education institutions were established in Turkey's capital city, Ankara. Faculties of language, history and geography were established in Ankara instruction began with 196 students.

In the first decades of the Republic, educated personnel was needed to build the new order of law of the secular and democratic Republic. For this purpose, in 1925, the School of Law was established, which was first attached to the Ministry of Law. After the establishment of Ankara University officially in 1946, it was attached to that university as a new faculty.

In 1933, *Yüksek Ziraat Ensititüsu* (The Institüute of Higher Agriculture) was established to introduce scientific ways of developing agriculture and increasing productivity. It was decided in the 1930's that a second medical school would be established in Ankara, but it was not put into practice until 1945.

Within the young Republic's higher education institutions, women began to be educated. The relatively higher numbers of women university students resulted from the Kemalist regime's encouraging attitudes and liberating regulations. According to Köker (1988), a similar trend occurred in Germany before the Second World War. Under Hitler's

authoritarian regime, German women were welcomed to the universities that had once excluded them on the basis of professionalism's conservative and sexist ideology. In 1934, the Nazi regime instated regulations providing women with higher education, who would then be expected to work for nationalist goals. Under these conditions in Germany, the rate of women's university attendance increased from 6.1% in 1932 to 18.2% in 1933 (for detail see Köker, 1988: 21-26). Similarly, among Turkish women, who were expected to use knowledge in the name of Republic, were given the chance to attain higher education in various fields. Women in universities in the United Kingdom or the United States were challenged by professionalism ideology, which strongly resisted women's entrance, especially to the male-dominated fields of education. However, the women were able to enter higher education in Turkey at a relatively high rate.

Turkish women were generally concentrated in those faculties and departments that corresponded to their traditional gender roles. Similar to the position of women in Europe and the Anglo-American world, Turkish women generally entered the fields of teaching and literature. Because women were seen primarily as mothers and housewives, it was assumed to be appropriate for teaching. On the other hand, literature was appropriate for considering women's naive gender characteristics and was compatible with the idea of their becoming educated intellectual mothers and housewives. These fields were followed by pharmacy and dentistry. The faculty of science also included significant numbers of female students. Relatively higher participation rates in such fields (approximately 20 per cent) were not expected for women.

The worldview during the early Republican period included the belief that science and technology were priorities and that there was a need for educated labour for within those fields and thus they encouraged women to enter such fields. On the other hand, women in science and medicine were expected to meet the social needs of the developing Republic. However, the low rates of women in technical and engineering fields indicate that traditional gender ideology remained valid, even under such material and ideological conditions. Because women were only allowed to work as self-employed doctors, they were not willing study medicine in university. Not only the many years of education in the faculty of medicine required but also the inappropriate work conditions for women prevented them from entering that field. After the regulation changed and women could finally be employed in state hospitals and similar institutions in 1930, an increase in the ratio of women students

in the faculty of medicine was seen.

Table 3.11.. The number and percentage of students in higher education by gender

Academic Year	Number of Students			Percentage of female students
	Male	Female	Total	
1927-1928	3477	441	3918	% 11.2
1928-1929	3461	336	3827	% 9.5
1929-1930	3390	292	3682	% 7.9
1930-1931	3646	540	4186	% 12.9
1931-1932	4081	623	4704	% 13.2
1932-1933	4535	760	5295	% 14.3
1933-1934	5005	846	5851	% 14.4
1934-1935	5674	950	6624	% 14.3
1935-1936	6162	1115	7277	% 15.3
1936-1937	7064	1290	835	% 15.4
1937-1938	7820	1564	9384	% 16.6
1938-1939	8431	1782	10213	% 17.4
1939-1940	9884	2246	12130	% 18.5
1940-1941	10262	2582	12849	% 20.1
1941-1942	11654	3039	14693	% 20.6
1942-1943	12563	3382	15945	% 21.2
1943-1944	11451	3742	18293	% 20.4
1944-1945	15603	3899	19502	% 19.9
1945-1946	15688	3585	19273	% 18.6

Source: Statistical Indicators 1923-1998, State Institute of Statistics

Women become instructors in universities during the 1932-1933 academic year. At first, the only women among the university staff worked in the School of Economics and Commerce. But the establishment of new institutions of higher education increased the demand for female academic staff. To meet this need, the Republican government allowed women's participation, whom had previously been excluded from the Ottoman scientific tradition in the academy (Köker, 1988: 120-123).

3.6.2. Professional Women of the Republic:

Women's advancement in educational and occupational life was supported as a part of state ideology and the mission modernizing Turkey (Acar, 1996: 77). As Acar puts it, as the signals of the Westernization, the modernist elite supported the idea of providing women with the right to higher education (and being professionals) during the Republican period. Thus, high rates of women's participation in the professions were seen as an effect of the modernization project. Educated, women who were the signs of the secular, modern, and democratic Republic of Turkey, provided support to the professional labour force, which young republic urgently required.

In the case of Turkey, because the idea was to break with Ottoman tradition and to catch up to the contemporary civilisations of the Western world, it was necessary to create new and original institutions in the young Republic. This resulted in strong state intervention in the education system and, indirectly or directly, on the professions. Moreover, rapid economic development required more and more professionals. Within this framework, referring to MacCleland's classification, we can say that the professions in the Turkish Republic were constructed "from-above"[79]. Not only the bureaucratic and political institutions of the state or army but also the professions had been planned through political will.

The from-above professionalisation in Turkey has a unique character because it ensured women's entry into the professions. In Turkey, women were encouraged to be professionals during the Republican period. If we generalise Acar's explanation about women in higher education and academic settings in Turkey, it is possible to say that in Turkey's case, women's entry into the professions was brought about through rational state policies. Women were welcomed to the professional occupations, which were constructed by Kemalism.

Moreover, according to Öncü, for the young Turkish Republic, professionalisation was an

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[79] Thus, in order to understand the process of professionalisation in Turkey, MacCleland's approach gives us a more useful conceptual framework than that of the Anglo-American approaches. McClelands (1990) classifies professionalisation as "Professionalisation from-within" and as "professionalisation from-above" and offers an appropriate framework. The Turkish case has many similarities to the German case. In Germany, there was strong state intervention to the professions during an attempt to create institutions of the state, as well as rapid industrial and economic development.

unfamiliar and new phenomenon. Thus, it did not have a long history during which a strong belief in the masculine ethos of professionalism could take hold. Apart from the Western examples, in Turkey there were no generations which had been socialised to believe in the idea that the professions were not suitable for women. Instead, there was a strong state policy referring to the equality between men and women (Öncü, 1982: 264)[80].

It is possible to assume that, from the very beginning, women's entrance into the professions -when masculine cultural values, gendered closure strategies, and patriarchal relations of power had not yet been organised- effected the masculine structure of the professions. Furthermore, one can expect that the relatively higher number of women in the professions helped to construct role models for the next generation and forced the professions' cultural value systems to reflect women's points of view. Women's participation in the professions has probably become an ordinary phenomenon for both men and women in Turkey. In that sense, it can be said that the first generation of professional women in Turkey freely expressed their gender characteristics within society and brought them into the professions. The professionalisation process, which included women from the beginning, should have resulted in an egalitarian structure of the professions. However, such a proposition cannot explain the gender inequalities within the realm of the professions both today and during the Republican period.

In the republican period although the within the from-above construction of professions patriarchy manifests itself in various forms.

In architecture in the 1930's, women were involved mainly in public building projects or were engaged in restoration; the Ministry of Public Works and Housing and the National Bank of Province (İller Bankası) were the major institutions at which they were employed (Erdoğdu Erkaslan, 2002:34; Özgüven, 2002).

> It was expected that women's architecture would reflect the national architecture that was proposed in the Republican period.... There were no such things as gender matters in architecture...Women were expected to adore themselves and their professional production to the nation and

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[80] Özgüven states that, in architecture for example, women in the West who were challenging the architectural profession struggled for their rights within the profession. They entered the realm practically without having an architectural education. However, in the Turkish Republic, there were no significant struggles for women.... the first female architect worked in 1934 but she was different from her colleagues in the West because she had a diploma.

become the ones who practiced nationalist architecture (Erdoğdu Erkaslan, 2002: 48).

Similarly, in the medical professions, which were formed relatively less "from-above" (it is possible to talk about a tradition of medical professions in which women mainly worked as midwives and nurses), women were engaged in branches of medicine related to their former positions and to their gender roles. Then, they become mainly gynaecologists or paediatricians.[81]

Such examples indicate that patriarchy determined women's participation in the professions. It is important to note that in Turkey the model for the from-above professionalisation was western. Even the system as well as agents of the professional education were actually coming form Europe. In contrast with Öncü's suggestion it is possible to state that the patriarchal structure of the professionalism was continued to be patriarchal to a certain extend. Then, I suggests that although it is from-above, the professionalisation process in Turkey was not completely free form the patriarchal structure of the professionalism. Yet, this does not mean that the professionlisation of the modern professions in Turkey was similar to the from-within professionalisation in Anglo-American world and in some European countries. Rather this means in Turkey the occupational ideology of professions which is professionalism has a patriarchal content and it was articulated with Kemalism which also has a patriarchal content. Thus within the realm of professions patriarchy manifests itself within the structure of Kemalism and professionalism. These two structures in return determines the realm of professions.

That is to say women's participation in and entry to the professions is a complicated phenomenon that is connected historically to Kemalism, professionalism, and patriarchy. In order to understand Turkish women's position within the professions, it is necessary to focus on the operations of the patriarchy within Kemalism. Women in the professions were positioned a three-level structure of determinants that created the unique characteristics of women's participation in the professions during the Republican period: 1) the definition of women's identities in the public realm; 2) internalisation of the role attributed to the professional; 3) the class positions of women professionals. It has long been argued that

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[81] Women's entry into the medical professions began with midwifery classes in 1842-43; in 1908, women were accepted to the nursing school; in 1918, with the increasing need, women were allowed to work as physicians, dentists and pharmacists (Yıldırım and Bozkurt, 1998: 168-69).

there were three factors influencing women's entry into professions in Turkey, as described below.

3.6.2.1. Definite Gender Identities

First, in the Republican period, professional women had to internalise a gender identity, which was strictly defined. Kemalism constructed not only the professions but also women's personal and professional identities and suggested a prototype of the professional woman. According to this prototype, professional women were asexual but social beings that internalised the notion of serving to the nation. According to Y. Arat,

> Although women were expected to exhibit their modern femininity (at balls and parties) with their decolleta evening dresses, they were proscribed from being feminine in their professional lives. A strict morality which linked male honour to women's control over their own sexuality prevailed (2000: 6)

Within the conservatism of Kemalism, the maintenance of the rigid cultural codes against women's gender identity in public life was created. Women who occupied important positions were expected to have asexual images (Kandiyoti, 1997; 1995; 1998; Z. Arat, 1998a; Kadıoğlu, 1998). According to Durakbaşa, professional women created the ability to hide their sexuality as a requirement of being in public sphere (1998b: 50). As a protection against possible threats to their honour, especially within the public sphere, modernised women had to be asexual (Berktay 1998: 3-4). Accordingly, women dressed in dark collared costumes, avoided using make up, and accepted asexuality as a social virtue (Saktanber, 2002: 328). In the workplace, the citizen woman dressed to downplay her femininity and sexuality (White, 2003: 153) . Women were urged to protect their honour and to avoid being like the women of Western modernity. The conditions of women's existence in the public realm were "partly legitimated through the projection of an 'asexual' or even slightly masculine identity" (Kandiyoti, 1995).

> As members of a strictly segregated society in which male honour is dependent on the behaviour of their womenfolk, women could only enter the public arena by emitting very powerful signals of their respectability and non-availability as sexual objects. The unveiled new women of republic embodied a whole code and language to delimit new boundaries

(Kandiyoti, 1995: 315).

Thus, women were required to internalise strict self-discipline and adaptive strategies to cope with modernity and tradition at the same time (Durakbaşa, 1998a; Kadıoğlu, 1998: 96). Women were central to transforming gender relations with respect to their entrance into the public sphere and the professions. Thus, they were expected to be careful about their relations with men. "She could detach herself from her sexual identity and challenge the traditional mode of femininity only through being assertive and professionally ambitious in her occupational life" (Durakbaşa, 1998a: 149). It is obvious that women who had been in a struggle for emancipation and liberation since the Late Ottoman period were ready to enter the public sphere and occupy important positions properly. However, they were allowed to take part in the public realm only if they would not express their sexuality. In this respect, one can surmise that it was men who were not ready to see women as professionals in the public sphere. Thus women had the task balancing the social results of their advancement with the conservative, traditional, and patriarchal structure of the "men's" public sphere. As İlyasoğlu and Durakşaba states,

> …..where traditional codes of sexual segregation did not apply, managing new social relationships with men usually necessitated strict sexual repression, and the responsibility of proper social conduct usually fell on young women's shoulders rather than men's. In these new occasions of social mixing, men and women learned and practised the new rules of etiquette which mostly depended on management of social distance, where new women preserved basic codes of female virtue and were highly cautious of not being seductive (2001).

3.6.2.2. Internalised role of the professional woman

In addition to the strically defined gender roles, it was assumed that women very much internalised the roles and expectations attributed to them. Even traditional identities such as those of housewives and mothers were secondary while their professional identities were of primary concern. "Kemalism defended the idea that women should participate in social life and take social responsibilities and roles as professionals alongside their traditional sex roles as mothers and wives" (Durakbaşa, 1998a: 143). As Berktay (1998) points out, the new woman of the Republic internalises her domestic, social and national responsibilities and lives for others. They believed they were the representatives of Turkish women everywhere

(Y. Arat, 1998). Their professional services were devoted to the nation and the goal of professional work was to serve the modern Republic (Y. Arat,1998: 88). Similarly, Gümüşoğlu states that "she has to be well educated both for herself and her society. For this reason it was thought that woman was the backbone of the family of the nation" (Gümüşoğlu, 1998: 79) and she was considered to be the mother of the developing Republic (Berktay, 1998: 4; Durakbaşa, 1998b; Y. Arat, 1998).

Although she had a place in the nation building project as a professional she was still ascribed the role of motherhood, not only with her reproductive capacity as a woman, but also with her productive capacity as a professional. White states that,

> These contradictory expectations place a double burden on women who took the advantages of new opportunities to get educated and pursue a career, since they were expected simultaneously to be attentive and well-trained mothers and keep the household running smoothly... In the ordinary domestic world of men and women, traditional gender responsibilities and conservative sexual morality persisted despite discussions of equality between men and women, women's education and professional work, and the increasingly companionate character of marriage. (White, 2003: 154).

Prof Dr. Nüzhet Gökdoğan, who was the first Astronomer of Turkey, defines her personal success in terms of the success of her oppressed, exploited nation, and her advancement as a contribution of the happiness and prosperity of the country. She believes that she owes her education and entry to the professional realm to the Turkish Republic (Gümüşoğlu, 1998: 80-85).

Under such conditions, one could not expect women to develop personal and professional identities free from their attributed roles since their personal identities and professional identities were over shadowed by the nationalist ideology. However, I still consider it unfair to view these women as naked puppets who were ready to wear the clothes that the governing elite wanted them to wear. Such propositions are driven by approaches which fail to accurately conceptualise women's position in the professions. Yet, Durakbaşa (1987: 133-134) emphasised that women considered themselves to be special and even superior because of their status, earned through education, as Turkish professional women. Such a trend is one of the most important features of the professionalism that constructs the professional. Social privilege and power were secured by professionals' strong belief in their superiority and importance, a point emphasised by Parsons in 1966. Women's self-reflection as superior thus

becomes evidence of their developing a professional identity but not necessarily that of Kemalism.

3.6.2.3. Class-Based Professionalisation of Women

The third feature of women's professionalisation in Turkey is its class basis. According to this thesis, which was first suggested by Öncü (1982) in the Republican period, the conditions of rapid development required an educated labour force. Daughters of upper- and upper-middle class families were offered higher education and professional positions in the occupational structure. When it became necessary to educate considerable numbers of professionals in a short period[82], to keep the professions peculiar to the elites, women from the upper- and upper-middle classes were encouraged to enter those occupations. These women were preferred to lower class men who were seeking to advance their class position. For the Republican elite, the entrance of upper- and upper-middle class women to the professions was less threatening for the privileged positions of republican elite than the entrance of lower class men. The educated labour force's demand for the development of industries as well as the demand for workers to fill positions in the newly established modern bureaucracy were met by middle and upper middle class women's entrance to the professions. Hence, lower class men were barred from entering administrative positions which were secured from them. This indicates that, during this period, class prejudice was stronger than gender prejudice (Öncü, 1982: 262-263). Parallel to that argument, Acar states that educated upper class women had the opportunity to occupy prestigious positions not only because they were ready and willing, but also because the governmental elite preferred them to lower class men (Acar, 1996: 78). In addition, this also indicates that education and occupation for women was so elitist (Neusel, 1996: 17; Acar, 1996: 81) that it strengthened class inequalities (Kandiyoti, 1997: 41). The Turkish university system served the elite until the 1980's and only a small minority of the population had the opportunity to be educated in the higher education system in which upper class female students had more advantages than

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[82] According to White not only because the task to build the republican institutions is massive women were encouraged to professions. She claims that the minorities had been merchants and entrepreneurs of the empire, while Muslims staffed the civil service, bureaucracy and military. The republic needed to replace this element of society with new Muslim Bourgeoisie. Elite and middle class women filled these roles as they gained professional training" (2003: 151)

lower class male students (Neusel1996: 17). Furthermore, as Acar puts it, generally the upper and middle class families in Turkey support and encourage their daughters to be educated and have an occupation (1996; 81). It is generally argued that it is fathers who encouraged and supported their daughters' education and entry into professions. It is suggested that the fathers' role in shaping the new types of women, some of whom are professionals, was very significant (Durakbaşa, 1987; İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa 2001; Z. Arat, 1998c).

Despite its being class based, the encouragement of women to join the professions and their mass entrance into male-dominated occupations are important in that they had long term effects on legitimising women's participation in the public sphere (Kandiyoti, 1997, 217).

3.7.Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to indicate that women's professionalisation, which was itself a long-term historical process, was based on long-term historical development that we can term Turkish modernisation. In light of historical determinants as well as their theoretical evaluations, I tried to focus on arguments concerning "from-above" professionalisation in Turkey and women's place within this process.

However, most of the arguments concerning professional women appear to be based on existing knowledge, observations, and the evaluations of documents such as journals, government reports, or Atatürk's speeches(İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa, 2001).

Such an approach generally interprets women's issues with sweeping generalisations. In this regard, both the Kemalist approach and its critiques consider women as reduced images. Kemalists ignore women's roles and their struggle for advancement, and suggests that they owe their position to Kemalist reforms. In these terms, one could claim that women became professionals only because they were told to. They generally claim that those women were identified as mothers of the nation, and were reduced to the images of modernity. Meanwhile, critics of the Kemalist approach convey their discomfort with this reduction of women to the images of modern Turkey and point out that the women's movement developed before the founding of the Republic and was in fact obstructed by the new

Republican government. Although they reject the reduced identity attributed to women, they hardly conceptualise women in a framework other than modernism. While they disapprove of women being instrumentalised, they accept the fact that women are instrumentalised.

In short, all approaches analyse women's position within a framework of attributed identity codes. They reflect men's way of looking at women, but not the realities of women themselves.

I want to direct attention to the fact that most of the approaches to Republican women and their professional roles fail to conceptualise the realm of the professions and thus ignore the fact that women were surrounded by a strong professional identity stemming from professionalism which was very important to their personal identity. The women who are the subjects of this study, were, in the Republican period, a significant group not only for their being corresponded with the modern image of the Republican woman but also for being professionals.

I propose that in order to understand women's professionalisation in Turkey, it is crucial to focus on professionalism as well as Kemalism. This suggests that on the one hand Kemalism determined the women informants' identities, reducing them to images of hegemonic identity and on the other hand it is clear that professionalism alone was not the sole determining factor because professions were shaped by the strong intervention of the Kemalist government as a part of the modernization project. Here, the influence of both Kemalism and professionalism distinguishes the experiences of professional women in Turkey from that of their colleagues in the rest of the world. However, their gender was the common characteristic and patriarchy was the shared experience.

To conclude, the characteristics of women's professionalisation in Turkey indicate that the determinants of women's professional work are the professionalism that articulates patriarchy in addition to the Kemalist ideology. Going one-step further, I can say that in Turkey's case, one can observe the domination of political will on both professionalism and patriarchy. As I mentioned before, the professions were constructed "from-above" depending on the requirements of the Kemalist regime and the patriarchal strategies located within the political and social structures. Thus, in order to understand women's experiences of professionalisation in Turkey, I could suggest that one undertake a three-fold analysis considering professionalism, Kemalism and patriarchy. Here, patriarchy crosscuts the

structures of professionalism and Kemalism. Not only professionalism but also Kemalism and the relationship between them were constructing the social practice from which patriarchy is manifested in women's professional work.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses this study's methodological approach and research process. First, I will present the research questions. Second, I will explain the methodological approach adopted for this study. Third, I will focus on the research techniques used in this study, with a view towards clarifying the reason why I employed oral history research as a technique. For this purpose, I will describe the oral history method and discuss the differences between women's oral history and traditional oral history. Fourth, I describe the research process on the basis of questions pertaining to when, where, how and under what conditions the interviews were conducted. Finally, I will provide the essential biographical information about the study's women participants, as well as a description of other information sources such as biographies, novels and other documents.

4.2. The Research Questions

In this study, I focused mainly on the two groups of questions mentioned in the introductory chapter. First, I tried to find answers to the following questions, around which the study's theoretical framework is shaped:

- *How does patriarchy operate within a type of work that is determined by professionalism? Does patriarchy operate within professional work in the same way as it does in other types of work? Or, is there any possibility of identifying a form of patriarchal oppression specific to the realm of professional work?*

- *If we take a look at the other side of the coin, can professional women's experiences of oppression provide us with additional knowledge concerning patriarchy's forms and the operations within women's work?*

In order to find answers to these questions on a theoretical level, I have discussed the relationship between patriarchy and professionalism, referring to the literature on patriarchy in women's work; professions and professionalisation; and women's participation in professions.

Discussions in the first chapter have made clear that the relationship between professionalism and patriarchy gives way either to the exclusion of women from professions, or to their subordination and marginalisation. Such an abstraction in the literature generally relies on professional women's experiences in Western developed countries. However, in Turkey, as in some developed countries such as France, there are mechanisms in place that provide opportunities for women to take part in professions. Here, the second group of questions appears:

- *What were the conditions of being professionals in the early Republican period for women?How did women entered to the realm of professions? What was the structure of professions: gendered or egalitarian?*

- *Did professional work constitute a means for women's liberation? If so, then to what extent did it operate to emancipate women?*

In order to answer these questions, the Second Chapter focused on the particular conditions determining women's professionalisation in Turkey. Although the literature concerning prototypes of modern Turkish women, many of whom were among the Republic's first professionals, explains the conditions in which women were invited into and entered the professional, it hardly explains women's working conditions while they practiced their professions. In other words, by considering the literature, it is possible to say that women were not excluded from the professions but we do not have satisfactory information about the Turkish professional women's subordination and marginalization. Due to my

dissatisfaction with this gap in the literature, I felt a strong need to consult the women themselves and to ask about their professional and personal experiences. At a practical level, the following questions are raised:

- *Under what circumstances did women enter the professional realm? Were they actually encouraged to join the professions irrespective of their gender? With what conditions were they faced?*

- *What were the determinants of women's professional identities in the early Turkish Republic? What were Kemalism and professionalism's effects on their lives? What roles were attributed to professional women in the Early Republican period?*

- *Was women's participation in the professions in Turkey egalitarian? How did patriarchy operate within Kemalism and professionalism? How did patriarchy operate within work? How did it operate within the home? What changed and what was maintained in the patriarchal structure of the traditional Turkish family?*

- *How did women's being professionals change their lives? Were they liberated? What does the case of Turkey tell us about the manifestations of patriarchy in women's work?*

Within the framework of these questions I intend to pinpoint the dominating forces that determined women's professional as well as personal lives. These hegemonic forces, in turn, can be distinguished as patriarchy, professionalism and Kemalism.

At the same time, I will argue that acknowledging this distinction allows us to better understand the principles and practices of patriarchy. Accordingly, at the highest level of abstraction, the intent of this research is to make it possible to understand:

- *How does patriarchy operate within different social structures? What allows it to survive and how can we cope with it?*

4.3. The Methodological Approach

The methodological approach of this study is feminist. There are several reasons for opting for a feminist approach: first of all, as a sociologist, I have noticed that, due to women's ontological position, classical approaches have certain critical limitations in explaining their social reality, most of which originates from the methodology used. Secondly, as a woman, I have experienced that the discursive formation of the life we live is not only distinct from our realities, but is also oppressive. The reality of social life practised by women is hidden within their own personal experiences. Thirdly, my subjective position as a researcher, as well as that of the narrators, reveal the importance of considering subjectivity within a sociological inquiry, which is critically discussed in feminist methodologies.

Having passed through moral and political phases, feminism has gradually developed scientific ways of struggling with male domination (Farganis, 1994; Smith, 1987). It now challenges those paradigms that systematically ignore women's significance within the gender-based organized social structure, as well as the social sciences. This challenge corresponds to feminism's political intentions. Feminist methodology challenges the methodological assumptions of traditional epistemologies within which women were systematically ignored.

Women are lost in a triangle of "holy *knowledge"*, *"the authoritarian researcher"* (who is the prophet who guides us, or the missionaries), and "the people as *objects* of study" (who are assumed to be similar to each other, and who do not have the opportunity to obtain knowledge of themselves, which, in turn, is a but partial knowledge obtained from a sample, and generalised to all). Besides being the objects of the scientific research, we, as women, are being defined by experiences that are different than our lives.

Against this hierarchical organization of traditional epistemological approaches, feminism re-organises and re-defines the subject-object dichotomy (Lazreg, 1995; Farganis, 1994). First, feminist epistemology suggests that "women" should be assumed to be not only ordinary elements of the social sphere, which affect and are affected as objects by society, but also to be, as subjects, the "social" itself. Second, the researcher's subject position, or her/his own situated understanding, is one of the basics of knowledge for feminist

methodology (Chiristiansan-Rufmann, 1998).[83] As Farganis mentions, for feminist epistemology, "there is no way of seeing the world except through some specific embodied person who brings her or his biography to the occasion" (1994; 23-24). When the researcher rejects the holiness of science and gives up the habit of adoring it, she/he puts off the role of scientific missioners position of missioners and acknowledges her/himself to be a concrete person with possessions, interests and intentions. Her/his gender, ethnicity, class and culture become influential, and her/his personal experiences and history became prominent as well. Within this research, I continually tried to remain aware of my positioning as a researcher.

I believe that to challenge the false representation of women, and to understand the experiences of women, which are different from and unequal to those of men (Harding, 1995; Farganis, 1994; Smith 1987), a specific viewpoint is necessary. The feminist standpoint that, very broadly, refers to "seeing the world through women's eyes" and "creating useful social knowledge for advancement of women" (Christiansen-Ruffmann, 1998) offers the possibility of using this viewpoint to advantage.

The feminist standpoint's intention is to incorporate the "other"[84] part of human beings into theory in the name of non-hegemonic and non-patriarchal forms of scientific knowledge. The feminist standpoint refuses to create scientific limitations, categorizations, essentialisms and universalisms[85]. Rather, it claims multi-centrality and complexity of social structures. For the feminist standpoint, the "different" refers to a fertile diversity.[86] It suggests that categorizations such as "women" and "men" should be deconstructed and the ontological differentiations within as well as between genders should be primarily dealt with (Wise and Stanley, 1995: 78).

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[83] Christiansen-Ruffmann (1998) outlines the basics of knowledge for feminist methodology: experiences, observations, interactions, texts, other participants, and researchers' own situated understanding.

[84] By saying "the other," I refer to women in a world that is discursively formed and epistemologically defined by a male gaze.

[85] Chiristiansen-Ruffmann (1998) thinks that the most important assumption of feminism is to recognize diversities and reject a one-dimensional modern social thought.

[86] Lagrez (1995) argues that diversities should not be conceptualised as differentiations. It is necessary for feminism to be ready and willing to consider the diversity of women's experiences. Similarly İlyasoğlu suggests that there are as many different realities and experiences of women as different social forms and cultures and historical contexts. However, it is important to see this diversification as a fertile source from which to understand women's realities within a conceptual whole. In other words, İlyasoğlu suggests that it is possible to keep the diversities without rejecting the common ground of women's studies as a discipline (İlyasoğlu, 1997: 162-163).

Moreover, this approach gives us an epistemological advantage. The feminist standpoint highlights the gap between women and the social structure. The recognition of this gap allows the researcher to see how the classical epistemologies are ideologically constructed, despite they assumed to be, scientific as well as to see the alienation of traditional social sciences from reality.

The primary methodological tool of the feminist standpoint is the feminist evaluation of women's personal life experiences. In a world where women are systematically ignored and excluded, their experiences are affected by patriarchal discourses. Thus, examining women by using classical methodological tools and research techniques does not allow us to see reality since this approach can only deal with experiences, which are under the patriarchy's shadow. With the feminist methodology, it is intended to reach the knowledge which is free from this shadow. Unlike traditional methodologies, feminist methodology, which is based on a direct connection between knowledge and experience, rejects references to experiences affected by hegemony, and looks to less distorted and more comprehensive personal life experiences as new sources of knowledge. This approach can reveal what is considered in Marxian terms, to be "a true rather than a false conscious"(Farganis 1994; 31).

From such an epistemological point of view, the research process here is organised around the feminist standpoint. It is intended to be an interactional research process, in which the agents, who were me and the participant women, exist with their subject positions. Accordingly, an interactional relationship, free of hierarchy, has been built between the women participants and me, the researcher. This process also utilizes a limited and controlled empathy, which makes feminist research a living process rather than a "frozen knowledge" (Mies, 1995; Farganis, 1994).

4.4. Research Methods

In this study, I am concerned with the professional and personal experiences of professional women in Turkey who witnessed the foundation of the Turkish Republic. I referred to women's memories to reach, as İlyasoğlu says, the historical/social knowledge about women which is more comprehensive, direct, real, and exact (1997: 165). According to İlyasoglu, to uncover the hidden story of the women in the Republican period and to be able to see them

out of the identity codes or prototypes that are attributed to women by the legal ideology and legal history, women's personal experiences are the primary sources of information (İlyasoğlu, 1997). The purpose of the research is to answer the research questions with the life experiences of women who, I believe, have been historically ignored and rendered voiceless in the history.

Considering the conditions that silenced women, Wittner suggests that "we need to go directly to women to learn about their part in the production and reproduction of the society" (Anderson et al. 1990:106). In line with this suggestion, an "oral history" research method was used in order to obtain information concerning professional women's work experiences.

There are several reasons for choosing the oral history method. First, because the analysis is constructed by collecting personal experiences rather than general variables, producing qualitative rather than quantitative research. Analyses based on quantitative research are not well suited to understand the specificities of the phenomenon under study, although they are used to obtain general information about professional women in Turkey.

Second, because I am interested in the experiences of professional women in Turkey who witnessed the foundation of the Turkish Republic, it is crucial to use an historical approach to the research process. The women's experiences and narratives, which are historical sources, must be approached historically. Third, the oral history method works well with this groupe profile of participants, who are lonely, senior women who have many stories to tell about their lifes and are looking for someone to tell them all. Oral history technique also answers to and in turn benefits from their will to be listened. Thus, I have mainly recourse to the oral narratives of professional women in Turkey. In this research, since I wanted to learn about women's own identifications with their professions and personal experiences, in order to understand the conditions of professional work, rather than the general characteristics of professional women the oral history technique is appropriate.

Finally, the oral history method corresponds to the research's feminist methodological assumptions and intentions: It is first, because oral history is a process in which experience turns into knowledge and "is an opportunity to share the human experience" (Thompson, 1999: 7), and second, because it rejects those limitations and structures which prevent us from catching the most interesting directions of the research (Harding, 1987).

4. 4. 1. Oral History Research

Oral history is a "primary source material" (Starr, 1977) obtained through planned, recorded and "organized series of interviews with individuals or groups through which the participants tell their own life stories, in their own words" (Martin, 1995; 5). It emphasizes fundamental human experience and allows the researcher to learn about difference (Martin, 1995; Star, 1977). As Martin mentions, "the value of oral history goes beyond gathering facts. It allows individuals and families to ascribe meaning of these events." (Martin, 1995; 5) In addition, "it captures the life stories that would otherwise be lost" (Star, 1977: 40; Thompson, 1999).

Oral history is a deconstructive attempt to challenge power relations within the duality of speech and writing (Thompson, 1999). Moreover, it also deconstructs historical writing by rising the question of whose story is written, under what kind of ideological forces, and by whom? This three-fold question is critical in explaining the past experiences of women as well as the other "groups and classes of people largely disenfranchised from historical records"(Dunaway, 1996). The oral history method focuses mainly on the social groups that are excluded from "power relations" (Thompson, 1999: 86) and tries to reveal these groups' perspectives and their particular understanding of the world, with the assumption that the meaning given by the dominant perspective is untrue (Anderson et al. 1990). As Chanfroult-Duchet (1991) puts it, oral history makes it possible to "go beyond the pre-constructed discourses and surface assertions".

Oral history also deconstructs the subject/object dichotomy since "the researched" is not longer an object of the study but is rather the subject (see Thompson, 1999). In this regard, it creates not only a richer historical perspective but also more "explanatory" and in that sense more "real" history (Thompson, 1999: 88). For Hoffman, oral history can be used for collecting reminiscences, accounts and interpretations of events from the recent past which is of historical significance (1996, 88).

As Dunaway (1996) states, oral history has been introduced as a technique developed by Allan Nevins and Luis Starr in 1949 as a means of collecting the unwritten recollections of prominent individuals for future historians. In that period, the oral history narratives were expected to consider historically significant events. In the 1960's and 1970's, the second generation of oral historians used the technique to collect documents about, and to describe and empower the "historically disenfranchised" (Dunaway, 1996). During the 1970's, oral

history developed and spread with the influence of feminists and activists, as well as that of ethnic and local history researchers and those conducting regional studies.

In Turkey, as İlyasoğlu (2001) puts it, an increasing interest towards women's history appeared with the effect of feminist movements in the 1980s. The first attempts were re-readings of the historical sources such as journals of the period to understand women's realities underneath the overdetermination of the Republican ideology. According to İlyasoğlu, a history writing process brought out a certain amount of "unknown" as well as "new" information and questioned the stereotypical explanations concerning the life experiences of the new women of the Republic. These attempts were followed by oral history studies that referred to the women themselves who witnessed the construction of the Republic (see İlyasoğlu, 2001: 15-37).

In the 1980's, the oral history archives were established and the use of the new research technology was initiated. Meanwhile, arguments took place about the meaning of oral history, and the purpose of the oral historian concerning whether oral history was intended to merely produce a set of primary source documents or to be a process of constructing history from oral sources. Young oral historians discussed issues such as self-interest and subjectivity in the process of history-making. In the 1990's, the interdisciplinary character of oral history came to the fore. (Dunaway, 1996).

There are three types of oral history: topical, biographical and autobiographical (Gluck, 1996; Reinharz, 1992). Topical oral history research is similar to the open-ended sociological interview. It is constructed around a certain topic such as work life or marriage. There is a specific focus on obtaining information about a particular event or issue in. On the other hand, biographical oral history focuses on a specific individual, or a public figure, to learn his/her specific experiences and stories. The main concern here is the life story of an important individual. Finally, autobiographical oral history is determined by the interviewee's life. The interviewee's total life story is recorded (Gluck, 1996; 217-219; Reinharz, 1992; 126). For this research, the topical oral history method was used because the women's narratives are analysed with respect to a single subject, "being professional".

In this connection, Reinharz (1992) calls our attention to the variety of terminology surrounding oral history: researchers use many different words to describe research processes that are basically similar. The variety of the names of techniques related to oral

history results from its non-limited nature. The scope or intentions of a particular study, as well as the research process itself, can allow some differentiation. Although the terms differ from each other, at a practical level all the techniques have the same meaning and try to elicit non-hegemonic information about women from their own personal life experiences. The following terms are used interchangeably with oral history: case studies, in-depth life history interviews, biographical interviews, life histories and personal narratives.

In this study, I prefer to use the term oral history because the personal narratives women tell are important historical records since these women witnessed the construction of the Turkish Republic. Although I have used the narratives to interpret the meaning and process of being professionals for women, the participants of this study still had their own character as being historical sources. Their stories and they themselves are historical sources of the Early Republican period of the 1930's and its social, political and economic conditions. For this reason, the method used in this study differs from the in-depth interview and other similar forms of research. Furthermore, the method used in this study also differs from life history in that the women's narratives are not only concerned with their own lives which are themselves great and valuable sources of knowledge, but also have strong historical potential, because the period under consideration as well as the women's understanding and interpretation of it are historically significant. In addition, within the course of this study women's testimonies are used as key references to understanding women's becoming and being professionals in the Republican period. İlyasoğlu states that the testimonies of the women who are as old as the Republic not only allow us to enter the details of their lives but also give information about how life went on in the period in which they lived (1997: 165). The testimonies of the women participating in this study have such a potential.

4.4.2. Traditional Oral History and Women's Oral History

Despite its advantages, even the oral history technique has some limitations in explaining women's experiences. Gluck reminds us that there are women-specific issues in conducting oral history research:

> By virtue of acculturation and socialization, women's lives were and are different from most men's. Whether women have played out public roles or adopted the traditional female role in the private realm, their lives have

been governed by (what Gordon Lerner has called) a special rhythm. Women have been using oral history to explore this rhythm of women's lives (Gluck, 1977: 216).

In addition, there are women-specific ways of interviewing in oral history. As Minister (1991) puts it, "since the male socio-communication subculture is assumed to be the norm of the social science interview, we will not hear what women find essential in their lives unless we legitimise a female socio-communication context for the oral history."

Moreover, there are feminist intentions such as "uncovering women's voices by depending on personal narratives rather than public rhetoric and discourses" (İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa, 2001) in oral history conducted among women.

In this respect, traditional oral history is criticised for not addressing

the basic insights that grew out of the women's liberation movement including the notion that the personal is political and the conviction that women's experiences were inherently valuable and needed to be recorded (Patai and Gluck, 1991).

Minister thinks that, we should learn how to listen, how to watch, and how to speak with women as women in order to interpret and hear what they value (1991: 32). Because women's experiences are surrounded by the patriarchal ideology, it is vital to reveal women's personal experiences (Anderson & Jack, 1991), in order to reach the "systematically ignored or trivialized women's culture (Borland, 1991).

Women's oral history differs from traditional oral history, contextually as well as structurally. It has a different context because it celebrates the originality of women's experience and challenges the concepts and standards of traditional oral history (Gluck, 1996; Anderson et. al., 1990). Anderson et al. (1990) define women's oral history as "a basic tool in our efforts to incorporate the previously overlooked lives, activities and feelings of women into our understanding of the past and the present". Gluck states that women are using their own voices and experiences to cope with having been overlooked and to reclaim their historical voices (Gluck, 1996: 216).

Besides these contextual differences, the research process's structure is also different from that of traditional oral history. Within the process of women's oral history, the research, the researcher, and the respondent share the common experience of being women. Within

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women's oral history, sharing the common experience of being women transforms the research into a process of re-identification and raising of female consciousness. Moreover, feminist oral history research serves to revalue women's perspectives and lives in a world that has systematically ignored or trivialised women's culture (Borland, 1991). Within women's oral history, the task one is faced with requires "the awareness that we are not only creating new materials but that we are also validating the lives of the women who proceeded us and where forging direct links with our past". (Gluck, 1996, 224)

Thus, it is possible to say that women's oral history itself is a feminist encounter.

> It is the creation of a new type of material on women; it is the validation of women; it is the communication among women of different generations; it is the discovery of our own roots; it is the development of a continuity, which has been denied us in traditional historical accounts (Gluck: 1996, 217).

4.5. The Practice

With these suggestions and explanations in mind, I enrolled into the research process in which I discovered myself as a researcher.

To reach the women narrators who participated in this research, I used the snowball sampling technique. Each participant introduced me to another. Due to their old age, it was difficult for the women to accept me into their homes because they felt insecure with someone who they did not know and because they did not want me to learn about their life conditions, which were not always proper. However, when I was referred from one participant to another, I was welcomed. The participants did not merely identify and suggest other interviewees for me, but also made introductions, generating trust and making my work easier. While some of the women welcomed me with small tea parties, others prepared their studies, writings or photography to share with me.

The participants made the decisions about meeting dates, places and times. I used a tape recorder and took notes during the interviews, especially for spelling difficulties and names, as Martin suggests (1995; 64). However, my interviews were much longer than the suggested length because the participants were very talkative and would not let me go. They all had

long, rich stories and were very willing to share them with someone who was willing to listen.

This was a real process of empowerment, that they obviously felt themselves important[87]. They considered the interview to be a reward for their professional service, to which they had devoted their lives. Almost all of them began the interview by saying, "I haven't done something important in my life; I have nothing special to say, no success story to tell you, being a professional was not a big deal". Like Z. Arat (1998c) has experienced in her research with 30 women from the same generation, at the beginning of the interview, the participant women in my study were worried about whether they would satisfy me with their stories. After a while though, such anxiety weakened and even disappeared.

Each interview session lasted from 2 to 9 hours depending on the women's interest in the subject and their health condition. Only one of them had difficulty remembering the past. In her case, I asked questions and drew conclusions from her short statements and then asked her if they were correct. She sometimes agreed with my statements and sometimes did not. If she disagreed with me, she corrected what I said. Another participant had difficulty with short-term memory. She asked me my name and my department several times during the conversation, but she had no difficulties about remembering her childhood, youth and adulthood in detail. During some of the interviews, I was not alone with the participant. Two women were not willing to have me visit them in their homes. So, the interviews were conducted in the house of their close friend, who established contact between them and me. In both of these interviews, the host was present at the interview because the participants wanted her to stay. During two other interviews, the women's husbands sometimes came and sat with us. However, during both of these interviews, I observed the women's dominant attitudes.

The most important problem with the interviews was time pressure. Although I was planning to conduct follow-up interviews, with the exception of two women all of them preferred to finish the interview in one sitting, no matter how long it took. However, this preference did not limit the conversation. The average length of the interviews was approximately 6 hours.

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[87] Relatedly, Thomson states that oral history interviews with old people who are generally in need of the attention of young generations to survive and to be recognized, may give them an important status since they will have the chance of relaying their experiences and long life stories to the next generation (1999: 10)

During some of them we had lunch, dinner or afternoon tea. Some longer one-day interviews lasted 8-9 hours, while the shortest took 2-3 hours.

Before I began the interviews, I tried to explain my study in detail to the participants (Martin, 1995; Cuttler, 1996). However, I tried to be careful not to reveal too much information. I explained the research in simple terms, as Martin (1995) suggests, since it could have been confusing for the participants. I told them why I was interested in their stories and how I was going to use the information they gave me.

Generally, we shaped the interviews together. Sometimes they began telling me their stories on their own and sometimes they preferred to answer my guiding questions. In my research, taking Lance's (1996) advice, I prepared a short questionnaire, which consisted of open-ended questions under a list of topics. There are two main, and six sub-topics concerning the phenomenon under study. The main topics include "experiences" and "thoughts", with the sub topics of 1) parents and childhood; 2) educational life; 3) occupational life; 4) meaning and consequences of being professional; 5) marriage and family life; 6) general contextual basis of being professional in Turkey. Although I tried not to restrict the interviews to these topics, I considered the narratives with respect to this structure in order to obtain details useful for answering my research questions (see Apendix A).

As I have learned from Gluck's (1996) experiences, I asked the most general questions and waited to see where the question would lead. I used these questions to "allow women to reflect upon their experience and chose for themselves which experiences and feelings are central to their sense of their past" (Anderson, 1990: 101). What I intended to do was to try "to help women to tell their own stories as fully, completely and honestly as they desire" (Anderson, 1990: 101). The principle was to guide the women narrators to express themselves freely (Thompson, 1999: 104). Mostly, I did not refer to my questions since the women themselves covered most of the questions. Yet from time to time I used my interview form to check whether I missed any questions. As Thomson suggests, I interfered only if the narrator omitted, forgot, or gave less importance to certain points. Apart from these conditions, I tried not to interfere and let them tell me whatever they wanted to. This corresponded to Gluck's suggestions:

> The best interview is a quasi-monologue on the part of the interviewee which is encouraged by approving nods, appreciate smiles and enraptured

listening and simulated by understanding comments and intelligent questions (Gluck, 1996: 224)

Anderson et al. (1990) advise that "an oral historian needs to develop techniques that will encourage women to say the unsaid". In this research, I avoided leading the participant by the relying too heavily on structured or suggestive questions. On the contrary, as a researcher I tried to guide the women to tell their stories in their own words.

Through this unstructured interview form, I have gathered information that I would not otherwise have been able to collect. I benefited greatly from the knowledge generated by the field itself because the oral history project is an "open ended journey" (Reinharz; 1992, 126).

On this journey, there was myself the researcher, the women narrators and the questions I had in mind, which definitely influenced my approach to their narratives. However, I attempted to decrease my expectations of the research to push myself beyond my limits. Thus, I became able to reach the knowledge of experiences and thoughts, which did not stack in the structure of the question sentences, which would be introduced by me as a researcher and limited by my knowledge and experience, in which I would force the participants to translate themselves by asking them structured questions.

Women's non-hegemonic experiences hardly appear in spoken language. Thus, it is necessary to be aware of the non-spoken language of voice and body.[88] During the oral history interviews, not only non-elicited, very unique experiences, but also the less spoken parts of their personal lives were manifested.

It was also interesting to see that because the participants felt free to talk, our conversations gradually gave way to their talking to themselves. They discussed their own previous statements again and again, forming the most valuable part of the research, both in terms of methodology and the study's subject matter.

In addition, I noticed that the cultural likeness between the women I interviewed and me created great opportunities for the research. This likeness increased trust and openness, as

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[88] Anderson and Jack also suggest that, "Women often mute their own thoughts and feelings when they try to describe their lives in the familiar and publicly acceptable terms of prevailing concepts and conventions. To hear women's perspective accurately we have to learn to listen in seterea, and receiving both the dominant and muted channels clearly by tuning into them carefully to understand the relationship between them" (Anderson and Jack, 1991: 11)

Gluck suggests (1996). Gluck (1996) writes that cultural likeness between interviewee and interviewer promotes trust and openness while dissimilarity reinforces distance. Apart from our being from similar class positions and similar occupations, there were some personal differences determining the structure of the interviews. I answered sincerely and in detail every question the women asked me and listened attentively their suggestions to me about my health, marriage and work.

One of my concerns during the research was to be careful to respond to the women individually and to avoid reducing them to observable objects of inquiry by imposing a standardised research structure. By doing so, I tried to see how each woman's subjective position was determined and appeared within the research. Wittner suggests that, to find out the alternative way of women's seeing the world, it is important to focus on their perspective (Anderson et al. 1990). Thus, as Gluck mentions, the interview process varies (Gluck, 1996). To achieve this un-standardised and varying interview techniques should be used and constructed gradually within the research process (Gluck, 1996; Cutler, 1970). Actually, Gluck states that, "This variability is one of the most distinctive features of the oral history interview and is what makes it different from the standardized interviews used by social scientists" (Gluck, 1996: 224). In this respect, since I intend to approach every woman individually, each interview has appeared to be a whole in itself.

As a researcher, I should have considered and question my subject position and its influence on the research process. Here, I tried not to ignore my subjective influence on the interview process and the influence of the research on me. At the same time I avoided dominating the research with my expertise as a researcher and my own experiences as a woman[89]. To do this, after interviews I rested a little and recorded my observations, feelings, and thoughts about the interview. This also helped me to make a content analysis "to control the effect of social environment of women" (Anderson et. all., 1990) and to understand the "atmosphere" that the women have been living in.

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[89] Accordingly, Gluck suggests that "we must recognise our own influence in the interview process and make a concerted effort to maintain a balance between what we, as feminist historians, think is important and what we the women we are interviewing think was important about their own lives" (Gluck, 1996: 219).

As various researchers (Gluck,1996; Thompson, 1999; Martin, 1995) suggest, there is no standardised format for oral history interviews and so, as Gluck (1996) suggests, I have tried to develop a style that suits me as a researcher.

4.6. Introducing Participants

The intention of this research is basically to identify and understand the conditions surrounding professional women in Turkey by examining their personal and professional experiences. I intended to refer mainly to the women who were engaged in full professions, which are mainly dominated by men. Thus I exclude the teachers, midwifes or nurses, who were semi-professionals and which were relatively feminised or female dominated areas of work. There is only one participant who was a high school teacher: she was 93 years old and she accidently came to a place where I stay in İstanbul for this research. Actually, I learned a lot from her testimony. With this aim, I interviewed 18 women altogether: 5 of them were over 90, 11 of them were over 80, 2 of them were over 75 years old. 8 doctors, 3 architects, 1 pharmacist, 1 high school teacher specialized in literature, 1 engineer, and 4 jurists.

The women whom I interviewed give permission to me to use their narratives in the scientific studies. Some of them wanted to have a pseudo-names. Only one women, NS, especially wanted to be called with first letter of her name and surname.

Besides these interviews I had the chance to make 2 focus group interview. One of the interviews was with the three architects who participated in this study. During this interview the discussion was mainly on the gender relations during their professional education and work. The second one was with 3 gradutes of the Erenkoy Girls High School who graduated at 1931 and entered to Darülfinun in 1932, one year before the university reform. This time the conversation was mainly shaped around the project of modernization, the Kemalist ideals and the stuation of Turkey today.

In this study, the women I interviewed were approached not as researchable objects whose expressions were interpreted sociologically, but as subjects whose experiences became the central issue. In this respect, they themselves were seen as the main source of information. To be able to bring the study into reality and to be more concreat I find it centrally important

to introduce the participants with some brief information about their personal and professional lives. I believe this information will build the connection between further interpretations and the real life.

4.6.1. Fahriye:

Fahriye was born in 1922 in an Anatolian town close to the capital city of Turkey. She was the one of four children of an illiterate couple. Her mother was a conservative woman, while her father, who was a shepherd, was an open-minded man. When Fahriye's father came to Ankara and began to work as a building contractor, he became financially able to cover his daughter's expenses for a university education in İstanbul. Fahriye entered the İstanbul University Faculty of Medicine and became a physician, a profession she had been dreaming of since the age of six. When the Faculty of Medicine was established in Ankara in 1945, Fahriye wanted to transfer to this school because she noticed that it had become difficult for her father to cover her educational expenses. She was the first and only female student of Ankara University's Faculty of Medicine, the number-one medical school in the country. After her graduation, she specialised in gynaecology. When she completed her three-year training period in gynaecology, she was appointed to one of the underdeveloped regions of Eastern Turkey. She worked there in very difficult conditions. Reluctantly, she applied for an appointment to Ankara. She began work at the Municipality Hospital as chief of staff. Because administrative work did not satisfy her professionally, she established her own private consulting business. She did not marry and had no children. Her younger sister, with whom she is living, facilitated her lifestyle by undertaking the domestic responsibilities. She retired in 1974, after 26 years of work, and closed the private consulting business in 1991.

4.6.2. NS

NS was born Canakkale in 1911. Her father was an agriculturist who had worked as a forest inspector and did quite well financially. Her mother had graduated from middle school, which was the highest educational institution open to women during that period in their hometown. NS has three sisters and a brother. Although she wanted to be an engineer, she

took her father's advice and registered for the faculty of law in 1932. She graduated from the faculty in 1935. She worked in several branches of law. Her work life was interrupted many times. She started out as a public prosecutor. She was appointed to Anatolia as one of three women assistant prosecutors of the Republic in 1935. She took a break from her career for five or six years when she married and had two children. After that, she worked as a free lawyer for 18 years. After her retirement, she settled in Istanbul.

4.6.3. Harika

Harika was born in 1918 in Istanbul. Her father was one of the engineers who built the Bagdat Railway. He married Harika's mother when she was only 15 years old. Harika's mother attended midwifery classes for women and worked as a midwife to help support the family. Harika has a sister who studied philosophy and a brother who studied architecture. Harika spent her childhood in both Ankara and İstanbul. She graduated from İstanbul Erenköy High School. With the influence of her brother and father, she wanted to be an architect and entered the Architecture Department of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1938. She graduated in 1942 and started to work for the Ministry of Education, until she became pregnant in 1944. She continued to work at home and attended architecture competitions with her husband. In 1953, when her twins were six years old, she and her husband set up an architecture office. She had a difficult struggle in Germany for 21 months while her husband and son were being treated for health problems. Harika worked part time in an architecture office there while the family lived in Germany. When they returned to Turkey in 1960, she worked as a consultant architect at İstanbul University until 1964. Then, she set up a ready-made-clothing business and ran it until 1979. Now she is living alone in İstanbul in the winter and on Marmara Island in the summer.

4.6. 4. Nezihe

Nezihe was born in 1919 in İstanbul. Her father was a well-known architect and restaurateur. Her mother was an educated woman who did not have a formal education but was trained at home. Nezihe had a brother who was also a well-known architect. After she graduated from

high school in 1937, she went to Germany to study. Like her older brother, she entered the faculty of architecture in "Tecknische Hochschule Berlin" between 1938-1943. During her education in Germany, she specialised in the city planning. She began to work as the first female city planner in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Municipality Committee of Public Works and Housing, Office of City Planning. She translated many articles on city planning into Turkish. As a city planner, she travelled all around the country and prepared city plans in several different regions. She resigned from her work when she became pregnant. She continued to work at home between 1946-1959. In 1959, Nezihe and her husband went to Vienna to pursue graduate work, using the inheritance from her father. They stayed there for 11 months. When her daughter started high school, she returned to work in The Bank of the Provinces in the managerial office of the Urban Planing Department in 1960 and then transferred to the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 1963. She retired in 1979 when she was 59 years old. She was responsible for 32 city plans during her 36-years work life. Now she is living in İstanbul.

4.6. 5. Cahide

Cahide was born in 1915 in İstanbul. Her father, who died when Cahide was very young, was a ship engineer. After his death, Cahide's mother raised her two daughters with the pension she was given by the government. Thus, they spent their childhood under severe economic conditions. When Cahide was only 14, she was engaged to their neighbor's son, whom she had never seen before the day they are engaged. Later, when she was 17, she got married someone else and had her son a year and a half later. Then she came back to her mother's house while her husband was doing his military service and did not return to her husband again. She began painting pictures at her mother's house. One of her mother's friends told her that she could apply to the Department of Painting at the Academy of Fine Arts since they accepted middle school graduates at that time. Her higher education adventure began in this way in 1934. She studied painting and Turkish handicrafts. While studying there, she successfully passed high school graduation exams and applied to the Department of Architecture at the Academy in 1938. While continuing her education in that department, she also worked in Public Auto-roads. Then, she started her career as a restoration specialist in the Ministry of Education in the General Directory of Museums and

Antiques. She was appointed to the İstanbul Directorate of Foundations as the head of architecture. At the same time, she worked in the Church Restoration Office.

In 1961, she was rewarded by the French Ministry of Culture with the "Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres" medal. In 1974, she retired from her work. She has a long list of restorations to her credit, most of which are in İstanbul. The Rumeli Hisarı, Ayasofya, Topkapı Palace, and Yedikule restorations are only a few examples. By 2003, Cahide had published thirteen books concerning her restorations, which contain accounts of the restoration projects as well as relevant documents.

4.6. 6. Lamia

Lamia was born in 1913, in Edremit. Her father was a teacher and her mother was a daughter of a well-known Caucasian family. She had three brothers. Lamia started school when she was only four years old. When she was 11, she began middle school in İstanbul as a boarding student. She stayed there for six years until her graduation from high school. Then, she registered to the İstanbul University Faculty of Law. During her university years, she worked as an assistant teacher in a high school and was given meals and place to stay in return. She got married just after her graduation. After one year of training as a judge, she was appointed to a small Turkish town as one of 15-20 women judges in the country. However, since her husband was in İstanbul, she resigned from her work after 4 or 5 months. Then their daughter was born and they spent a year abroad. After her daughter began primary school, she strongly wanted to go back to work, applied for a position of judge, and started her career one year later. After her reassignment, she worked as a free lawyer until the 1980's. Now she lives in İstanbul and writes books on the country's current daily problems.

4.6.7. Belkıs

Belkıs was born in 1921 in Kastamonu. She stayed there until she her graduation from high school. She was born in a big house where her family lived with her grand parents and her aunts' families. The grandfather, Müderris Müftü (professor of theology and Müftü, which

means doctor of Islamic law), sent his three granddaughters to a teachers' training school. Belkıs's mother became a deputy when women were given political rights. Her father was a history teacher in the high school. Hers was an upper-middle income family strongly tied to reformist and Kemalist ideals. Belkıs wanted to go into medicine, but, as the Second World War broke out, her family's conditions prevented her from going to İstanbul. So, she entered the Faculty of Law in Ankara. Just after her graduation, she got married had two children and looked after them for 3 or 4 years. She underwent lawyer training in 1947-48 and worked as a lawyer until 1951. Then, she went to Germany with her husband, who was an academic, until 1952. When she came back she could not afford a private office so she worked for a little while in Sümerbank. Then she was offered a position in the "nitrogen industry". Soon, she become the personnel manager and worked for 17 years in that position. She was one of the first women bureaucrats and played an important role in the establishment of the nitrogen industry in Turkey. She spent 26 years in her profession. Now she is living in Ankara.

4.6. 8. Necla

Necla was born in 1927 in Trabzon. Her mother was an illiterate woman who learned to read after the alphabet revolution. Her father was the director of the accounting department of the Turkish State Liquor and Tobacco Monopoly. The father wanted to be employed in Bursa to facilitate his daughter's education. She graduated from Bursa High School for Girls. After she graduated from high school, she studied at İstanbul University's Faculty of Medicine. She stayed in the girls' dormitory during her university years. She specialised in gynaecology and opened her own consulting business in Bursa. Then she got married to a jurist. During her professional career, she witnessed the lack of education for women and its effects on them. She tried to work for women's advancement. Moreover, she financially supported a school building in Bursa. Necla and her husband often visit the school, checking on the needs of the school and the students, whom she calls her own children. She retired only a couple of years ago.

4.6. 9. Nuriye

Nuriye was born in 1911, in Çorum. She came to İstanbul and became a boarding student in Erenköy Girls High School. After her graduation from high school, she entered the chemistry department of İstanbul University. However, because she lost connection with her friends in Istanbul, she had to go to Ankara with other friends and entered the Institute of Education. She worked as a high school literature teacher. Now, she is living in İstanbul.

4.6. 10. Reyhan

Reyhan was born in a small Anatolian town in 1911. Her father was one of the local notables who strongly supported education for girls, even before the founding of the Republic. He was a müderris (professor) and one of the first deputies of the first assembly. Her mother was a smart woman. Reyhan was sent to Istanbul for high school. Then, she entered the Department of Pharmacy of Darülfinun in 1932. She graduated in 1935, the best student in her department. Although she wanted to go back to her hometown and open a pharmacy there, she married the pharmacist who owned the pharmacy where she worked as an apprentice. Since her husband was an elegant but at the same time conservative man, she could not pursue her career as an active pharmacist, but worked in her husband's laboratory.

4.6. 11. Saliha

Saliha was born in 1923. She spend her schildhood in a small town in the centre of the Anatolia, and also in İstanbul. She was the oldest sister of ther of the 2 sisters, one of who is Şükran, and 3 brothers. Her father was a merchant and her mother was a housewife who graduated from primary school and learned the new alphabet. Saliha went to primary and secondary school in İstanbul, High school in Adana, and attended İstanbul University's Faculty of Medicine in 1946. She specialized in internal medicine. She worked during her training period to make her living. For two years, she went to United States on a government scholarship and she amazed her American colleagues with her hard work and success as a practitioner. She never married and had no children.

4.6.12. Şükran

Şükran was born in 1925 in a small but civilized Anatolian town. She spend her childhood mainly in İstanbul. She had 2 sisters and 3 brothers. She was the younger sister of Saliha. Her father was a merchant and her mother was a housewife who graduated from primary school and learned the new alphabet.

Şükran spent her educational years in İstanbul. According to her father's suggestion, she entered the Teachers' Training School in the Department of Biology. During her education she also attended classes in the geology department, which was newly established. She graduated from both departments and became one of the first geologists in Turkey. She worked as a biology teacher for a period but she mainly worked as a geologist for almost 40 years. She retired in 1990. She travelled all over the country. She never married and had no children.

4.6.13. Güzin

Güzin was born in 1922 in İstanbul. Her father was pharmacist and –chemist and her mother was one of the first women teachers of the Late Ottoman period. Yet she worked for only two years before she got married and had children. Güzin has a brother and three sisters. All the children in the family got a university education and entered professional occupations. She graduated from Kandilli High School, which, she says, played an important role in the advancement of Turkish women. She entered the İstanbul University Faculty of Medicine in 1941 and graduated in 1947. She specialised in gynaecology. Just after she finished the training period in fall of1952, she got married and had two sons. She had a private consulting room at her home. In addition, she worked for the Mother and Infant Health Office for two years. She worked for 56 years. She has been living in Bursa since 1965.

4.6.14. Naciye

Naciye was born in 1918 in a small village near Eskişehir. After the Balkan War, her family migrated from Kırım first to Romenia and then to Turkey. Her father was a soldier who

fought in the three big wars, the Balkan War, I. World War and the National Independence War. Her mother came from a family that gave importance to education and to learning how to read and write. Naciye went to high school in İstanbul and became a boarding student. After she graduated in the first rank, she entered the Faculty of Medicine in İstanbul. She specialised in gynaecology. She worked in Anatolia for a very short time and returned to her hometown. She married in 1952 and had a son in 1956. She both worked in the hospital and had a private consulting room. After her father passed away, she came to İstanbul and worked in different positions until she retired when she was 65 years old.

4.6.15. Nüzhet

Nüzhet was born in 1916 in an Anatolian town. She was the daughter of a Western-oriented, modern and wealthy family. Her father was an engineer who was educated in France and her mother was French. She had three sisters and a brother. She went to French boarding schools. Her childhood was spent in Halep due to her father's work and she went to high school in Ankara. She entered the Faculty of Law in Ankara in 1934. She got married in 1938 and did not have children. She worked as a secretary in the Court of Appeal for 10 years and in the Council of State for 34 years. She rose to the position of Attorney General.

4.6.16. Safiye

Safiye was born in 1930 in a town close to the western coast of Turkey. Her mother came from a family that immigrated from Rumeli. Her mother attended a six months' course to become a primary school teacher and worked for five years, until she married Safiye's father, who was a primary school graduate and worked as an officer in various positions. Safiye has a sister and a brother who are also professionals. After she finished high school, she attended İstanbul University's Faculty of Medicine . After she graduated, she married a classmate who was also a medical doctor and had a son and a daughter. She specialised in internal medicine and gastroonthology and worked in an Anatolian city for 14 months. When she moved to Ankara, she worked as a clinic director. She also worked in her private practice. She retired in 1996.

4.6.17. Mefkure

Mefkure was born in İstanbul in 1923. Her father graduated from the Teachers' Training School of Higher Education. Her mother had no formal education but was raised in an enlightened family, and educated herself. Mefkure was raised in a large family; her aunts and cousins lived with them. She has a sister who is an archaeologist. She finished high school in Adana and then entered İstanbul University's Faculty of Medicine. After graduation, she got engaged to one of her classmates. She specialised in internal medicine in Ankara and worked as a medical doctor in an educational institution. At the same time, she worked as an instructor at a nursery school. After resigning form her position at the institute, she started working as a medical doctor in one of the national banks. With a scholarship she received from the WHO (World Health Organization), she attended courses on rehabilitation in various European countries for one year, at the end of which she became a rehabilitation specialist. After she returned home, she started working towards the establishment of the first rehabilitation centre in Turkey and to introduce rehabilitation as a new subject to the Turkish scientific community. Except for the years she worked as an assistant candidate and instructor, she worked for 39 years and 9 months, until she resigned in 1985.

4.6.18.Hamide

Hamide was born in 1918. Her father was a military officer as were most of the other men in her family. Her mother had a big interest in reading. She started primary school in a small city in the eastern part of Turkey and continued her education in Ankara. She was entered the Faculty of Law at Ankara University. After her graduation, she went to France for a year. Then she worked in a bank for 4 or 5 years. In the 1943-44 academic year, Ankara University began accepting graduates from Turkish Universities as academic faculty. Thus, she continued her career at the University and taught many students to have a gender sensitive viewpoint.

4.7. Other sources

I have also used other sources of information such as autobiographies and memoirs, autobiographic novels, interviews and news, and yearbooks of medicine.

Nusret Zorlutuna's autobiographical novel titled "*A novel of a period*" (Bir Devrin Romanı), provides information about the daily life of a middle class, enlightened, intellectual family as well as about the social and political conditions of the period from the beginning of 1900s to the end of 1930s.

Autobiographies used in this study are as follows: "*Memories of a Dinosaur*" (Bir Dinazorun Anıları) by Mina Urgan; "*While Wathcing the Hourglass*" (Kum Saatini İzlerken) by Nermin Abadan-Unat; "*The Period of Kaiser, The Republic of Weimar, and Atatürk's Country: My Outdated Autobiography*" (Anılarım: Kayzer Dönemi, Weimar Cumhuriyeti, Atatürk Ülkesi), by Ernst E. Hirsch[90]; and "*Witnessing the Academy*" (Akademiye Tanıklık)[91]

This study also benefited greatly from oral history interviews with two professional women of the Republic conducted by Prof. Dr. Aynur İlyasoğlu. Within the following chapters the experiences of *Gültekin Ağaoğlu* and *Lamia Hanım* were quated from this study.

In addition, "*The Sun of Hittite*" which is an interview with Mualla Eyüboglu Anhegner, who was one of the first woman architects of the Turkish Republic (and who is actually the class mate of Harika Söylemezoglu), by Tuba Çandar; "*The Last Women*" (Son Kadınlar) which is a collection of interviews with seven key women who witnessed the transformation of the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic by Necati Güngör; and "*First women in professions and other facts in the Republican period in press*" (Cumhuriyet Döneminde Olaylarda ve Mesleklerinde Basınımızda Yer Alan İlk Kadınlar) prepared by Orhan Topçuoğlu which is a collection of news published in the newspapers between 1923 and 1980 about women who were artists, professionals, sports women, in exceptional occupations or positions, and so on;

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[90] The memories of professor Hirsh who worked as an invited Professor in the Faculty of law in Ankara University especially gives information about University reform and the higher education system in Republican period. The book includes detailed observations and thoughts about first 30 years of the Turkish Republic.

[91] This book is a collection of memories of the graduates of the Academy of Fine Arts, Department of Architecture. Actually all the memories belong to the male architects.

"Dürüye Köprülü'nün Çücukluğu: Bir Genç Kız Yetişiyor" (The Childhood of Düriye Köprülü: A young Girl is Groving up) by Mine Tan and the memories of Dr. Şefika Ataman which are narrated by her daughter Narınç Ataman in her master thesis: *"Eğitim Yönetiminde Bir Kadın Profili: Nimet Zerrin Tüzün" (A profile of a Woman in Education Management: Nimet Zerrin Tüzün)* are also referred to.

Lastly, yearbooks of medicine, titled "New Years Day on the Way to Medicine" (Tıp yolunda Yılbaşı) for the years of 1947, 1951, 1954, and1955 are examined. I should also mention that various narratives published in a national newapaper collected by the researchers working with the Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation within the context of the project called "A Thousand Witnesses to History (Tarihe 1000 Tanlı Tanık)" also helped me to get the idea of life in the early Republic.

CHAPTER 5

BECOMING A PROFESSIONAL WOMAN

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the arguments on the identity of Turkish professional women are questioned and the conditions under which women entered the realm of professions in the Republican period is pointed out in light of the interpretation of personal narratives of participant women as well as other biographic sources. Here the main focus is on the various factors that influenced the socialisation of the participant women as professionals.

First, depending on research findings, I try to point out the evidence concerning women's entry to the realm of professions. Second, I focus on the family and the socio-economic backgrounds of the participant women; the parents' and other family members' roles in their socialisation; and the conditions they were being raised within which they called the "atmosphere". Third, I try to illustrate the women's adventure of becoming professional by emphasising the impact of schooling and the process of making the decision to become professional. Finally, I discuss the roles of Kemalism and professionalism on women's professionalization and their reflections on women's professional service. I also focused on the manifestations of patriarhy within the social practices of Kemalism and professionalism.

Within this framework while interpreting the narratives, I refer to women themselves in order to understand "women's own self definitions, perceptions, their own theories of self

and moral social conduct," as these, "can best be understood studying their own accounts and analyzing their own construction of their lives and life histories" (İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa: 2001).

This attitude helped me to avoid making sweeping statements driven from the studies concerning Republican women which are hardly based on detailed research, but rather on observations and rough statistics. Instead, I based my evaluations on the women's narratives and combined my voice with theirs.

5.2. Women's Entry into Professions:

As I have argued in the first chapter, a profession is a form an occupation takes or a power and a position it gains at the end of the professionalisation process or project (Larson, 1977; Johnson, 1972) which is closely related to modernisation (Parsons, 1966; Taylor, 1968; Perkin,1996) and patriarchy (Witz, 1992; Unterhalter, 1985; Nicolson, 1996). It is often argued that professions arose from and were formed within the masculine content of modernity (Alvarez et al. 1996, Spencer and Padmore 1987).

However, in the Turkish case it is slightly different, because not only modernity with a patriarchal content, but also Kemalism with its patriarchal content has been a determining factor in the formation of professions. As I have mentioned in the second chapter (see 3.6.2.), there was a 'from-above' construction of professions and this type of professionalisation in Turkey has an original character. In the professionalisation process in Turkey, women were invited and included into several professions regardless of their gender. Within the positivistic tradition of the Kemalist ideology, women's advancement in educational and occupational life was supported as a part of state ideology and the mission of modernization of Turkey (Acar, 1996: 77). Kemalism, via creating an institutional and legal basis, made it possible for women to be able to participate within professions. The Republican women, who were very much concerned with their liberation and emancipation, were ready to advance their position by using these bases.

Just before the establishment of the Republic, there occured debates on whether women should have higher education or not. For example, in 1913, proponents of women's

advancement argued that women should be allowed to become physicians, especially gynecologists, so that their sisters' health could be protected (Kadıoğlu, 1998: 321). To the contrary, some writers advocated in newspapers that women should not pursue a career in medicine since it was very difficult for women to become physicians (Yıldırım and Bozkurt, 1998: 170).

With the motivation of these arguments, some pioneer women challenged the masculine structure of the university. Along with the effect of the rise of Republican ideals on government, they succeeded in being accepted into higher education, as we learn from the memories of Müfide Küley:

> The year following the Mondros Armistice in 1919, Inas Darülfinunu[92] was closed , having only graduated one class. Acceptance of female students to Istanbul Darülfinunu was started on the condition that different class hours for boys and girls would be organized. However, the Faculty of Medicine was closed to women because the administration was concerned about the possible lack of discipline in the class. At the same time, accepting female students was against the principles of some teachers. I and some of my friends, who had enrolled to the biology department in the Faculty of Science and were hoping to be become physicians, started to visit the president of Darülfinun, Besim Ömer Pasha twice or three times a week. This former teacher seemed to be supporting us and also wanting to help us. However, he could not find any other supporters in the faculty board to open our way to the Faculty of Medicine for a definite decision within two years. Meanwhile, we were striving for co-education. We thought that if education was unified, there would not be any reason to object to female student's entrance into the Faculty of Medicine. We decided to make personal applications to some teachers. The first teachers who put co-education into practise were the ones in the Faculty of Letters (Tıp yolunda yılbaşı, 1955: 9, 46; 1998).

Their efforts ended up with their acceptance to the faculty of medicine. They registered to the faculty in 1921. However, one of the professors, for whom women's exclusion from medical professions was a principle, influenced the government and women were not allowed to enter to the Faculty of Medicine. Only when the Kemalist government become stronger, the sultanate no more became an obstacle against women's entry to the university. Thus, Küley and her friends started their studies in the Faculty of Medicine in the 1922-1923 academic years.

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[92] For information about Inas Darülfinunu see 3.6.1.

However, the first generation women students were not welcomed by everyone. A protest poem published in the daily newspaper, *Vatan*, written by a male student of the Faculty of Medicine in 1924 indicates the negative attitudes towards women's entry to the faculty:

> She can be everything but not a doctor/if a girl has a desire to enter the School of Medicine/She is so ridiculous when she imitates us/ Motherland, if you do not believe, ask the students of Medicine (cited in Etker & Dinç, 1998: 49).[93]

It is also important to note that although women entered the Faculty of Medicine in 1922, women physicians were not allowed to work for the government until 1930 when the first official work was offered to women (Kadıoğlu: 1998). For the task of building the modern institutions of the Republic, women were invited to meet the educated labour force demand.

Women's entry to the Faculty of Law was also the result of women's hard work, particularly some pioneer women. One of them was Süreyya Ağaoğlu (1904-1989), who was called as "gavur"[94] because she had supported the ideal of the Republican regime at high school. Süreyya Ağaoğlu was so progressive that she refused to cover her head before the establishment of the Republic. With her progressive ideals, she decided to attend the faculty of law. She says that "When I first declared my decision to study law, one of our teachers (at the high school) said 'never! you have become an infidel'." However, at that time the faculty was closed to women. This did not stop her:

> I was only seventeen… I wore a gray dress (tayyör). I appealed to Selahattin Bey, the head of the Faculty of Law. He was so surprised about my appearance and my decisions that he laughed loudly for a while. Then, he said 'go and get three more girls like you, we cannot open a faculty just for you…'(Topçuoğlu,1984:128;seealso http://www.mamakram.com/Templates/ata.kadin.html and http://www.markopasa.net/haber.php?haber_id=124).

In September 1921, Süreyya with three other candidate students registered to the faculty. Thus the Faculty of Law started the programme for girls in the afternoon in a small room in

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[93] Her şey olsun bir doktor olmasın yeter/Tıbbiyeye girmeye heves ederse bir kız/Bizi taklit edeyim derken gülünç oluyor/İnanmazsan ey Vatan Tıbbiyelilere sor (cited in Etker & Dinç, 1998: 49)

[94] The word gavur means "infidel", but among people it generally indicates "non-Muslims", "the Christians", and in a more narrow sense "the West" and "the Westernists".

the *Zeynep Hanım Konağı*. After the second semester, coeducation started (Topçuoğlu, 1984: 128). [95]

Young women took great efforts to break down the barriers, paving their way and challenging the social restrictions and obstacles to their professional practices that they were subjected to during their years of schooling. According to the story Hamide quoted from her friend, who was one of the first female students of the faculty of medicine before the Republic, in the chemistry laboratory female students, who had to wear a modernised version of çarşaf, (Islamic covering) suffered much discomfort since the çarşaf was wrapped around their hands while they were working. Then one of the female students suddenly took off her head-scarf and saved herself from this uncomfortable condition and continued to work. In a short period of time, other female students followed her. From then on, female students started to walk without wearing the çarşaf within the faculty. On the street they preferred to wear a cap with a veil[96].

However, women's struggle was not limited to the school years. They continued to challenge the restrictions on professional service. The Republican women who were graduated from the university as the first female professionals struggled to gain some equal rights within their professions. In the newspaper called Hakimiyeti Milliye (08/04/1929) women jurists' desire to have the right to be judges was mentioned as follows:

> Ladies reject their being employed as secretaries while their male

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[95] In Köker's study (1988) the date of women's enterence to the Faculty of Law is shown as 1921. According to the Statistics Year Book (1940-1941) the first female students graduated form the faculty of law in the 1924-1925 academic year.

[96] This is also mentioned in Kamile Şevki Mutlu's (Mutlu, 1998: 1-2) memories, one of the first students in the faculty of medicine. In Mutlu's words: "Teorik derslerde olsun, pratik çalışmalarda olsun kızların başı krepdamur veya şifon gibi ince kumaşlarla türban biçimi sarılmış olup, arkalarında yakası kapalı ve kolları uzun manto bulunurdu. Bazıları ise etek pelerinden ibaret klasik ve fakat peçesiz çarşaf giyili idi. Hülasa, memlekette henüz tesettür meselesi hallolunamamış olduğundan, bu talebeler sokak kıyafetlerini fakülte içinde muhafaza etmek zorunda idiler. Umumiyetle yüz ve eller müstesna, vücudun her tarafının gizlenip saklanmasına itina gösteriliyordu. Kulaklar hizasından ve alından çıkarılmış birer küçük saç buklesi bu örtülmeyi zedeleyen tek belirti idi. İlk sömestrlerdeki öğretim esnasında kıyafetin fazla bir mahzuru olmayabilirdi. Fakat klinikte tatbikatın yapıldığı derslerde kızların manto veya çarşafla hastalara temas etmeleri ve mesela hastanın göğsüne çarşaflı başını koyup,'oscultation' yapmaları neticesiz olduğu kadar, hijyene de aykırı olacaktı. (...) Bir gün, kimya laboratuarında pratik çalışmalarda bulunurken, kız talebelerden biri, başındaki türban şeklindeki örtüyü çıkarıp attı ve bu sıkıntılı vaziyetten kendisini kurtardı. Kısa bir zamanda arkadaşları da onu takip edivermişlerdi. Artık fakülte dahilinde açık başla dolaşılıyor, sokakta ise sivil erkek talebe kasketlerinin, kadın başına gidecek tarzda modifiye edilmiş, 'kız talebe kasketleri' taşınıyordu. (Mutlu, 1998: 2).

colleagues, with whom they were graduated from the same university, are directly allowed to become judges. They claim that they, as their male colleagues, should be given the right to have the primary juridical duty of being "Aza Mülazımlığı (judge)" and "Müddei Umumilik (public prosecuter)"[97] (cited in Topçuoğlu, 1984: 6).

According to the same newspaper (04/29/1930), women succeeded to have the right to be appointed as judges in 1930 and Nezehat Hanım and Beyhan Hanım were the first jurist women appointed to Ankara and İstanbul as judges (aza mülazımı) (cited in Topçuoğlu, 1984: 7).

In the first years of the Republic, young women who had the chance to go to high school and were generally the daughters of families in the upper and upper middle stratum, mostly attended university not for the purpose of being well-educated bourgeois women, wives and mothers, as was expected by both the intellectuals in the late Ottoman period (see 3.4.), but to become successful professionals who would actually work.

It is important to note that without progressivist women who strongly demanded their educational and social rights, the reforms would not be able to realised and even conceptualised. Thus, it would be unfair to claim that only because of the reforms of the Republican regime women were offered higher education and entrance into the professions. Rather, it seems that the Republican government supported women's strong enthusiasm about education and work and created the necessary legal and material conditions for them to become professionals. But it is also important to note that under these conditions women's struggle for university education and entrance into the professions succeeded easily. Moreover, because of the Republican policies that supported the idea of gender equality women did not face with strong resistance when they entered to the newly established institutions of higher education and professions.

In the Republican period the reason why women's enthusiasm about being educated and having an occupation was supported has two dimensions. Women were invited to the realm of education and professions first, because of moral and ideological reasons and second,

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[97] The original news is as follows: Hanımlar kendileri ile mezun olan erkek arkadaşlarına doğrudan doğruya hakimlik verildiği halde, kendilerinin katip olarak istihdamlarına itiraz etmekte ve erkek arkadaşları gibi kendilerine de ilk adli vazife olarak Aza Mülazımlığı ve Müdde-i Umumilik verilmesi lazım geldiğini ileri sürmektedirler." (Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 4 Ağustos 1929, cited in Topçuoğlu, 1984: 6).

because of pragmatic and material reasons.

On the one hand, as it has long been argued in the literature, the images of the modern women and the policies of gender equality were the indicators of the modern Republic. Moreover, in order to show the difference between the democratic and equalitarian approach of the single party government and the rising power of the fascist regimes in Europe, women's rights and their presence in important positions within society was supported as a state policy[98] (see Tekeli, 1997). Because of these moral and ideological reasons, professional women were supported and even encouraged (by official state policy).

On the other hand, professional women played an important role in meeting the urgent needs for an educated labour force in the very beginning of the Republic. For pragmatic and material reasons, the professionals were seen as the people responsible for scientific, technological and industrial development. The newly establishing country had far too many requirements. Hamide stated that the Faculty of Law in Ankara was established to raise professionals according to the new law; society necessitated new measures and required newly educated lawyers were well-versed in contemporary law from the beginning[99].

The women I have interviewed confirmed that there was an enormous need for their professional service. Nezihe, who was a city planner, stated that every corner of the country needed to be planned[100]. Lamia said that after graduation from the Faculty of Law, becoming a judge required a two-year training period. However, after she had completed the first year of the training period, she, like her three other women colleagues, was immediately appointed to Anatolia[101]. NS said that although Darülfinun became a university, the shortage of professional people was so acute that with an intensive program they were graduated in three years instead of four. Hamide worked as a teacher in a middle school while she was a

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[98] As I mentioned in chapter 2, Tekeli states that women's invitation to the public realm as professionals and the policy of gender equality in general were used as the indicators of democracy within the Turkish Republic, which was ruled by a single party (see, Tekeli, 1997).

[99] Hamide said: "Atatürk'ün Ankara Hukuk Fakültesi'ni kurmasının bir sebebi var. Borçlanma eğitimi ile yetişmiş idareci yerine, cumhuriyet eğitimiyle yetişmiş hakim yetiştirecek (...) yani toplumun yeni ölçülere ihtiyacı var, çekirdekten yetişmiş hukukçu lazım."

[100] Nezihe said: "Çok planlar yapıldı. Bütün Anadolu'nun plana ihtiyacı vardı."

[101] Lamia said: "(Staj süresi) iki seneydi; fakat bir sene sonra Anadolu'ya tayin emrimiz geldi.Bir sene sonra tayin edildik. Öyle uygun buldular. İhtiyaç vardı galiba hakimlere. Zannediyorum onbeş,yirmi hakim hanım olarak bizi Anadolu'ya tayin ettiler".

student in the Faculty of Law since they were allowed to be teachers in the middle school to meet the demand.

The institutions of the young Republic were established with the effort of newly graduated professionals who were educated with a positivist and Kemalist approach. In 1937, when Rabia started to work in General Directory of State Hydraulic Works only a Russian engineer and a French technician were working in the institution. Rabia alone, as a Turkish engineer, was responsible for the whole technical departments of the institution.

The most significant characteristic of these professional women is their similar position within social strata. These women were generally urban women from the middle and upper middle strata, who benefited from higher education in science and technology most, participated within the professional labour force which the young Turkish Republic urgently required. In the next part of this chapter, the focus will be on the determinants of their location within social stratification such as their family and socio-economic backgrounds.

5.3. Family and Socio-Economic Background:

It is significant that especially the first generation of professional women came from upper and upper middle-income families[102] which were living in cities like Selanik (Thessaloniki), İstanbul and İzmir, or which could afford and ideologically accept to send their daughters to big cities for education.[103]

This is a consequence of several factors which, in accordance with the elitism within the

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[102] İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa, conducted interviews with educated, professional women of "the same age as the Republic". They found that "some women had semi-aristocratic family backgrounds, i.e. they come from Istanbul 'konak' (Ottoman mansion house) families, wealthy remnants of the Ottoman upper class, but others were representatives of the new middle classes in the making during the early Republican Period (1923-1950)."

[103] Actually, we see that the women's movements which starts in the late Ottoman period began to form in such cities by publishers, journals, organizations and associations. However, they were disconnected with the women in the rest of the country (Berkes, 2003: 446). In this regard, it is also possible to assume that the women's movement can be another determinant that conditions the participant women's habitus in the present study.

educational reforms of Kemalism and within professionalism. [104] First, before the Republic, high schools for girls were very rare and they were located mostly in big cities. As Tan explains,

> Girls had less schooling than boys. Even if the family was willing and could provide education for a teenage girl, at the secondary level distance was considered a great problem. The number of secondary schools was small causing them to be widely spaced. Even in the cities like Istanbul where public transportation was available the idea of adolescent girls making daily trips to locations outside of families' control was hardly accepted. (Tan, 2000, 351)

In this connection, female university students, who were generally required to have high school diplomas, were recruited from the families who were able to support their daughters' educational expenses in big cities during the high school years.

Although the Republican state claimed to build gender equality, it was primarily boys who benefited from educational opportunities. For example, Naciye attended a co-educational secondary school in her home town Eskişehir, but had to go to Istanbul to be able to go to high school. In Eskişehir, there was a rising demand for places in the high school. Unable to meet such a demand, the director of the high school declared that female students would not be accepted to the school. Thus, young girls lost the chance to be educated in their hometown.

Second, for the university education, only male students and the students of teacher training schools were offered scholarships[105]. Accommodation was another considerable cost

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[104] I have argued in 3.5. that Kemalism was an elitist ideology which did not challenge the class inequalities. Education was not a means for upward mobility but rather a mechanism that strengthened the inequalities within the social stratification in that period (Nausel, 1996: 17; Acar, 1996: 81; Kandiyoti, 1997: 41). Such an approach towards education did not originate from Kemalism. It was based on the educational reforms of the late Ottoman modernisation project as discussed in 3.4. In that period, the goal was to reform higher education as it was clear in the "Tuba Ağacı" approach (Alkan, 2000; Köker, 1988). The educational institutions were established according to that approach. Kemalism inherited not only the ideals, but also the institutions. Thus, for the first decades of the Republic the first generation of female university students were upper class women. I have also discussed that professionalism (see 2.3.4), which is the ideology of professions that suggests a social closure system to secure the privileged positions of professions within the society (Evets, 2002; Savage, 1995; Collins, 1990; MacDonald 1995), played an important role in strengthening social inequalities. Under those conditions women are expected to come from upper strata like men. In other words, the whole system of university education and professions were structurally elitist.

[105] Güzin told that, "lots of people could not afford to give the school fee which was 6 Turkish Liras."

especially for the female students[106]. Under these conditions, as it is expected, only the daughters of the upper class families could attend high school and had the chance to attend to university afterwards.

In fact, most of the participant women stated that they were rich in economic capital. They lived in large houses set in big gardens. Saliha and Şükran told that since they were a big family consisting of parents, 6 children and a grandmother, they always lived in large houses in Akşehir (a small town in the middle of Anatolia) or flats in İstanbul. Nezihe states that she was born in a big house in İstanbul:

> My grandfather, my mother's father, Hilmi Efendi, was evkaf kassamı hümayunu (canonical judge of charitable foundations). In other words, he was the undersecretary of the charitable foundation (evkaf). (.........) State was paying 1200 gold coins to him. (.........) During the 1st World War (Harbi umumi), my family had to cut their expenses. They had to move to a 9-room villa (köşk) in Acıbadem, Çamlıca. They let out their mansion (konak) in Ankara on hire. I was born in that mansion.[107]

In such houses there were maidservants, cooks, nannies, gardeners and washwomen who came to work once or twice a week. Similarly, Güzin states that there were two Arabian nannies, a cook and some other personnel in their house (see picture 1). Gültekin Ağaoğlu's

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[106] Naciye stated that she had male friends who attended university thanks to the scholarship, but there was no such thing for gilrs. In that period, there were dormitories for some male students who studied medicine and law and expected to fill the positions in the military medicine and law professions (see Abadan-Unat, 1998: 102). According to Hamide and Safiye's narratives, male students in the Faculty of Law in Ankara were offered free boarding education. In return, some of them had to work in the Ministry of Law and the military. Similarly, there were male students in the Faculty of Medicine who benefited from scholarships and worked for the military after their graduation as, for example, Mefkure's and Safiye's husbands. Mefkure pointed out that there was no separate military medicine school. The students of the military medicine school were the students in the Faculty of Medicine who were offered dormitory accommodation. Fahriye said that: "That year (the end of the 30s beginning of the 40s) only the dormitory students (yurtlular) and the soldiers came to Ankara. I mean by dormitory students the ones who were residing in 1.student dormitory, 5. student dormitory, and 4. student dormitory. There were lots of student dormitories in many places at that time and my uncle's son, my cousin (he was also my foster brother), grew up in one of these dormitories. Dormitories were open only for the boys, not for girls. Yet, we paid our own fees and stayed in private dormitories when we were going to school." / ("O sene Ankara'ya yalnız yurtlularla askerler gelmişti.... Yurtlu dediğim onlar işte (yurtta kalabilenler). Birinci talebe yurdu, dördüncü talebe yurdu, beşinci talebe yurdu falan, bir çok yerde talebe yurtları vardı. İşte benim kuzenim, amcamın oğlu olan süt kardeşim de o talebe yurtlarında yetişti. Yurtlu olmak sadece erkekler içindi, kızlara yok! Biz kendi paramızla yine yurtlarda okuduk ama, özel paralı yurtlarda okuduk.")

[107] Nezihe said: Büyükbabam, annem, annemin babası, evkaf kassam-ı hümayunu Hilmi efendi. Yani evkaf (vakıflar) müsteşarı. (......) 1200 altın alırmış devletten. (.......) Harb-i umumide aile küçülmek zorunda kalmış (......) Çamlıca'da, Acıbadem'de dokuz odalı bir köşke taşınmışlar. İstanbul'daki konağı kiraya vermişler. Ben işte o köşkün köşe odasında dünyaya gelmişim.

told that she was born in a big house with 32 rooms in Istanbul and that they had three boarding servants:

> We had a gardener, a cook, and an old Arabian female slave; that was all. They went to their homeland during 1st World War. They could not earn their living there. Meanwhile, The War of Independence took place, Greeks and others occupied the country. The cook and the servants came back to our mansion as it was their family home. My mother could not drive them away. There were days that half of a sheep was cooked for them. However, when they passed away, we had no other servants left[108].

In that period, especially in Anatolia, poor families used to let their daughters who were 9-10 years old live with rich and well known families as servant girls. These girls had the opportunity to be brought up as a member of the household. Belkıs, Saliha and Şükran had such girls in their families. Mualla Eyüboğlu also mentioned that there were adopted girls doing the housework (Çandar, 2003: 22).

There were also laundrywomen who came specifically to do the laundry (Çandar, 2003: 22). Belkıs remembers from her childhood that doing laundry was a ritual:

> We had a washerwoman called Safiye Hanım. She was bringing three washerwomen with her. One day before she came, ashy water (küllü su) had been prepared… Oh that was like a ceremony…. The laundry was washed three times; after one washes one gives it to the next washerwomen, so that each piece of laundry was washed nine times. Then, it was boiled in ashy water. White laundry was dyed lightly with indigo (çivit)[109].

However, not all the women I talked with had stated such affluence in their family. In some of the participant women's houses there was only one maid who had lived with them. Some were living in worse conditions in economic terms. For example, NS lived in a nuclear family and her father was an officer working for a relatively high salary, which was just enough for their expenses. Similarly, Naciye's Father was a soldier who was called by the

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[108] Nezihe said: "Bahçıvanımız var, aşçımız var, biraz da eskiden kalma Arap halayık malayık o kadar. Onlar yavaş yavaş öldüler. Harb-i umumide hepsi evlerine gitmişler; fakat hayat çok pahalı… İstiklal harbi olmuş, Yunan girmiş, bilmem ne girmiş aşçısı, uşağı bilmem nesi baba evi diye bize dönmüşler. E annem onları kovamamış, evde yarım koyun kesildiği günler olurmuş onları beslemek için. Neyse, onlar da vefat ettikten sonra hiç biri kalmamış."

[109] Belkıs said: Safiye Hanım isminde bir çamaşırcımız vardı. Üç yardımcıyla gelirdi. Bir gün önceden küllü sular yapılır -sanki merasim gibi- o çamaşırlar üç su yıkanır. Biri yıkar yanındakine verir böylece olur dokuz su. Sonra da küllü sularda kaynatılır. En son beyazlar için çivitli su yapılır, rengi azmasın diye.

army for the Balkan War, the First World War, and the National Independence War. They had migrated from Romania to Eskişehir. Her father bought some sheep before he went to the military front and her mother learned how to make cheese and sold it to make their living. They were living in a rented house in a village very close to the city. Despite the difficult economic conditions, her parents were modern and cultured people who supported their children's education strongly and encouraged them to have an occupation without paying attention to their genders.

Cahide's story was very striking. Cahide lost her father when she was very young. Neither of her siblings could continue their education. Her elder sister could not enter into the Teacher's School (muallim mektebi) since her uncle did not let her. Her brother dropped out of school when he failed from one course and was dismissed. Cahide left school when she was in the 9th class, and her aunt and her husband encouraged her to get married at the age of 17. Yet, she divorced when her son was 9 months old, and returned back to her mother's home. Despite all the difficulties she had, she enrolled in the Department of Painting in 1934 with the support of her mother. When she was taking the painting class, she also joined the Turkish Handicraft School (Türk El Sanatları Okulu). Then, she passed the high school final exams and enrolled in the Faculty of Architecture. She started working when she was in the 3rd class, sent her son to his father, and strove to graduate from architecture successfully.

The economic conditions of wealthy families did not remain the same. Owing to the conditions of the War of Independence most of the families either lost their wealth or used it to support the nationalist army.

Mefkure's grandfather was a lieutenant colonel (yarbay) in Yemen and her father was a well-salaried teacher in Arabia who was sent there to introduce Ottoman culture to Arabs. During the First World War, her father's income decreased since the government could not pay them enough. After the First World War, the Arabic countries were occupied by Britain and Mefkure's grandfather was captured and his family was forced to migrate to İstanbul with a very small part of their property.

Harika's father worked as a military building engineer in Arabian deserts. Before the War of Independence, he came back to the country with a lot of money. As Harika learned from her mother later, during the War of Independence, he had provided war weapons for the National army and after the Republic was proclaimed, he was honoured with an "Independence

medal" because of his great services. She said that probably her father lost most of his money supporting the independence movement.

The families, especially the ones living in Anatolia, were generally well-known and respected families, in other words rich in social capital. Naciye said that in Erenköy High School for Girls in İstanbul her friends were generally the daughters of either the governors of provinces or of prominent Anatolian families. These families had played a progressive role in their region. Belkıs said that "My uncles, the grooms of the family, used to go to Istanbul in summer, acquainted themselves with the lifestyle of Istanbul, became more westernized and brought back the latest fashions to Kastamonu, our home town".[110]

They strongly believed in the Republican ideology and supported the Kemalist reforms. Belkıs said that:

> In my childhood years, my aunts, my mother and my father embraced the reforms with all four hands. The women of the family unveiled when Atatürk became the leader. They were among the first ones who took off their veils and tried to be westernized[111].

5.3.1. Reformist Fathers:

Durakbaşa states that "fathers as they become more important as socializers, acquired more power to determine their daughters' lives" (1987: 18). Similarly, Z. Arat emphasized the role of fathers in socializing their daughters to be professionals and states that according to her research, the first generation women emphasized the importance of their father's encouragement and supporting attitudes for them to become independent individuals (1998c: 166).

In the present study, the fathers of the participant women were generally reformist men who were in the vanguards of the construction of modern Republic. For instance, Mualla

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[110] Belkıs said: "Maddi durum gayet iyi, bizimkiler kazandıkları parayı biriktiriyorlar. Eniştelerim, evin damatları filan, İstanbul'a gidiyorlar yazları. İşte İstanbul'da nasıl yaşamak gerekiyorsa, daha batılılaşıyorlar, yeni moda bir şeyler alıyorlar, memlekete getiriyorlar..."

111 Belkıs said: "Benim çocukluk yıllarımda; teyzelerim, annem, babam falan hep dört elle inkılâplara sarılmışlar. Hep Atatürk geldiğinde yüzlerini açmışlar. İlk açanlar, peçelerini kaldırıyorlar ve batılılaşmaya çalışıyorlar."

Eyuboğlu defines her father, who was ethnically Kurdish but considered himself Turkish, as a "Deep Kemalist" (Çandar, 2003).

Some of them were members of the nationalist army and they themselves fought against the foreign forces like Naciye's father. Similarly, Hamide's father as well as her uncles and cousins were soldiers. She stated that soldiers in Ottoman society played the role of cultural missionaries:

> You know, the military class is a leading/guiding class. The biggest mistake… let me say, we cannot explain anything with the western anti-militarist was of thinking. The role of the military in Ottoman society and in Turkey has always been to lead. Their families have always been different. They have always been modern western families. They were like a power that pushes society- something that foreigners never understand. (….) It was the original feature of Ottoman society that the new generations are not aware of. There was a military mission in Ottoman society. There was no relation between military and nobility in Ottoman society like it was in Europe. (…)For Turkish society there was that mission instead of privilege in the military.[112]

Some of the fathers worked in professions. NS's father was an agricultural engineer and Nezihe's father was a successful and well known architect. Güzin's father, as a chemist-pharmacist owned and ran one of the first chemical laboratories of the Republic (see picture 2). Lamia's father was a calligraphy teacher, Harika's father was an engineer who built the Baghdad railways, and Cahide's father was a military engineer in the shipyard who was proud of fixing Yavuz Zırhlısı[113]

Some of them were the first parliamentarians and bureaucrats of the young Republic. Reyhan's father was one of the deputies in the first Turkish Grand Assembly which declared

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[112] In Hamide's words: "Bilirsiniz askeri sınıf da öncü sınıftır. En büyük hata, sırası gelmişken söyleyeyim, batının antimilitarist kafası ile biz hiçbir şeyi izah edemeyiz. Bizde askerin rolü, Osmanlı'da veya Türkiye'deki rolü, daima öncüdür. Asker ailelerinde daima bir fark vardır. Daha ileri veya daha batıya yakın, daha çağdaş oluyorlar. Cemiyeti iten, dürten bir güç olarak şey yapıyor ki, bunu çok zaman anlamaz yabancılar." Osmanlı toplumunun bir özelliği var: Bana sorarsanız bu özellik askeri misyonundan dolayı. Mesela askerlikle asalet arasında bir münasebet yok; ki batıda vardır. Türkiye'de yok böyle bir şey. (…)Türklerde imtiyaz yok, misyon var.

[113] It was originally a German cuirassier which harboured to Istanbul while escaping form the English Fleet in the First World War. It was fixed by the Turkish engineers and used by the Turkish Fleet with a Turkish Flag. It was used to attacked Russia and this attack ensure the entrance to the First World War

the Republic.

By looking at the narratives of participant women of the present study I agree that those modern and educated men had raised their daughters in compliance with the reformist ideals (Durakbaşa, 1987; İlyasoğlu, 1998: 317; Y. Arat, 1998).

Although not all the fathers had close connections with the government or had professional occupations, they on the whole were open-minded and enlightened men. Saliha and Şükran's father had graduated from Rüştiye (secondary school or higher primary school) and engaged in training. They mentioned their father's high interest in reading. Fahriye's father knew neither how to write nor read until Fahriye taught him. He used to be a shepherd and became a building contractor after he settled in Ankara. However, in Fahriye's words, he was a smart, modern and foresighted man who supported the reforms deep in his heart, although he was illiterate and living within a small town where people were conservative and traditional:

> Beypazarı (a small town where they lived) is still a very conservative town. There are still people who are wearing local dresses, baggy trousers (şalvar), covered clothes (bürgü) in the town. (.......) My father was the first man in his town who wore a hat in the time of the hat reform in Kastamonu. When he came to Beypazarı wearing a hat, people said 'look Mr. Ali has become non-Moslem'[114].

Whether educated or not, whether professional or merchant, all the fathers, I was told in their daughters words, were open minded, well-educated, foresighted and democratic men who appreciated their daughters' decisions. Harika states that her father raised them with a democratic approach, and respected their personalities[115]. Şüran said that:

> Once I was sent abroad for specialization training. I asked my father for his permission. 'He said of course you can go my daughter' I mean, our father was a tolerant man in man ways. For example, in Anatolia it was not common to wear trousers for a woman. When I asked my father if I could wear trousers he answered me "of course you can". He thought that

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[114] Fahriye said: "Beypazarı (a small town where they lived) hala çok tutucu bir kasaba, hala mahalli kıyafetlerle, şalvarlarla, o bürgü dediğimiz şeylerle tam böyle kapalı değil ;ama kapalı gezen insanlar var (......) Şimdi o Kastamonu'da şapka inkılabı olduğu zaman, babam ilk şapkayı giymiş, Beypazarı'na gelmiş. Beypazarı'na gelince:' Aaa, Ali Bey gavur oldu!' demişler".

[115] Harika said: "Babam bizi tam böyle (yetiştirdi),hürriyetle. Çok demokrat bir adamdı, inanılmaz, asker gibi: Yani müthiş şey, herkesin hakkını tanıyan., sonra çocuklarının şahsiyetini tanıyan".

we should go on schooling as much as we wanted to[116].

5.3.2. Modernist Mothers:

I noticed that in the literature on women and modernization in the Republican period although the role of fathers and their relationship with their daughters were emphasized, the role of mothers were rarely mentioned (Durakbaşa, 1987; İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa 2001; Z. Arat, 1998c). However, in this research it is clear that the role of mothers was as important as those of fathers in the socialization of daughters. They put great effort into raising their daughters as modern and self-confident professional women despite having limited authority within the household. Generally, they were educated or open-minded and wise women who used every opportunity to develop themselves.

When they did not have the opportunity for formal training, they took private lessons or educated themselves at home by reading books and newspapers. Hamide's mother was very much interested in reading. Nezihe's mother did not have a diploma but knew several languages. Necla's mother just knew how to read and how to write a little, but she often read the newspapers to her daughter[117].

Some of them joined vocational courses like Harika's mother who followed the midwifery courses and worked as a well known midwife in Ankara and financially supported her family in her middle-ages. In 1924, Safiye's mother, who at the age of 18 attended courses for educaters,[118] worked as a primary school teacher in her home town for five years until she got married. Saliha and Şükran's mother attended sewing and embroidery courses.

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[116] Şükran said: "Ben bir ara ihtisas için gönderiliyordum. Babama sordum:' Gidebilir miyim?' diye. 'Tabii kızım, gidersin'... yani her şeye toleranslıydı. Mesela bizim zamanımızda, Anadolu'da pantolon falan giyilmezdi. 'Pantolon giyebilir miyim baba?'... 'Tabii giyersin kızım'. O kadar aydın ve toleranslıydı. İsteyen istediği kadar okusun, okumamıza falan karışmazdı."

[117] Accordingly Mina Urgan in her book stated that "my mother Şefika was never sent to school, but she took French and piano lessons as well as Divan (classical ottoman poetry), history, Koran and fıkıh (Muslim canonical jurisprudence) form the old hodjas" (Urgan, 1998: 104).

[118] As Safiye stated, in the very first years of the Republic, there were such courses through which the primary school teachers were educated all over the country. The courses lasted 6 months. However, the graduates of those courses were not called teachers but educators since they did not attend the teachers training school.

Güzin's mother, who was one of the exceptional women, attended the teachers' training school for girls before the Republic was founded and worked as one of the first teachers of the late Ottoman period for two years until she got married in 1918 (see picture 3). Another exceptional women was Belkıs's mother who became a member of the board of the Kastamonu municipality in the 1930s after a fifteen year teaching career. According to Belkıs, she fought hard against men's resistance to her being a member of the city council:[119]

> My mother was a candidate in the local elections. She was one of 27 candidates competing against 9 parliamentarians. She came in fourth place among the delegates. Imagine, in a conservative place like Kastamonu, my mother came in fourth place. In those days, all men, whomever they were, were against women gaining such rights. They tried to find her weaknesses. They found that due to her marriage, she was registered in Diyarbakır. (My father was born in Diyarbarkır). They said that 'To be a parliamentary representative for Kastamonu, you must be registered in Kastamonu. Miss Hacer, therefore, cannot be considered.' My mother left her position of general membership in the parliament. She then rented a room in a pension in Ankara and three months later, she won the court case she had opened and returned to her position. Her case went down in the the bar association's literature as a precedent. [120]

These enlightened women also had modern ideas about gender relations[121]. Safiye told that her mother was so comfortable in her relations with male colleagues at school that other women teachers asked Safiye's mother how she could speak without being embarrassed with

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[119] From the memoirs of Belkıs's mother we learn that after the acceptence of the legal rights, Atatürk ordered that there should be one women from each profession.

[120] Belkıs said: "Seçimde annem namzet (aday) gösteriliyor. Dokuz milletvekiline karşı, yirmiyedi namzetin içinde. Sonra annem delegeler tarafından dördüncü olarak seçiliyor. Düşün! Kastamonu gibi çok mutaassıp(conservative) bir çevrede annem dördüncü seçiliyor. (…) Erkekler o zaman, ne olursa olsun, kadınların bu hakları elde etmelerine karşı. Annemin bir zayıf tarafını araştırıyorlar. Evlenmesi nedeniyle nüfus kaydı Diyarbakır'a gitmiş. Babam Diyarbakır doğumlu. Diyorlar ki: 'Yasalara göre Kastamonu'dan milletvekili olabilmek için, nüfus kaydının muhakkak Kastamonu'da olması lazım, Hacer Hanım olamaz' diyorlar. Annem meclis-i umumi üyeliğinden ayrılıyor. (...) Ankara'da bir pansiyon kiralıyor, üç ay sonra davayı kazanarak geliyor ve tekrar eski vazifesine dönüyor. O zaman baro birliğinde filan, bu dava emsal olarak literatüre geçiyor.".

[121] In her biography, Mina Urgan confimed that "owing to my mother's having an enlightened and progressivist mind, I never felt the oppression of being a women in a society which was conservative and strongly tied to customs" (1998, 119).

men[122].

Those mothers who believed in science and development motivated their daughters to have higher education and occupations. Hamide said that:

> Our mother was the first teacher of me and my sister (…) we had learned history from our mother (…) when we were children we solved most of our health problems by referring to our mother's knowledge (…) she was the one who deserved freedom[123].

During the school years of the participant women their mothers put to use all they had for their daughters and supported them emotionally by believing in them, as well as materially by trying to make conditions easier for their daughters' education. For example, Cahide said that:

> My mother wanted me to be educated. (...........) . The days that I had to complete a project due the next day, I used to sit up all night to 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. My mother did not sleep at all on those nights; she made tea for me and lighted the stove. She would sit with me, that is to say, it was like she was becoming an architect along with me. She was a unique mother. She prayed for me not to be a needy person in the future[124].

Just after the Republic was founded, Hamide's father was appointed to Urfa. Because there was no high school there, her mother, who even "did not know how to buy a loaf of bread", moved to Ankara with her daughters for their education when she was 32-33 years old.

After the participant women were graduated from university and started to work in

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[122] In Safiye's words: "Öğretmen arkadaşlarıyla karşılaşıyormuş annem, erkek öğretmenlerle. Arkadaşları diyorlarmış ki:' Yahu Firdevs, hayret ediyorum. Benimle nasıl konuşuyorsan, onlarla da öyle konuşuyorsun. Yani nasıl yüzün kızarmıyor, nasıl konuşuyorsun onlarla böyle?' Yani annemin nötr davranışını, cinsiyet bakımından anlayamıyor. Annemin şeyleri, mihenk taşları bunlar, bu örnek göstermeler..."

[123] In Hamide's words: "Gerek benim, gerek ablamın ilk hocası annemdir.(...) Tarih mesela… Harp tarihinden bir şey, annemizden öğreniriz.. (...) Bizim çocukluğumuzda tüm tıbbi sıkıntılarımızı annemin kültürüyle tamamladık (aştık). (...) Allah rahmet eylesin, annem özgürlüğü hak etmiş insanlardan biriydi."

[124] Cahide said:"Annem beni okutmayı çok istemişti. (....) Gece benim dersim olur, ikilere üçlere kadar. Projeyi yetiştiremezsek, ertesi günü tashihe götüremezsek geri kalırız diye, gece üçe-dörde kadar uyumadığım olur, sabahleyin de derse giderdim. Annem de benimle oturur, bana gecenin saat üçünde çay pişirir, kahvaltı çıkarır, sobayı yakar, kalorifer yok tabii, sobayı yakar benimle beraber otururdu. Yani o benimle mimar oluyordu. Annem bulunmaz bir anneydi.... 'Allah seni kimseye muhtaç etmesin' diye çok dua etti bana."

professions, their mothers continued to make efforts to make work and family life simpler for them. The mothers of the married ones helped their daughters with child care and housework like Cahide's mother. Mothers of professional women who were not married like Saliha and Şükran, undertook all the daily work at home.

It seems that the mothers were aware of the connection between being liberated and being economically independent and powerful[125]. Similarly Nezihe said that:

> It was my mother who motivated me to have a profession. She had always said that 'you could lose everything but your profession would remain. I wish I had a profession, then I could work with easure...'. [126]

5.3.3. Other Family Members:

It is also important that in most of the women participants' families other family members were generally educated. The women of Naciye's family attended the first rüştiye (secondary school or higher primary school) for girls. Güzin's aunt was a teacher, like her mother (see picture 4). Her sisters and brothers all had higher education and became, respectively, an architect, teacher, archaeologist, pharmacist and chemical engineer. Nezihe's elder sister Sermiha was graduated from İstanbul University Faculty of Literature. Her elder brother was a university professor and a well known architect. Harika's uncle was a gynaecologist, her brother was an architect, her sister was graduated from the Department of Philosophy, her younger brother was a civil engineer. One of Gültekin's sisters studied philosophy at the university; the other studied law and her brother became an engineer. Safiye's brother is an engineer of agriculture and her sister is an English teacher. Belkıs stated that "Of course almost everybody at home was educated. One of my aunts' husband was a teacher. The other

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[125] Mina Urgan says that "Thanks to my mother, I become an independent woman who has a profession. When I was only 10 years old she looked at me in the face and told me that "you are going to be an independent (free) woman who would earn her own money. I would be glad if you would make a good marriage. But you should marry if you really want to, if you do not want to then you would not marry. If you would not be happy with your marriage you could get divorced but you would be able to look after your children" (Urgan, 1998: 119).

[126] Nezihe said: "Annem müthiş bir kadındı. Bizi okumaya teşvik eden oydu. Daima derdi ki: 'Her şey gider, benim elimde mesleğim olsaydı şimdi ne güzel çalışırdım.' derdi, hep onu söylerdi."

one was a very successful surgeon. My sister is a history teacher"[127].

This indicates that these women are coming from families where the assets of credentials were seen as primary and important. However, it is also related very much to the economic conditions of the families. Only two of the participant women were the ones who had higher education in their families. Even when their families could afford to educate them, if being a professional or having a higher education was not common in the family, those women who wanted to become professionals was seen unusual. In those two cases, women's will to be educated was the main determinant on their lives.

Their material and cultural assets generally came from older generations. Nezihe's grandfather was working in a position close to the sultanate[128]. Reyhan's father was müderris (teacher in a medrese, which was "like the rector of the university of the present time" in Reyhan's words). Belkıs's grandfather who was known as a westernist intellectual and who sent his three daughters to the Teachers' Training School, was müderris and müftü (official learned in Islamic law who is in charge of Islamic affairs for a province). Naciye's grandfather was also müderris, and her granduncles studied law in the Beyazit Medrese of Law[129]. Because of these roots she said, "everybody in the house respected science and knowledge"[130]. Naciye's family was not unfamiliar with science since the men of the family were highly educated in the medrese and the women of the family knew the Koran very well and read books on their religion. For such families, education was given priority in their traditions. Hamide said that there was an Ottoman tradition that children were sent to school

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[127]Belkıs said: "Tabii evde hemen hemen herkes okumuştu. Bir teyzemin kocası öğretmen, diğeri operatördü. Hem de çok iyi bir operatör. Ablam da öğretmen, tarih hocası."

[128] According to Sefika Ataman's testimony, in 1920s "the society consist of khans, educated and wealthy governors (Beyler), wealthy but not educated aghas and the ordinary people". This indicates the importance of the cultural essets in stratification system of the ottoman society which is conceptualised form the wievpoint of a women who was born in it. Sefika Atman was coming form the family whose members were well educated including Sefika'a ount who studied medicine in 1890s in Moskov (see Ataman, 1999, 118).

[129] Similar to these examples, Mina Urgan in her biography stated that her grandfather, who was so open-minded that let his daughters swim in the sea in 1890s, hired special teachers for his daughters to be educated at home according to both Ottoman and European culture.

[130] Naciye said: "(Büyük amcalarım) Beyazıt Hukuk Medreselerinde yetişmişler. (Ailedeki) kadınlar okumasalar da, hepsi Kuran biliyor. Dini şeylere müteallik kitaplar okuyorlar falan. Evde ilme bir yabancılık yok yani (...) Babaları dolayısıyla da herkes ilme hürmet ediyor."

when they were four years four months old[131], thus she was sent to school when she was five years old[132].

Having such a background made women familiar with learning and education. Intellectual activities took place within the tradition of the family. Thus, it is possible to state that for women whose families had such kind of a background, having a higher education was not an extraordinary phenomenon. The uncommon phenomenon even for those enlightened families was women's being actual professionals and working like men.

On the other hand, considering the intellectual tradition in their families, it is possible to say that the position that participant women took in the social stratification system was very much related to cultural capital. Such a trend was also related to the post war conditions. In the first decades of the Turkish Republic, expectedly, economic capital was low and cultural capital was much more determinant on the stratification system.

5.3.4. The Common Characteristics of the Families

Until now, I have tried to point out the socio-economic background of the participant women and the conditions women were socialized within. It appears that the participant women were the members of the upper and upper middle income families who were rich in cultural capital. However, this was not their only feature. There are also other common characteristics that condition the social environment in which women became professionals.

One of the common characteristics of the families was their being strongly adhered to the Republican ideology and the revolutionist identity. This mainly appears within the attitudes of the previous generation of women of the participant women's families. These women were so excited about targeting the Kemalist reforms and willing to be secured from the Ottoman patriarchy. Naciye said that her family was Kemalist at heart. "They were very

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[131] Nusret Zorlutuna also points out this tradition in her biographic novel: "Depending on the tradition of the (late Ottoman) period, I had taken my first lesson when I was four years four moths old as every other peer of mine" (1978: 10).

[132]Hamide said: "Bir Osmanlı geleneği vardır; (çocukları) dört yaş, dört aylıkken okula başlatıyorlar ve okula başlarken düğün gibi (bir) merasim yapıyorlar kız çocuklarına. Dört yaş dört aylık demek dört yaşını bitirmiş beşe basmış demek. Çocuklar (bu yaşta) okula başlayabiliyor."

sincerely attached to Atatürk" she said. In this regard, they followed the Kemalist reforms regarding women's rights. Güzin states that even before the founding of the Republic women of her family wore relatively modern outdoor clothes. They wore *sıkmabaş* which was the way women used to wrap up their hair with a thin silk fabric (see picture 6) and *maşlah* which is a kind of silk cloak (see picture 5) These were the outdoor clothes of elite women. After the revolution, as Güzin tells it, they immediately took off those clothes and wore hats and smart coats instead. Safiye and Belkıs similarly state that they had no hesitation about taking off the covering *çarşaf*. The participant women who proved the reformist attitudes of the previous generation of women in their families were socialised within such families and inevitably developed a modernist, westernist identity and believed wholeheartedly in Kemalism..

The second common characteristic was their being democratic families where the members were free to make their own decisions. Especially while making the decision concerning women's education and occupation, most of the women stated that they were free to decide. Most of the parents, as Gültekin's parents, let their daughters decide their own occupation. Others, who made a decision towards their parents choices, were not forced or dictated to choose this or that occupation but were suggested to do so, especially by their fathers. However, it was not easy for women to disregard their fathers' suggestions since the patriarchal family structure did not allow women to do so. Even for the women who were the members of progressive families and grew up in a relatively democratic and liberal social environment, it was not common for a girl not to take her fathers advice. Here patriarchy is manifested within the family relations and determines women's decisions towards their professions. So, parents' but especially the fathers' suggestions sometimes really meant an order to be obeyed. NS became a jurist although she wanted to be an engineer, Şükran registered to the biology department since her father wanted her to be a teacher; Naciye became a doctor and worked in her hometown because her father suggested her to do so.

Unexpectedly, despite this structure, gender relations were considered within such democratic attitudes. Fahriye, who grew up in a conservative town in Anatolia said that:

> I did whatever I wanted, my father did not prevent me from that. As I said, he was a very foresighted man. (........) In our family, nobody behaved clandestinely. That is to say, although we had a town life in Beypazarı, my relationships with my male friends were not different in any way from my relationships with my female friends. In addition, I had

more male friends than female ones and this is still so[133].

Significantly, except for two cases, women chose their future husbands themselves and had a pre-acquaintance period before the marriage. Such a trend was not common among typical Turkish families in the period. On the other hand, for some of the participant women, when they did not want to marry their decision was accepted with respect by their parents, as it was in the cases of Saliha, Şükran and Fahriye. Families who came from Rumeli were relatively more democratic than the Anatolian families. Hamide stated that, in the late Ottoman period, women living in the Ottoman lands in Europe were much more willing and likely to be educated. Especially in terms of gender relations they had a westernist point of view[134]. The democratic family and democratic gender relations were the major indicators of the successful transformation of the patriarchy from traditional Ottoman to modern Western patriarchy. But the traditional forms of patriarchy still appear in gender relations in different forms. Actually, what makes the father's suggestion an obligation within the so called democratic family is this latent maintenence of traditional patriarchal relations within the family structure. However, the traditional relations were not always so latent that by looking at those democratic attitudes within the family, one should not think that the traditional and conventional relations were put aside.

Actually, the third common feature of the families is the coexistence of the traditional and modern. As is discussed in the literature, Kemalism maintained the basic cultural conservatisim about male-female relations despite its radicalism. This kind of a policy not only ignored the patriarchal bais of the structure of family, but also reproduced the patriarchy. Although most of the women had modern marriages some women got married very traditionally. Belkıs states that:

> At those times, we could not have the right to decide even for our marriage. They told me that a guy was willing to marry me. By the way,

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[133] Fahriye said: "Ben her istediğimi yaptım, babam benim hiçbir şeyimi engellemedi. Dedim ya çok ileri görüşlü bir adamdı. (...) Hiç bizim ailede kaç göç şeysi olmadı. Yani Beypazarı'ndan, bir kaza hayatından, çıkmamıza rağmen; benim erkek arkadaşlarımla ilişkilerim filan hiçbir şekilde kız arkadaşlarımdan farklı olmadı. Ve benim kız arkadaşımdan çok erkek arkadaşım var, hala öyle."

[134] In addition to this when we look at N. Ataman's study including the life history of her mother Sefika Ataman who was a gynecologist and was born in 1916 it is interesting that in the Ottoman lands in Azerbaycan there was a significant Turkish women's movement which is ended up with a decleration concerning their demands for rights in 1917. With the effect of this movement women were relatively more educated and more emancipated in this area. (for deails see Ataman, 1999: 53-64)

my husband had a positive image among people. I mean that nobody asked me whether I really wanted to accept his proposal. They asked what I thought about it, but waited for me to answer back like this: "you decide/ you know the best". In those days, marriages were made in that way. There were other types of marriages around, but my family structure prevented me from having a pre-acquaintance period with my husband. We got engaged, but my father did not let him even come to our house. One day I was going shopping and I saw my fiancé running up to me with my father. We shook hands like two strangers, and that was all. In other words, until our marriage ceremony was performed, we spoke to each other for only 20 minutes in our garden in front of people[135].

When I asked how she met her husband, Hamide said "we met in order to be married. By God's order and the Prophet's agreement, he wanted to marry me[136]". In that sense, it is possible to say that the modernization of the family, especially in Anatolia, was surrounded by tradition. People tried to adopt some attitudes and models that were considered to be the conditions of being modern. But at the same time they tried not to lose their own way of living. The participants of the present study mentioned how they tried to combine the modern with the traditional by introducing original forms. The case of the ball was an explanatory example to see the efforts made by people towards "modernization and westernization" and adapting the "modern" way of life into their own cultural features[137]. Belkıs told that:

> They arranged balls in people's house. There was a committee which was preparing everything for the ball like a manual of regulations. It was said that singles were not allowed to come; only married couples could

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[135]Belkıs said: "O zamanlar evlenirken dahi söz sahibi değildik. Dediler ki, falanca seni istiyor. Kocamın da çok olumlu bir etkisi vardı insanların üzerinde. Yani hiç kimse sormadı, bana 'Ne dersin?' dendi ama 'Siz bilirsiniz' cevabı beklendi. O devirde öyle evleniliyordu. Başka türlü olanlar vardı belki de ama; bizim aile yapımız itibariyle, ben herhangi bir şekilde bir ön tanışma devri yaşamadım. Hatta biz nişanlandık, babam eve girip çıkmasına dahi müsaade etmedi. Bir gün ben çarşıya gidiyordum, babam da nişanlımla beraber bize doğru geliyordu. Yolda gördüm, sanki yedi kat el gibi elini sıktım, o kadar. Yani nikah yapılıncaya kadar yirmi dakika, bahçede herkesin gözü önünde konuştuk."

[136] Hamide said: "Evlenmek üzere tanıştık. Allah'ın emri peygamberin kavliyle talip oldu."

[137] Urgan stated that, in the first years of the Republic, people often organized balls to get women and men used to entertaining together (Urgan, 1998: 159). Similarly İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa stated that "social activities also provided the new social occasions in which husbands and wives shared common social settings and backed the new understanding of a companionate marriage of the couples. Women imitated each other through costume, make-up, hair-style, and they competed with each other in applying the latest fashion in dress as well as home decoration, furniture, party organization, etc. At the same time, they learned how to behave in a 'civilized' manner to strange men while remaining sensitive about their husbands' jealousy as well" (2001).

participate in the dance. Everybody had to dance with her/his husband/wife. They were making these kind of rules. It was because gatherings which the whole family attended had not been arranged before those years, in 1923-24-25. For instance, when they did family visits, women and men were sitting in different rooms. The ball was arranged in people's houses and the governor came and had a sit. At that time he was single. (I narrate these from my family)… They said that "he is single, but our regulations did not allow singles". They went to the governor and said "excuse us but you cannot stay at the ball, since you are single". He replied "I am representing the state here. No force can take me away from here. I will join in the dance". Consequently, everybody left the ball. Outside, they decided where to go altogether. At that time, our four floor house was like a Safranbolu mansion. It was thought to be the most convenient place to go. Violinists and lutists were making music on the streets. It took 25 minutes to walk to our house from the city as there were not any vehicles. As soon as they came they established a committee there and sent a telegram to Ankara at once. They wrote that the governor joined the ball despite being single and they did not want him to rule them anymore. In fact, the governor was right in claiming that he was representing the state. However, it was the time when there were a lot of rebellions against Atatürk in Anatolia, although they were kept secret. They were afraid of another new rebellion. Kastamonu was a conservative place. Consequently, a civil service inspector was sent there and an investigation was started regarding the governor. He was taken to Ankara in one day and the governor of Kastamonu was replaced[138].

This indicates how the modern was interpreted by the traditional and how gender relations were still subjected to the realm of tradition. The influence of the traditional patriarchal norms on gender relations was still so strong that it forced the government to behave according to its requirements. While women projected the images of the modern secular

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[138] Belkıs said: "Bir balo tertip etmişler halkevinde. Onun için bir balo komitesi var. O bütün hazırlıkları yapıyor ve yönetmelik gibi hazırlıyor. O sırada diyorlar ki: 'Herkes karıkoca gelecek, bekarlar baloya gelemez.' Herkes karısıyla veya kocasıyla dans edecek. Bu tür kurallar koyuyorlar. Çünkü daha öyle ma-aile toplantılar filan o tarihte yapılmamış. Sene 23-25 (1923-1925). Mesela bir araya geldikleri zaman, aile ziyaretinde kadınlar bir odada oturuyor, erkekler başka odada oturuyor falan... Derken halkevinde bir balo yapılıyor.. Vali Bey geliyor, oturuyor. O sırada vali de bekarmış. Ben bunları ailemden naklen anlatıyorum. Diyorlar ki: 'Vali bekar, halbuki bizim yönetmeliğimize göre bekarlar bu baloya gelemeyecek.' (Bu) çok kötü bir örnek olur. Vali Beye diyorlar ki: 'Kusura bakmayın, bekar olduğunuz için baloya iştirak edemezsiniz.' Vali de diyor ki: 'Ben burada devleti temsil ediyorum. Beni hiçbir kuvvet buradan uzaklaştıramaz. Ben baloya iştirak ederim.' O zaman (...) hepsi birden halkevinden çıkıyorlar. Dışarıda karar veriyorlar nereye gideceklerine. O zaman bizim evimiz Safranbolu konakları gibi bir konak, dört katlı. En müsait yer olarak bizim evimiz gösteriliyor. Kemanını çalan, udunu çalan caddelerde. Bizim ev de şehre yürüyerek yirmibeş dakika filan, o zaman vasıta da yok. Geldiklerinde hemen komite kuruluyor. Ankara'ya bir şikayet telgrafı (çekiliyor). 'Vali Bey bekar olduğu halde baloya katıldı, biz bunu başımızda istemiyoruz' diyorlar. Burada vali haklı, 'Ben devleti temsil ediyorum' diyor. Fakat o zaman Anadolu'da Atatürk'e karşı bir sürü isyanlar, hareketler oluyor, o zaman hepsini duyurmuyorlar.Kastamonu da tutucu yer, korkuyorlar isyandan. (Kastamonu'ya) hemen bir mülkiye müfettişi gönderiliyor. Valiye soruşturma açılıyor, bir günde Ankara'ya alıyor, değiştiriyorlar."

state, they were subjected to patriarchal gender relations. Belkıs said that "They (the women) opened their veils but in a tidy, orderly way. I mean that they unveiled but in an orderly way, they kept their own rules[139].

5.3.5. The "Atmosphere"

From the entire consideration of the biographic information of women which is metioned in order to understand the conditions in which women were socialised, it is possible to claim that there was an "atmosphere", in Naciye's words, which fundamentally influenced the participant women. The "atmosphere" women were born into and socialized within was conditioned by four factors: (1) The families belonged to the upper and upper middle strata who were rich first in cultural capital, second in economic capital; (2) Kemalism was the sovereign ideology which affected every aspect of life; (3) The family structures were democratic in which participant women's decisions were respected; and (4) In the cultural environment there was this coexistence of the modern with the traditional. Actually, neither class, nor professionalism, Kemalism, modernism or tradition alone can explain the social, cultural and material conditions within which women were socialized. In this respect, I find it appropriate to call this combination of "conditions" that surrounds and determines women's lives as *atmosphere*, as they themselves called it[140]. Here I am inspired by the words Naciye used while describing the reasons why she took the idea of being an educated professional as given:

> For me it was a given. There was no other possibility. I would be a teacher if not a medical doctor. (….) In addition… The atmosphere of the family.... Girls were educated, all of them. Not only the girls in our house, but the girls of the whole family. ... That is to say this was the atmosphere. I do not know how it came to the family.[141]

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[139] Belkıs said: "Peçelerini açıyorlar ama belli bir intizam, belli bir kural dahilinde.(…) Yani açıyorlar fakat kural dışına da çıkamıyorlar. Kendilerine göre bir kuralları var."

[140] The concept of Habitus, introduced by Bourdieu, seems similar to what I called atmosphere. However, habitus is more likely to refer to a continuing conditioning. In that sense, it cannot respond totally to the stuation to which I refer. Here, I speak rather about a whole combination of "conditions" that determine the participant women's being professionals for a specific period of time.

[141] Naciye said: "Ben hayatımda bunu kabullenmişim. Başka türlüsü düşünülemezdi. Doktor olmasam öğretmen olurdum (...) Ailenin havası (böyleydi). Kızlar okudu, hepsi okudular. Yalnız bizim

Hamide said they were brought up in a house where there were intellectual discussions. In her words "that is to say the school was in the house (…) I was the most successful student in every class, because none of the students' parents were like ours. I learned things unconsciously at home."[142]

In a similar atmosphere where Saliha and Şükran were raised, no one encouraged them to be educated, but by their own will, they wanted to attend university But it is significant that they said it is common for their family to be educated. Şükran stated that:

> Of course Atatürk wanted women to be educated, but we did not think that we should follow his thoughts to be educated. To be educated was a natural thing, this came from the family. On the other hand, our father might have listened to other people who said 'what is the point of making women educated?'.[143]

For those who were born within the atmosphere in which the credential assets were primary, having higher education was an ordinary process. As I mentioned before, learning and education were internal to some of the participant women's families' traditions.

Mefkure stated that "I do not even know how I become interested in learning. There were lots of books. Every one was reading or studying at home. If I wanted to I could ask them and learn something[144]". Belkıs said that "it was the first duty of each member of our family to be educated and have an occupation. Everyone was expected to do this[145]". Similarly, Naciye said that it was impossible for her not to attend university, because of the atmosphere

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evdekiler değil, soy sopta (bütün) kızlar okudular (...) Yani hava budur, o havadaydık. Aileye nasıl geldi o hava bilemiyorum."

[142] Hamide said: "Haliyle konuşmalar sizi şey çekiyor. Farkında olmadan seviye atlıyorsunuz. Yani ilk kültür ana babanın konuşması; (…) velhasıl okul evin içinde. (…)Şunu söyleyeyim ben birinciyim ben. Her sınıfta birinciyim çünkü hiçbir sınıftaki çocuğun annesi babası bizimki gibi değil. Kulaktan dolma bir şeyim var. Bütün hocalarım lügatlı yazıyorsun derlerdi bana. Bilmiyorlardı ki evin içinden öğreniyorum ben onları hiç farkında olmadan."

[143] Şükran said: "Atatürk öyle dedi de, biz Atatürk'ün dediği yolda yürüyelim de okuyalım, dokuyalım diye bir şey yoktu. Yani, tabii okumak doğaldı. Bu aileden (gelen bir şey)... Yani babam da etrafa uyabilir, hani 'Kız çocuğunu okutup da ne olacak?' diyebilirdi".

[144] Mefkure said: "Evde herkes okuyor herhalde. Nasıl olduğunu bilmiyorum ama okur oldum. Kitap çok evde, okur yazar çok. Bir şeyler sorduk öğrendik herhalde."

[145] Belkıs said: "Ailede okumak hemen hemen birinci şarttı. Mesleğini ele almak. Herkes onu isterdi".

of the family, girls were generally sent to school[146].

But those who were raised in a different atmosphere in which having higher education was not a usual phenomenon, had a strong will to be educated which motivated them to succeed despite hard conditions. Fahriye says that "when I was 6 years old I used to say that I was going to be a doctor. When I reached university age, my father asked me if I still thought in the same way. He said 'If so I will take you to İstanbul'[147]" It is also important to note that, although her parents were less intellectual or even illiterate, they were still good in financial terms so that they could afford to sent their daughter to the university. This indicates that higher education was a matter of economics.

5.4. Becoming a Professional:

5.4.1. Making a Decision

The reason why the women participants of the present study wanted to become professional was closely connected with both the atmosphere they were born in and their own enthusiasm about being professional. However, there are many other determinants that influenced their decision.

It is very significant that all of the participants were supported and encouraged by their parents to have a professional occupation. Despite this support, more or less most of the participant women faced with negative attitudes or rejections from people in their social environment. However, their parents did not pay attention to these reactions. Naciye told that of course some people asked her father why he let his daughter get educated, but her father did not pay attention to their opinions[148]. Similarly, Fahriye's father was criticised by his friends because he let his daughter go to İstanbul alone. But he said "Nothing would happen

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[146] In Zorlutunal's biographic novel concerning the intellectual habits of her family she states that, "in the afternoons me and my mother lay on the bed and read the newspapers that we subscribed to. In that period (1910s) very few families bought newspapers" (1978: 17).

[147] Fahriye said: "Ben altı yaşında filanken 'Doktor olacağım, ben doktor olacağım.' derdim. Üniversite zamanı gelince de babam dedi ki: 'Bu fikrin devam ediyorsa ben seni okutacağım, seni (gerekirse) İstanbul'a da gönderirim'..."

[148] Naciye said: "Çevreye kulak vermezdi babam. 'Niye okutuyorsun?' filan dediler tabii ama, hiç öyle şeylere aldırış etmedi. Yani ilme çok meraklı bir insandı."

to my daughter even if I sent her to the army"[149]. Even when the fathers were very cooperative, other male members of the families sometimes did not welcome the idea. One such reaction came from Lamia's brother:

> My older brother was upset. He did not want me as a very young girl to go to Istanbul University for education. He was trying to change my mind. His mind was confused about the new social changes in Istanbul. He perceived women and children in Istanbul as extremely free people. I knew that in my case he was concerned that I would be deceived there, and believed that I should stay with my family. He even said to my father: "Will Lamia stand over us when she will become a lawyer? Why is she going?[150]

Cahide's uncle, who was considered the head of the family after Cahide's father died, was not influential when Cahide decided to go to university, but he rejected Cahide's sister's plan to continue her education, because she had to make day trips to locations that were far form home, as Tan argues in her study (200):

> When my older sister could not pass the boarding school exam, my uncle did not let her go to school because he did not want her to commute between school and home. However, she really wanted to go to school. He said "What will she do by studying? Will she cook physics or chemistry for her husband?[151]

The women who faced with certain negative attitudes were generally coming from smaller cities and less developed regions of the country compared to Istanbul and Ankara. Actually, none of the parents paid attention to those reactions and they did not change their decision concerning their daughters' schooling and having an occupation. Despite all the critiques, they continued to support their daughters' education. On the contrary these negative reactions sometimes enraged the participant women as it was in Necla's case:

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[149] Fahriye said: "...ama arkadaşlarından da tepki ile karşılaşmış, 'Nasıl sen bu kadar genç bir kızı İstanbul'a gönderirsin?' (diye). (Babam:) 'Benim kızımı orduya salsam hiçbir şey olmaz.' demiş."

[150] Lamia said : " Bu büyük ağabeyime biraz dokundu. Benim çok genç bir insan olarak, İstanbul'a gidip oralarda okumamı arzu etmiyordu. Yani: 'Vazgeç ne yapacaksın oralarda.' (diyordu). (Tepkileri) bu sosyal yenileşmelerden ileri geliyordu. Çünkü İstanbul'daki hanımları, çocukları biraz serbest olarak biliyordu. 'Çocuktur,orada herhangi bir aldanma olmasın, yanlışlık olmasın, yanımızda kalsın' diye düşünerek biraz karşı koyduğunu biliyorum. Hatta babama: 'Başımıza avukat mı çıkacak, neden gidiyor Lamia İstanbul'a?' diye söylemişler."

[151] Cahide said: "Ablam yatılı imtihanını kazanamayınca, onca yolu gidip gelmesini istemediği için (eniştem) okumasına izin vermedi, halbuki ablam çok istiyordu. 'Okuyup ne yapacak, kocasına fizik mi pişirecek, kimya mı pişirecek?' dedi."

> One day a friend of my father who was a member of one of the rich families in İnebolu came to our house. My father told him with pride that his daughter was going to be a physician. The man looked at me and said "can a woman become a doctor?". I felt so angry and irritated and told him myself "wait and see" [152].

The parent's of the participant women were so decisive about their daughter's having a higher education. This indicates that they had internalised the modernist/westernist ideals concerning women's advancement within society and participation in the public sphere and were identified with Kemalism which was encouraging and supporting women's becoming professionals. Women who were socialised within such conditions, like Necla, did not really suffer from negative reactions.

In the Republican period, most of the girls who were graduated from high school continued their education and become professionals of the young Republic. Especially certain high schools, such as Kandilli and Erenköy High School for Girls, had considerable influence on students. Abadan-Unat (1998) states that 4 out of the 16 girls in her class became academics, which amounts to 25 per cent of the pupils in İstanbul. Güzin said that the Kandilli High School played a great role in Turkish women's occupying high status positions in society; since certain professors who were discarded from Darulfinun in the 1933 University Reform, worked there, the education quality was very high[153]. According to Rabia's narrative, most of the graduates from the Erenköy Girls High School in 1932 became successful professionals:

> We graduated from high school in 1932. We were 105 girls. Only three of us did not attend university. 102 women graduated from university and worked successfully in their professions. Among us, there were pharmacists, chemists, physicians, judges, jurists, and engineers like me[154]. (From the oral history interview by İlyasoğlu, 1997).

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[152] Necla said: "Bir seferinde evime gelmişim sevine sevine ben. Babamın da bir arkadaşı gelmiş, İnebolu'nun zengin ailelerinden birisi. Babam sevinerek: 'Kızım tıbbiyeye gidiyor, doktor olacak.' dediğinde, adam bana baktı: 'Ayy, kadından da doktor mu olurmuş?' dedi. Çok kızdım, 'Sen görürsün bak, nasıl olacağım' dedim. Babam da çok kızdı ama arkadaşı olduğu için bir şey de söylemedi. (Sadece) 'Olacak işte, çalışıyor.' dedi."

[153] As Lök and Erten mention, by the 1933 University Reform, 71 professors, 13 associate professors, and 73 asistants were discharged.

[154] Rabia said: "Biz otuziki (1932) senesinde liseyi bitirdik. Yüzbeş kişiydik sınıfta. Üç kişisi üniversite okuyamadı, yüz iki kişisi okudu. Yüziki kişi üniversiteden mezun oldu ve hepimiz çalıştık. O mezun olan yüziki kişinin hepsi çalıştı ve hepsi mesleğinde muvaffak olmuş sayılır. İçimizde eczacı da, doktor da vardı, benim gibi mühendis olan da. Ben mühendis oldum. Her türlü meslekten insan vardı. Bütün bu arkadaşlarımın hepsi çalıştılar ve hayatlarında muvaffak oldular. Hakim olanı vardı, avukat olanı vardı, her türlüsü vardı."

For the participant women the meaning of education was very different from that held by the former generation of women. As discussed in the literature, within the Ottoman modernization project women were recommended to be educated in order to become good well-informed mothers and intellectual wives. For the Republican women, to work as professionals was the main goal of education. In this respect, they also differed considerably from the bourgeois women, for whom to work was degrading but to be educated was a matter of their well-being.

While they were choosing their occupation some women were primarily inspired by family members like fathers or brothers who were in the same professions:

> My older brother was an architect and had an office on the first floor. I was a child who could draw well. (.…) I used to look at his drawings, and had a desire for drawing. My father was a builder.. He was working on the ministry buildings. I have photos that had been taken with my father when they were under construction. I loved construction from those times on. That is to say that I wanted to be an architect[155].

> My father encouraged me when I was hesitating about what subject to choose. He said to me: 'You draw well, your mathematics are strong, so you can be a good architect'. Anyhow, I was making small statues and so on with him when my elder brother was participating in competitions. I decided to be an architect in that way[156].

Here the close relationship between the participant women and their father and the father's being intellectuals who were among the agents of the Kemalist modernization project played an important role. On the other hand, since such a trend was mainly seen among the architects, the nature of the occupation, which is creative, may also have an effect on attracting those women in very early ages.

Second, they were inspired by professionals close to the family. In some cases I was told that family doctors, lawyers or neighbours who were professionals and male attracted women. It was the respect assigned to those people in society which attracted those young girls most.

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[155] Harika said: "...bir defa ağabeyim mimardı, alt katta mimarlık bürosu vardı. Ben de herhalde çizgi çizmeyi filan iyi yapan bir çocuktum ... Ben gider bakardım, heves ederdim. E zaten babam da inşaatçı. Bakanlıkları filan yapıyor. Orada daha inşaat halindeyken bizim babamla (çekilmiş) resimlerimiz var. Ben inşaatı o zamandan seviyordum. Yani mimar olmayı çok istiyordum."

[156] Nezihe said: "Babam ön ayak oldu. Babam ben şu mu olayım, bu mu olayım derken; iyi resim yapıyorum, matematiğim filan da kuvvetli, o bakımdan 'Sen iyi bir mimar olursun.' dedi. Zaten ağabeyim müsabakalara girerken, ben de hep, onun yanında ufak heykelcikler falan yapardım. O şekilde mimarlığa karar verdim."

Lamia said:

> When I was in the primary school, I was thinking of becoming a governor (kaymakam) in the future. I was passing by the house of the governor. While I was walking to school, I was looking at it and thinking that one day I could live there. Later on, while I was in high school I dreamed of becoming a doctor for awhile, then to become an engineer. However, when I was in the 10th class, I started to walk around the Faculty of Law. It was because we knew a teaching assistant, Süreyya Hanım, Süreyya Betibalın. She was a law student. We were looking at her and wishing to be like her[157].

Mefkure also stated that:

> One day, a breadcake seller (simitçi) put a tray of breadcakes in front of their (the doctor who was Mefkure's neighbour) door. Then I understood that the doctor had treated him, but not charged him. The seller felt indebted and gave that tray of breadcakes as a gift. This influenced me so deeply that I made up my mind to be a doctor in the future. I realised that this was the reason why I
> decided to be a doctor, since there were not any doctors in our family.[158]

In an interview, Pakize Tarzi told that :

> Our family Doctor Ali Rıza Bey periodically came to our house to examine our teeth and tonsils. From the preparations in the house I could understand that he was coming. The house was cleaned up, the most valuable coffee cups were prepared, the silver was polished; those preparations attracted my childhood personality and my decision of choosing my profession is that I belived the physician was someone who should be respected (Güngör, 2002: 62).

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[157] Lamia said: "İlkokula gittiğim zamanlarda, ortaokulda kaymakam olmayı düşünüyordum. Kaymakam evinin önünden geçerek okula giderken bazen şöyle bakar, 'Bir gün buraya gelip, oturabilirim.' diye düşünüyordum. Liseye gittikten sonra tabii gelişiyor insan. Bir ara doktor olsam diye hayal ettim. Ondan sonra mühendis olmayı hayal ettim; fakat vaktaki onuncu sınıfa geldim, ne olabilirim diye düşündüğümde, hukuk fakültesini düşünmeye başladım. Çünkü, bir muallim muavini sevdiğimiz bir üniversite öğrencisi vardı o zaman. Süreyya Hanım, Süreyya Betibalın, o hukuk fakültesine gidiyordu, onu görüyorduk ve hoşumuza gidiyordu çok."

[158] Mefkure said: "Bir gün bir simitçi bir tabla simitle onların (Mefkure'nin komşusu olan doktorun) kapısına geldi. Evvela (doktorun) hanımıyla bir şeyler konuştu falan. Sonra anladım ki o, simitçiyi tedavi etmiş ve para almamış. (Simitçi de) o minnettarlıkla bir tabla simidi hediye etmiş. Bu olay bana öyle tesir etmiş ki, doktorluk benim kafama o zaman yerleşti. Bunu sonradan anlıyorum. Neden ben doktor olacağım diye kafama yerleşti? Ailede doktor yoktu ki!"

Similarly, Müfide Küley, who was one of the first graduates of the Faculty of Medicine, used to be afraid of doctors until she saw how her father's clients respected him (Küley, 1998: 3-5). Women were not always inspired by male professionals when they made a decision. In Necla's case, for example, a female university student impressed her. At first Necla wanted to be a high school teacher. In the final term of high school she talked to a young woman who was a student in the Faculty of Medicine and under the influence of this conversation she decided to be a physician.

However, it is important to note that those people were not the role models that women had referred to within their professional lives. They were rather the sources of inspiration to which women referred while they were making their decisions towards a career.

Third, material conditions influenced women's decision to pursue a career. Although she had registered to the Department of Chemistry, Nuriye was not able to stay in Istanbul because her family was not living there. She said she would have stayed in Istanbul, if she had not lost connection with her friends who stayed there when she graduated from high school. Because she had friends she could live with in Ankara, Nuriye registered to the Institution of Education in Ankara. This was also the case for Nüzhet. She said that "How could I go to Istanbul since my parents were living in Ankara?" Thus, she enrolled to the Faculty of Law which seemed to be the best choice in Ankara for her in 1934. Because of similar material conditions, Saliha decided to spend the training period in Ankara after she graduated from the Faculty of Medicine in Istanbul. In her case there was a job offer where she could study to be a qualified specialist during the day and could work as a physician in a school for homeless children at night. Thus, she could overcome the major problem of where to stay all alone as a woman and how to make her living during the training period. As it can be seen, the problem of accommodation is the primary material determinant on women's career choice.

The other material determinant that should be underlined was the Second World War. In Naciye's case, because of the Second World War, her father suggested her to choose a profession that she could perform under any conditions. Naciye wanted to attend the technical school and become an engineer, but her father suggested her to attend the Faculty of Medicine. As a reason, he argued that even in Germany, Hitler did not allow women to work. So, if she became an engineer she might not get the chance to work under such conditions, but if she became a physician she could work even in a small town. Naciye said

"then I registered to the Faculty of Medicine, But I really wanted to be an engineer"[159]. Since Belkıs's family could not dare to send her to Istanbul because of the war, she had to choose a department among the departments in Ankara:

> I was graduated from the science section in high school and all I desired was to be a doctor. A room had been rented for me in Istanbul. I would either attend to the Faculty of Medicine or would go to Germany for chemistry education. We moved to Ankara when my mother was appointed as a deputy. The Second World War broke out on our first day in Ankara. What would life bring to us was unclear; Hitler was occupying everywhere. My family did not let me go to Istanbul, because it could be dangerous. (……) At that time, there was a Faculty of Language, History and Geography, the Faculty of Agriculture, and the Faculty of Law in Ankara. In other words, there was not any proper university for me, such as a faculty of medicine, or other departments. They thought that Faculty of Law would be the most suitable place for me. I cried all the time in my first year, I did not even open the book. I did not like it at all. However, my sense of responsibility was very high. I felt that I had to succeed in what I was responsible for. I graduated from the faculty as the first rank student. (…) I still do not miss any article on medicine at this age. I read every book related to medicine that I can understand. Moreover, I say that if I had become a doctor, I would not have liked to have weekend holidays. I would have devoted myself to the patients. I was interested in medicine that much. It is still a great sorrow for me[160].

Fourth, work opportunities also determined women's career decision and this was the case especially for those who decided to register to the Faculty of Law. Moreover, their family and friends also suggested they study law since it was seen as more suitable for women than other traditional professions like medicine, engineering or architecture. It was because as

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[159] Naciye said: "Üniversiteye giderken, babamla fikir ayrılığına düştük. Ben Teknik Üniversite'ye girmek istedim, 'imtihana gireceğim' dedim. Tam o sırada da Almanya'da Hitler ortaya çıkmıştı. Babam: 'Bak kızım, Almanya'da bile kızlar için bir tehdit var, sen tıbba git.' dedi. Yani; Hitler kadınları çalıştırmıyor, kadınlar evde. Erkeklere (bile) iş yok, kadınlar eve dönsün falan deniyor... Babam da 'Sen bu duruma düşme. Gidip bir köyde otursan, doktor olarak ekmeğini kazanırsın.' dedi. Ben de Tıbbiye'ye girdim. Ama (mühendislik) çok istediğim bir şeydi."

[160] Belkıs said: "Ben fen şubesinden mezundum, yegane arzum doktor olmaktı. Hatta İstanbul'da benim için bir oda kiralandı. Ya tıp fakültesine devam edecektim ya da Almanya'ya kimya tahsili için gidecektim. Annem milletvekili olunca; tam biz Ankara'ya göç ettik, Naklettiğimizin ilk günü İkinci Dünya Savaşı patladı. Bunun üzerine; günlerin ne getireceği belli değil, Hitler'in orduları her yeri işgal ediyor, tehlikeli diye beni İstanbul'a göndermediler. (...) Ankara'da o zaman Dil-Tarih, Ziraat ve Hukuk fakültesi var. Yani doğru dürüst üniversite, tıp filan hiçbiri yok, diğer bölümler yok. En uygun bölüm olarak hukuk fakültesini buldular. Ben ilk sınıfta hep ağladım, kitabı bile açamadım. Hiç sevmedim. Fakat sorumluluk duygum çok yüksekti. Yapılacak işi de mutlaka yapmak gerekiyordu. Fakülteyi birincilikle bitirdim.(...) Hakikaten,halen bu yaşta hiçbir tıbbi makaleyi kaçırmam. Tıpla ilgili, anlayabileceğim tarzda olan, bütün kitapları okurum. Hatta derim ki: 'Ben doktor olsaydım, cumartesi pazar tatilini dahi yapmazdım. Hastalara kendimi adardım.' O derece tıbba karşı ilgim vardı. El an içimde çok büyük uktedir."

Belkıs and her parents were advised, "the law was such a field that had a wide spectrum and who ever studies law could become a judge, a lawyer, an officer or a teacher". She adds that:

> Thus, my parents made me choose to study law. For instance, if I had entered to the Faculty of Agriculture, I would only be able to be an agricultural engineer or a female veterinarian. However, as a female jurist, I would have more diverse work opportunities.[161].

At first glance, NS made her own decision. However this decision was strongly influenced by what her father expected from her. Although she was good at mathematics and wanted to become an engineer, she registered to the Faculty of Law since her father did not approve of her decision to be an engineer[162]. After she forgot about her dreams of being an engineer, she had chosen law because she thought she could work in various fields as a woman. Here, the structure of the patriarchal family became a major influence on her decisions which was discussed in previous pages as a common characteristics of families.

Such experiences indicate that the "from-above" professionalisation of the modern professions in the Turkish Republic was not free from gender relations and the gender stereotyping of the professions. Although women were not excluded from some male dominated realms, their participation in some professions was seen as inappropriate, while in some others appropriate. This choice was very much related to the patriarchy which appears in the form of gender stereotyping of the professions.

In the 1940s the rules and regulations concerning work opportunities started to be less equalitarian, which also determined women's career choice. For example, in Şükran's case, because of the regulations restricting women's professional service in law professions, she had to change her decision to study law at the university. She said "You know why? I

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[161] Belkıs said: "Babam ve annem bu işleri kendilerinden daha iyi bilen insanları bularak onlara da danıştılar, beni de alıp götürdüler. Dediler ki: 'Hukuk öyle bir şey ki, hukuk okuyan hakim de, avukat da, devlet memuru da, öğretmen de olur.' Yani çok geniş bir çalışma alanı var. Onun için hukuku seçtirdiler. Mesela ziraat fakültesine gitseydim o tarihte bir ziraat mühendisi olarak ya da hanım veteriner olarak o kadar geniş çalışma imkanım olmayacaktı. Ama hanım hukukçu olarak olurdu."

[162] NS said: "Hukukla hiç alakam yoktu, ben matematiğe meraklıydım.... Babam geldi, 'Kızım, nereye girmek istiyorsun?' dedi. Dedim ki: 'Baba' dedim, 'mühendis olmak istiyorum'. (Babam:) 'Benim bir kızın mühendis olup dağ bayır gezmesine aklım ermez' dedi ve odadan çıktı. Babamda fazla şey etmezdik böyle konularda, öyle deyince: 'Eyvah! Orası bana kapandı'."

wanted to become a judge, but in that period (the mid 40s) women were not allowed to.[163]"

Fifth, while they were trying to decide which profession to choose, women themselves also created an important reference for each other. The decisions were sometimes made in the dormitories of the high schools. Here the girls influenced each other on which department to choose. For example, Reyhan's father wanted her brother to be a physician but she was free to choose her profession so, in her words, with a friend they decided to attend the Department of Pharmacy. Behind these words there is another significant point which indicates that not all the women were encouraged to attend the university to actually work as professionals. For Reyhan's father, her brother's occupational choice is meaningful while Reyhan's was not so significant because she did not necessarily have to work and her education was more likely to be an intellectual activity.

To sum up it is possible to say that women's decisions about choosing their professions were influenced by many different determinants. They were generally encouraged to have university education and to become professionlas by their family, by their close relatives and by the progressivist attitudes of the teaching staff at girls high schools of the period. As mentioned above, five determinants played an important role on women's being professional; (1) women were inspired by their fathers and brothers; (2) they were inspired by the professionals such as family doctors or lawyers who were close to the family and highly respected by the family; (3) some material conditions of the period such as accommodation, income or the Second World War, influenced their choices; (4) the problem of work opportunities after education was another component that influenced women's decisions; (5) During the school years women themselves affected each other's decisions.

5.4.2. School Years and the Conditions of the Second World War

The school years were not so comfortable even for the wealthiest people. Women whose families did not live in Istanbul or Ankara generally stayed in dormitories. They mostly complained about the lack of a place to study. Some of them stayed in a dormitory generally

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[163] Şükran said: "Ben hukuktan bakın niye vazgeçtim; hakim olmak istiyordum fakat, hanımları hakim yapmıyorlardı o tarihte."

made up of a big hall, 4 or 5 bedrooms and a stove used for heating[164]. Fahriye said that since the hall was crowded with girls speaking loudly, they sometimes had to study in the bathroom of the dormitory or most of the time in an empty classroom or in the library[165].

Some of them rented a house together with some friends. Nuriye went to Ankara from Kastamonu and rented a flat with couple of her friends from her hometown. Saliha and her three girlfriends from the same high school rented a house. As another example, Reyhan and her brother, who was attending high school, stayed in a house they rented and lived with their grandmother and a close friend of Reyhan who was just like Reyhan's sister.

They sometimes had to work to make their living. Lamia, like some of her friends, worked in a high school. She stayed at the school building in return[166]. Cahide started to work in her third year with the General directory of of Highways as an candidate architect. Hamide worked as a middle school teacher during her university years.

The women whose families were not living in Istanbul or Ankara also suffered from the distance. They could only visit their home town twice a year at most[167]. The journey to home was not easy and comfortable "It was a long distance in that period", Reyhan said and continued "We used to go to İnebolu from Taşköprü by sitting in front of a truck. Of course there was a lady with us on these journeys. A clear, tidy journey. We used to go to Istanbul

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[164] Şefika Ataman's memories about the dormitory are not considerably different from these: she recalls some difficulties about studying in the big common room of the 3 floor building with 3-4 rooms (see, Ataman, 1999:154-159).

[165] Fahriye said: "Yurtta sobalı bir bina, kocaman bir hol. Holün karşısında dört beş tane oda, ortada bir soba. Bütün genç kızlar, akşam okuldan, üniversiteden gelenler har har o sobanın başında, ooh kıyametler kopuyor, hiç ders çalışılacak bir yer yok. Zaman zaman banyoyu kilitleyerek ve bir çok zamanlarda da üniversitenin kütüphanesinde, şurada burada ders çalışarak kendimizi idare etmeye çalıştık."

[166] Lamia said: "Ailem bana asgari bir şey, yani geniş bir yardım yapamıyordu. Ölçülüydü bana gönderilen para. Birinci sınıftayken, Türk Lisesi'nde muallim muavini olarak görev yaptım. Yani ilk sınıfta olanlara gururla ders vermek şeklinde, birinci senem öyle geçti. Ailem bana yaşayabileceğim kadar para gönderiyordu. Türk Lisesi'nde yattım kalktım. Yalnız ben değildim, beş altı talebe Türk Lisesi'nde misafir edildik muallim muavini olarak. Para almıyorduk fakat kalıp yemek yiyorduk. O sene öyle geçti. Yani iyi bir şeydi, çünkü çok değerli bir kadrosu vardı. Çok değerli (insanlardı) yani, biraz da bizi himaye ettiler zannediyorum, altı üniversite talebesini."

[167] Şefika Ataman states that form Kars to İstanbul her journies were most of the time very difficult and frithining for a teenage girl (see Ataman, 1999: 151-154).

from Inebolu by ferry"[168].

Women whose families were in İstanbul complained about the long distance they had to travel each day to go to university. Especially the ones who attended the Faculty of Medicine had to run from one lecture to another which were given in different hospitals around İstanbul.

The participant women in the present study were educated under the conditions of the Second World War. Some were graduated from the university at the beginning of war; others were students throughout the war. The war influenced their education in many ways. Military courses became compulsory even for female students. Mefkure said that:

> The Second World War was going on (.....) we were at the fourth class. They opened a military course for us. In Northern Africa, a German general, called Rohmel was very famous. They brought Rohmel in to give us a military lecture at the university. Rohmel was a handsome, middle-aged man who had a tough temperament and was wearing smart clothes. All the girls were gathered in the great building and had classes there. Boys had 20-days of camp in their freshman and sophomore years[169].

Since Nezihe was a student in "Tecknische Hochschule Berlin" during 1938-43, she witnessed the war very closely. She remembers how she was concerned primarily about her education and graduation under the aerial bombardments:

> It was the years between 1938-1943… I was preparing a final project for graduation. Especially in the final stage of my education heavy air raids on Berlin became very frequent. Every night I was going down to the shelter with my project in my hand. I had a bag in which I kept my projects, homework, and other important documents such as passport and ID card. (She starts to read from the autobiographic notes she took before) Against demoralizing events such as the fires set up in the upper floor of the school of engineering because of frequent air raids, she spent

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[168] Reyhan said: "Taşköprü'den İnebolu'ya otomobilin ya da kamyonun önünde oturarak giderdik. İnebolu'ya giderken yanımızda bir hanım olacak tabii, temiz muntazam bir yolculuk. "

[169] Mefkure said: "İkinci Dünya Harbi devam ediyor(...) Biz dördüncü sınıftayız. Bir de askerlik dersi koydular bize. Kuzey Afrika'da Rohmel diye bir Alman general meşhur olmuştu. Bize de askerlik dersi verdi üniversitede. Rohmel'i getirdiler. Rohmel yakışıklı bir adam, orta yaşlı, sert mizaçlı, şık giyinir, asker olduğu halde böyle kolalı kolluklar falan. Büyük binada bütün sınıfların kızları birleşir orada bize ders verirlerdi. Erkeklere kamp da var, yirmi gün, birinci ve ikinci sınıflarda."

all her efforts to finish school as soon as possible[170].

It is also interesting that some parents did encourage their daughters to continue their education under the war conditions.

> Those years were the war times; the war of 1939-40. There were blackouts, Istanbul was evacuated, and we were seized with fear. Every time I called my father and said 'Dad I am scared, what should I do if something happens to Istanbul, shall I come?' he would answer me as follows 'no my girl, do not move, if anything happens I will take you to Ankara even by a private plane'. He was dreaming for sure. How could he find a plane and take me.... He was talking like that to encourage me. He always encouraged me and wanted me to continue my education. He did so when he saw my enthusiasm[171].

In the meantime, some other parents tried to provide the safest conditions for their daughters during their university years, although it had forced the girls to change their career plans as it was in Belkıs's and Naciye's cases which has been mentioned before.

However, it is also important to note that according to the women I interviewed the Second World War provided an opportunity for the university students in Turkey. Just before the Second World War, internationally well known professors who would probably be forced to migrate from Germany or escape from the Nazi regime were invited to Turkey to support the 1933 university reform (see 3.6.1. and see also Lök & Erten, 2002; Öncü, 2002; Hirsch, 2000). As we learned from the biography of Abadan-Unat the German professors were first invited following the 1933 Darülfinun reform, but the vast majority of them came to Turkey after Hitler came into power (1998: 103). Women I interviewed were very happy to be their students. Similarly, in her biographic interview with Çandar (2003) Mualla Eyuboğlu points out that "Hitler unintentionally did us a favour for the university education in Turkey"

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[170] Nezihe said: "1938-1943 yılları... Bilhassa eğitimimin son yıllarında, Berlin'e olan hava akınlarının sıklaşması dolayısıyla, her akşam sığınağa inerken koltuğumun altında daima; içinde planların, ödevlerin, pasaport ve kimlik kartı gibi önemli evrakların bulunduğu bir çantam vardı.Artık diplomaya hazırlanıyordum çünkü... Sık sık devam eden bu hava akınları ile mühendis mektebinin üst katına isabet eden bombalar sonucu; iki defa yangın çıkması gibi moral bozucu, üzücü olaylar karşısında, bir an önce mezun olup, yurduma dönmek için bütün kuvvetimle çalıştım."

[171] Fahriye said : "O zamanlar da harp zamanları 39-40 harbi. Karartma var, bilmem ne var. İstanbul bir taraftan boşalıyor. Hepimiz korku içerisindeyiz ve ben yine babamı arıyorum. 'Baba, korkuyorum ben. İstanbul'a bir şey olsa ne yapacağım, geleyim mi?', babam: 'Hayır kızım, hiçbir yere kıpırdama. Ben, bir şey olursa, seni özel uçakla bile Ankara'ya getirtirim' derdi. Hayal bunlar tabii, nereden uçak bulacak da, nereden beni getirtecek. Ama beni takviye etmek için söylerdi. Devamlı beni takviye etti ve beni çok okutmak istedi. Benim bu hevesimi gördükçe, okutmak istedi."

(Çandar, 2003: 47). Mina Urgan in her biography also stated that:

> It was a big opportunity for me to attend university between 1935-1939. This period was the luckiest period of the Istanbul University. Our instructors were Jewish professors who came from Austria and Germany. They were sheltered in Turkey. (...) The teaching staff was perfect-you could never be educated by such outstanding persons in any other university of Europe and United States (Urgan, 1998: 174).

According to Güzin, this opportunity was the result of Atatürk's outstanding ability to understand beforehand international relations and take action accordingly:

> Before Hitler came to the power, with his great intuition and intelligence Atatürk had seen Hitler's National Socialist activities and invited Jewish professors. The professors of Darülfinun had been dispersed among the high schools in Istanbul. Internationally respected professors came to Istanbul University. When we entered Istanbul University, we had German professors. There were at least two or three German professors in each faculty. I took courses from them[172].

The German professors and the discipline of work they brought with them, according to Abadan-Unat, positively affected the structure of the Istanbul University (1998: 99).

The very first generation students of these German professors in the mid 1930s stated that they were giving their lectures with the help of translators who were Turkish and who were generally one of their assistants. The translators were the next generation academic staff such as Müfide Küley, Türkan Rado and Yavuz Abadan. Saliha and Şükran who attended the university during the mid 40s stated that the Turkish professors were the majority at the university and there was at least one German professor in each department. They gradually learned Turkish, as Safiye stated that some of them spoke Turkish when she was a student at the end of 1940s. Actually, as Lök and Erten stated, according to their contract, the foreign instructors were required to learn Turkish as soon as possible and write Turkish textbooks and give lectures in Turkish. Their most important role was seen as raising Turkish academicians who would be able to do scientific studies by themselves (2002, 539).

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[172] Güzin said: "O zaman Atatürk büyük seziş ve anlayışı neticesinde, Almanya'daki profesörleri daha Hitler iktidarı ele almadan, onun nasyonel sosyalist faaliyetlerini sezerek, Musevileri davet etti.... Dar-ül fünun zamanındaki hocalar ise, İstanbul'daki liselere dağıtıldı. Son derece uluslararası değerde hocalar geldi İstanbul Üniversitesi'ne. Biz üniversiteye girdiğimiz zaman, İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi'nde çok sayıda Alman hocamız vardı. Her fakültede en aşağı iki üç tane, ya da daha fazla Alman profesör vardı. Ben, o Alman profesörlerin derslerine girdim."

However, the German professors started to migrate to the United States after the 1950s. According to their biographies, both Mualla Eyuboğlu -"Turkey missed the chance to have them" (Çandar, 2003: 47)- and Mina Urgan -"The United States took them from our hands" (Urgan 1998, 174)- complained about the same phenomenon. Güzin stated that in order to nationalize the universities the position of the German professors was subordinated to Turkish professors who were becoming powerful in the Academy. Then as Güzin puts it "we offended them".

5.4.3. Gender Relations Within the Classroom

Unification of education was introduced by the Republican reforms that intended to build a modern and secular approach in different levels of education. However, such an effort did not affect the gender relations radically and immediately since the traditional restrictions on gender continued in different forms, as discussed before. Co-existence of the modern and traditional could be seen in gender relations within the newly established institutions of education. For example, Belkıs stated that in the high school, male and female students could only speak at the blackboard, for instance, to discuss a mathematical problem. They were told that they should not talk or even say hello to each other during the break or on the street.

In addition, Belkıs mentioned that the instructors used to control them in the entrance of the school to see if they were properly wearing their uniform[173]. Z. Arat points out the early attempts in high school in this respect:

> At co-educational high schools, where female enrolments were low there was an effort to distribute girls among classes to guarantee at least one female student in the each section. However, feeling a need to regulate the behaviour and limit the interaction between sexes in those shared

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[173] Belkıs said: "Lisede kız erkek karışık okuduk benim dokuzuncu sınıfa girdiğim sene. Daha önce Kastamonu'da erkek lisesi vardı. O sene karışık olunca Kastamonu'da okuma imkanım oldu. Fakat biz erkek arkadaşlarımızla sınıfta öğlen yemekten sonra kara tahtada matematik soruları falan çözülürken, ancak o zaman konuşabiliriz. Onun dışında teneffüste filan konuşma hakkımız yoktu. Ya da sokakta selamlaşmak yok. Mazhar Bey diye çok uzun boylu bir hocamız vardı, hiç unutmam, tabiiye hocası. O dikilirdi kapıya. Biz o zaman kasket giyerdik. Kasketleri tas gibi geçirmek zorundaydık başımıza. Bazı arkadaşlar vardı, onlar biraz daha uyanıktı benden herhalde. Böyle biraz yan giyerlerdi. Derhal hoca tutar, tas gibi geçirirdi. Ten rengi çorap giymek yasaktı. Biz hep siyah giyerdik. Çünkü ten rengi çağrışım yaptırıyor. Olacak işler değil. Üzerimizde siyah saten önlük beyaz yaka."

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spaces led the authorities to impose reactions on the relatively free time that they could spend together (2002: 60).

At the universities and higher education institutions it was hard to see such restrictions, but some traditional elements of the traditional gender relations were shaping the nature of friendship.

Actually, it would not be realistic to expect equal gender relations within the environment where the proportion of women was less than the proportion of men in terms of both students and the instructors (see pictures 10, 11 and 12). At the Istanbul University, classrooms were very crowded, but the number of female students as well as female professors was low. Lamia said that in Istanbul University in the Faculty of Law there were 35 female students to 100 male students (in 1932-33).

According to the education statistics about the beginning of 1930s, when Lamia registered to the Faculty of Law, the proportion of women was 9.1 percent (757 male 69 female students) in 1930 and 13.4 per cent (1027 male and 138 female students) in 1931 (Statistical Yearbook, volume 12, 1940-41). This ration is 17.4 per cent in 1935 and 24.1 in the 1933-39 educational years. This increase is also accrued because a new Faculty of Law was established in Ankara and provided scholarships to male students who would work for the government later. Thus most of the male students preferred to attend the Faculty of Law in Ankara. Yet these ratio's do not correspond with what Lamia stated. The difference between the statistics and Lamia's account can be arisen from the fact that there were many girls in the classroom or she was among the girls at school and this gave her the impression that the ratio of women was much higher, but still low. What is significant here is the fact that Lamia gave this higher ratio as an example to show how women's participation was low, but in terms of statistics it was much lower.

With respect to the narratives of participant women it is possible to say that in İstanbul, the proportion of female students was high compared to the proportion of female students in Ankara. As Nüzhet told, in 1934 in the Faculty of Law at Ankara University there were 100 male students and 6 female students in the classroom. The statistics concerning the university graduates in 1937 prove this. According to the statistics, the percentage of women graduates was 7.6 (144 male students and 11 female students). Hamide told that approximately 8 or 10 of the 300-400 students were female in the Faculty of Law in Ankara

(1935-38).

In the Academy of Fine Arts Faculty of Architecture, the first women graduates were in 1934 (see also Özgüven, 2002: 80). Two years later, in 1936, Harika and 4 other female friends entered the faculty. The total number of students who entered the faculty was 24. The next year, no female students entered. The year after, 60 students passed the drawing exam, five of which were female. The low number of female students in the Faculty of Architecture was due to the fact that the field was perceived as inappropriate for women being a technical field and being that most colleagues were male and most of the places architects have to work with technicians and workers who were all male.. In the meantime, according to 1940 statistics, there were exactly 2000 students in the Istanbul University Faculty of Medicine which was the only faculty of medicine in Turkey. Only 194 of them were female. However, with respect to Nezihe's remark, in the same period these ratios were not considerably different than the ratios of women in the Berlin School of Higher Engineering (Tecnischaulle Berlin) Faculty of Architecture:

> In our classroom there were 70-80 male students and only 8 female students (....) and some of the young ladies' mothers (in a school Nezihe attended to learn German, before the university) pitied me because I was going to be an architect and engineer[174].

From Safiye's narratives we learn that the number of female students increased especially in certain departments such as dentistry or pharmacy. The reason for women concentrating in these departments had a gendered aspect. First, although they were medical professions, the years of education were relatively low; second, especially pharmacy was seen an appropriate profession for women since it was related to the extension of women's sex roles.[175]

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[174] Here such thoughts were also effected by Hitler's ideology which suggested German women not work but bear childeren to increase the German population. Nezihe mentions that, in that period the idea concerning women's work in Turkey was completely reverse. In Nezihe's words: "Almanya'da babamın bazı tanıdıkları vardı. Benim kaldığım yer küçük bir kasabaydı, hem de orada, o insanlar bazen: 'Vah vah, gencecik kız neden mimarlık okuyor, çok ağır bir meslek. Kızım, bir başka şey seçseydin!' gibi konuşurlardı. Hitler gelmişti; diyordu ki: 'Temiz bir Germen ırkı yetiştirmemiz için kadınların bol bol doğurması lazım. Meslek hayatına girmeleri yerine, evlerinde çocuklarına bakmalılar.' İşte benim gittiğim okulda da, mesela büyük çikolata fabrikalarının, bilmem nelerin, çelik fabrikatörlerinin kızları vardı. Orta mektebi bitirmiş gelmişler, liseye göndermemişler, bir şeyler öğrensin, ondan sonra evlensin, çocuk sahibi olsun diye. Bu tesirle bana orada derlerdi ki: 'Vah vah, neden okuyorsun bu kadar? Bu erkek mesleği.' Ama Türkiye'de bunu bana diyen olmadı, ne kadar basit olsa da. 'Ne kadar güzel, ne kadar güzel kıymetini bil kızım' derlerdi."

[175] For further discussion see 6.3.2.

The proportion of women was not only low among female students but also among female professors. Most of the participant women stated that they had no women professors. This means that they hardly had any role models of women professionals from earlier generations, which would have made it easier for their entrance into the professions. It is expected that the women professionals from the earlier generations would have prepared the realm of professionals for the next generation so that when women entered into the realm their existence would not be taken as something unusual. However, with the lack of such preceeding generations, women had to deal with many problems within the professional realm. Especially the ones from the very first generation remember that the women academics were very young and had just started their academic careers. The women who attended university at the end of the 1930s stated that they had few women professors especially in the Faculty of Medicine and Science, such as Müfide Küley, Afife Cenani Hanım, Pakize Tarzi and Mediha Eldem[176].

Within such an environment, where the number of female students in the various departments was less than the number of male students, and where the number of women professors was considerably low, how would the relations between the two genders be constructed? In order to understand this, I refer to conversations with the participant women about friendship and gender relations at the university. The friendship among girls and boys was very strong as they mention. Between male and female students there was a "respectful and helpful relationship". When they define their relationships with their male friends they used the following adjectives: "honest, straightforward, respectful, supportive, distant, deliberate".

> It did not matter whether our friends were male or female.We had wonderful friendships with our male friends, We were getting along very well and had frank, rather than emotional relationships. [177].

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[176] According to the statistics, the first women instructor started in the 1932-33 education year. In this year the number of men instructors was 501. In the following years the percentage of women instructors were as follows: 7,4 % in 1933-34 educational year (534 male 40 female instructors); 15,5% in 1934-35 educational year (598 male 93 female instructors); 13,7%in 1935-36 educational year (653 male 90 female instructors); 13,8 % in 1936-37 educational year (699 male 97 female instructors); 13,2 % in 1937-38 educational year (739 male 98 female instructors); 13,0 % in 1938-39 educational year (756 male 99 female instructors); and 14,8 % in 1939-40 educational year (882 male 131 female instructors) (State Institution of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, volume 12, year 1940-41).

[177] Fahriye said: "Erkeklerle arkadaşlığımız, ha kız arkadaş ha erkek arkadaş... Fevkalade olumlu, fevkalade geçimli, hiç öyle duygusal ilişkiler olmayan, çok dürüst bir arkadaşlık yaptık."

In an interview done in 1927, one of the female graduates of the Faculty of Medicine who was appointed to Anatolia mentions her gratitude to her male friends at school: "We would never forget the sincerity and tenderness of our friends during the school years" (cited in Etker & Dinç, 1998: 56).

The gender relations in the classroom were explained by women with reference to their resemblance to the gender relations in the family. The similar system of gender relations in the patriarchal family, what Walby would call the system of private patriarchy (see Walby, 1990; see also 2.2.1.2.3.), could be seen in the institutions of the young Republic. In this respect, the possible emotional relations with men were denied and discredited while the nature of the relationship was mentioned as tender and protective.

Actually, there was a form of discipline at the universities which also determined the friendships between the sexes. For example, the students could not sit wherever they wanted in the classroom. Their seats were predetermined according to their numbers which were given to them while they were registered, as we learn from Fahriye's narrative. Discipline was mainly introduced to control gender relations. Relatedly, in Güngör's study, which includes the memories of Pakize Tarzi who is one of the first physicians of the Turkish Republic, it was quoted from her words that:

> The teachers would not respect the female students who were speaking with male students. Moreover, school administration restricted the clothing of students: "I could not cease from my blouses, ties and pleated skirts easily. I was hesitating about what to wear. I was having lunch with Hatice in an empty classroom, and then running to class or lab. We avoided going to the dining hall because our male friends were too interested in us" (Güngör, 2002;65).

Participant women in the present study did not state such institutional restrictions on dressing, but gave similar examples with respect to the other aspects of gender relations. Nüzhet said there were almost two hundered male students and a handful of female students in her class. Female students sat together and quite apart from male students. Hamide and Fahriye affirm that the female students were always sitting together in the classroom. In the yearbook of medicine in 1955 there is an anecdote indicating and criticising the distant relationship between male and female students:

> A group of students were talking: one of them said "the foreign journalists who visited Turkey recently have written that there is still

harem in Turkey". The other one asked surprisingly "really, when did they visit our classroom then" (Medicine yearbook; 1955).

However, in the Academy of Fine Arts the situation was almost the opposite for a certain period of time while Namık İsmail was the manager of the school:

> The Academy was an amusing school in that there was not any attendance, no control over entrance or exits to the school, and the teachers were not restrictive. We had a restaurant in the academy garden. I have not forgotten the name of the women who was running that restaurant; Kadriye Hanım. People could drink wine there. I used to play the violin, and there was a Christian guy playing the piano. We were playing in the afternoons. It was an extraordinary school. You could take the exams or not. Nobody questioned you. It was so free[178].

Then, Burhan Toprak, who was the son-in-law of Marshal Fevzi Çakmak, became the manager after Namık İsmail's sudden death. Toprak was appointed by the Ministry of National Education. Cahide said that "Toprak imposed tough restrictions on and disciplined the school. It was forbidden to drink wine in the dining hall but only water. The Academy came up to be a very orderly place, I mean it was finished [179]". This indicates that the exceptional situation of the Academy of Fine Arts was a result of the extraordinary management of Namık İsmail. Besides, the nature of education which was very much related to artistic creation affected the attitudes of the students. They were against the traditional disciplining. This also determined the relatively modern gender relations at the Academy.

For most of the participant women, gender relations out of the classroom were not actually colourful. In Istanbul, the main entertainment of the students were tea parties in the afternoon. (Anadan-Unat, 1998: 113). Especially for the ones who were from the very first generation, the graduation balls which were arranged once a year were another opportunity for entertainment (see picture 13). They sometimes organised warming parties or graduation

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[178] Cahide said: "Akademi o kadar zevkli bir mektepti ki; yoklamanız yok, nereye girdin nereye çıktın yok, ondan sonra hocalar böyle höt, zöt bilmem ne yapmazlar. Bir lokantamız vardı bahçede, Kadriye Hanımdı işleten, adını da unutmuyorum. Şarap da içiliyor. Ondan sonra öğleyin yemek yiyorsunuz, o lokantada bir de şey vardı, piyano vardı. Ben keman çalardım, bir Hıristiyan çocuk vardı o da piyano çalardı, bir de öğleyin müzik yapardık. Ondan sonra böyle fevkalade bir mektep, yani imtihana girdin yok, girmedin yok. Yani bu kadar serbestti".

[179] Cahide said: "Toprak dehşetli disipline soktu her tarafı, zıngır zıngır böyle. Saat 09:00-17:00 işte… O şeyden, yemekhaneden şarap marap kalktı. Sadece su filan, böyle bir nizam geldi, akademi bitti." yani"

balls[180].

Actually, as Saliha and Şükran said, there was no time for entertainment. To describe their relationship with their male friends Lamia stated that:

> There was no such thing like going some place together, such as to the cinema or anywhere else... but we did not have money anyway and could not go out together. We even could not go out together to eat some ice-cream. We thought those kinds of activities were inconvenient there, and we had no need for doing them. However, we were talking about everything with everybody at school and usually had very serious conversations and friendship[181].

Hamide said dinner parties were very rare among the school friends. Belkıs never had a male friend outside the school: "I had some girlfriends. For example, Nezihe used to come and stay with me sometimes, sometimes I used to go to her house. Our main concern was to study[182]". Within the classroom the gender relations were very restricted according to Belkıs and Hamide who attended the Faculty of Law in Ankara in different periods. Hamide, refering to her male classmates that "they could not even dare to talk to us". Similarly Belkıs affirms that:

> All our life was passing between home and school. We were getting along with one or two close friends better than the others. We never had friends from the oposite sex. We were chatting at the breaks, but never went out together. Me or my friends did not have any love affairs. When compared with high school, the number of female students was higher in the university. However, when compared with the number of male students, the number of female students was very few. Maybe the proportion of female students was 1/3 or it was ¼ of the total

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[180] Şefika Ataman similarly states that they had tea parties, balls and sometimes daily tours at the university. She carefully adds that "I had participated in such events with my brothers". (for Şefika Ataman's words Ataman, 1999: 159).

[181] Lamia said: "Bu, böyle şeye gitmek gibi, beraber sinemaya gitmek gibi, yahut da herhangi bir yerde yemek yemek. Paramız yoktu zaten gidemezdik ya. Hani dondurma yemek gibi şeyler de olmuyordu. Yani mahsurlu görüyorduk, gerek görmüyorduk. Ama okulda her zaman konuşarak, her türlü sohbetle, normal, herkese açık, son derece ciddi bir sohbet ve arkadaşlık içindeydik."....

[182] Belkıs said: "Okul dışında hiçbir arkadaşlığım olmadı. Tek tek kız arkadaşlarım vardı. Mesela Nezihe bana gelir kalırdı, ben giderdim. Ağırlık merkezi ders çalışmaktı".

population.[183].

It is possible to conclude that within the universities, where the door was open to women in the name of modernization, gender relations were surrounded by patriarchal values. Although there was co-education, from the way women and men students sat in the classroom to the way they ate their lunch, there was an influence of patriarchy. Moreover, it seems that being educated or becoming a candidate professional made no considerable difference in the traditional gender relations. Actually, this corresponds with the Kemalist gender policies according to which women's participation in education and work was encouraged while the traditional gender roles were not questioned. On the contrary, as discussed in the literature, Kemalism maintained basic cultural conservatism about gender relations and thus reproduced patriarchal values. In this respect, the forms of gender relations that the participant women discussed were the natural consequences of the social context where the traditional gender relations and modernization efforts co existed. Relatedly, Belkıs said that:

> This environment did not bring about any difference and we were accepting these lives as "usual" since we did not know any other system. We were commuting between home and school and were not meeting any male friends. We were usually estranged but did not think of this as a deprivation at that time. However, today I see what this means in that I think in a different manner. We were not aware of it at that time[184].

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[183] Belkıs Said: "Bütün hayat evle okul arasındaydı. Bir iki arkadaşla daha iyi anlaşırdık. Ama asla karşı cinsten değildi. Onlarla (erkeklerle) olan ilişkiler de lisedekinden biraz farklı, teneffüste konuşurduk ama, öyle bir yerlere gitmek filan yoktu. Ben ya da yakın arkadaşlarım böyle bir şey yaşamadılar. Liseye nazaran kız öğrenci sayısı epeyce fazlaydı ama erkek öğrenci sayısına nazaran azdı. Üçte bir bile değildi, belki dörtte bir filan..."

[184] Belkıs said: "Bu ortam bir farklılık yaratmıyordu. Biz de daha başka bir sistemi tanımadığımız için bu yaşantıları normal kabul ediyorduk. Evle okul arasında gidilir gelinir, erkek arkadaşla görüşülmez. Uzak kalıyorduk genelde ve bunları da bir mahrumiyet diye kabul etmiyorduk o zaman. Ama bu gün, şimdi anlıyorum bunların ne demek olduğunu, çok farklı şekilde düşünebiliyorum. Ama o zaman fark etmiyorduk çok fazla."

5.5. Occupational Identity: Kemalism or Professionalism

5.5.1. Kemalist Identity

As discussed in 3.5., for Kemalists, modernisation meant a development in terms of science, technology and knowledge (see Mardin, 1997). In this respect, Necla's husband stated that "in that period (the Kemalist era) to be educated, to learn, to read, and to have scientific knowledge was valuable. Science was primary also in governing[185]".

In the Republican period, the two major roles of professional education were to impose the Kemalist and nationalist identity as well as the professional identity to the future professionals of the country. The university, which is –as discussed before in the second chapter (see 2.3.1.1)- the academic setting where the candidate professionals achieve the systematic body of theory through formal education (Greenwood, 1966; Freidson, 1970; Gross 1958; Turner and Hodge 1970), was not free from the state ideology. Darülfinun's being less supportive about the Kemalist revolution as it was expected was the reason for the intervention of the state to the university system (Lök & Erten, 2002; Öncü, 2002; Hirsch, 2000). In that sense, the aim of the university reform (see, 3.6.1.) was not only to improve the quality of the education but also to erase the Ottoman footprints on the education system and to insert the Kemalist identity to the university. Consequently, the professions have acquired a Kemalist nature spontaneously with such university education.

In fact, during the school years (the late 1930s and early 1940s) of women I talked to Kemalism was the dominant and deeply internalised nation-wide ideology. It was broadly accepted that the Kemalist reforms, by which "the doors were open to women in every aspect of life" (Abadan-Unat, 1998: 96), would provide educational opportunities for both sexes. Güzin says that "the task was to catch up with the contemporary world in terms of thoughts, and ideas as well as appearance[186]". Nezihe stated that:

> In that period everyone was encouraged for every kind of occupation. The influence of Atatürk was enormous. It was accepted that a woman had to be well educated, be liberated, and be financially independent.

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[185] Necla's Husband said: "O yıllarda okumak, öğrenmek, ilim sahibi olmak değerliydi. Devlet yönetiminde de devlet ve bilim ön planda idi".

[186] Güzin said: "Hedef asrın icabına uymak.... Çağdaşlaşmak. (...) Hem Fikirleri ve düşünüşleri, hem de fiziği, dış görünüşü ve Yaşam tarzı ile."

Even the lay people in Turkey were thinking like that.[187]

Necla's 75 year old grandmother, although relatively old, had a progressive mind and backed up her granddaughter:

> My grandmother asked me what I was doing in Istanbul. I said I was a student in the Faculty of Medicine and I was going to become a physician. She asked what we were doing at school. I said we were working on cadavers. She advised me to look at the cadavers very carefully and learn well[188].

They mostly stated that they were "educated to be useful" for their nation. In Nüzhet Zorlutuna's biographic novel she describes the task of her generation as to fight with ignorance and backwardness:

> Children of the former generation and the generation preceding it and children of our generation had accomplished by cooperation. They had lost their lives, shed blood, and brought forth this nation up to today with superhuman sacrifices. It was our turn. A big duty was waiting us and the next generation: Repairing this independent but ruined and demolished holy country, light the way up to the furthest places; the light of idealism and civilization (1978:166).

Güzin states that when they were graduated from high school in 1934 they did not even think about not going to university, because they had a goal: "the goal of being useful for our nation. This was what our families and Atatürk expected from us. Atatürk entrusted the youth to the country"[189]. Nüzhet said that "We were Atatürk's children. We built the Republic. We internalised all the aspects of the Republic. It was impossible for us not to be educated[190]". Similarly, in Çandar's interview with Mualla Eyuboğlu, she says that:

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[187] Nezihe said: "O devirde zaten insanlar her türlü mesleği teşvik ediyorlardı. Atatürk'ün tesiri büyüktü. (Kadınların)Okuması lazımdı. Kadının okuması, hür olması, iktisadi bakımdan kimseye muhtaç olmaması gerekiyordu. Bunu en basit insanlar bile. "

[188] Necla said: "Anneannem gelmiş, dedi ki: 'Ay Necla! ne yapıyorsun kızım evladım buralarda' dedi bana. Ben de dedim ki 'ben okuyorum nine'. 'Ne olacaksın' dedi. 'Doktor olacağım nine' dedim.'İyi' dedi, 'ol ol'... Kadınlar daha uyanık. Ki ninem hiç bir şey bilmeyen bir kadındır. 'Peki dedi ne yapıyorusun?'. 'Kadavra diye bir şey var, ölüleri önümüze koyuyorlar, kesiyoruz, biçiyoruz' dedim. 'Bak bak'.. dedi, 'çok iyi bak unutma iyi öğren' dedi. 75 yaşındaki bir kadının sözleri bunlar."

[189] Güzin said: "Çünkü hepimiz bir gaye uğruna tahsil yapıyorduk. Yetişelim, ülkeye hayırlı olalım... Buydu amacımız, ülkeye hayırlı olmak. Aile bunu ister, çocukları bunu ister, tabii başta Atatürk bunu ister. Gençliğe emanet etti ülkeyi."

[190] Nüzhet said: "Yani o içimizde vardı. Atatürk çocuklarıydık. Cumhuriyeti kurmuşuz. Orada ne varsa içimize girmiş. Okumamak diye bir şey yoktu."

After the middle school the high school education should automatically come. And after the high school the university education came. The opposite could not even be thought. Not only me, but everybody in the high school was thinking like that. My entire classmates attended the university. We were raised with Atatürk's reforms. This was the idea that Atatürk imposed on us: One should be educated and then serve the nation. (Çandar, 2003: 36).

Under the conditions of the Republican period professional women were invited to join the campaign of construction of the country as was every idealist Turkish citizen of the very first years of the Republic:

Because we stayed far behind Europe, at that time we had to study immensely. That's what we believed in. We, the children of that period, (…) and middle-aged people (…), and even the elderly (….) were too young and completely idealists. (Zorlutuna, 1978: 230).

"Serving the nation" was the major task that had been demanded especially from the first generation of professional women. Lamia told that the prime minister of the period visited the women judges and asked them where they wanted to work. The expected answer was "wherever you ask me to...", and it was exactly the answer Lamia gave.[191] Similarly, Cahide stated that she had potential to work for the nation and her task was to make herself a "useful" person via education. This was actually the same way the governing elite had considered them. Cahide said:

Would it be better if I was only graduated from the middle school and creeping here and there while I was able to do all these things? It is necessary to make the country a place wherein every resource of it can be useful and everybody should be able to have access to resources. Thus, I made myself a useful person through my studies[192].

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[191] Lamia said: "Saraçoğlu bizi teftişe gelmişti adliyeye. Dört tane hakim hanım, böyle sırayla selamlıyorduk ayakta. O da bize soruyor : 'Gidecek misiniz?' diye, tek tek soruyor. En büyükten başladık, 'Anadolu'ya gidiyor musunuz arkadaşlar?'. İşte, hazır fırsat bulunmuş gibi oldu. Diğerleri 'ailemiz burada, rica ediyorum İstanbul'da kalayım', yahut 'efendim oraya gitmek benim için çok müşkül, şu manilerim var, onun için falan yerde...' diye talepte bulundular. Sıra bana geldi. 'Siz?' dedi bana Saraçoğlu: 'Nereye emrederseniz gitmeye hazırım' dedim. Tabi son derece de hoşuna gitti bu laf. Onlara döndü, 'siz de arkadaşınız gibi düşünüyorsunuz değil mi? Eminim.' filan dedi. Tabi ben orada söz verdim ya gideceğiz."

[192] Cahide said: "Bunları yapabilecekken öyle orta mektep mezunu olarak şurada burada sürünsem iyi miydi. Memleketi her şeyini faydalanılır hale getirmek lazım. Her şeyinden... Ferdini de, her şeysini de faydalı hale getirmek lazım. Onun için ben de bu çalışmaları yapmakla kendimi memleketime faydalı hale getirmiş oldum."

The participant women think that education was an opportunity given by the Kemalist reforms and that they should work in return.. Nüzhet said that "I have been educated that much, I should pay back for this. I should work. What is the point of being educated if you are going to stay at home?"[193]

The meaning of being Kemalist in that period is very different from that of today. For the participant women, neither was Atatürk himself a soul living among us, nor was Kemalism an abstract project that would secure the country. It was so concrete for them that Atatürk was the embodiment of Kemalism, although it has a more abstract meaning for us today. They saw him and listened to him giving speeches (like Naciye), talked to him and even danced with him (like Mina Urgan, see; Urgan 1998), gave flowers to him (like Pakize Tarzi, see Güngör, 2002), visited him at home (like Hamide, see picture 7), have his photographs in their family albums (see picture 8). Atatürk was not only an image which was subjected to sculptures, but a concrete man; "a colourful, lively and attractive man who lives among us" in Mina Urgan's words (1998: 160). They talk about him as if he was a member of their family. They say "God bless him, he was a great man" or "I often pray for him".

This creates the spirit of the Republican period which is the reason for the difference between the Republican generations and new generations. Lamia states the difference between today's women and the Republican women related to the sense of the Republican period:

> Republican women were super, unique, extraordinary, well-civilized, smart, keeping up with the times, and foresighted women. Republican women, Republican youth, and Republican children were raised to be perfect people in every aspect. The ones who lived in the Republican period continued their feelings and characteristics during the years they lived with Atatürk, and they have never changed. They improved themselves and lived with passion. However, the next generations saw neither an occupation nor independence, nor the victorious army. They are people who have not felt excitement and joy of the victory; they are born and grow up without these feelings[194].

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[193] Nüzhet said: "Bu kadar okumuşum, bu okumamı ödemem lazım. Çalışmak lazım. Ne işe yarar evde oturacak olduktan sonra."

[194] Lamia said: "Cumhuriyet kadını süper, eşsiz, mükemmel, uygar, akıllı, zamana uyan, yani ileri görüşlü.... Cumhuriyet kadını ve cumhuriyet gençliği hatta cumhuriyet çocukları her açıdan fevkalade mükemmel insanlar olarak yetiştiler. Cumhuriyet devrinde Atatürk'le beraber yaşadıkları senelerdeki duygularla ve karakterde kaldılar. Hiç değişmeden aynı kaldılar. İlerleyerek, genişleyerek tutku halinde yaşadılar ama daha sonraki kuşaklar zayıf kaldılar. Ondan sonrakiler ne işgali biliyor, ne

Similarly Belkıs said that "we were an excited generation...we were socialized by Atatürkism. We were attached to him by heart. I have never lost such feelings[195]".

According to Belkıs, the Republican generation experienced great transformation and recovered the defects which appeared within this period by working hard together:

> It was a kind of modification. For instance, a transition from a closed era to westernization. At first, this modification started with clothes and appearance. In fact, we all had the same excitement for these modifications, too. Did they (the refoms) have defects? Of course they had. Some sections of the society were absolutely disturbed. I can understand this. However, we were a very self-sacrificing nation. We used to love and protect each other. On one hand were protecting our values, on the other hand imitating western countries[196].

Similarly, the participant women in Z. Arat's research, who were from the same generation as the participant women of the present study, stated that "we were brought up with a genuine love for him" and "our generation has had a special relation to Atatürk" and referred to themselves and their generation as the children of Ataturk" (Z. Arat: 2002). Almost the same statement was made by the participant women of the present study.

The Kemalism they adhered to was so strong that they reacted to any proposition against it and against Atatürk's himself. For this reason, most of them rejected any contradicting ideology or practice against the Kemalist principles. In that sense, almost all of them were against the headscarf, and most of them believed that this was started with the Democratic Party government which took power in the first multi party elections.

From the narratives, it is possible to conclude that participant women's occupational identity

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düşman biliyor, ne kurtuluşu biliyor, ne zafer ordusunu biliyor. Zafer heyecanını sevincini yaşamamış insanlar. Öyle doğmuşlar büyümüşler ...

[195] Belkıs said: "Atatürk bana çok heyecan verir. İsmini duymak bile. Atatürk hasta yatağında yatarken ben o kadar üzgünüm ki annemin kulağına yaklaştım "anne Atatürk ölürse ne olur" dedim. Kaç yaşındayım? Lisedeyim, çocuk değilim ki, ama bu cümleyi sarf etmek istemedim. Kendi kulağım bile bunu duymak istemiyor. Biz o kadar heyecanlı bir nesildik. O kadar yürekten bağlıydık Atatürk'e.Ve ondan sonra da İnönü'ye bağlıydım. Biz öyle yetişmiştik. Atatürkçülükle.... Tarih kitaplarında belki bir parça abartılmıştı bilemiyorum ama onun heyecanını hiçbir zaman atamadım üstümden".

[196] Belkıs said: Bir nevi bir kalıp değiştirmiş gibi oldu. Mesela, kapalı bir devirden batılılaşma gibi. Evvelâ bu giyim kuşamdan dış görünüşten başladı. Tabi içimizde de o heyecanı duyuyorduk açıkcası. Kusurları olmadı mı? Mutlaka olmuştur. Mutlaka bazı kesimler bundan rahatsız olmuştur. Bunları düşünebiliyorum. Fakat biz o zaman çok özverili bir millettik. Birbirimizi çok severdik, kollayan millettik. Batılılaşmaya özenirken bir taraftan da değerlerimizi muhafaza ediyorduk.

was effected by Kemalism although it was not a constructing element for their occupational identity. As it is argued before, Kemalism was an important component of the atmosphere women were socialised within. Since they had been influenced deeply by the Kemalist reforms which gave them the chance to have a profession, they had a strong attachment to Kemalism. However, the participant women's Kemalist identity was not considerably different from the other women and men of their generation. In this respect, it is not possible to see it as a primary element that constructs the occupational identity of professional women. Like any other Republican women, they had the Kemalist identity as a constructing identity of a citizen of the Turkish Republic.

5.5.2. Professional Identity

It is clear in participants narratives that although they were the generation having the spirit of the Republic in their professional lives, they were not only influenced by Kemalist nationalism and the ideal of serving the nation. As professionals, they were strongly motivated by the occupational ideology surrounding the professions which suggests that professionlas should be collectiveoriented rather then self-oriented should and they should use their professional knowledge for the others who desperately need it (Gross, 1958; Parson, 1966; Taylor 1968; Jhonson, 1972; Greenwood, 1996). Such an assumption makes professionals feel themselves indispensible for the society and secure in their privileged position. I noticed that the participant women strongly believed that since they had professional knowledge via higher education they should use their knowledge for the good of the people who need them. Safiye said that:

> If you are educated, especially at the university, you must not just sit at home. We have to work. There is no other possibility. While I say to work it means to serve. There is nothing to do with money. If you are a professional you should work for the good of the people. It is the nature of professions.

Similarly, in the book concerning some Republican women's biographies, it was qouted from Pakize Tarzi's words that:

> When I graduated from the Faculty of Medicine as a young woman of the newly established Turkish Republic, Atatürk's Turkey, I began in the medical profession so keenly. I felt as if I had the energy to cure all the

diseases of the whole world (Güngör, 2002: 61).

After she finished her specialization in gynecology, Fahriye was appointed to Urfa. She could only work in Urfa for a year. Since her family wanted her to return to her hometown, she had to move from Urfa. When Fahriye told me "I wanted to work in Urfa", I asked if she wanted this for the people of her country, she answered "I wanted to stay because of my profession". That is, she strongly internalized the professional ideology which suggested her to work for the good of the people and where she was needed most. Fahriye said that "It was a matter of being idealist; I could work in every single part of my country". Here the "ideal" was not only Kemalist nationalism but also professionalism. As Fahriye said, it was a professional requirement that a professional should take her service to the people who need it wherever and in whichever conditions they are living.

The Kemalist identity becomes secondary while professionalism becomes primary for the participant women. Thus, the goal of serving the nation appears to be the consequence of the professional service which is surrounded by a strong occupational ideology called "professionalism" (see 2.3.4.). Women themselves think that if one did her job properly, as Harika said, then it means that she had served the nation properly. Similarly, Naciye said "to work or to serve for medical science means to serve the nation. I could not separate them. If you help people it means serving the nation. If you do your profession properly then you serve the nation" [197]. For Güzin, serving the nation means helping others. She said "in my profession my patients' wellness comes first before me"[198]. As it was mentioned before (see 2.3.1.1.), according to the professional identity and the value system of the professions they expected to devote themselves to their clients and to humanity. This was argued as a distinguishing feature of the professions (Greenwood, 1966; Barber 1996; Taylor 1968). The participant women in the present study strongly internalised such an identity. In this respect, the participant women worked for the good of the people, but not necessarily for the nation. Since their nation required their professional service urgently, consequently they mobilized their knowledge and qualifications for their nation. Here their basic concern was not serving their nation but helping the ones who needed it most.

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[197] Naciye said: "Vallahi, yani tıbba hizmet etmek, zaten ülkeye hizmet etmek. Ayrı şey(ler) olduğunu) düşünemem yani... İnsanlara hizmet etmek Türkiye'ye hizmet etmektir... Mesleğin gereklerini tam olarak yerine getirince zaten hizmet etmiş oluyorsunuz"

[198]Güzin said: "Ülkeye hayırlı olmak, başkasına yardımcı olmak, başkasına yararlı olmak... Mesela benim mesleğim: Ben kendimden evvel hastalarımı düşünürüm. İşte yararlılıktan benim anladığım bu".

Even the traditional identities like being housewives and mothers could sometimes become secondary while their professional identity come before everything else (Durakbaşa, 1998a). Some of them told me that their professions came first: When I asked Hamide if her profession or her marriage came first, she answered "My own life came first. By saying my own life I mean my interest to my profession". They said they worked because they were attached to their professions which they loved very much.

Gültekin, Saliha, Şükran and Fahriye did not think much about getting married since they were very much engaged in their professions. Fahriye said "well we married with the job in the end" Şükran declared that:

> When we were students our first duty was to graduate from school. Then we started our professional lives. We accepted life primarily as work. That is to say we never thought of marriage. (…) The conditions of work were so hard that, there was no time to think of marriage. First, we were very much concerned with school, then with work. Of course, there were some men who bothered us. When a man came to ask us to marry we did not approve to be asked and said there was no meaning in asking us for such a thing since we were students[199].

These women did not even think of the fact that they were obligated to undertake such traditional gender roles like getting married.. Rather, they were very much involved in their professions which they believed to be incompatible with traditional gender roles. Gültekin said that after she became a professional her self-confidence increased and it became difficult for her to see somebody worth marrying[200] (From the oral history interview by İlyasoğlu, 1997). People sometimes found these women's staying single strange, and gossiped about them. Şükran said that :

> People around us had never understood our being single. They wondered why we did not get married since we were beautiful enough and well-off.

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[199]Şükran said: "Talebeyken görevimiz okulu bitirmekti ondan sonra çalışma hayatı... Onu öncelikli kabul ettik. Düşünmedik yani. (...) Çalışma şartlarımız o kadar ağırdı ki evliliği düşünecek zaman olmadı (...) Önceleri aklımız okumaktaydı, ondan sonra da aklımız fikrimiz işteydi. Evliliği düşünecek... Yani isteyenler musallat olanlar tabi olurdu olmaz mı? Olurdu da yani yadırgardım, niye rahatsız ediyorlar diye düşünürdüm. Hoş da karşılmazdım... Talebeyiz, bilmem neyiz, ne gereği var bunların şimdi".

[200] Gültekin said: "Ondan sonra meslek hayatı basladı. Meslek hayatı başlayınca insanın kendisine güveni daha bir artıyor. Zaten geldiğim aile bana kafi derecede güven vermiş idi. Benim karşıma çıkan erkekler benden sanki daha zayıftılar. Evlenmeyişimin asıl büyük sebebi budur. Ben kendimden daha kuvvetli bir erkek aradım, halbuki karşıma çıkanlar öyle değildi." (from the oral history interview by İlyasoğlu)

Some friends from the bank I used to work at even thought that I must have fallen in love with somebody and could not love anyone else after him.[201]

Because of their strong professional identity they continued to study after they were graduated and completed their training or specialization periods. They took courses in newly developing fields of their particular profession, or they went abroad to widen their knowledge as well as vision. Saliha, who studied German and English after she became a physician, went to the Pennsylvania University in Philadelphia for two years as a guest physician and researcher. Cahide join many professional conferences. In 1965 Mefkure attended a nine month course on rehabilitation in different countries of Europe which was supported by the World Health Organization.

It is also important to note that the participant women in the present study stay connected with their professions today as much as they can. Most of them are still readings books concerning their professions or attending professional meetings. Cahide has recently written many books concerning the documents and the stories of her restorations. Güzin joins the monthly meetings of her colleagues in different places of the country. Saliha and Şükran said that they come together with their colleagues and the two sisters join each other's meetings. Cahide showed her many photographs which were taken in the meetings arranged by her staff she used to work with (see picture 16). The architects also stated that they try to get together even today as long as their health allows them to.

5.5.3. Reflections of Kemalism and Professionalism on Women's Professional Service

The narratives of women indicate they were strongly motivated both by Kemalist and professionalist ideals. Their working stories were full of different examples reflecting these motives. With both the Kemalist and the professionalist motives in mind, some of the participant women primarily wanted to specialize in the most needed branches of the professions in the least developed parts of the counrty.

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[201] Şükran said . "Etraf hiçbir zaman anlamadı. Yani halleri vakitleri yerinde, e yüzlerine de bakılacak gibi, niye evlilik yapmamışlar bunlar diye. Hatta bankada şöyle diyenler olmuş; muhakkak bu bir kimseyi çok sevdi ki onun üzerine kimseyi kabul etmiyor..."

For example, medical students generally preferred gynaecology for such kinds of reasons. Necla said that "I noticed that women felt embarrassed to talk with a male physician. They looked sad. Actually, I wanted to be a surgeon, but I thought gynaecology could be seen as a sort of surgery".[202] Similarly, Güzin said that:

> I found it sympathetic to be a gynaecologist for a woman. I thought that women could be understood better by a female gynaecologist. Thus, I chose gynecology because I believed that I could approach them best in that way. Women can talk with a female gynaecologist and explain their problems easily.(...) I wanted to work in Anatolia[203].

It was Naciye's father who wanted her to specialise in gynaecology because of the same reason -the need for gynaecology was great.

After completing their education and training, they preferred to work in the least developed regions of the Republic:

> As a Kemalist youth, I did not even consider to work in the cities, maybe this was because of the excitement of that period. I had the feeling to work in the villages and help village women to pursue even a little development, and so on. However, (….) I could not take my plans into practise, I got married and had childeren, and other things did not let me realise my aim. Yet, these were my sincere feelings[204].

In an interview that was published in one of the daily journals, Cumhuriyet, in 1927, the first woman surgeon of the Republic puts her intentions as follows:

> After the training period, we especially wanted to work in Anatolia for sure. Of course concerning the social conditions of the country, our goal was to work in the fields where we would be most useful (cited in Etken & Dinç, 1998: 56).

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[202] Necla said: "Baktım ki kadınlar hep sıkılıyorlar, erkek doktorlara gitmekten çekiniyorlar, üzgün duruyorlar. Bir de ben cerrahi branşları seviyordum. Kadın doğumun cerrahi tarafı da vardır. cerrah olmayı düşünmedim. bütün vücutla uğraşamam ben, kadının bu kadarcık yeri yeter".

[203] Güzin said: "Kadın doğumu bir kadın için sempatik buldum. Kadınların daha rahat anlaşacağını düşünerek. Onlara en kolay yaklaşma yolunun bu olacağını düşündüm, seçtim.(...) Onların da bir kadın doktorla rahat konuşacağını, derdini rahat anlatacağını düşünerek. (...) Ben Anadolu'da çalışmak istedim."

[204] Belkıs said : "o zamanlar biz Atatürk çocukları olarak, o dönemin heyecanı mıydı bilmiyorum, ben şehirde çalışmayı bile düşünmüyordum. Ben köylere gidiyim... kime ne öğretebilirsem... köy kadınını biraz kalkındırabilirsem falan, hep içimde o duygular vardı. Fakat (....) yani kuvveden fiile geçiremedim, evlilik girdi araya, çocuklar girdi, başka şeyler girdi. Ama samimi duygularım oydu".

Although the working conditions were very poor, none of the participant women complained about these conditions. Şükran as a geologist and Nezihe as a city planner travelled all around the country sometimes by a truck or even on a mule. Şükran sometimes had to walk for hours, in some places ride a mule or get on a jeep. She even had to get on a helicopter. Yet she never complained or refused to go any place. Similarly, Nezihe travelled all around Turkey for investigation visits to prepare the reconstructing projects and the city plans by many different vehicles:

> Over the years, I used very different vehicles in my private journeys I had for the development plans. For example, I travelled in trucks carrying onions, pickles and potatoes. We went to Nevşehir and had to come back because my husbad had to go to work on Monday. They said that there was no bus running on Sundays, but there was a truck that would take onions, pickles and potatoes on the way, and the front seat was like a throne where three people could sit comfortably. I used different transportation vehicles such as buses with punctured tires,, iron horse-carriages, jeeps, trains, automobiles, planes racing through the middle of the field to take a short cut. We hired a Chevrolet. We went by it. Then I went to Gerçiş, then came back to Diyarbakır and stayed in Mardin. I went to Gerçiş from Mardin by car. In other words, the governor arranged a jeep for us and we used it. Nevertheless, we had fun, had fun a lot[205].

As Nezihe expressed, they enjoyed travelling around the country since they believed that it was an opportunity to get to know the people. They believed that it was their obligation to advance these conditions. Fahriye told that:

> I went to the hospital in Urfa. There was a 6-person ward as a gynaecology clinic, and there was not any other ward except a polyclinic room. What would I do there then, I would settle 6 patients in that room? What about birth? It ca not be performed in the operating room; birth is a dirtier case and the operating room should not be dirtied. I asked how the former doctors had worked there, and told them that I could not work there under those conditions. The head doctor and I wrote a letter to the ministry. I listed my needs in that letter. It was surprising how a ministry

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[205] Neziha said : "sonraki yıllarda imar planları için özel olarak yaptığım seyahatlerde kat ettiğim yollar, araçlar çok değişik oldu. Örneğin soğan, turşu, patates taşıyan kamyonlar.... Nevşehir'e gittik, döneceğiz. Çünkü pazartesi günü eşimin işe gitmesi lazım. Pazar günü otobüs yok dediler: "Bir kamyon var. Bilmem nereden geçerken yol üzerinden turşu alacak, soğan, patates alacak ama önü taht gibi". Üç kişi rahat oturursunuz. Yol yerine kestirme olsun diye tarla ortasından yarış ederek giden lastiği patlayan yıpranmış otobüsler, demir tekerlekli at arabası, cip, tren, otomobil, uçak gibi değişik ulaşım araçları oldu. Tabi Mardin'e giderken, Diyarbakır'a uçak ile gittim. Oradan sonra da otomobil vardı. Chevrolet bir araba tuttuk, onunla gittik. Ondan sonra Gerciş'e gittim. Gene aynı... Diyarbakır'a geldim, Mardin'de kaldım. Mardin'den araba ile Gerçiş'e gittim. Yani dönüşte Kaymakam bey cip çağırdı, dönüşü cipp ile döndük filan. Yani böyle ama eğlenirdik. Çok eğlenirdik".

could be alert and give a prompt reply. Suddenly, a truck approached the hospital and brought everything I needed. However, where would we put all this equipment? There was an empty place like a balcony. We covered that place with a wooden drape. Then a

stove was placed there and it became a birth room[206].

Within such hard conditions they were loved and appreciated by their colleagues and the clients.

I had operations two days in a week. Almost everybody was treated and local newspapers in Urfa got very interested in these improvements. They were publishing an article for each completed operation containing news such as 'our new doctor had a very severe operation and it was a very successful operation, the patient is discharged from the hospital' or when I come back from Ankara they announce it in the newspaper: 'doctor (hanım) has returned from leave. Be it known…[207]

Similarly, Şükran said that she was given a poem written for her by one of the town inhabitants where she went for a field research. The poem said something like, "welcome Ms. Engineer. It was so nice". While we were talking about the poem her sister Saliha said "some clients in the hospital wrote poems for me in which each line starts with one of the letters in my name."

In some cases, despite wanting to very much, they could not work in the backward regions where their professional service was needed most, due to their family or marriage. But they still like to mention it. For example, Fahriye's parents did not let her stay in Urfa for a long time. Although she had a great marriage, Reyhan said that "it would have been better to go

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[206] Fahriye said: "Ben Urfa'daki hastaneye gittim. Hastanede altı kişilik bir koğuş var. Nisaiye diye başka bir yer yok... Bir de poliklinik odası... Peki burada ne yapacağım ben? Altı kişiyi yatıracağım. Peki doğum ne olacak? doğum ameliyathanede yapılmaz, doğum daha kirli bir vaka, ameliyathane kirletilmez. Ne yapacağız burada? Bu şartlar altında nasıl çalışmış gelenler, gidenler ben bunu yapamam. Ne yapalım, oturduk beraber başhekimle bakanlığa bir mektup yazdık. O mektupta ben ihtiyaçlarımı sıraladım. Hayret bir şeydir, nasıl bir bakanlık bu kadar çabuk uyanıp bana cevap verdi. Bir de baktık ki bir kamyon yanaştı bana lazım olan bütün eşyalar geldi, e bunları nereye koyacağız? Böyle balkonumsu bir yer var o balkonumsu yeri bir tahta perde ile kapattık. Oraya bir soba kuruldu, orası doğum odası oldu.

[207] Fahriye said : "Haftada iki gün ameliyat yapıyordum, herkes şifa ile taburcu olmaya başladı falan, o Urfa'nın yerel gazeteleri çok ilgilenmeye başladılar. Bakıyorsun her ameliyattan sonra takip ediyorlar. Bir yazı: 'yeni gelen doktorumuz işte çok ağır bir ameliyat yapmıştır şöyle başarı ile sonuçlanmıştır, hasta taburcu edilmiştir'...Ben Ankara'ya geliyorum, !izinden doktor hanım dönmüştür işte halkın bilgisine!'..."

back to my home town after I graduated from school. I would have opened a pharmacy there which was really needed". Similarly, Belkıs stated that she would have prefered to work in a small city, but she stayed in Ankara due to her husband's job. It is also interesting that, NS worked as a freelance lawyer, but she perceived herself not to work. It can either be because she conceptualises the meaning of work with the meaning of serving her nation via working in a government job with the effect of Kemalism or she would have preferred to work in more society-oriented position, with the influence of professionalism.

5.5.4. Manifestation of Patriarchy

There are two common characteristics of Kemalism and professionalism. The first one is the priority of science and techniques. As discussed in the third chapter, the positivistic tradition of Kemalism suggests that the Republic should be build upon the positivistic and rational basis. On the other hand, the power of the professions is based on a systematic body of knowledge and the technical competence to apply this knowledge to the clients' needs. The second common characteristic of Kemalism and professionalism is that for both the power and the control is patriarchal. Such a characteristic is the major determinant of women's patriciation in professions in Turkey. Patriarchy plays an important role in women's identity as professionals in the public realm.

As discussed in the first chapter, professionalism bestows on women a professional identity which is structurally male. The women professionals are expected to internalise the masculine characteristics of the professions without questioning. To be able to survive within the realm of professions, women are expected to modify their behaviours (Spencer and Padmore, 1987; Cavanagh 2003) towards the requirements of the masculine culture of the professions (Nicolsan 1990).

As discussed in the second chapter, in a culture where male honour is dependent on the behaviour of their womenfolk, the masculine Republic built its esteem upon the images of the professional women who were required to become almost asexual (Kandiyoti, 1995; Durakbaşa, 1998a). In the Republican period, as Kandiyoti states, the conditions of women's existence in the public realm was "partly legitimated through the projection of an 'asexual' or even slightly masculinist identity" (Kandiyoti, 1995: 315). When I asked if she

ever felt like a man while practicing her job, Şükran said "No. Nor did I feel like a women. I do not like people emphasising their sexuality in their profession. (...) it is not a matter of gender, but the way you do your job".[208] According to Şükran, a professional should have an asexual identitiy.

Asexual or masculine identity for professional women was strongly suggested to women by Kemalism, and this suggestion corresponded with the masculine ethos of the professions which is structured by patriarchy (see 2.4.). It is possible to claim that the Kemalist approach was not different from the professionalist approach in describing to women how they could enter the realm of the professions. Both suggest that women who want to enter into the realm of the professions should adapt the masculine ethos of the professions (Spencer and Padmore, 1987; Fox and Hessbiber, 1984) and bear an asexual identity (Kandiyoti,1995; Durakbaşa, 1998a).

Actually, an asexual identity was necessary to secure the women's honour which was potentially threatened within the public realm. Harika stated that in the back of people's minds, they considered that working women could be faced with many situations in which they could lose their honour. Harika said:

> The family of my husband was very uncomfortable about his desire to marry me, because according to them, a working woman can only be a secretary and this secretary sits on the embrace of her boss. In other words, this was the image of a working woman for them[209].

This identity was also necessary to be accepted to the professional community. Not only the ideology professionalism but also women themselves denigrated and devalued the feminine characteristics. Meanwhile the masculine characteristics were considered as ideal-types in professions. They believed that they were the equals of their male colleagues within the realm of professions. However this equality is based on the fact that they believe they were doing men's work successfully. Rabia said that "I did men's jobs and had no difficulties in

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[208] Şükran said: "E hiç kadın gibi hissetmedim ki... Ve çalışma hayatında da bunun öne çıkarmaları hoşuma gitmedi. İnsan çalışması ile ortaya çıkıp kendini kabul ettirmeli, hanımlığı ile değil. Sen bir varlıksın. Ayırım yapılmasını sevmem. Hatta politikada bile bize kontenjan verilsin, yok bilmem ne yapılsın, ben bu fikirde değilim"

[209] Harika said: "Eşimin ailesi onun bir çalışan hanımla evlenmek istemesinden çok rahatsız olmuşlar. Çünkü onlar için çalışan hanım ancak sekreter olur. Sekreter de patronunun kucağına oturur. Yani onlar için çalışan kadın şeyi.. imajı ancak böyle"

doing them[210]". Some of them used the expression 'working like a man' to indicate how hard they worked and within how important positions. These indicate that with the influence of the professionalism they internalised the masculine ethos of professions and take it as given. In turn this also indicates how patriarchy operates within occupational practices and manifests itself towards professionalism.

From their narratives it is possible to say that women successfully realised the patriarchal requirements of both professionalism and Kemalism. The attitudes they had within the public realm were, in their own words, "honourable", "proud", "hardworking", "engaged very much with work", "strong" and "dignified". Most of the women I interviewed argued that they generally preferred to wear two-piece dress suits, never dressed in a casual way, and chose clothes that hid their bodily features since they were expected to give "very powerful signals of their respectability and non-availability as sexual objects" (Kandiyoti, 1995: 30). Şükran used the adjective "mazbut" to clarify the way they dressed at work which means morally upright, disciplined and solid. Hamide said that "a professional woman has a specific style. She tries to resemble as much as possible a man. I spent my whole life wearing two-piece dress suits."[211]

Lamia said:

> The physical appearence should be appropriate to the image of the position of the judge. Blouses, silky-clothes, and short-sleeve shirts are not suitable clothes for this position. You always had to dress in appropriate models under the robe, such as formal and covered clothes, as you were performing a very serious duty. I do not remember if I ever went to the justice building dressed in short-sleeves, ordinary clothes or without wearing panties. I always dressed in a way as if I was going to make a formal meeting[212].

The society and their colleagues expected them to have this serious and asexual image which

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[210] Rabia said: "Ben erkek vazifelerini gördüm, hiç sıkıntı çekmedim"

[211] Hamide said that: "Meslek kadınının bir giyinişi vardır. Mümkün olduğu kadar erkeklere benzemek şeklinde. Benim bütün hayatım tayyörle geçmiştir".

[212] Lamia said: "Fizik, o kürsüye uygun olan çizgiler içerisinde olacak. Bluzlarla, kısa kollu şeylerle, hafif emprimeli şeylerle (olmaz)... Hayır, mutlaka en ciddi bir vazifede nasıl olunması gerekiyorsa, bir cüppenin altında hangi model giyinmeniz gerekiyorsa öyle (olmalı). Daima resmi ve kapalı...Kısa kollu elbise ile adliyeye gittiğimi hatırlamıyorum. Çorapsız adliyeye gittiğimi hatırlamıyorum, sıradan bir kıyafet ile adliyeye gittiğimi hatırlamıyorum. Daima sanki resmi bir makama ziyarete gidiyormuşsunuz gibi...".

was attributed to the professional women. The people around them were surprised when they behaved out of this sterotype. Relatedly, Safiye told that:

> I used to have a cotton dress. It was a little bit low-cut.. Once I put it on and went to the hospital. One of my male colleagues who was a close friend of mine, looked at me meaningfully, but said nothing. After that day I never wore that dress again in the hospital (I wore it somewhere else). I felt very uncomfortable about this situation that reminded me of my femininity. This can be called harrassment. [213]

Harika said that not to be disturbed by the lay people she was careful with her clothes when she used to travel around the country for the reconstruction plans:

> Especially when I was preparing development plans. For example, I was going to small villages there, and every time I went there, I was wearing pants rather than a skirt which could be opened. Although the season was summer, I would be careful about wearing a loose and fine jacket on me that would hide my bodily features. Let me explain it like this: When I was working there as a counsellor, in winters I would wear a suit. If the weather got warmer, I would abstain from taking off my jacket if my shirt inside was a short-sleeve one. ....It was absolutely necessary to hide your bodily features, that is to say that you had to dress in a way that a peasant could not make a pass at you such as: "hey, look at that woman"[214].

The professional women in the present study also stated that they did not like showing "feminine" attitudes. However, it would be unfair to see them as ineffective victims who were obligated to crush their female attitudes and who did not have the power to decide how to behave and what to put on.

On the contrary, they emphasized that the way they behaved or dressed in their professional lives was not considerably different than the way they were in their personal lives. Actually, they did not seem to be forced to behave like this directly. A serious and asexual attitude was

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[213] Safiye said: "Bir defa, keten miydi?, bir elbisem vardı. Kare yakası vardı, açıkçaydı yaka. Hastaneye onunla gittim. Arkadaşım vardı, günlük konuştuğum şaka yaptığım. Şöyle bir baktı, bir şey söylemedi. Bir daha giyemedim ben o elbiseyi hastaneye giderken. Başka yerde giydim ama. Rahatsız oldum. Yani benim orada kadın olduğumu bana ihsasa eden durumdan rahatsız oldum. Yani bu bir tacizdir."

214 Harika said: "....bilhassa imar planları yaparken. Mesela ben küçük kasabalara gidiyordum orada, oraya giderken bir defa pantolon giyiyordum, etek açılmasın filan diye. Üstüme de yaz bile olsa ince bir ceket ve bol, yani insanın hatlarını belli etmeyecek şeyler giymeye önem verirdim. Ama bu, bir de şöyle anlatayım: Mesela sadece şey değil, mesela orada müşavir olarak çalışırken, kontrol bürosuna girdiğim zaman, kışın bir kostümle filan giriyordum. Mesela tesadüfen ısınsa hava, eğer içimdeki gömleğim kısa kolluysa çıkarmaya çekiniyordum.(....) kesinlikle yani insanın vücudunu öne çıkarmayacak, yani köylü bir adamın ulan karıya bak dedirtmeyecek gibi..."

the way they considered to be right. Safiye said that "like all other things in my lifetime, I had learned not to show my femininity. This is all I can say[215]". NS stated that they were in any case serious, morally upright girls who had been raised with strong discipline, "In our times, the children were raised with discipline. Thus, there was no difference. Anyway, we were like that; I was a serious and disciplined woman. I do not remember that I ever laughed loudly". [216]

This indicates how Kemalism maintained traditional conservatisim in gender relations in that the women feel no difference between their attitudes in the public realm as professionals and in the patriarchal family. By maintaning the patriarchal gender relations, the co-existence of modern and traditional was secured; the drawbacks of the discourse of a radical break with the Ottoman society and the rejection of its traditional institutions as well as codes were decreased; and the possible conservative movements criticising over-modernization were prevented.

It is also important that these experiences of women should not give the impression that the members of the very first generation of professional women were insensitive and rigid women because of the enforcement of the public realm. It is true that women were reduced to asexual subjects who were expected to work for the nation and reflect the images of the modern Republic (Durakbaşa, 1998a; Durakbaşa, 2000; Kandiyoti, 1997: 215). On the other hand, it is very important to see how they reacted against this and what they lived or felt inside. Abadan-Unat, both in her academic writings as a social scientist (1998a) and in her autobiography as a professional who was born in 1921, rejects that the asexuality which was attributed to their generation was wrong in that their plan was not spending their lives in the public sphere as upright citizens waiting for their princes (1998b: 96).

To conclude, it is possible to say that, it is here within the trade-off between Kemalism and professionalism that patriarchy is manifested. The manifestations of patriarchy in both Kemalism and professionalism claim that women's existence in the public realm as

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[215] Safiye said: "İşte bütün öğrenilen şeyler gibi, herhalde ben de cinsiyetimi göstermemeyi öğrendim. Yani bunu söyleyebilirim."

[216] NS said: "Zaten bizim zamanımızda biraz da şey yani disiplinli yetiştirilirdi çocuklar, evlatlar. Onun için hiçbir fark yoktu. Zaten öyleydik... Ciddi, mazbut bir kadın. Yani vallahi ben fazla güldüğümü bile bilemiyorum. İşte yani, disiplinli"

professionals could only be possible on the condition of smothering their femininity. In this regard, it is possible to say that in the Turkish case, the impact of patriarchy on professional women is manifested not only within the practices of professionalism but within the practices of Kemalism.

5.6. Conclusion:

In this chapter, I have attempted to point out the economic, social, cultural and ideological conditioning of the participant women, and thus understand how they were socialized as professionals.

The general profile of the participant women is as follows: 1) They were socialized within an atmosphere in which education and credential assets were primary; 2) They were the daughters of the families who were rich in economic capital; 3) They embraced the "spirit of the Republic"; and 4) They were highly influenced by professionalism.

These findings are very important in discussing particular claims about professional women in Turkey. First, as mentioned before (see 2.3.3.) class analysis of professions locates professionals close to the dominating classes with an emphasis on their economic interests. For Bourdieu, the class location of professionals is close to the bourgeoisie who are "rich in economic capital and relatively poor in cultural capital". However, in Turkey the class positions of the professionals show a different trend. In the case of Turkey, the cultural capital was more determinant. The position of professionals in Turkey is more likely to be "rich in cultural capital and relatively poor in economic capital." People who have such a combination of capital were in Bourdieu's terms intellectuals. Because of the post war conditions, in Turkey there was limited economic capital and industrialization. Thus, the determinant factor of the upper class appears to be the cultural capital.

Second, these findings indicate that explanations, such as Öncü's, (1982) of the way professional women emerged from the upper class have some limitations. The approaches to professional women in Turkey which start with the question "why so many?" as asked by Öncü (1982), closely relate women's being professional with their place within the class stratification of Turkish society. Most of the existing studies follow Öncü's formulation

about the relationship between women's class position and their being professional. As I mentioned in the second chapter, Öncü suggests that under the conditions of rapid development to meet the demand of an educated labour force, women from upper class families were preferred to lower class men as the professional personnel of the young Republic, since "the prejudice against class is stronger than prejudice against gender" (Öncü, 1982: 262-263). This suggestion can only partly be true for the cases of the present study. It is true that most of the participants come from the upper stratum, but this does not necessarily indicate that upper class women were preferred to lower class men in the recruitment of professionals.

According to the findings of the present study, the reason why these women were recruited to enter into higher education was not simply because they were upper class. There are some evidences that contradicts Öncü's understanding of women's participation in professions. First, women from upper class families had the opportunity to be graduated from high school which was a prerequisite for university education, with the exception of certain departments. In the first decades of the Republic, high school education for girls was still a luxury and certain types of families' daughters had benefitted from these opportunuties as discussed before. Thus, naturally the upper class women enrolled in university education. Second, to meet urgent demands, the Republican state mobilised every labour force including educated women. Consequently, they entered into the professions. Third, primarily male students were offered free accommodation as it was in the case of boarding students (yurtlular). After the men and women who could afford university education were invited to the realm of the professions, the rest of the demand was met via financally supporting lower class men to be educated. The priority was on the male students even in the high schools as was seen in Naciye's case. As many participants said, the resources were mobilized primarily in service of male students while female students were only given the right to be educated if they could create the conditions for themselves[217].

To that end, I suggest that upper class women were invited to the realm of professions not because the prejudice against class was stronger than prejudice against gender, but because these women were the most conveniently available group who could meet the urgent needs

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[217] This does not mean that women were never offered andy educational opportunities for higher professionsa. For example Şefika Ataman were one of the three girls who had given the municipality scholarship because of her success during the secondary school and had the chance to go tho high school (see Ataman, 1999).

of the Republic.

Third, the research findings so far help one to understand the meaning of the "Kemalist/Republican spirit". The Republican women, especially the educated professionals, have been subjected to many studies which mainly conceptualise them as the portraits of the modern women. As I argued before, the Republican women have long been reduced to the images of the modern Republic. Their being professional was less mentioned and their professional service was only considered with respect to the discourse of serving the nation. It was generally mentioned that with the Kemalist spirit, women worked hard to build their nation. However, the narratives in the present study indicate that because of their strong attachment to Kemalism, they should neither be reduced to the images of the modern Republic, nor be reduced to the servants of the nation. Actually, constantly mentioning their attributed role of serving the nation reduces them to being nothing other than the servants of the nation and their professions nothing but the means of serving the nation building process.

On the contrary, this research indicates that the participant women developed a strong professional identity which came before their national identity. However, this does not mean that they did not carry their Kemalist identity within the professions. The participant women in the present study were thankful to the Kemalist revolutions for their professions, however, the motive in their professional service was not this sense of indebtedness, but their professional identity itself. That is to say, women devoted themselves to their professions which were devoted to the good of the nation.

However, to understand women's identities, focusing on the effect of Kemalism and professionalism would not be enough since at the same time, they were surrounded by strong patriarchal practices. The forms of patriarchy were manifested within the practices of Kemalism and professionalism. Thus, patriarchy appears to be internal to the references of identity for the participant women, strongly determines the process of becoming professional, and directly informs women on the conditions of existence in the public sphere as professionals.

In this regard, from the entire considerations, I suggest that in order to understand the Republican professional women one should think in terms of Kemalism and professionalism and the manifestation of patriarchy within these two discourses.

CHAPTER 6

BEING A PROFESSIONAL AND BEING A WOMAN: CHALLENGES AND DILEMMAS

6.1. Introduction

As I discussed in the previous chapter, women struggled to enter university education and professions. Just before the founding of the Republic, pioneer women like Mefide Küley and Süreyya Ağaoğlu challenged the university system. During their struggle to enter to the faculties of medicine and law as well as after their entry, they had to deal with certain exclusionary practices. However, with the effect of Republican ideology and Kemalism women could overcome these gender-based problems relatively more easily than might be expected. Under the post-war conditions, women's entry to the labour force as educated professionals was welcomed and supported by the Republican state because they were seen as the labour force that was needed for constructing the new institutions of the Republic which should be established on the basis of science and technology.

However, when women entered the public realm as professionals, the *exclusionary* practices which intended to keep women out of this realm turned into *discriminatory* practices which intended to keep women in a secondary position. Although women were invited, encouraged and supported to be professionals and highly respected within professional positions (see 3.6.), their successful participation was not always accepted that easily. If we apply Perkin's

(1996) terms to the Turkish case, women had been given the "ticket to ride", but their way was full of obstacles both at home and at work (see picture 15).

As mentioned before, "being a professional woman" was one of the roles attributed to Republican women. However, their roles as professionals in the public sphere and as women in the private sphere were not always compatible. Thus, the participant women suffered from the conflicting roles that they were expected to play both at home and at work. In this chapter, I try to point out the manifestations of patriarchy at work and at home and mainly focus on how women suffered between two incompatible roles.

The intention is to understand first, how they survived within men's world of professions as women and what kinds of women-specific problems they dealt with at work; second, whether women's traditional gender roles changed within the domestic realm when they became professionals and how they coped with the work-family dilemma; and finally, whether being professional had a liberating effect on women's lives.

Although their narratives are full of examples of the gender inequalities at work and at home, the participant women had a common belief that the realm of professions is equalitarian. Thus, before focusing on the above questions, I want to discuss the reasons that made women believe that the realm of professons is equalitarian.

6.2. The Surmise of Equality at Work

The word "surmise" is used by Tekeli (1998) to indicate that under the democratic and reformist discourse, women had the feeling that a women's rights revolution had been achieved. Tekeli names this achievement as "surmise of achievement". Similarly, in the context of this study the participant women had a strong feeling about the fact that they had equally participated within the professions. However, in the course of the research, they declared many problems they had to deal with in being women professionals which is the main focus of this chapter. To understand what created this feeling of being equal in women I find it important to discuss the basis of the "surmise of equality".

With respect to the narratives of the participant women, and the way they narrate their

participation in professions, it is possible to assume that the participant women belived that to a certain degree, the realm of professions in Turkey was equalitarian. As discussed in the previous chapter, the identity suggested to women as a condition of being in the public realm as professionals was structurally patriarchal. Both Kemalism and professionalism welcomed women to the realm of professions, but they ignored their being feminine and expected women to leave their femininity at home when they came to the public realm as professionals. The professional women took this advice and internalised the Kemalist and professionalist discourses with their patriarchal content. That is to say, the patriarchal content of both Kemalism and professionalism were so determining in women's lives that when they became a part of the public realm as professionals they easily and without questioning internalised and reproduced the identity which had been attributed to them. Thus, the expected conflict between the gender identity and the occupational identity[218] of the professionals was not that strong in the Turkish case.

For this reason, the participant women presumed the existence of gender equality within their social environment. This thought was strengthened with the effect of three factors: first, there was equalitarian treatment in terms of institutional practices and legislation; second, there was equal treatment in professional training; and third they were given respect within work.

6.2.1. Equality at the Institutional Level

As an important reason which creates the surmise of gender equality within work is related to the institutional practices. Under the conditions of rapid development in the Republican period, we cannot see direct gender discrimination at the institutional level in terms of legal restrictions concerning women's professional services. Since the existing educated labour supply was less than the demand and there was an urgent need for women professionals, like their male colleagues, women were offered very different positions in very different areas of work regardless of their gender. Still, most of the participant women told me about

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[218] According to Spencer and Padmore (1987) the contradiction is caused by the basic incongruity between their identity as feminine and their membership of a profession which is strongly masculine. As I mentioned before, Fox and Hesbiber (1987) claim that the sex roles of women demanding nuturance, emphathy and support conflicts with occupational roles demanding agressiveness, competativeness and opportunism.

difficulties they had experienced regarding appointment or promotion to professional positions.

Nüzhet explained that there was no such thing like lack of positions or competition among professionals for limited positions as it is today[219]. There was a great demand for educated people. In that period, one could be employed immediately wherever one wanted to. Besides, she said that people generally wanted to work in their hometown, thus there was no concentration in certain cities. Actually, the participant women of this study generally wanted to go back to their hometown, like Reyhan, or had been called back by the people of their hometown, like Naciye. The undeniable success of the women was also effective in their being promoted without a problem as it was in Saliha's case, who said she was always promoted without a problem on time.

The women did not state that there were any significant wage inequalities between them and their male colleagues. However, when women did not want to take additional responsibilities at work because they had to take care of their family responsibilities, like Nuriye, or because they were not offered such positions, as it was in Belkıs's case, women were paid less than their male counterparts. Belkıs told that:

> Male administrators were usually given a position on the managerial board and this increased their wages. I was not. May be it was because there was not any other women, there were not any other examples (on the managerial board) , I do not know. I was not offered such a position, and this reflected on my wages[220].

However, for these women, these examples are not direct indicators of the wage inequalities since they believe wage equality means equal pay for equal work, and this was ensured in terms of regulations.

All the positive indicators created a feeling that there was an institutional or legal equality

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[219] As Acar (1991) puts it, starting from the 1950's trends like internal migration from rural to urban areas, the vertical mobility of lower class and village men, and the expansion and the democratization of educational opportunities, all created competition for qualified positions. This was the bases of the occupational segregation by sex which increased in the 1970s.

[220] Belkıs said: "Ücret konusunda... erkek idarecilere genelde bir yönetim kurulu üyeliği veriyorlardı. Onu bana vermediler. Belki (daha once burada çalışan) bir hanım, belki bir emsal yoktu başka bilemiyorum. Onu almadım. Bu da ücrete yansıdı."

between men and women professionals. With this feeling women had the surmise of equality at work.

However, the equal treatment of women in terms of regulations was not introduced to secure their equal participation, it was rather introduced to meet the urgent demands of the country by employing the educated labour force regardless of their gender. Köker (1988) states that in the post war conditions, not to use the female labour force would have been a luxury for the Republican government. This is also evident in the fact that, as we learn from Hamide's and Lamia's narratives, as soon as the demand was met, women were excluded from the realms of professional work. Hamide told that, "In 1939 I applied to the Ministry of Law for training. They said according to the "national regulation" (Milli Nizam)…. 5 female candidates judgeship against 100 male candidates would be applied[221]".

A year after Lamia suffered from the same restriction:

> I put myself in for judgeship. I did not know why they put a 5% quota. It was so limited, what a pity…For female students, I mean, for female judges, the quota was limited to 5%. This 5 percent was terrible. Anatolia had not improved yet. There were not enough judges, so the cases were extended, and people were complaining about that. Consequently, I persevered, fought for a year, and waited. Finally, they gave me an opportunity, and then I entered to the happiest period of my life through this opportunity[222].

This indicates that gender discrimination at work which was delayed in the name of the national need for a certain period of time during the first years of the Republic took place as soon as the conditions allowed. It indirectly indicates also that the prejudice against gender was maintained and appeared when the conditions were ready to practice it. Thus, women's claims concerning the gender equality of professions were actually the surmise that is created by the conditions of the period.

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[221] Hamide said: "Türkiye'ye 1939'da geldim. Adalet Bakanlığına Staj için Müracat ettim. Hakimlik Stajı. Dediler Milli Nizam... 100 tane erkek hakim adayına karşı 5 tane kız atanacak"

[222] Lamia said: „Talip oldum bir hakimlk istedim... o zaman kontenjan koymuşlar her ne sebeple ise: %5. (...) yani kontenjan ne demek, ne kadar yazık. Kız talebeler için, yani kadın hakimler için kontenjanı % 5 olarak belirlemişler. Tabi korkunç bir şey, % 5. Anadolu hala kendini toplamış değil. Hep hakim eksikliği var. O yüzden de davalar uzar, bütün millet şikayetçidir. Neticede sebat ettim, 1 sene mücadele ettim, bekledim ve nihayet bana bir imkan kazandırdılar, hayatımın en mutlu devresine de bu suretle girmiş oldum".

6.2.2. Equal Treatment in Professional Training: Mentoring System

In the literature it is argued that women are chosen less often as protégés, so they cannot benefit equally with their male counterparts from the mentoring system or sponsor-patronage system and this creates a major problem for women's careers as professionals (see 2.4.2.). Within this research, apart from a few examples, women participants rarely stated that they had a problem with the mentoring system as it was mentioned in the literature (Riska, 2001; Cassidy; 1990). Bekata-Mardin et. al. gives an example of how women were treated if they wanted to enter into the academic settings:

> 4 or 5 women who are graduated from the School of Medicine can freely choose their department. However, when the matter became academic advancement they faced with some blockages by male professors, and some of them even left the university (Bekata Mardin et al., 2000: 66).

In the present study, the participant women generally said they were not directly supported or encouraged by a mentor, but they did not suffer from the mentoring system either. It might either be because they did not see such a suppport and if there was a mentoring system working for the advancement of the students they were not aware of this; or because there was no such a system in Turkey since professionalisation did not have a long history in which such a system was shaped. Hamide stated that "we did more than we were required to do. We did not need to be supported".

During the interviews, I observed that they do not have an image of a mentor and a mentoring system internal to their professions. Only Saliha had mentioned that she was supported strongly by her professor whom she was assisting during her internship. Thus, at first glance, it is possible to think that since the professions were constructed "from-above" via "heteronomous" means institutionally located in the state (see 2.3.1.2.), the traditional structures and practices of professions such as mentoring were not so effective. However, professional education depends on a long term or even life time learning process. It includes the training period in which professionals are the apprentices of a master who are generally or even totally men. This was the case in the first decades of the Republic, so we may expect that there was a mentoring system even in those years which was not in favour of women and which was not free from gender ideology.

On the other hand, the participant women stated that, although not directly mentored, they

were sometimes given certain professional support by their colleagues. For example, although Nezihe's husband did not prefer her working outside the home, he changed his mind with the influence of the general director of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing:

> Pertev got a job as soon as we returned from Viyana. He had an attractive personality…. I was at home and working on a development plan. I told him that I wanted to get a job, too. He said that our child was in the 9th class in high school, and if I would work as a mother, who would take the responsibility at home, and so on. He was discontent about my wishes. However, he had changed his mind when he came home at night. He had met my first chief, Mithat Yenal Bey that day, the general director of the General Directorate of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing. He told my husband: 'You found a job for yourself, what about your wife?' Pertev told him that I was staying at home unemployed. He told him off for that and said "You shameless man! Will you make her, the great architect, stay at home and wash the dishes, do housework. Send her to me tomorrow!". That night Pertev told me that Mithat Bey was waiting for me the next day[223].

This short conversation had an important effect on Nezihe's life. She returned to her active professional life despite her husband not really wanting her to do so. The words of Mithat Yenal Bey might have influenced the husband's decision that he could not insist on his previous thoughts about Nezihe's staying and working at home. As another example, although she could not benefit from it, Belkıs remembers the support she was given when she was under training:

> Two people supported me. First, when I was doing my internship, a judge highly appreciated my capacities. He was occupied with arbitrator cases and these files were accumulated for years. When he noticed that I had a hard-working and disciplined personality, he advised me to give up dealing with penalty cases, since he thought that I would not learn a lot in this way, but rather I should incline to study law. Therefore, he told me to prefer studying in the principal law through my internship period. He directed all arbitrator cases to me. I read and summarized all of them, and wrote the judgements. Of course these were important experiences for me, I learned a lot there. In addition, I was consulting him for my advocacy cases. Second, I was working with a lawyer called Fehmi Bey

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[223] Nezihe said: "Viyana'dan döner dönmez Pertev o gün iş buldu. O biraz şeytan tüyü gibiydi...... E ben de evdeyim, bir imar planı var, onu yapacağım. Ben de dedim 'Pertev gireyim bir işe'. Dedi ki 'evin düzeni bozulur Nezihe, şimdi çocuk 9 a gidiyor, liseye gidiyor, anne yok evde' filan. Pek razı olmamıştı, ama akşam geldi, fikrini değiştirmiş. Benim ilk şefim Mithat Yenal Bey'e Pertev rastlıyor, o sırada İmar İskan Bakanlığı'nda Genel Müdür. Şehircilik Dairesi Genel Müdürü. Diyor ki eşime 'sen buldun iş, Nezihe Hanım napıyor' diyor. 'Hiç' diyor eşim 'evde oturuyor' diyor. 'Sen utanmaz herif, koskoca mimara bulaşık mı yıkatacaksın, ev işi mi yaptıracaksın', bilmem ne 'şeysi yok' diyor 'yarın gelecek bana'. Pertev akşam dedi ki 'Mithat Bey seni istiyor'…"

throughout my internship period. First of all, he was working in a western style. All the interns had their own desk. In the mornings, interns went to the justice building, and the afternoons were working time. He came to each intern's desk and worked with them one by one. He would take the results of the tasks he gave them. There was a case of an important person at time. I performed a very careful investigation about that case. Fehmi Bey appreciated me for my hard work, phoned me and so on. One day, he died because of a heart attack in the justice building. If he was alive today, my professional life today would be very different[224].

However, these minor examples of support should not be understood as evidence of a mentoring system working in favour of women. Nor are these evidence of equality for women professionals, as they did not believe that they had suffered from a lack of a mentoring system, or witnessed that gender had effected their being mentored during professional training.

6.2.3. The Respect Women were Given

The respect they were given within society is the most significant and original feature of the conditions surrounding the first generation professional women in Turkey[225]. While making a decision about being professional these women had mainly been inspired by the respect given to the professional people around them. Therefore, their being respected as professionals was very important for the participant women. Thus it is appears to be the major reason that created the surmise of the gender equality at work. Women I interviewed stated that they were highly respected by most of their male colleagues. NS stated that the main benefit of being professional was the respect she was given. Similarly Belkıs stated

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[224]Belkıs said: "İki kişinin desteğini gördüm. Staja başladığım zaman bir hakim benim kapasitemi çok beğendi. O da hakem işlerine bakıyormuş ve bu dosyalar yıllarca çok birikmiş. Beni bulunca böyle çalışmayı çok seven çok disiplinli falan, 'nolucak ceza seyyar dolaşıp pek bir şey öğrenmeyeceksin, cezadan ziyade hukuka yönelmeni öneririm onun için asli hukukta kal stajın süresince' dedi. O sırada da bütün hakem dosyalarını bana temizletti. Onları okudum, özetledim, kararlarını yazdım. Tabi bunlar benim için bir hayli deneyim oldu, orada çok şey öğrendim. Sonra avukatlık yaparken kendisine danışıyordum. Yine, staj sırasında, Fehmi bey diye bir avukatın yanındaydım. Bir defa batılı (bir anlayışla) çalışıyordu. Stajyerlerin hepsinin masası vardı. Sabah adliyeye gidilir. Öğleden sonra çalışılır. Kendi gelir masanıza oturur sırayla stajyerlerle çalışır. Ne görev verdiyse sonuçlarını alır falan. O sırada çok önemli birinin davası vardı. Onunla ilgili çok iyi inceleme yapmışım. Çok taktir etti, ailemle filan telefonlar açtı. Fakat bir gün adliyede kalp krizinden ölüverdi. Eğer, Fehmi Kural sağ olsaydı benim bu günkü hayatım mesleki yönden çok farklı olurdu."

[225] In a small, conservative town like Çorum Şefika Ataman was higly respected together with some other professional women working in Çorum such as apublic prosecuter and several school teachers

that:

> In the period that I was working, there were no women among the bureaucratic people. Nevertheless, I did not face any difficulties. All my male friends respected me. Our relationships were mostly formed on a colleagues basis[226].

While mentioning that there were no difficulties of being a woman professional Lamia said that "On the contrary, as women, we were highly respected by the whole personnel in the Administration of Justice, from judges to public prosecuters or ushers…[227]". Hamide said that as one of the first two women academics in the Faculty of Law, she was highly respected. Similarly Nezihe read from her biographic notes "As a Turkish female architect and city planner, they introduced her to the undersecretary of the Public Works and Housing Ministry", and she adds "they showed interest in her. At cocktail parties, the undersecretary would not leave me alone. They really honoured me and Pertev on the trips and so on. Then, they introduced me to the minister"[228].

Necla reported that the Society of Medicine invited them to enter the field. She said especially at school, her male friends respected her and her female friends[229]. Saliha and Şükran describe similar experiences; Saliha adds that they owed this to their being hardworking so that no one could say even a single thing against them[230]. In addition, they were sometimes respected because of their ages. For example, Hamide stated that they were the oldest assistants in the faculty, so that "they were men whom we thought to be beneath

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[226] Belkıs said: "Benim çalıştığım dönemde bürokrat kadrosunda başka kadın yoktu. Ama ben işimde zorluk çekmedim. Bütün erkek arkadaşlarımdan saygı gördüm. İlişkimiz daha çok meslektaş olarak çok iyi yürüdü".

[227] Lamia said: "Bilakis büyük itibar, kadın olarak, fevkalade saygı gördük. İtibar gördük bütün adliyeden, ağır ceza hakimlerden, savcılardan mübaşire kadar büyük itibar (gösterdiler)"

[228] Nezihe reads form herbiographic notes: "Bir Türk kadın mimarı ve şehircisi olarak zamanın İmar ve İskan Bakanı Müsteşarına tanıttılar ve çok ilgi gördü". And adds that "Kokteyllerde müsteşar bey hiç bırakmazdı. Pertev de ben de çok hakikaten bizleri onore ettiler. Gezilerde filan. Sonra bakanla da tanıştırdılar."

[229] Necla said: "Tıp cemaati buyrun buyrun dedi... tabi tabi....kadınlarda öğrensinler herşeyi hep erkekler mi bilecek? Valla bizimkiler (erkek sınıf arkadaşları) istemişlerdi o zamanlar bize çok hürmet ediyorlardı saygı gösteriyorlardı, öne oturtuyorlardı, azdık herhalde onun için."

[230] Similar statements were made by women in İlyasoğlu's and Durakbaşa's research. According to them, the women participants stated that "they did not have any difficulty ("hic muskulat cekmedim") in male populated occupations or social gatherings; in a sense, they were too content to enjoy the extra attention they received as 'honorary women' by male colleagues and others" (2001). In the testimony of Nimet Zerrin Tüzün, she states that form the beginning of her career as a manager in educational institutions she had never faced with disrepect, ,nstead she was always supported (Tan, 1998: 225)

consideration. For mature women like us they could not be considered as 'men'"[231]

For women, their being respected and their participation in professions being welcomed indicates that men did not challenge their entrance to their fields. This made women feel themselves as important and strengthened the surmise of equality in professions.

It is true that they were given respect and their entrance to the professions was celebrated. However, the respect women were given should not be seen as evidence of changing gender relations in professions in particular, and in society in general. It does not mean that women professionals were seen as equal with their male colleagues and their professional service was appreciated. For example, while Hamide was a reporter on the inspection committee of a national bank, one of her male colleagues, who appreciated her work, presented the report, which she wrote, but changed the name of the writer to "Hamit"(the male version of Hamide) to avoid the report being challenged just because the writer was a woman.

I assume that according to the modernist men who had realised the reforms and regulations concerning women, women's entry into professions was not a failure of the masculine hegemony at all. It was a signifier of the development of the secular, modern and democratic state. Gender equality was a part of state policy and was supported by the reformist men who seemed to approve of women's existence in professions. Thus, women's entry into professions was rather seen as the success of the modernization project which was owned by men.

6.3. Being a Professional As a "Woman": Problems at Work

Although the participant women consider they equally participated in professions, their experiences indicate that the realm of professions had considerable inequalities. Within work relations women had to deal with gender-based problems.

The participant women in this study, especially the ones born in the 1910s, were the first examples of the professionals in various fields. NS stated that:

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[231] Hamide said: "Valla saygı vardı. Büyük bir saygı. Sonra asistanlar bizden küçüktü. Adam yerine koymadığımız erkeklerdi. Erkek sayılmaz büyük kadınlar için."

> My first duty was attorney generalship. Between the years of 1934-35, female attorney generals were appointed for the first time. There were a few female attorney generals, I do not remember how many we were, I guess three. I was assigned to Manisa as associate attorney general[232].

In the mid 1930s, Lamia informed that "We, 15 or 20 women judges, were assinged to the less developed regions in Anatolia"[233]. They did not have many role models from whom to learn how to work as women and as professionals. On the other hand, because there were not many professional women from preceding generations, the society was not accustomed to seeing women in such privileged power positions. Under these conditions, women were challenged with many problems within work relations. Their existence in the realm of professions was seen as extraordinary and this sometimes created some tragicomic stories:

At the graduation ball of the Faculty of Medicine, Fahriye was the only female student among the very first graduates of the Ankara University Faculty of Medicine (see picture 13). She remembers the reaction of the prime minister who was the special guest of the ball when she won an injection set in a drawing:

> We were the first graduates in Ankara, were going to have a graduation ball. My sister was good at sewing, she prepared a very red evening dress, a silver embroidered one for me. As usual, my cousin, Necmi accompanied me to the graduation ball. Female graduates from Istanbul also participated in this graduation ball. Also the Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu came too in that we were the first graduates. Before the dancing and the entertainment started, they told us that one of us should ask Saraçoğlu for the first dance.   I volunteered for that request. I stood up, went near him, and asked him to open the dance together. He sad "Oh, sure we can" . We danced together, then everybody went to their place, and drew for their prizes and so on. I won an injection kit. He said "these injections should be drawn by a medical student that would be a doctor in the future. Who is that lady? Take back the equipment from her". But they told him that I was a doctor, anyway. He could not guess

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[232] NS said: "Benim ilk vazifem savcılıktı. 1934-35 yıllarında ilk kez kadın savcılar atamaya başladılar... En evvel bizi tecrübe ettiler. Kadın savcıları, birkaç tane…kaç taneydik bilmiyorum… 3 tane mi ne... Beni Manisa'ya verdiler savcı yardımcısı olarak"

[233]Lamia said: "15-20 kadın hakim olarak bizi Anadolu'ya tayin ettiler"

that.[234]

Cahide said that once they had received a warning saying that there was a woman in the military vehicle. But it was her and the car was given to her to use in her service as she was the head architect:

> It was not 'a woman' travelling in a military vehicle. I was an architect, and one of the vehicles was given to my service, I used to sit near the driver. A warning was sent to the administrator informing that "a woman was seen in one of our military automobiles". The administration replied as "she is one of our architects". That is to say that we made even the armed forces to be accustomed to seeing women traveling in military automobiles[235].

In a competition Harika's hospital project was found appropriate enough to win. At the end of the competition it was declared that two projects came second and there was no winner. Afterwards, Harika was told that the jury could not give the first prize to a female student among all those male students. According to Harika this discrimination in the results of the competition was connected with the lack of role models. She said "I can understand this, they were not accustomed to seeing a female architect:"

> However, I did not care about it. Everybody said that it was unfair, but I did not pay attention, because it was the way competence is built, and I succeeded by this matter. This was usual.They were not accustomed to women's success in architecture There were only two women, Leman Tonsu and Münevver in the Faculty of Architecture, and one more, Şeküra. That is to say that only three women had been admitted, but they were graduated long before. Think about this, in the long history of the Faculty of Architecture, there had been only 3 female students, and the

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[234] Fahriye said: "Ankara'da (Tıp Facultesi'ndeki) ilk mezunlarız. Bizim balomuz olacak, mezuniyet balosu. Elinden çok güzel dikiş gelir (kardeşimin), bana kırmızı alev gibi bir tuvalet dikti. Bütün buralar sim işlemeli falan, giyindik. Yine kuzenim Necmi ile beraber gittik. Dans açılacak, eğlence başlayacak falan. Çocuklar dediler ki var mı içinizde…. İstanbul'dan mezun olanlar da geldi, kızlar da geldi yalnız bizim sınıf değil. Şükrü Saraçoğlu başbakan da biz ilk mezunlarız diye baloya geldi. Dediler Saraçoğlu'nu dansa kaldırıp dansı açtırabilen kimse var mı, ,ben açtırırım' dedim. Kalktım gittim önüne, ,sayın başbakanım' dedim ,bu baloyu beraber açabilir miyiz?'. ,A! Tabi' dedi. Beraber biz onunla şöyle bir döndük dans ettik, ondan sonra herkes yerine dağıldı. Ondan sonra hediyeler çekildi, şu oldu bu oldu falan, derken bana enjektör takımları çıktı. Sraçoğlu, ,Yahu demiş bu tıp talebesine çıkmalıydı bu enjektörler, yani doktor olacak birine çıkmalı, kim bu hanım' demiş ,onu alın elinden' falan demiş. ,Bu zaten tıp talebesiydi' demişler. Tahmin edememiş yani"

[235] Cahide said: "Kadın gezmiyor tabi askeri arabada… Ben mimarım, bana verilmiş zaten ben geziyorum. Şoförün yanında oturuyorum filan, yazı geliyor. ,bizim askeri arabada bir kadın görülmüş' diye. bizim idare de yazıyor oraya ,o mimarımızdır' diyerekten. Yani onları da alıştırdık, askeri arabada kadın gezmeye onu da alıştırdık."

competition took place long after their graduation[236].

For women such experiences were not so significant or disturbing. In fact, as Epstein (1970) states, in male dominated professions being female has meant being seen as different and unsuitable to the field. The narrators themselves also believed that their participation in the public realm as professional women was not usual. However, their experiences were not always of superficial problems which could be easily overcome and remembered with a smile, because society's reaction against women's being professional was not limited to seeing them as extraordinary. According to their narratives, women suffered from gender discrimination at work and had to deal with the gender stereotyping of the professions to survive within the realm.

6.3.1. Gender Discrimination in Professions: Individual Practices

To ensure women remained in secondary positions there were some discriminatory and subordinating practices which were practiced mainly at individualistic levels. These sometimes appeared within the attitudes of lay persons or clients, sometimes among the colleagues that women were working with and sometimes the husbands who were generally professional men. In other words patriarchy manifests itself towards the attitudes of these three groups of people.

6.3.1.1. Lay People

For professional occupation the community sanction is centrally important. They should respect and accept that the professional have the knowledge which they need. This is necessary to build the professional monopoly (see 1.3.1.1. and 1.4.3.). In this respect the

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[236] Harika said: "Ama hiç umursamadım. Yani herkes, haksızlık bu diyor. Canım nesi haksızlık. Yarışma böyledir dedim geçtim gittim. Yani üzerinde durmazdım......ama tabi bu kadar da olacak artık. Yani hiç kadınların (varlığına alışık değiller). İşte bizden evvel bir Leman Tomsu ve bir de Münevver vardı. Onlar ama bitirmişlerdi, bir de Şeküra. Yani bizden evvel üç mimar hanım vardı. Üçü de bitirmişti biz girdiğimiz zaman. tabi hiç alışık değiller. Düşünün o kadar senelik mimarlık tahsilinde 3 kadın, aradan da zaman geçmiş"

attitudes of the lay people is very important. However it is very much influenced by the patriarchal values.

This was the trend in the Republican period in Turkey. Especially in the 1930s, women's positions as judges, public prosecutors or architects were found very strange by lay people, meaning people who are not from the same professions or who do not have the technical knowledge of a particular profession. NS stated that "since I was the first woman public prosecutor people had ever seen, at a murder case for example, they looked at my face very carefully to see my reaction. You would feel this for sure[237]". Similarly, when Şükran had to ride a horse in one of the geological researches with a team in which she was the only woman, she said "people expected me to fall down from the horse but I did not". Unlike their male colleagues women had to deal with these attitudes while they were practicing their professions. They were certainly disturbed by having to work under such attitudes. To avoid facing such reactions of the local people, Nezihe and Harika stated that they woke up very early in the morning and walked around the city in order to make investigations for the reconstitution plan.

For sure such attitudes made women feel uncomfortable. Especially Nezihe's case indicates that lay people's negative reactions to women's professional service and distrustful attitudes towards them disturbed women when they were practicing their profession:

> There had been earthquakes in the years between 1943-44. My manager told me: "the mosque in Kızılcahamam was ruined, take your husband and visit there, it can be an enjoyable trip. Make an investigation and find a new place for building a mosque." The minaret of the mosque was demolished, but the mosque was not badly damaged. Yet, it was located in a closed place. The Major, my husband and some other people were going to see the mosque. I was inexperienced, making a lot of noise when talking. When I was about to say "fortunately the mosque had been ruined, we should relocate it in a place that can be seen from the street, and construct a park around it. I would like to take up these ideas in a project altogether", I heard a person with a deep voice telling the person next to him "come, come! I would not move the mosque anywhere if a woman told me to do so"[238].

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[237] NS said: "Şöyle bir şey daha var; kadın savcı ilk defa gördükleri için, jandarma falan olsun, mesela bir ölüm vakasında gittiğimiz zaman, bakıyorlar yüzünüze acaba ne tepki gösterecek diye. Muhakkak böyle bir şeyi hissediyorsunuz."

[238] Nezihe said: "43-44 senelerinde zelzeleler olmuştu. Şef, "Kızılcıhamamda cami yıkılmış siz gidin" dedi. "2 gün eşinizle birlikte… Hem de size eğlence de olur. Tespit edin, camiye yeni bir yer bulun".

The voice belonged to the *imam* of that mosque. Nezihe told this story in a focus group interview. Her colleagues and close friends Cahide and Harika were with us. Harika said that "the imam would have said the same thing even if you had been a man". Actually, when she told the story I also thought the imam rejected her decisions not because she was a woman, but because he did not like the idea. However, what Cahide said and Nezihe agreed to showed me the gendered slant of the imam's attitude. Cahide said "at least he would not have said 'garı' if Nezihe had been a man." Harika insisted "but, you provoked the him Nezihe". Nezihe refused and said "no, no, they were against women in that period". Harika answered "But it is always like that, always" meaning men have always been against women's being in professional positions and it was not unique to that period[239]. In this case, the city planner's being a woman reinforced and even justified the imam's reaction against her ideas.

The majority of society saw professional women as deviants. Thus, professional women were expected to be less successful in realising every requirement of their professions which were structurally suitable with masculine characteristics. However, these attitudes were not simply against women's being professionals. They were combined with being surprised at women's success. In general though, women stated that they were given respect by the lay persons. Behind such attitudes it is possible to see the patriarchal prejudice that views women as unable to do certain things that men can do. Then, when it was seen that women succeed at doing "men's work" the lay people's reaction was a combination of confusion, respect and curiosity. But it still implies women's extraordinary existence in the professional fields.

Caminin minaresi yıkılmış ama cami cok harap diil. Ama sıkışık bir yerde. Reis, kocam, başka kimseler, grup halinde gidiyoruz. arkamızda İmam Efendi onun da yanında bir grup insan var. Ben de acemiyim. Bağıra bağıra konuşuyorum. 'Cami iyiki yıkılmış, onu şöyle sokaktan görünen bir yere yapalım, etrafı park olsun ne güzel olur bunu hepberaber bir proje halinde ele almak isterim' dememe kalmadı arkadan bir davudi ses yanındakine 'bana baksana ben garı sözünlen caminin yerini şurdan şuraya oynatamam bunu böyle bile' dedi."

[239] The original conversation was as follows: Harika: Sen erkek de olsan diyecekti o lafı / Nezihe: Ama hiç olmazsa 'karı sözü' demeyecekti….Cahide: Evet 'garı'sı eksik olacaktı (…) / Harika: Nezihe sen de adamın damarına basmışsın…Nezihe: Yok yok. O zamanlar kadına düşmandılar / Harika: Her zaman vardı Nezihe o kadarı. Her zaman vardı

6.3.1.2. Colleagues

As discussed in the second chapter, in the autonomous realm of professions there is an inter control mechanism (see 2.3.1.1.). Professionals have the monopoly over their service which means they are the only ones who know how to perform it (Freidson 1970; Turner and Hudge 1970). Thus, what a professional thinks about the service of other professionals becomes much more important than what people in general think.

Actually, the control of male professionals over women professionals does not depend on the objective criteria of the professions. Hearn (1987) claims that professional control is patriarchal control and professional power is patriarchal power. This was the case in Turkey, especially in the Republican period. In this respect, the discrimination and subordination of professional women by their colleagues was less overwhelming than the lay people's attitudes, especially since men generally used institutional practices to subordinate women within their professions.

Naciye's case was an interesting example of this attitude. First, she was appointed to the Haydarpaşa Hospital as an associate director and tried to put things in order in the hospital. However, the director of the hospital did not like her intentions and assinged her to Zeynep Kamil Hospital. Since she started to challenge the disorder she found there, she received another decree of reassignment. She was sent to work in a small clinic for mother and child health. She succeeded in creating a well working clinic from a building under construction with a very limited number of staff and within a short period of time. This time a man, who was working under her authority, reported her to the government because of her political thoughts and she once again lost her position. She said "then I understood what a man can do to oust a woman."[240]

Sometimes the discriminatory practices appear in face to face relations with colleagues. According to Nüzhet, problems arose with the positions that were offered by an election within the institution. Male hegemony appears within a position where their decision was asked for individually:

> For example, when you are a public prosecuter or a reporter, you apply to become a member –a judge- of the committee. You have to be elected but

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[240] Naciye said: "Erkeklerin bir kadının ayağını kaydırmak için neler yapabileceğini gördüm"

it is very diffiult to be elected there. You should go and talk to everyone and persuade them to select you. It was dificult for me. I preferred to retire. It seemed impossible to prefer something else. When I tried to talk to them they said "why do you want to be a member of the committee, go and stay at home and do your housework instead". I could never become a member. I have retired as a public prosecutor[241].

In Nüzhet's case the position of membership was the property of men. Thus, the patriarchal closure, which was discussed in the second chapter (see 2.4.2.), appears to secure the position of men over women and maintains male domination within these relations. Here the exclusionary strategy of closure operates to keep women out of the realm.

As another example, although the regulations allowed women work as judges in every corner of the country, the individual men were not pleased to work with women judges. One of Hamide's friends who was appointed to an Anatolian city faced with such discriminatory attitudes:

> A female jugde was appointed to Anatolia. She went to meet the chief of the court. He stared at her and said "Dear Mrs. judge, you are educated like us but you are not in accord with us. Do you know what we want? If we say 'look, a camel is flying', our woman would not ask whether a camel really flies or not. We want that kind of woman. What kind of a woman you are?". A woman did not have the right to ask whether a camel flies. There was such a difference between places and levels of education…[242]

Then, for a man like that, who supposes women should not question anything, women's being professional becomes an unusual phenomenon for sure. However, similar attitudes were sometimes found among very intellectual men, in big cities, in creative professions like architecture. For example, Harika's chief at the office, who was to be her future husband, asked her why she became an architect:

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[241] Nezhet said: "Muayyen bir yerde, mesela kanun sözcüsüyken üye olunur veya raportörken üye olunur. Üye olmak için seçime tabi tutulursunuz. Orada seçilmek çok zordu. Herkese gidip müracaat edeceksin, kulis yapacaksın, 'bana oy veriniz' diyeceksin. O çok zordu. Ben üye olamadım. Kanun sözcüsü olarak emekli olmayı tercih ettim. Başka türlü olacak gibi değildi. Gidiyorsunuz söylüyorsunuz: 'Ne yapacaksın sen, gidip evinde otur evinin işini yap' diyorlardı oy verecek üyeler. (...) Ben kulis yapmak konusunda başarılı olmadım. Kulis yapmak için insanın işi olacak, etrafı olacak.

[242] Hamide said: "Anadolu'ya hakim hanım tayin ediliyor. Gitmiş mahkeme reisiyle tanışmış. Mahkeme reisi eski adam tabi bakmış bakmış, 'valla Hakim Hanım' demiş 'eh sizin de tahsiliniz var ama siz bize göre değilsiniz' demiş. 'Biz ne isteriz bilir misiniz?' demiş. 'Aaa, hanım bak deve uçuyor desek ne demek deve uçar mı demez bizim kadınlar demiş. …….Biz böyle kadın isteriz demiş. Sen ne biçin kadınsın.' Deve uçar mı demeyecek kadın. O kadar bölge ve tahsil farkı**…"**

When I was working in the Ministry of Education, he was assigned there as the chief.. He would always ask me "Harika Hanım, why did you become an architect" God, what's that to him. I became an architect because I loved the work. He would say "create something, such as meatballs in your home". I answered to be an architect is not an obstacle to make meatballs. He was against that, but then got used to that idea later. I mean, first of all, Kemali was the man who was against the idea of female architects. [243]

The narratives of participant women show that the typical form of patriarchal control on women's professional work appears as the policy of intimidation and bullying. Naciye's and Safiye's cases are examples of such operations of patriarchal control.

Naciye defined the discriminatory attitudes of male assistants she was working with in her first year of assistantship by saying that "they thought that I was an easy mark. (...) they did not like my coming to the hospital since they wanted the position to be kept for a man."

Safiye's case was another example of the subordination of professional women by their male colleagues who used institutional instruments against women. Although the women met the institutional requirements properly, their male colleagues still approached them as if they had not. Safiye had waited so long to become an assistant. When it was her turn,, an exam for assistantship was introduced. She passed the assistantship exam successfully. This time the head of the hospital, who could not deny her success after all, called Safiye and declared that she would be chosen as an assistant. However, his way of telling her was significant:

The professor called me .. he was sitting, I was standing. He did not tell me to sit. He said "Mrs. Safiye we are going to employ you as an assistant". At that time my child was only 4 months old. He said "you should not come late and go early because you have a baby". I replied "sir, I never do such a thing. But maybe the colleagues who did not wait for me to come back from breastfeeding and leave work earlier would have said such a thing"…[244]

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[243] Harika said:"Ben Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nda çalışırken o (ileride kocası olacak olan Kemali bey) sonradan bize şef olarak geldi. O hep derdi ki bana 'Harika hanım ne diye mimar oldunuz?'. Allah, Allah sana ne be adam. 'Vallahi seviyorum onun için' derdim. 'Bir şey yarat da, ama insan evinde güzel bir köfte yapsa daha iyi dill mi?'. E dedim onu yapmama mani değil ki mimar olmam. Yani o bir defa karşıydı sonra alıştı anladınız mı. Yani bir kadının mimarlığına en başta Kemali karşıydı"

[244] Safiye said: "Yani böyle tartışmalardan sonra benim kazandığımı kabul ettiler. (...) Profesör, o zaman doçentti galiba koltukta oturuyor böyle, ben ayaktayım. Otur demek yok. ,Leziz hanım sizi asistan olarak alacağız' dedi ama dedi o sırada işte 4-5 aylıkdı Emine, doğum yapmıştım. ,Çocuğun küçük diye geç gelip erken gitmek yok' dedi. Ben emzirmek için ayrılıyorum, dönüyorum tekrar, evimiz çok yakındı hastaneye. Arada da bir emziebilmem için kızımı kapıya getiriyor görümcem.

Here we can see that the patriarchal control appears within the attitudes of the professor. The professor's attitudes were surrounded by the patriarchal values. Yet, it was not limited with the attitudes of the professor since he used the institutional instruments to make Safiye give up her professional career. The professor immediately assigned her a night duty. Then Safiye went to the professor to say that she had already done her night duty:

> I said I had already done my second night duty just before the exam and this would be the third. He said "OK then if you do not accept to work under these conditions we can take your assistantship back". I said "I was not working in different conditions, of course I accept". I was almost crying. It was the first time I felt like this. I was really hurt.[245]

Safiye dealt with these disturbing attitudes and practices with patience but she was deeply influenced and felt oppressed by them.

In some cases, when the patriarchal control did not work and the professional power was mainly in a woman's hands, some male colleagues felt uncomfortable and some refused to work under a woman's control and changed their jobs:

> I was the only female architect in the Vakıflar (foundation). Now, there are some…. . I went there as the head architect. The only woman architect, at the same time the head architect, was me. When I went there, there were two more architects who had been working there for some years. They were offended that a newly graduated architect had become their head. As a matter of fact, for instance, I would take on another architect for my service. They recommended me an elderly architect. He was a retired man but still wanted to work. They sent him to work under my directions. He did not want to work with me because I was a woman and he did not accept to take orders from a woman. I did not dwell upon that matter. There was no help to be had from that kind of a man. This stuation was discussed (….). There was another architect, he chose him instead of me. These kinds of things were widespread; men who did not

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Yani sütüm de müsait çocuk da besleniyor. Geç gelip erken gitmek yok' dedi. ,Efendim' dedim ,ben geç gelip erken gitmiyorum. Ama dedim benim emzirmem için gittiğimde dönüşümü beklemeden gidenler evde kaldığımı sanmışlardır size onu söylemişlerdir'.(...)

[245] Safiye said: „Dedim, efendim bu benim ikinci nöbetim, sınava girdiğimiz hafta ben zaten nöbetçiydim ikinci nöbetimi yapıyordum. Doğumdan sonra ben hiç nöbetten kalmadım dedim'. ,E peki , eğer dedi bu şartlarda devam etmezseniz' dedi, ,o zaman asistanlığınızı da alırız elinizden' dedi. ,Kabul ediyor musunuz?' dedi bir de. Dedim, zaten bundan başka şartlarda çalışmıyorum, elbette kabul ediyorum' dedim ve çıktım dışarı ama hayatta ilk defa meslek   ile ilgili gözlerim sulandı, yani çok gücüme gitti bu."

want to work with women would do that[246].

As another manifestation of patriarchal control on professions, professional women were expected to be less successful. Thus, some male professionals who work in higher positions gave less important tasks to their female colleagues or did notbelieve that a woman professional could be successful in their profession[247]. Harika complained that:

> I was mainly concerned with the buildings of educational institutions. A building for the girls institute in Ankara would be built. He (Harika's manager who would be her future husband) gave the task to a newly graduated man. However, I was employed there for this kind of task. Afterwards, when I asked him why he assigned the task to the young man but not me, he said "Professor Bounatts told me to do so". Actually he did not generally lie, unless he had to… Still he could have persuaded the professor even if he had really told him to do so …. But, for sure …he gave me unimportant tasks since I was a woman. I did not want to reject him. However, I did not think that being a woman was such a big loss for me. Yet, it did not open the way to me to every opportunity[248].

Harika complained because a young man from out of the office was given the task which should have been hers. As is evident from her last sentences she belived that her being women created the problem although she thinks that it should not have. Moreover, in another case, some colleagues got suspicious about how a woman could hold a professional position. NS said that "Before I came, there were judges saying that could a woman become a public

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[246] Cahide said: Ben Vakıflarda tek kadın mimardım. Şimdi var kadın mimarlar. İlk Kadın mimar, baş mimar olarak gittim. Tek mimar kadın üstelik de baş mimar. Ve ben oraya gittiğim zaman iki tane mimar vardı orada senelerden beri çalışmış. Tabi biraz şeylik oldu, burukluk oldu. Çünkü kendinden kaç sene sonra mezun olmuş birisi baş mimar olarak gidiyor. Nitekim, mesela ben yanıma bir mimar alacaktım derken birini tavsiye ettiler, yaşlı bir mimar (...) emekli olmuş da çalışmak istiyor. Onu benim yanıma verdiler. Adam benle çalışmak istemedi. Eee, kadınım! Adam kadından emir almak istemiyor. Hiç üzerinde durmadım. Öyle adamdan hayır gelmez ki. Bu konuşuldu. Böylece ifade etti. (...) Başka bir mimar arkadaş daha vardı, benim yerime onu seçti erkek diye. Kadın yanında çalışmamak için böyle şeyler de oluyordu.

[247] As I have mentined in Chapter 1 professional women were not only considered as deviant but they were also considered to be less successful. Actualy the "success" within the professioıns refers to men as Nicolsan (1996) suggests.

[248] Harika said: "Oluyor, tabi mesela daha ben Ankara'dayken işte ben mesleki tedrisat binalarınla ilgiliyim o sırada Ankara'da cadde üzerinde şey yapılacak yeni bir kız enstitüsü. E onu tuttu Deniz, Orhan Deniz diye bir arkadaş ki, mezun olmuştu Almanya'da okumuş ama işte profesör Bounatts'ın vasıtası ile diploma alabildiler. Ona verdiler. Yani halbuki onun için hazırlanmış bir insan olarak ben orada varım. Ama sonradan söylediğim zaman Bounatts öyle söyledi dedi ama Kemali pek yalan söylemezdi ama çok sıkıştığı için. Bounatts dese bile pekala ikna edilebilirdi. Ama kadın olarak elbette ki mesela bana verdiği işler daha ehemmiyetsiz işlerdi. Ben bunu yapmak istemiyorum ne diye diyeyim. Ama yani kadın olmanın tabi bu büyük bir kayıp sayılmıyor yine de benim için. Ama yani önüne gelen her fırsatta sana kapıyı açmıyor."

prosecuter, and so on…[249]". These kinds of reactions can be seen in many women's narratives. Similarly, Nezihe stated:

> For example, when I was assigned to the ministry as the vice president, there were some men working in the planning department and they were discontented about me. I heard the rumour that they had been expecting to be appointed to the position. They said they would be appointed to the position of vice president. But they said nothing directly to me, there was no uneasiness.[250].

Sometimes patriarchy appears in a traditional form as an extension of the gender relations within the patriarchal family. The individual men who were superior to professional women at an institution were likely to introduce the traditional gender relations into the relationship between these women and themselves. Nezihe disliked the way men used their authority. Their institutional superiority was combined with their gender superiority and the relationship became a mixed output of professionalism and patriarchy:

> In my early days at the ministry, one day one of my chiefs talked to me such as "My daughter, I am telling you, this work has to be done". One day, I lost my temper. I became an official but not a submitting one. I told him "Do you know who you are talking to? I am not an ordinary person. I am doctor, engineer, and architect Nezihe Taner. Do not talk to me using words such as my daughter. I do not like such saucy attitudes". Then, he started to address me with 'madam', 'sir', 'engineer lady' and so on. I had to behave so…. You would either react to such treatment, or leave[251].

The attitude of Nezihe's manager, who is a professional and a bureaucrat at the same time, is very similar to the attitude of the father in the patriarchal family. Hearn would define this attitude as "collectivised fatherhood" which is principly seen in professions and in the state (1987: 43).

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[249] NS said: "ben gelmeden evvel hakimler arasından kadından savcı olur mu filan diyenler olmuş"

[250] Nezihe said: "Mesela ben bakanlığa geldiğim sırada orada bir planlamada çalışan bazı beyler vardı onlar filan tedirgin olmuşlar, biz gelecektik planlama başkan yardımcılığına, onlar talipmişler ama böyle arkadan geldi sesler ama benimle hiçbir zaman konuşma, huzursuzluk olmadı."

[251] Nezihe said: "Bakanlıkta çalıştığım yıllarda amirlerimden biri bana ilk günler "kızım sana söylüyorum bu iş olacak!" gibi laflar ediyor. Birgün tepem attı. Ben öyle memur oldum ama başı eğik memur olmadım. Dedim ki "siz kiminle konuştuğuunzu sanıyorsunuz. Burada böyle lalettayin (sıradan, önemsiz) bir insan yok. Karşınızda doktor mühendis mimar Nezihe Taner var" dedim. "Bana böyle kızım filan gibi laflar etmek yok" dedim. "Bu laubalilikten hoşlanmam" dedim. Bu sefer başadı, "hanımefendi", "efendim", "mühendis hanım" bilmemne demeye. Ama yapılacak bu. Bazı şeyleri yapacaksınız ya da gideceksiniz."

6.3.1.3. Husbands

Women's being professional was sometimes subjected to their husbands' subordinating practices. Actually, all the husbands worked in professions: seven of them from other professions and nine of them were colleagues of their wives and five of the colleagues-husbands worked together in the same workplace with their wives. As discussed before (see 2.4.3.), getting married with a professional man was supposed to make life easier for the professional woman, because it is expected that he would understand how hard the working conditions can be for a professional woman and would be more sensitive about woman's professional responsibilities. However, the literature shows that generally this is not the case for professional women.

This was not the case in Turkey either. In this research, the husbands being professionals did not result in their support for their wives' domestic responsibilities. Instead, most of them continued playing their traditional gender roles in their patriarchal families and expected women to realise their domestic responsibilities. The women's being professional was generally subordinated to that of men's. Even for the cases in which women were much more successful in their profession, their work was seen secondary and even supplementary while the men's work was seen as primary within the patriarchal structure of their families. Such an attitude is in fact introduced for devaluating women's work in general. Patriarchy manifested itself in different ways in husbands' attitudes.

First, the husbands restricted their wives' professional activities in the name of protection. For example, Nezihe's husband warned her not to work if she was going to complain about the possible problems she could face at work:

> Pertev warned me: "You are going now but do not grouch about your job in the future by comparing yourself with the others if you wo not be promoted or paid less. If you think in that way, do not go Nezihe. Because you will often face these difficulties." I said OK! It does not matter" [252].

Second, sometimes they were overshadowed by their husbands who were their colleagues at

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[252] NT: "Pertev de bana dedi bak gidiyorsun dedi yarın öbür gün şey yapma dedi. Gürültü gümbürtü yapma o terfi etmiş ben etmemişim, bana az para vermişler, çok vermişler. Böyle düşünüyorsan sıkılacaksan gitme Nezihe dedi. bunlarla karşılaşacaksın hep dedi. Ben dedim ziyanı yok nasıl olsa iki kişiyiz içimden. Olur dedim ziyanı yok."

the same time. Two architects I interviewed could not sign under some of the successful work they had done with their husbands due to their husbands' objections. Harika told that:

> We rented a bureau. We entered a competition with a couple of projects for province or municipality buildings probably in İzmit. We started working on that; Kemal, Ahmet, his assistant, me, and Kemali. We were in our house and thus I was responsible for the cooking for them. Since they were in the university during the day, they could not work on the project all the time. I was working at home for the project all day. My children were at school, so I could study easily. Finally, when the project was completed Kemali (Harika's husband) suggested not putting my name on the project, so we did not… This was one of the situations he was unfair to me. Then, they won the second place in the competition; however the project was not put into application later[253].

As can be seen, Harika felt the injustice but did not reject her husband who was a well known architect and had superiority over her colleagues including Harika because of ther professional priority. Harika was the primary victim of his injustice because of her being his wife. Nezihe said:

> After the birth of my child, we took up the development plan of Mardin. I and Pertev started working on this plan at that time. We gave both of our names. I could not go to Mardin but Pertev went. We needed to travel for the development plans, and since our child was very young I could not travel but he did. He went for field researches to Çorum, Rize, Sarıkamış. He brought back the photographs he had taken there, explanation reports, researches, and so on. When I looked at a map, I could grasp where to establish the city and its industrial site since I had worked on such plans for years. I had worked in Stutdgard Municipality and done a police station plan with my teacher in Berlin. I mean, I already had ideas about such plans in my mind. Once, we were taxed a lot, Pertev suggested giving one name on our plans. I accepted that. Since he could travel, but I coul not because of my young child, we decided to give his name. Then, he put his signature on two or three plans in three years. Afterwards, Professor Aussner sent a message for me. When I went to see him, he told me "this is not fair". I asked why, and he said "You prepared these plans, I know your style. You prepared them and gave them to him to

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[253] Harika said: "Bir büro tutmuştuk. İzmit'te galiba, vilayet mi, belediye binası mı ne, birkaç proje ile yarışmaya çıktık. Başladık çalışmaya. Kemal, Ahmet, onun asistanı Gündüz Özdeş, ben, Kemali. Ama iş bizim evde yapılıyor, onun için o insanları doyurması bize ait. Ben bütün gün çalışıyorum onlar bütün gün üniversitede oldukları için. Her dakika çalışamıyorlar, çocuklar okulda rahatça çalışıyorum. Sonunda Kemali dedi ki senin ismini koymayalım. E, koymadık. Yani bu zaman zaman yaptığı haksızlıklardan biridir. Sonra orada birinci oldular ama o işte maalesef tatbikata geçmedi."

bring us but he cannot defend them here and provoke a quarrel."[254]

Different form Harika's case, Nezihe was a more qualified city planner, and actually the creator of the plans which were signed with her husband's name. One can think that putting one name on the plans has a pragmatic purpose which is to pay less tax . However, the choice indicates the manifestation of patriarchy: it indicates the priority and determination of the husband's professional career, because when they had to chose one name to put on the projects they chose the husband's name. Moreover, the patriarchal affect suggests a pregnant woman should be isolated from the public and should not work and a woman with children should stay at home. Actually, it is important to note that another man protected her from her husband's subordination.

In another case, Reyhan's husband, who was a pharmacist as well, did not want her to work in their own pharmacy. They were living in a three-story house where the first floor was the pharmacy, the second floor was the laboratory and the third floor was their home. She either stayed at home or worked at the laboratory, but never worked in the pharmacy, since her husband was a conservative man and did not want her to work face to face with the clients. She said she sometimes prepared medicine at the laboratory or sometimes tea or coffe for her husband and his clients, because she was asked to by her husband. One can easily notice she remembers this with bitterness and feels sorry about her not being allowed to practice her profession.

Third, sometimes husbands did not feel happy for their wives' success. Cahide remembers that her husband was jealous of her when she told him that she was going to earn more money than him:

> I was earning more than my husband. When I had my first additional

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[254] NT: çocuğumun doğumu esnasında da Mardin imar planı geldi. O sıralarda Pertev ile beraber başladık imar planı yapmaya. İki isimle yapıyorduk. Ben Mardin'e gidemedim o gitti. Bazı şeylerde çocuk küçükken o gidiyordu. Çorum imar planı mesela, Rize, Sarıkamış, maalesef ilk şeylerine o gitti fotoğraflar getiriyordu izah raporları, araştırmalar bilmem neler. Ben zaten haritayı görür görmez bir şehrin nereye kurulacağını sanayisinin ne olduğunu yani artık senelerdir yapmışım Studdgard belediyesinde çalışmışım Berlin'de hocamla beraber karakol imar planında çalışmışım. Bir şeyler var yani beynimde....bir ara da bize çok vergi geldi. Vergi gelince Pertev dedi ki gidemiyorsun istersen tek isimle çalışalım. Olur dedim. Senin ismin olsun seyahate gidebiliyor, benim daha çocuğum küçük. Ondan sonra çocuk 3 yaşına filan geldiği sıralarda....... Derken işte aradan 3 sene geçti 2-3 plan böyle Pertevin ismi ile çıktı. ondan sonra professor Aussner haber göndermiş gittim dedi ki "bu böyle olmaz" . Neden dedim hocam, "sen yapıyorsun, ben senin kalemini biliyorum" dedi. "Sen yapıyorsun veriyorsun eline, müdafaasını yapamıyor burada kavga ediyor" dedi.

task, I was very glad and told him I had taken on an additional task. He looked sulky. I said "come on, they wo not cut my wage, they gave me an additional task". He was jealous of that. Anyway, men do not want women to be superior to them, that I would be paid more than him, so superior than him, too. Since I had taken on an additional task, he was embarrassed[255].

Fourth, sometimes their husbands' jealousy restricted their participation in social events in their professional association. Nezihe said:

> My husband was a jealous person. We participated in the meetings a couple of times. Once, people who I had prepared plans together, or people whom I met when I had gone for plan confirmation welcomed me as "oh, Nezihe Hanım is here" and gathered around me. After that, we never participated in such meetings anymore[256].

Within the husbands' attitudes patriarchy manifests itself in different forms. Those attitudes of husbands stem from either the patriarchal structure of the traditional family or the structure of the professions. Between these two realms of *practice* patriarchy takes various forms and influences women's participation in professions.

6.3.2. The Patriarchal Nature of Professions

Within the patriarchal nature of the professions, the qualities associated with men such as being rational, decisive, power-oriented and competitive are appreciated. It is discussed that women are assumed to be inappropriate for professions since they are not supposed to have these qualities (see 2.4.1.). Moreover, the qualities attributed to females such as being people-oriented, empathetic and collaborative, are assumed to have a negative influence: These qualities devalue the structure of professions and decrease the quality of the professional service of the women (Gray, 1987; Spencer and Padmore, 1987).

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[255] Cahide said: "Eşimden ben fazla alıyordum hatta bana ilk ek görev verdikleri zaman sevinerek dedim ki Hadi bana ek görev verdiler dedim. Bu bir surat astı, yahu Hadi maaşımdan kesmiyorlar bana ek görev verdiler dedim. Yani kıskandı biraz yani. Ne olsa erkekler kadınların kendilerinden üstün olduğunu istemiyorlar, yani ondan üstün maaş, e, ben ondan üstün alacağım bu sefer ek görev de alınca, öyle bir bozum olduydu"

[256] Nezihe said: "Eşim kıskanç bir insandı. Birkaç kere toplantıya katıldık. Birlikte plan yaptığım, plan tastiğine gittiğim zaman tanıdığım genc mimarlar "oo nezihe hanım gelmiş" diye etrafımı sarınca o oldu bir daha öyle bir toplantıya gitmedik"

Within the context of this research, the gendered character and the masculine nature of the professions influenced women's professional lives at various levels, such as decisions about which profession to chose and where to work. In addition, their professional service became overvisible and gender was over emphasised. It forced women to build gendered types of authority.

6.3.2.1. Which Profession to Chose

Within the patriarchal nature of the professions, there are stereotypes that depend on gender which secure the rationalization of the masculine nature of some professions and the female nature of others, as Epstein puts it (1970). This influenced participant women's occupational choice. If a profession allows women to work at home and to control the working hours, and if it requires a relatively shorter university education and does not require lots of travelling, then it means it is suitable for them.

Women I interviewed stated that there were relatively more women in departments like pharmacy, and orthodontics, because it was thought that these were relatively easy to learn when compared with other medical professions. For participants, the benefits of these fields are that one can hold less responsibility and earn more, spend only four years in the university and the working conditions are more suitable for a woman.

As discussed before, in the literature it was argued that women's professionalization was an effect of the extension of their assumed sex roles and the cult of domesticity was very influential in their professional orientation (Epstein, 1970; Blitz, 1990; Alvarez et al. 1996; Riska, 2001). This is a patriarchal practice that restricts women's abilities and professional choices with their attributed roles in the family. In Turkey, this appeared especially in the medical profession which is relatively old and professionalized within to a certain extent. The first generation women entered into the medical professions as midwives in 1842 and nurses in 1908, the next generations became gynaecologists and paediatricians, as mentioned in the third chapter.

Participant women approved of the fact that women in medicine mostly specialized in

pediatry or gynaecology, while men mostly specialised in surgery[257].

For example, in Necla's classroom four women wanted to become gynaecologists, one woman wanted to become a paediatrician[258]. There were more women also in the departments of the Faculty of Science than in departments such as medicine, architecture or engineering[259].

However, it is important to note women's concentration in certain branches of pofessions was also related to the conditions of the period. For example, there was an urgent need for women gynaecologists in Turkey. Thus, as I discussed in chapter four, their preference for being gynaecologists was simultaneously tied to patriarchy, professionalism and Kemalism: because of patriarchy women were oriented to the professions which were the extension of their assumed sex roles; because of Kemalism they were specialised in much needed branches of their professions to serve the nation; because of professionalism, they used their professional service for those who urgently needed it. If women's professional service as gynaecologists was required that much, then it is expected that gynaecology should become the most prestigious branch of the medical profession. Actually, what made this occupation less respected and less professional in the occupational hierarchy is the patriarchal way of stereotyping which ensures that female dominated professions are less prestigious (see Cassidy, 1990).

The technical professions were generally assumed to be inappropriate for women. In her research concerning women in engineering education, Zengin-Aslan discusses the gendered culture of technology. She states that "femininity is constructed as non technical while masculinity is constructed as technical. Thus we can argue that women's entry into a

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[257] Actualy women entered the medical profession as midwives. It was obligatory for women midwives to enter the classes which were opened first in 1839 in "Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliye-i Şahane". The next step for women was the nursing. After the founding of the Republic, women were concentrated generally in paediatry or gynaecology. It was this trend that had been maintained since the very first specializations of women in the Ottoman period.

[258] According to the results of Riska's research (2001), as I have refered to in chapter 1, such a trend could also be seen in the Nordic countries where women in medicine are more likely to work in specializations pertaining to the needs of childeren and the elderly.

[259] According to the data concerning the 1932-33 education year, the percentages of female students in the Faculty of Science was 20.1 ; in the Faculty of Literature was 58.8 ; in the Department of Pharmacy was 25.2 and in the Teachers Training School was 43.9 while the same percentage in the Faculty of Law was 12.2; in the Faculty of Medicine was 2.6 and the Academy of Fine Arts was 12.8 (Köker, 1988: 118).

technical field, engineering is not an easy task" (2002: 401). As an example for this, NS's father did not want her daughter to become an engineer. Despite her talent in mathemathics, she had to study law:

> I did not have any interest in law, but rather I was very keen on mathemathics...My father asked me in which faculty I wanted to enroll. I told him that I wanted to be an engineer. He said "I am unable to make sense of the idea that my daughter will be an engineer and go to work in remote places" and left the room. We had not had such disagreements with my father in our relations, but when he did not support my decision, I saw that the discussion was over. I started to think about which occupation I would choose, I had not thought about any alternatives before, but only being an engineer. I researched thoroughly about law, and found that it had a wide range of working fields such as foreign affairs, internal affairs, teaching, attorneyship, and so I decided to enter the Faculty of Law. Then, something happened and I remembered my father's words. One day (while she was working in the Anatolian town) we were going for an inspection with a judge from the faculty. The jugde was driving a car in front of us through the mountains, while we were in a jeep and following him. Something occured to me at the top of the mountain; I travelled from İstanbul to Manisa. If I went beyond the mountains, this was my destiny, I would go far beyond the home. I remembered my father words, and said to myself "daddy, your daughter could not become an engineer, but you see, she is wandering around in unhibited, undulating lands; this was her fate.[260]

Even the women themselves used to think in that way. The patriarchy influenced women's decisions about which profession to chose when they were young. Harika said:

> I really wanted to be an architect. However, I was told that a woman cannot be an architect, or something like that. It was my last year in the high school, and I was hesitating about deciding on my career. I loved the

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[260] NS said: "Hukukla hiç alakam yoktu ben matematiğe meraklıydım.... Babam geldi dedi ki kızım dedi nereye girmek istiyorsun dedi işte yatılı cemaati, dedim ki baba dedim mühendis istiyorum. Benim dedi bir kızım mühendis olup dağ bayır gezmesine aklım ermez dedi ve odadan çıktı. Babamda fazla şey etmezdik yani böyle şeylerde öyle deyince eyvah orası bana kapandı. Kapandı düşündüm nereye gideyim diye. Ondan sonra dedim düşündüm, düşündüm nereye gideyim, nereye gideyim başka hiçbir yer düşünmemişim hukuku şöyle şey ettim dedim ki bitirdikten sonra çalışma sahası çok. Hariciyeye gider, dahiliyeye gider. Öğretmen olur, avukat olur sahası çok onu düşündüm ve dedim ben hukuka gideyim."..... "sonra bir hadise oldu o zaman babamın sözünü hatırladım. Okulda bir hakimle keşfe gidiyoruz. Hakimin arabası önde, ben de bir jipte onu dağ bayır takip ediyoruz o dağların başında aklıma geldi. Ben dedim ta İstanbul'dan kalkıp, Manisa'dayım o zaman buralara neden geldim neydi bu kader dedim buraya beni şey etti, hemen babamın lafı aklıma geldi. Babacım dedim kızın mühendis olmadı ama yine de dağ bayır nasibinde varmış, dağ bayır geziyor."

chemistry teacher in the school, so I decided to study chemistry [261].

However, in the end, with the help of her mother Harika learned that she could become an architect even though she was female. Then she realized her will to be an architect. She was secured from this patriarchal effect after this conversation:

> My mother said to me 'why do not you become an engineer'. I told her 'if you let me be an engineer, I would like to be an architect instead'. She approved of my decision. She was very pleased about that (…). That is how I entered to the academy[262].

6.3.2.2. Where to Work

The patriarchal nature of professions does not only influence women's decisions regarding their choice of work but also influences the way women perform their work. Women were sometimes forced to work in the office even when their work was very much related to the field. This can be seen in Şükran's case. Şükran, who was one of the first women graduates of the Geology Department at İstanbul University, started to work at the Department of Geology at the General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploitation. She primarily wanted to go on field research to practice her profession properly and told her administrator she needed to do field research to be able to write her reports. She was told that she would go, but each time she was given another excuse, and her requirement was delayed. Şükran wanted to resign since they did not allow her to go to the field for research. She said:

> See, how a women struggled to work in the field. That is the point. I guess they thought it is difficult for a woman. When they go for an exploration they stay for months in the field. I admitted that it was difficult, but if I did not do so my professional skills would be lost.[263]

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[261] Harika said: "mimar olmayı çok istiyordum. Fakat kadın mimar olmaz gibi bir şey söyledilerdi. Tam lisenin son sınıfındayım bir türlü de karar veremiyorum. Kimya hocasını çok sevdiğim için bari kimya okuyayım dedim".

[262] Harika said: "Annem dedi ki kızım sen mühendis olsana. Anne mühendis olmama izin verseniz ben mimar olurum. E ol tabi. A, çok sevindi.(…) İşte ben öyle girdim akademiye."

[263] Şükran said: Bunlar beni araziye göndermiyorlar ya artık ayrılmayı aklıma koydum. Bakın bir hanım ne mücadeleler veriyor illede arazide çalışma yapacak diye. İşin enteresanlığı burada.(...) Hanım için zor diye düşünüyorlar şantiye hayatı. Gittikleri zaman birkaç ay arazide kalıyorlar. E zor hakkaten ama ben de diyorum ki meslek elden gidiyor"

Şükran continued to challenge this patriarchal belief which restricted her professional service, and tried to get a position in which she could practice her profession:

> I heard that there was a position in the General Directorate of State Hydrolic Works for a geologist. I wanted to apply. Demirel, who was the general manager of the General Directorate of State Hydrolic Works, listened to my request and acknowledged me to be right. He phoned the director of the groundwater department and talked to him. The director said that he did not want to employ women in his department. Demirel insisted and said: " But I do want to! You will employ three women in your department". Then he told me "I will let you know."[264]

However, Şükran never got a reply. Then she found another job where she could work in the field. Şükran and Saliha think there was a false belief that for women office work as well as the laboratory were more acceptable for women[265].

According to Erdoğdu-Erkaslan's study (2002), women architects were generally employed in government in the 1930s. In the 1930s women's published projects were mostly on public buildings since they were expected from women architects to reflect the national architecture which was proposed in the Republican period (2002, 34-48). Özgüven also stated that after graduation, women architects generally worked in government institutions. During the 1930s and 1940s graduates focused on restoration. Municipalities, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, and the National Bank of Provinces, were the major institutions where they were employed. According to Özgüven, women did not dare to go into the private sector. Instead, they accepted to participate in government projects. They did not have the strong desire to have their own projects and to be distinguished by their own personal works of art, since they found it more appropriate for themselves to work in government institutions where they could manage to balance their work and domestic responsibilities (Özgüven, 2002: 95-100).

All these examples indicate that in the 1930s and 1940s, women whose professional services

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[264] Şükran said: DSİ'ye o zaman eleman alınacak jeoloji mühendisi. Başvurmak istedim. Süleyman demirel Genel müdür o tarihte. Konuşmamı dinledikten sonra aklı yattı. (...) Açtı yer altı sularının müdürünü konuştu. müdür hanım istemediğini söyledi. Yok hanımlar yapamaz falan, o fikirde. Demirel dedi ki "ben istiyorum. oraya 3 hanım koyacaksın kadroya"... bana da dedi ki, ben size bildiririm"

[265] A Similar trend appears as a reason to choose to work in the academy in Zengin-Aslan's research. But this time women themselves prefer to work in the areas in which they are ensured to work in the office or a lab which are the places deemed as convenient for women engineers to work (2002: 404).

were welcomed by the project of building the new Turkish Republic were supposedly manipulated by the demands of the state. They were mostly employed in state institutions. Their professional identities were ignored and they were seen as the agents of the construction project. Moreover, the state approached women's professonal practices from a patriarchal point of view. Their services were seen supplementery and temporary. They were invited to the realm of professions if men's labour was not enough to meet the demand. This trend can also be seen in the institutional restrictions introduced to limit women's participation in law in the 1940s. However, especially in Şükran's case, we can see that she has a strong professional identity which makes her struggle for performing her profession properly.

6.3.2.3. Overvisibility at Work

Within many other aspects of social life and especially within production relations which are directly under capitalist control (see 2.2.), women suffer from being invisible. Because of the effect of patriarchy on women's work, their skills as well as their reproductive work are ignored, thus, their subordination in the realm of work as well as their exploitation by capitalism is ensured.

Conversely, patriarchy operates on professional work in the form of overvisibility. Women's being overvisible in professions is one of the main forms patriarchy takes within women's professional work (see 2.4.). It was argued that (LaTeeff, 1992; Epstein, 1970) a professional woman is overcontroled by others. In this respect, women's failure is so visible as well as their success, because of the patriarchal nature of the professions where professional control becomes patriarchal control[266]. Şükran's being a geologist was so overvisible that within the team only she was remembered by her name by most of the inhabitants when she visited a place where they once worked years earlier. However, their being overvisible did not always yield positive results. Most of the time, because of overvisibility, professional women had to work more carefully not to make any mistakes and become more successful than their male colleagues not to be subordinated. Naciye said that:

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[266] Şahika Ataman states that "Especially the male friends try to find mistakes of thelr female collegues. But we resisted. Actually our knowledge, experience and skills were as high as or even much higher then most of them." (for her own words see Ataman, 1999: 171)

I was appointed to a hospital where the other personnel were male physicians, except a woman friend who was older then me. Every one was waiting for me to make a mistake. (...) I challenged a lot, which means I worked a lot.[267]

6.3.2.4. Overemphasis on Gender

The participant women in this study generally stated that the profession is a gender neutral phenomenon. However, in the realm of professions, their being women was emphasized. This emphasis was being made with a negative intention. It indicates that being a woman was seen as a disadvantage for being professional depending on the patriarchal nature of the professions which promotes masculine characteristics of professions and claims women as inappropriate for professional work.

Actually, the emphasis on their gender bothered participant women in their work places. They suffered from men's mentioning their being women very often. When the sexual relations and differentiation come into consideration, the participant women stated that they felt uncomfortable. Similarly, Safiye and Naciye remember that their male colleagues used to talk and make jokes with a sexual content to make them embarrassed. However, for example, Mefkure like some others did not pay attention to such attitudes:

> By talking in an obscene way in the maternity ward, they supposed that they checkmated me. We as specialists were having our meals in a separate room. When having a chat atmosphere, they tried to have a chat with me. They expected me to turn red, or to get overwhelmed. The man that did it was actually a witty guy. They supposed that making such jokes is a sort of kindness. They were having such chats. He wanted to tease me. Meanwile, I noticed that the whitened hairs on his chest were apparent. I said to him "your hairs have already got whitened". They applauded me by saying "you Mefküre Hanım, despite your young age, dared to say that". [268]

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[267] Naciye said: "Neyse 2-3 ay sonra gittim. Erkek doktorlar boyle hepsi erkek. Bir tek şey, benim bir arkadaşım var, sınıf arkadaşım var. O da benden 3-4 yaş büyük. (...) Hepsi böyle bekliyorlar nerede bir kusur yapacağım. (...) epeyce bir mücadele ettim. yani mücadele ettimse, çalıştım"

[268] Mefkure said: „bunlar ilk zamanda doğumevinde açık saçık konuşma konuşarak beni mat ettiklerini şey ettiler (sandılar). (Onu) bir ara biz mütehassıslar ayrı bir odada yerdik. Bir şeyler konuşuyor(lurken) falan bana laf atmağa çalıştılar, yani ben kızarıcam bozulucam ezlicem (diye beklediler. (bunu yapan)Aslında çok hoş espiritüel bir adam(dır). ama bu tür esprileri hoşluk zannederler. Öyle bir laflar ediyorlar. Bana takılmak istedi. Onun da gömleği açık, operatör açtı.

On the other hand, for men, overemphasising women's gender is a strategy to neutralize their women colleagues. Harika complained about her male colleagues because they introduced their gender into consideration in every argument they had about their professional practices. She said that "if you opposed your male colleagues' ideas about a professional issue they started to turn the argument into a male-female thing[269]". Since being female means being different or unsuitable, and the female characteristics degrading to the value of professions, referring to women's gender position has negative meanings.

Especially women physicians faced with such disturbing practices not only in their work lives but also during their education. For example, one of the professors in the Faculty of Medicine tried to embarass Mefkure:

> Once we were having a pathology exam. That perverse teacher asked me how to get out the testicle. Testicle means male ovary. The testicle goes down to the scrotum through the canals in the groin. It was hard to get it out. They absolutely wanted to ashame girls. Casanova teachers! Anyway, he did not insist on taking the answer, gave up waiting for the answer. I got an A.[270]

By doing so, Mefkure's professors either wanted to prove that because of women's sexuality they could not be physicians, or they wanted to sexually harrass her.

6.3.2.5. Professional Associations and Informal Relations

The professional associations are the places where the patriarchal nature of professions is constructed and strengthened.. The associations are autonomous organizations that determine the structure of professions, like it is in Britain, and are effective in setting the standards of

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Burada da tüyler beyazlamış tüyleri gözüküyor. Senin dedim bir defa, (veya sizin dedim o benden yaşlı çünkü) tüyleriniz bile beyazlamış dedim öyle (o anlamda) bir şey söyledim. O yaşa Mefküre hanım diye alkışladılar beni."

[269]Harika said: Beraber çalıştığın erkek arkadaş bazı meselellerden dolayı onla karşılıklı gelirsen (zıtlaşırsan) hemen işi kadın erkek meselesine çevirir"

[270] Mefkure said: "imtihana girdik patolojinin. Bana testisin çıkarılmasını sormaz mı o aksi adam. Testis de erkeğin yumurtası. Kasıklardaki kanaldan torbalara testis iniyor. ….Çıkartmak çok zor. Kızları illa ki utandıracak şey edecek. Çapkın hocalar. Neyse üstelemedi, yarı bıraktırdı pekiyiyle çıktım."

professional practices as well as the content of the professional culture (Alvarez et al, 1996; Hantaris et. al., 1996; Slocum 1967; Carr-Saunders, 1966). Since these associations were mainly established and run by men (Bagilhole, 1993), the professions gain a masculine character. Thus, women's participation in professional associations has a critically important role in maintenance of the patriarchal nature and the masculine ethos of the professions. According to Alvarez (1993), gender is the primary category that determines acceptance to the professional community and women's exclusion from the professional associations decreases their representation in the rules and regulations of the professions. Women's perspectives and self interests are ignored due to their low levels of participation in professions.

In the case of Turkey, because professionalization was a from-above and relatively new phenomenon for most of the modern professions and women were encouraged to take part in professions, it is expected that participant women could participate in professional organizations easily.

However, most of the participant women stated that they rarely participated in their professional associations although they become their members. As a reason they have shown their lack of time due to their domestic responsibilities. However, not only the professional women who were married and have children, but also the single women who were concerned very much with their professions said that they rarely participated in the activities for their professional association. Actually, they seem to believe that professional associations were critical for a professional expertise since professionals share their experiences and discuss different cases related to their particular profession within such relations. Cahide describes the function of her professional association, the Chambers of the Architects: "Firstly, they inform you if you ca not keep in contact with (your colleagues and your profession) anymore[271]". Güzin points out that:

> The advantage of membership is that when something happens to a doctor, her/his association takes the doctor's side, and helps her/him. If a doctor makes a mistake in his/her job, again the association warns him/her, and announces the crime. We had periodicals/reviews, and these

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[271] Cahide said: "bir kere sizi durumdan haberdar ediyorlar, sizin şimdi oturduğunuz yerde fazla bir temasınız olamayınca...."

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warnings were announced in those publications. [272]

It is also significant that although women's participation in professional associations was low, they worked for many associations which were related to their profession or with their gender. Naciye worked for the Women's Association (Kadınlar Birliği) and the Association of Soroptomists; Hamide was connected with the Institution for Researching Women's Social Lives (Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu); Saliha worked for the establishment of the "Protection of Public Health Association" (Halk Sağlığını Koruma Derneği); and "Ankara Diabetes Association" (Ankara Diyabet Derneği); Nüzhet was involved with the Federation of Women's Associations (Kadın Dernekleri Federasyonu).

It may occur in one's mind that the major reason for women's lack of participation in professional associations was not the lack of time but their exclusion or their being reluctant to struggle to enter into the male dominated realm of associations. Actually, when we talked about the professional associations, they generally said few words and started to tell about their experiences in different organizations.

It is claimed that besides professional organizations, the informal relations among professionals is very important for professional success (Spencer and Padmore, 1987; Cassidy 1990; Bagilhole 1993). Women's exclusion from men's informal circles of communication and interaction (Fox and Hessbiber, 1984) also influences negatively their contribution to and representation within the professional culture (Acar, 1991). Likewise, Güzin said that she finds it very useful for one's professional service. In the last years of her professional service, after she had brought up her children, Güzin had the opportunity to join a meeting of gyneecologists in 1983:

> We, the gynaecologists used to meet once in a month. We were preparing foods for those days. Then, we would talk about our interesting experiences and ask for advice; asked one another whether we had experienced such a thing, how we would intervene... In that way, we got closer, as female gynaecologists[273].

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[272] Güzin said: "üye olmanın avantajı şu herhangi bir şey başına geldi mi bir doktorun tabip odası onun tarafını tutar, destekler, yardım eder yani bu var. Hatalı bir şey yaparsa ihtar verir, suç duyurusunda bulunur. Mecmualarımız var, orada yazılır şöyle şöyle sebepten ihtar almıştır diye."

[273] Güzin said: "kadın doğumcular ayda bir toplanıyoruz. Ayda bir. Yemekli oluyor herkes ikram yapıyor falan. Ondan sonra işte o sırada enteresan buldukları vakaları açıklıyorlar. Şunu yaptık bunu

Significantly, according to the participant women's narratives, their informal relations with other women professionals was more common than their participation in formal associations. As modern Republican women, they did not hesitate to create informal relations such as dinners or parties, and their male colleagues welcomed them. Many of the participant women stated that they participated and still participate in informal meetings. Belkıs said that they gave dinners with the union and the Institution of the Nitrogen Industry after signing the each collective labour contract Fahriye told that she used to enjoy having a dinner with friends, most of whom were male. Cahide still tries not to miss any meetings, as long as her health allows her (see picture 16). Moreover, I noticed that their participation rate in such meetings and informal relations with colleagues increased after they retired. These meetings allow them to get in touch with their professions and colleagues after they retired.

Women behaved in accordance with the three-fold construction of professions with respect to Kemalism, professionalism and patriarchy. Working in associations and participating in informal meetings such as dinners or parties with their male colleagues created the image of socially active women. This was in accordance with the image of modern Republican women (see Durakbaşa, 1998a). In this respect, women's attitudes were very much in line with the Kemalist requirements. On the other hand, their low level of active participation in professional associations corresponded to the patriarchal requirements of professionalism. In that way, women were kept away from the political coalition which sets the standards of professions and legal practices. Women's low representation in these processes ensured male domination in the professions, maintained masculine characteristics as well as the patriarchal nature of professional occupations. As Bagilhole (1993) argued, when the political and cultural contribution of women was low, they felt difficulties in "getting themselves heard or noticed" in the realm of professions where men shared and created common values.

6.3.2.6. Gendered Styles of Authority

One can expect that because of the patriarchal nature of the professons supported by their low participation in professional associations and informal relations, women occupy fewer

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yaptık, sen ne yapardın ne ederdin yani bu şekilde bir yakınlaşmamız oluyor. Kadın doğumcular arasında."

positions of authority in Turkey. It is claimed in literature that especially in decision making positions the proportion of women is very low (Epstein,1970; Bagilhole, 1993). Cassell (1997) argues that since authority is attributed to men, women have to give extra effort to build it.

However, the women I interviewed did not mention any considerable difficulty in building and exercising their authority. It is because some of them had the chance to create a work environment in which those who did not want to play by their rules did not enter. Thus, they worked with their workmates in harmony within an environment of discipline, mutual respect , protection and support:

> I was the chief architect. There were architects, foremen, technicians, working under my supervision.(....) people who do not want to be under such a relation do not work with you anyway. On account of that, we saw that when you prepare your environment and arrange the relationships in that way, you do not have any difficulties. (....)With my friends, the people working with me, we loved each other, but respected each other, too. We never became saucy. Some men are allergic to women and they do not want to work with female colleagues. And some others do not care about such things[274].

On the other hand, there was a female type of authority that was similar to the authority of a mother over her childeren[275]. In order to build their authority, women participants of the present study combined the characteristics such as impressive attitudes and aggression which are masculine attributes(Spencer and Padmore, 1987) with feminine qualities such as relation and understanding (Cavanagh, 2003) as well as nuturance, empathy and support (Fox and Hess-Biber, 1984). Thus, their authority was not despotic and harsh but rather understanding and relatively tender. Rabia as a woman engineer worked for 40 years for the goverment and always worked with the workers, but never had a difficulty with building and exercising authority. She said the workers never selected a worker representative because they belived

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[274] Cahide: "Ben baş mimardım, benim mahiyetimde çalışanlar arasında miamrı var, sürveyanı var, teknisyeni var teknikeri var hakimi var (...) bu ilişkide olamak istemeyen zaten sizinle çalışmıyor" diyor. Dolayısı ile görüyoruz ki kendi ortamını hazırladığında ilişkileri de bu şekilde kurduğundan herhangi bir sıkıntı yaşamıyor.(...) Arkadaşlarımla benim yanımda çalışan çocuklarla, hep sevgimiz vardı, fakat saygımız da vardı. Yani hiç laubali olmadık. Şimdi efendim bazısının kadın alerjisi var yani kadın yanında çalışmak hoşuna gitmiyor bazısında, bazısı da böyle şeye önem vermiyor. "

[275] According to Nimet Zerin Tüzün's testimony women managers differ from men managers in exercising authority: they approach problems with tolerance and tenderness. She says "women are more giving while men are more harsh and fighting". She criticises some men's approaches for lacking empathy. To explain her thoughts it is interesting that she refers to motherhood. (see Tan, 1998: 231)

that "Mrs. engineer would protect our rights"[276] (from the oral history interwiev by İlyasoğlu, 1997):

> According to my criteria, I think I was a good manager. For instance, I told them "you can be demoralized, or bored one day. Tell me the truth, come and tell me that you want to go to the cinema, or you do not want to work today. I will give you a leave for that." I do not remember that I restricted my personnel too much to keep them under control For example, we had a car, we used to go to the farm on Saturdays, to the 'Central Restaurant'. I was so friendly to them.[277]

However, this did not mean that they were less authoritarian. Fahriye said that while she was the chief doctor of the hospital she was authoritarian and disciplined[278]. At the same time, she cared for all her staff and the staff loved her very much, because she secured their legal rights and made sure their promotions were made.

Saliha said that she was both respected and intimidating. But at the same time she stated that she was very much concerned with the problems of the people under her authority:

> I had always insisted on the rights of service personnel, as well as nurses. If there was a problem in another department, or an administrative problem, colleagues came to talk to me, and I talked to the head doctor of the hospital for them.[279]

6.3.3. Women's Attitudes Towards the Patriarchal Nature of Professions

Despite everything, these women strongly denied the existence of the effect of gender on professions and stressed the positive/objective features of the professions. They internalised

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[276] Mülhime said: "Benim servisimde işçi mümessili bile yoktu. Mühendis hanım bizim herşeyimizi müdafaa eder derlerdi, işçi mümessili seçmezlerdi.

[277] Belkıs said: „Ben kendime göre iyi bir yönetici olduğumu zannediyorum. Esela ben derdim ki "bir gün moraliniz bozuk olabilir, canınız sıkılabilir. Yalnız bana yalan söylemeyin, gelin deyin ki ben sinemaya gitmek istiyorum, bu gün çalışmak istemiyorum, ben size izin vereyim". Personalimi çok sıktığımı hatyırlamıyorum. Mesela bir arabamız vardı. Ne kullanırdım, bir sağlıkçı arkadaş kullanırdı. Cumartesi günleri çiftliğe giderdik, merkez lokantasına. O yakınlığı göstermiştim."

[278] She said in Turkish: "belediye hastanesini muma çevirdim", which means she built strong discipline in the hospital.

[279] saliha stated that: "Servis personelinin hakkını ararım.Hemşirenin hakkını ararım, başka serviste prıblem olan varsa gelir, başak arkadaşlar böyle idari bir şey varsa bana söylerler de ben onu bir şekilde açarım başhekime iletirim".

the attributed the identity of professions which suggested the priority of science and knowledge and gender neutrality. Such an identity corresponded with Kemalism as well as professionalism and was shaped by the patriarchy that is manifested through the articulation of these two ideological standpoints.

In the literature it is discussed that the patriarchal nature of professions suggests women not to bring their gender characteristics, which are assumed to be inappropriate, to the realm. Instead, they are expected to internalise the masculine characteristics of professions without questioning and to accept the masculine ethos of professions as given.

In this research the participant women strongly reject the idea that the realm of professions is a man made realm and has a masculine culture. On the contrary, for the participant women, the realm of professions is gender neutral:

> I am a professional, I am an architect. I can go and sit next to the foremen and talk with him. I do not think that 'he is a man I should not sit so close'. But within a relationship other than professional relationsip, I do not behave like that.[280]

On the other hand, women deny the effect of gender on professions, and instead emphasized the priority of reason and science. Nüzhet said that:

> When the matter is profession "science" appears. Scientific qualifications and talent become important. Gender becomes unimportant. Because it is positive science. Thus, it is not possible to be refused as a professional just because you are women. This could happen only if you are unqualified[281].

 The point was to obey the rules of the profession. Being professional was a matter of technique and reason:

> Execution of a profession is based on both intelligence and technical skills, rather than solely on feelings. A medical profession is a matter of technique and so is architecture. The only important thing is that the

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[280] Harika said:"Ben meslek sahibiyim, ben mimarım usta orada şey yaptıysa ben de onun yanına kadar giderim otururum onunla böyle yaparım. Hiç o erkek diye ben de onun burnuna sokuldum demem ama başka zaman olduğu zaman gidip de böyle olmaz ama orada şeyimiz o yani mesleğim benim"

[281] Nüzhet said: "zaten meslek girince işin içine bilim ortaya giriyor. kişinin yeteneği bilimdseşl yeterliliği önem kazanıyor. cinsiyetinin önemi kalmıyor. müsbet bilim olduğu için. dolayısıyla kadın oldukları için reddedilmeleri söz konusu değil. bu ancak bilimsel yeterlilikleri dolayısı ile olabilir.

professional has to think comprehensively. That is to say that s/he should be immersed in deep thought and also put these thoughts into practice[282].

These ways of thinking are very much related to the positivistic approach of the Republican period. As Mardin (1997) suggests, the Turkish Republic was built upon the rational positivistic basis and in that period science was seen as primary. Under the influence of this tendency, the participant women emphasized the priority of science and reason in their professions.

On the other hand, it is also argued that women's increasing participation in professions may affect the masculine character of professional occupations and the discourse of professions. For example, as McCrate (1989) states, with the increasing entrance of women to law, the practice of law has started to be questioned and the connections between family and career are recreated, or, as Coates (1994) points out, women's increasing entry to professions establishes the linguistic features of co-operative speech within the masculine discourse of professions.

However, in Turkey, women in the public realm are supposed to suppress their femininity and instead develop a slightly masculine identity. Thus, although their being professional was accepted and even supported, their being feminine was denied. Moreover, women themselves were required to deny their femininity through both professionalism and Kemalism. Thus, women's entry to the realm of professions challenged neither the masculine ethos of professions, nor the male discourse of the public realm. This can be seen as another manifestation of patriarchy within the articulation of professionalism and Kemalism.

Accordingly, it was interesting to observe that when I asked if women professionals had any impact on their professions, they replied to me as if I asked them if women's participation had resulted in any distortion in the professions. For example, NS insisted that:

> It makes no difference whether you are a woman or man. Actually, a profession like "attorney generalship" is a masculine profession. You have to be there (ready) if there is a murder in the middle of the night, or for a post mortem examination you should be there. That is to say there is

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[282] H said: "bir mesleği yürütmek histen ziyade, hem his ama akıl işidir aynı zamanda ve teknik işidir. Yani doktorluk da teknik işidir, mimarlık ta teknik işidir. Yani bunda sadece meslek sahibinin derin düşünmesi mühim. Yani düşündüğünü hakikaten düşünmesi ve onu tatbikata geçirmesi lazım."

no difference.[283]

Like NS, when others described their profession or their success or the huge effort they put into their profession, they sometimes likened themselves to men in order to describe how hard they have worked. For example, Belkıs said that "I coped with the difficulties like a man". According to this, Nicolson (1996) states that masculinity is related to success, achievement and power and femininity is perceived by men as passivity. In this regard, referring to an occupation with female attitudes means devaluing it.

Actually, some women challenged this. For example, when Saliha was chief of the Numune Hospital a woman who was very fat, married and pregnant applied for her internship in Saliha's department. People working with Saliha thought that she could not be successful. However, Saliha supported her and critically asked them "You mean a woman could not work where she wants just because she is married and pregnant? She belives in herself and therefore came to apply". Saliha adds that "actually she did a great job.[284]"

Only Cadihe mentioned her gender as an advantage for her profession:

> Architecture is a profession that addresses both sensation, and art, and also science. It is not like engineering. The latter lacks artistry. I mean, it does not have aesthetics. Architecture essentially has aesthetics. I believe that architecture is exactly a profession for women. Women think more diligently than men when compared. Men deal with problems in an agressive manner, on the other hand, women are more elegant when handling problems.[285]

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[283]NS said: "erkektir kadındır diye bir fark olmadı, zaten erkek mesleği gibi, savcılık filan hep erkek mesleği gibi gece vakti bir cinayet oldu oradasınız, otopsi yapılacak oradasınız. Yani bir farklılık yok"....

[284] Saliha said: "Yani şimdi bu hanım evlenmiş, hamile olmuş diye istediği yerde çalışmayacak mı? Kendine güveniyor gelmiş ve hakikaten de çok iyi çalıştı."

[285] Cahide said: "mimarlık hem hisse hitap eden, hem sanata hitap eden, hem fenne hitap eden bir meslek mimarlık, mesela mühendislik gibi değil. Mühendisliğin biraz sanat tarafı biraz azdır. Sanat tarafı yani estetik tarafı şeyi yoktur o kadar, estetik taraf asıl mimarlıktadır. Mimarlık bence tam kadın mesleği, bence. ... İncelik bakımından, kadınlar erkeklere nazaran daha ince düşünürler yani ne derlerse desinler. Her şey değil mi, biraz onlar daha cart curtla halletmeye çalışırlar, kadınlar biraz daha zarafet şeysidir."

6.4. Being a "Woman" as a Professional: Problems at Home

It is discussed that when there is strong state intervention in professions, women's participation becomes easier mainly because social policies help women to combine professional life with family life (Hantaris et al, 1996; Riska, 2001) [286]. In the Turkish case, women's entry was encouraged by the state discourse. In Turkey the state policy towards gender relations was assumed to be egalitarian (Z. Arat, 2002). Women were seen as citizens by the government and their participation in social life equal with men was supported. This fact appears within the *Language and History Congress* and was told to Güzin by her aunt who was participating in the Congress:

> The Language and History Congress took place in Dolmabahçe Palace. Teachers were invited to this congress. Atatürk saw that women and men was sitting separately. The director of the congress, I do not know who he was, asked Atatürk whether he likek this secluded sitting plan. Atatürk replied as follows: "Do you have a suspicion about Turkish women's chastity? What about men? Do you think that Turkish men are rapists? I do not want to see that kind of a thing anymore". After that, women and men sat together in the same place[287].

As discussed before, because there was an urgent need for an educated labour force to build the newly establishing institutions of the Republic, women's entry to the realm of professions was seen rather as an opportunity. As a matter of fact, it can be expected that this gender equality approach would help women to combine professional and family life.

However, the state did not offer any facilities concerning women's lives and responsibilities in the "private realm". The Republican State had made only the necessary regulations

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[286] According to results of their comparative research, Hantaris et al. indicate that women's participation in professions is high in France where state intervention to the professions is high compared to Britain where the state intervention to the professions is low. Similarly Riska (2001) states that in Nordic Countries legislations regarding professional women, such as parental leave, support women's participation in the professions. Moreover, according to the 1970s statistics the ratio of women's lawyers and physicians is considerably higher in the U.S.S.R., Democratic Republic of Germany, Poland and Turkey than in the U.S., U.K. Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. It is clear that the efficiency of the state plays an important role in increasing women's participation rates (see table 3.6.)

[287] Güzin said: "Kongre yapılıyor. Dil ve Tarih kongresi. Öğretmenler davet ediliyor. Dolmabahçe sarayında. Atatürk, bakıyor ki hanımlar bir yerde beyler bir yerde oturmuş. Kongreyi idare edecek kişi kimse, geliyor Atatürk'e 'Paşam' diyor. 'Muallime hanımları bir tarafta, muallim beyleri bir tarafta oturttum nasıl buldunuz?'. Atatürk şöyle bakıyor 'senin' diyor, 'Türk kadınının iffetine mi itimadın yok. Türk erkeğinin tecavüzkar olduğunu mu düşünüyorsun? Bir daha böyle bir şey görmeyim' diyor. Bir daha hanımlar beyler beraber karışık oturuyorlar."

concerning women's participation in education and professions without challenging the traditional gender roles (see 3.5.2.). The state support ensured women's participation within professions despite the strong traditional patriarchal structure that restricted women's social life considerably. However, the content of this support was exclusively ideological. As White (1993) suggests, the state "did not concern what happens behind the closed doors of the home"

Thus, women were obliged to realise their domestic responsibilities like a woman in the traditional patriarchal family, and their professional responsibilities like a man in the public realm. Despite all the problems, the work environment was much more egalitarian and less patriarchal than their domestic environment. The restrictions that arose from their domestic responsibilities were one of the most important problems of professional women in Turkey[288]. Since their gender was emphasised more at home than at work, it was much harder for them to be "women" as professionals than to be professionals as "women", because they were obliged to find a way to combine work and family responsibilities since no one else took care of them. Professional women, who were expected to be devoted to the Kemalist ideology and to the task of building a nation, were suggested to become "super-performers" to cope with the work- family dilemma.[289]

6.4.1. Marriage and Family:

In the end, the reproductive needs of the family were expected to be met by women. First of all, as it is suggested in the literature (see Luukkennen-Gronov and Stolte-Heiskanen, 1983), the participant women belived that marriage was a disadvantage for women, while being an advantage for men. In Cahide's words:

> Getting married is a right for women as it is for men. But when a man gets married it creates no problem for his work. He can come home whenever he wants to. When he comes he finds his dinner prepared. But

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[288] Similar tendencies can be seen in Gray's (1987) study. According to this, domestic responsibilities create one of the most problems of professional women.

[289] The term "superperformer" is used by Slade&Glazer, (1989).

it is not the same for women. [290]

Especially the ones who have never married thought that marriage for a professional woman was difficult. They believed that marriage and family is not compatible with professional work. Gültekin, Saliha and Şükran said that they did not regret they are unmarried. For Saliha and Şükran, thanks to their being single they were successful in their profession. Saliha stated that:

> Our work was so hard that we had no time even to think about marriage. If I were a man I would not marry with a woman who would work as much as we did. If we are successful in our profession (medicine and engineering) it is because we are not married. [291]

Şükran adds that:

> My profession (geology engineer) is incompatible with marriage. It is the same for the medical professions. I know many friends/colleagues who were very active and successful. For example, one of them who was an active professional before the marriage, hampered her professional responsibilities because she had to look after her house, husband and children after the marriage. She was obliged to do so for sure. She could not sustain her success in the same level at work. You wake up at 6, go to work at 7, stay at the hospital for 1 or 2 nights a week, then how would things go at home? Thus, we never thought of marriage. (...) actually our brothers did not think in the same way and got married immediately. [292]

As a single professional woman for Gültekin, the idea of marrying has a negative image. She comments:

> Marriage requires big sacrifices. I had both friends and relatives who got

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[290] Cahide said: "Şimdi mutlaka….Evlenmek bir erkeğin hakkı olduğu kadar bir kadının da hakkı. Ama evlenince adamın işi bozulmuyor, o yine işine devam ediyor, o yine akşam geleceği zaman geliyor, geldiği zamanda da sofraya oturuyor. Kadın öyle olmuyor maalesef, kadın meslek sahibi bile olsa......"

[291] Saliha said: "O kadar çalışma koşullarımız ağırdı ki evliliği düşünecek zaman olmadı bir... Bir de kendinizi erkek yerine koyun... Benim böyle çalışan bir hanımım olsun ben ister miyim? Evliliği düşünecek zaman bile olmadı. Eğer biz meslekte başarılıysak bunu evli olmadığımıza borçluyuz."

[292] Şükran said: "Bizim meslek hakikaten evlilikle bağdaşmaz. Doktor olarak da, ben bir çok arkadaşımı biliyorum da, evlendikten sonra çalışma düzenleri fark etti. Yani mesela bekarken çok daha aktif, daha başarılı bir hanım, evlendikten sonra tabiki eşine ve çocuğuna, evine bakmak için öbür tarafı aksattı. Mecbur kalıyor tabi. Aynı başarıyı gösteremiyor. Hakikaten sabah altıda kalkacaksınız, 7'de evden çıkıp gideceksiniz. Ondan sonra haftada bir iki gece nöbet tutacaksınız, hastanede kalacaksınız. E evde nasıl yürüyecek bu işler...Düşünmedik hiç (evlenmeyi) (...) Vallahi erkek kardeşlerimiz bizim gibi düşünmediler hemen hepsi evlendi"

married. Unfortunately, I also saw how much they were oppressed. I hope women today are not oppressed. You make every kind of sacrifice. You work as your husband does. You come back home in a hurry in the evenings, and prepare the dinner. Your husband puts up his feet and orders you to bring his coffee. It is impossible for me. [293]

Not only marriage but especially pregnancy was problematic for professional women. According to Cahide:

Even you have a profession, there is this pregnancy. Is this to say that I wo not have children because of my profession? Think that you want a baby. You ca not easily go outside in the last months of your pregnacy. You have such bodily difficulties....Women are disadvantaged. Always it is like that. Although you are on the ball, have an ultra intelligence and perform an important profession, even if you are practicing, you are always disadvantaged. A I said, if I were an employer and had a vacant position, and two people applied for this position, I would still prefer to hire a male employee despite the fact that I am a women. This is because of my belief that a female employee would have extra responsibilities when she is working. This is also because I know that she is making lots of sacrifices if she is devoting herself to her work. I mean, I made lots of sacrifices, I do not know if my children realize the worth of these sacrifices. Of course they realize. [294]

Cahide seems to agree with the managers with whom Homans (1987) has interviewed. According to Homans, managers generally think that women employees are unreliable because they leave work when they become pregnant. However, as I mentioned in the first chapter, Homans's research indicates that pregnancy was a less important reason than lack of advancement, which men actually leave the job for.

However, women who are qualified professionals experience contradicting roles owing to the professional identity at work and the gender identity at home. As I have mentioned

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[293]Gültekin said: "Çok büyük fedakarlık istiyor çok!…. Hem arkadaşlarım hem çevremde evlenenleri gördüm. Ne kadar ezildiklerini de gördüm maalesef. İnşallah şimdiki hanımlar ezilmiyordur. Her türlü fedakarlığı yaparsın. Sen de çalışırsın beraberce. Akşam koşa koşa eve gelirsin, yemeği hazırlarsın. Adam ayağını uzatır kahvemi getir der. Bu bana göre olacak iş değil."

[294] Cahide said: "Meslek sahibi de olsa bir defa hamilelik var. Ben meslek sahibi oldum diye çocuk sahibi olmayayım mı? e çocuk sahibi olmak istediniz mi? 4-5 ay adam akıllı öyle çıkamıyorsunuz her yere filan böyle bir haldesiniz yani zor tarafları var doğrusu. ...Yani kadınlar dezavantajlı durumdalar. Daima. Kafan da çalışsa, ultra bir zeka sahibi de olsan, en önemli bir mesleği de yapıyor olsan, hatta tatbikini yapmış olsan bile yine de kadınlar dezavantajlı. İşte dediğim gibi ben de işveren olsam, bir tek açığım olsa, iki kişi müracaat etse erkeği tercih ederim kadın olduğum halde e çünkü öbürkünün bir takım şeyleri çıkacak böyle çalışırken....Çünkü biliyorum kadın işine çok bağlıysa, çok şey yapıyorsa çok fedakarlık yapıyor demektir. Ben çok fedakarlık yaptım, çocuklarım bilmem bunun kıymetini bilirler mi."

before, their professional identity was strong and primary. For example, Lamia said that she had done the most necessary housework but not more. She thinks in order to be able to succeed in her profession she should work primarily for her profession. In her words "you should either be in the kitchen or in your office" [295].

What makes marriage an obstacle for women professionals is not only the gender ideology which assumes that women's primary responsibility is domestic work, but also the patriarchal nature of professions which suggests that the reproductive needs of professionals, whom are supposed to be male, should be met by their wives. So, men can give all their efforts to their work. The gendered division of labour of the traditional patriarchal family corresponds with the man-made structure of professionalism. This can be seen as a manifestation of patriarchy within professionalism.

It is argued that, from a male point of view, professionals are assumed to be career-oriented but not family-oriented. Thus, women, who are assumed to be family-oriented, are seen as less suitable for being professional (Luukkennen-Gronov and Stolte-Heiskanen, 1983). When we see professions as a closure system, it is possible to say that all these arguments were the parts of exclusion strategies of patriarchal closure against women (Alvarez et al, 1996; Cavagnagh, 2003; Witz, 1992). The structure of the patriarchal family creates the basis for this exclusion.

6.4.1.1. Surviving within the Patriarchal Family as a Professional Woman:

For professional women, marriage and family themselves are not the sources of the problems. Luukkennen-Gronov and Stolte-Heiskanen (1983) conclude from their research held in France that marriage can have positive effects on women's professional life when there is an egalitarian relationship between men and women within the family.

The difficult conditions of the professional women within the family were created by the

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[295] In Lamia's words: "Evvela adamlarımız vardı.(...) Zaman zaman annem yanımızda olduğunda o meşgul olurdu. Fakat annem her zaman olmazdı. Bir kadınımız vardı. Devamlı evimde yatan değil, gündüz gelen akşama kadar mutfak yapan. Bazen her gün gelirdi. Ankara'da her gün gelmiş olmayabilir. Haftada üç gün falan, o bakımdan mutfağa girmedim. Ev işlerini hiç sevmedim. Ama gerektiği kadar yaptım, ama baktım olmadı. Çünkü ya mutfakta olacaksınız, ya masanın başında. Şimdi de öyleyim."

patriarchal structure of the family in which there was a hierarchical division of labour by sex. It appears in various forms:

First, according to patriarchal marriage and the division of labour within the family a woman's major duty was being a housewife who realises her domestic responsibilities. However, the range of reproductive work and the definition of domestic responsibilities could be very wide. Nüzhet's husband's expectations from his wife who was working as a professional is an example:

> One day I was reporting a case when my husband called the office. He had lost his cuff link. He asked me where they were and I told him where he could find them and said I was reporting the case to the committee. He told me to resign immediately and come back home…[296]

When I asked if this was a joke she answered:

> No, He was serious. I told the chairman that "I have to go home, my husband told me so". He said "go and solve the problem"(...) Of course I did not resign.[297]

The patriarchal structure of the traditional family was so strong that not only men but also women themselves believed that domestic work was their own duty. For example, Guzin naturally accepted that her husband did not have time for such responsibilities, she definitely had to look after her house and children. Similarly, NS believes that:

> We accepted it in this way in our household anyway. Women fulfil housework, men work outside; we were socialized in this way, our families were in this form. Our mothers did not work, rather they engaged in housework. Our fathers were the breadwinners. More or less, this understanding was maintained throughout our working lives. For example, my husband liked to have our meals in restaurants, but I was disgusted with restaurant foods. I did not eat vegetable meals, since I was concerned about how they were washed, and cooked. I tired myself because of that. But now…. I do not know. [298]

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[296] Nüzhet said: "Yalnız bir gün dairede dosyayı anlatıyordum. Eşim ……kol düğmelerini bulamamış. Bana telefon etti. 'Kol düğmelerimi bulamadım nerede' diyor. Ben heyette dosya anlatıyorum, söyledim yerini. Derhal istifa et eve gel dedi.."

[297] Nüzhet said: "Hayır, ciddi. Reise söyledim eve gitmek mecburiyetindeyim kocam öyle diyor. Hadi git dedi. Meseleyi hallet dedi (...) Orada söyledi bitti o kadar. Bırakır mıyım işi. Devam ediyoruz işe."

[298] NS said: "Aile içinde valla biz o şekilde kabul etmiştik zaten. Ev işlerini kadınların yapacağını, erkeğin dışarıda çalışacağını o şekilde yetişmiştik yetişirken, ailelerimiz o şekildeydi. Annelerimiz

Second, within this traditional structure of the patriarchal family and masculine structure of the professions, pregnancy and child care became one of main obstacles that interrupted women's career development. As I have mentioned before, some of the women participants quit their jobs for a considerable period of time for that reason. For example, NS stopped working for 5-6 years when she had her children. She complains that "My husband….. After we had a child I could not continue to work. I was willing to but I could not work for a long period."[299]

Nezihe contiued to work at home, returning to work when her daughter was almost 15 years old. Similarly Belkıs stated that:

> Firstly, my husband wanted very much for me to stay at home for 3-4 years. I started working only after I hired a maid and when my children were old enough to express their discomfort with their maid. I took care of them through their babyhood.[300]

Especially regarding pregnancy, legislation did not help women. There were only 20 days prenatal leave and 20 days maternity leave. Under these conditions, women were either forced to interrupt their work or suffered from a lack of income. Actually, most of the women continued to work while they were pregnant or caring for a child at the same time. As I have mentioned before, they worked at home since their professions allowed them to (like Güzin, Nezihe and Harika).

Some others continued to work in their workplace during pregnancy and after they had their children. Nuriye, Cahide, Safiye, Güzin, Mefkure and Hamide did not take a break from their work. Güzin said: "I had never stopped working. I left the job just one week before the birth and went to Istanbul. I stayed for one month there. Then I came back to Afyon and

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çalışmıyordu, ev işleri ile meşguldü, babalarımız çalışıyordu. Ama çalışma yaşamında da yine aynı şey devam etti aşağı yukarı. Mesela kocam lokantada yemek yiyelim, sen çalışıyorsun diye şey etmiştir. Fakat ben lokanta yemeğinden tiksinirim, öyle şey sebze falan yiyemem. Nasıl yıkadılar, nasıl yaptılar diye… Yemeye meraklıyımdır. Onun için kendimi yordum. Şimdi…. bilmiyorum."

[299] NS said:"Kocam… Çocuğumuz olduktan sonra ben çalışmaya devam edemedim. Çok istedim ama uzun süre çalışamadım".

[300] "Belkıs said: "Evvela ben…. Kocam çok istedi, 3-4 sene evde kaldım. Çocuklarım, hizmetçi geldiğinde memnun değillerse şikayet edebilecek duruma geldikten sonra ben çalışmaya başladım. Bebekliklerinde hep ben baktım"

immediately started working"[301]. Safiye protected her pregnant colleagues or women colleagues who had little babies when she had a managerial position at the hospital since she remembered how she suffered from the hard working conditions when she had her baby. Mefkure did not want to leave the job but suffered from the limited maternity leave of only 20 days after the birth which was not really enough:

> It was impossible for me to work. How could I leave them since I have to feed them regularly. I took a birth leave to deal with that. My breasts grew so fat. Think that birth leave was limited to 20 days at those times. I mean it was impossible for me. The previous leave before the birth was limited to 20 days, too but I did not take it. My classes fit into this time schedule. I had 3 days at school, I did not take any other leave and kept studying until the last minute.[302]

Then, she wanted to take medical report which turned into an experience that annoyed her very much:

> I went to the maternity ward (…..)There was a guy, …. We were in the policlinic. He said, "doctor hanım, welcome".I guess he recognized me, Mediha Hanım had taken me there when I had my first miscarriage. He said "I will do tuşe and check you". I said I did not want that kind of an examination, I was ashamed. (….) Tuşe means to exam the vagina by finger. It was the wrong method to be applied 20 days after the childbirth. I could get a microbe, there was a birth stitch there, and so on. I was wearing a hygenic pad because of intensive bleeding. It was apparent. I was a doctor so familiar with the situation. He said "I will do tuşe, I treated your miscarriage, so I can do this, too." I shut up, but I was very angry. Then, he examined me and gave me an additional 20-day leave. He was pretending to be dutiful. Get out of here! I beg your pardon, but what's related to his duty there? It was apparent. I have a life, and people know what type of a person I am. I am not a kind of person who neglects her job. Nonsense! It was a natural right of women, I had insisted on that for a long time. A woman cannot go back to her job 20 days after childbirth. Since then, the number of days for leave have

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[301] Güzin said : "(Çalışmaya) Hiç ara vermedim. Bir doğuma gelirken bir hafta evvel ayrıldım Afyon'dan geldim doğum yaptım. Bir ay İstanbul'da kaldım. Tekrar Afyon'a döndüm ve hemen vazifeye başladım"

[302] Mefkure said: "Eee benim kalkmama imkan yok. Hem nasıl bırakayım, boyna emzirmem lazım. Aldım öyle gidiyor. Göğüslerim böyle şişti. O zaman 20 gündü düşün. Doğum izni 20 gün. İmkanı yok yani. Öncesi de 20 gün ama ben evvelcesini almadım. Yani öyle geldi ki derslerim de uygun geldi. 3 gün mü ne işte bir şey oldu. İzin almaya lüzum olmadı yani son dakikaya kadar çalıştım."

been increased. Not due to my complaints, but it worked, too.[303]

Such examples bring to mind that the conditions under which women were expected to enter the realm of professions, i.e. with an asexual or slightly masculine identity, was not limited with their image. In professions, not only their images but also their performance is expected to be similar with men. Here Kemalism together with professionalism operate on women's bodies as well as professional work in a patriarchal way. Thus, their being pregnant was seen as a minor detail which a woman could manage to recover from in 20 days.

Third, their use of the facilities such as nursery schools depended on the approval of the traditional patriarchal family. It is also interesting that when a professional woman has some opportunities which would help her to balance work-family conflict she may not be able to use them because of the value system of the patriarchal family structure. Mefkure was offered a nursery school for her child so that she could continue to work at the "Olgunlaşma Enstitusü"[304]. The rest of the story is significant:

> The institute had a créche. Teachers were awaiting their turns; they would get pregnant if there would be any place for their babies in the créche. I had established a laboratory there, everybody was pleased, including my nurses. They wanted me to stay there. They offered me a place in the créche; this was a great favor. My husband was assigned to Van. (....). I wrote a letter to him: "They asked me to stay and offered a place in the créche". He did not like this proposal and said: "I do not like my child to be caressed by everybody, as an animal in the zoo". Finally, I resigned from there. [305]

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[303] Mefkure said: "Ben doğumevine gittim. Bir de şey vardı… Ay hepsi aklımdaydı ama…Böyle çok kaşlı gözlü bir adam vardı. Bunlar poliklinikteler. Doktor hanım 'buyurun' dedi. Beni hatırladı herhalde, Mediha hanım götürdüğü için ilk düşükte. 'Tuşe yapacağım bakacağım' dedi. Ben de sıkıldım yani istemiyorum.(...) Tuşe parmakla muayene demek. O da hata hakikaten. Çünkü loğusaya 20 günken tuşe yapılmaz. Çünkü mikrop kapar, dikiş da var. Yahu şakır şakır zaten ped falan tutmuyor. Döşü akıyor görüyorsun yani. Ben de doktorum, vaziyeti biliyorum. 'Doktor hanım' dedi 'madem işte düşüğünü de ben görmüşüm, gel ben tuşe edeyim' falan… Sesimi çıkartamadım ama hınçlandım. Neyse bu tuşe yaptı. Raporu 20 gün daha verdiler lütfen. (...) Vazifeşınaslık yapıyor. Ulan vazifenin!! yani afedersin. Şeklinden belli. Ben sonra… Benim bir hayatım var, beni tanıyanlar var. Öyle kaçamak yapacak (işten kaçacak) bir insan değilim. Saçmalık. Yani kadın hakkı…. Ben bunu çok söyledim tabi. Yahu olmaz bu 20 günde bir loğusa vazifesine gidemez. Ondan sonra arttırdılar işte.Yani benim söylememle değil ama benim çok söylemem de tesir etti."

[304] A higher education institute for mature students of home economics, tailoring and handcrafts

[305] Mefkure said: "Enstitünün kreşi vardı. Hocalar sıraya giriyor hamile kalmak için, kreşte yer açılırsa ona göre hamile kalacaklar enstitü hocaları. Orada laboratuar falan kurmuşum. Hemşirem dahil herkes memnun. İllaki kalmamı istiyorlar. 'Sizi kreşe alalım' dediler bu büyük bir lütuf. Eşimi Van'a tayin ettimişlerdi. (...) Ben eşime bir mektup yazdım: 'Ayrılma da kreşe alalım diyorlar' diye. O

Mefkure's experience was directly related to the private patriarchy which occurs within the gender relations in the structure of the traditional family. Similarly, what forced the women to leave the job was not the pregnancy itself but the ideological structure that recommends women go back to their house to realise their primary responsibility which is supposed to be child care and housework.

Especially those women used the support system to be able to continue working. In this regard, according to the narratives of participant women I agree with Homans that the obstacle of pregnancy and child rearing is a patriarchal myth. At first glance, in most of the cases, pregnancy and childrearing seemed to interrupt women's careers in the first glance. However, at second glance, it was not the facts of pregnancy and child rearing that forced women to leave the job but the widesperead cultural and traditional attitudes that are basically patriarchal.

6.4.1.2. Dependent Career Plans

Primarily when women made a choice towards a career, they knew that they were obliged to perform the family responsibilities as well. This obligation sometimes determined their career choices. Since women's professional work was not seen as their major responsibility, their career plans were generally dependent on their families.

As it was in other work patterns, in professions women tried to work in less time demanding and more flexible forms to be able to realise their domestic responsibilities. The whole career of Harika was devoted to her family and her children. Harika started to work at home after she had her twins. She worked at home hard in long hours despite her twins. But her working conditions were determined by her children. She worked on what she could at home, but the place of where she worked were determined by the needs of her twins:

> We started to enter to project competitions by working 10 to 12 hours a day. We had prepared a spare room for our children. I was working on

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da istemedi 'Hayvanat bahçesi gibi gelip kreşte herkesin gelip çocuğu okşamasını istemem' dedi. Velhasıl ben oradan istifamı verdim."

the desk that I put in the living room. I could only study like that.[306]

From 1960 till 1964 she worked in a part time job to be able to look after her son since he was weak after a serious disease:

> I entered the university as a counsellor architect, like an arbitrator controlling the work there. However, my son would not go to school for a year, so I had to find a regular job. This position suited with my plans. I was going to work two days a week. Out contracting as a counsellor was arranged like that. It was not a high salary, but I worked.[307]

After that, she opened a store specializing in ready made clothing. This was because she thought if she would work in a government job from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. she would not be flexible, so she decided to open a boutique. Harika's story appears to be a story of how a woman gives up her profession, although she loves it, for her family. When she lost her connection with her profession, she also lost her connection with one of the components that she refered to as part of her identity. Thus it was not a simple change within the career plans.

In other cases, women refused better positions in their professions in the name of their family responsibilities. Lamia expresses the regret she feels now because she refused an important position which was offered to her, due to her family responsibilities:

> For example, discernment. My name was considered for the position of the membership of the Supreme Court. I did not pay attention to that membership, because I could not leave my daugter due to my family. The working conditions of this position was another criterion I was not interested in that position. However, today I believe that you have to aim at getting to the highest position in your career. I lost that chance. Yet, I realized that my family had accepted that this proposal or my desire for the membership in the Supreme Court was met half-way. But, reaching to the peak of your career is a very good thing to realize.[308]

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[306] Harika said: "Günde 10-12 saat çalışarak yine proje yarışmalarına katılmaya başladık. Çocuklara ayırdığımız bir oda vardı. Ben mesela oturma odasına masa koyup çalışıyordum. Ancak öyle oluyordu"

[307] Harika said: "Ben üniversiteye müşavir mimar olarak girdim. işte oradaki yapılan işlerde bir nevi hakem gibi. Ama şimdi benim oğlum bir sene okula gitmeyecek, onun için devamlı bir iş istemiyorum. Bu benim çok işime geldi. Haftada 2 gün gidiyorduk. Müşavir olarak mukavelemiz öyleydi. Çok yüksek bir ücret değildi ama işte hiç olmazsa fayda ediyorduk."

[308] Lamia said: "Mesela temiz Yargıtay üyeliği konusunda benim ismim geçti. Ailem dolayısıyla, kızımı bırakmamak, yani ailemin durumu, şartları dolayısıyla hiç ilgilenmedim halbuki şimdi şunu söylüyorum; bir meslekteyseniz, o mesleğin en yüksek mertebesine kadar çıkmayı hedefleyiniz. Ben bu şansı kaçırdım, 'çocuklar var' dedim. Halbuki sonradan anladım ki onlar bile kabul etmişlerdi.

Professional women married with professional men generally respect the demands of their husbands' career development (Fos and Hess-Biber, 1984). This is also true for the participant women. In this research the women who were married changed -or even made- their career plans due to their husbands' career development. The women participants sometimes tried to adjust themselves to their husbands' career plans. Safiye stated that after she graduated from the Faculty of Medicine she decided to specialise in internal medicine although she wanted to be a gynaecologist, because, she thought she would probably travel with her husband who was working in the armed forces, and in those conditions it would be impossible for her to have a stable clinic or a private consulting room. On the other hand, if she specialised in internal medicine then she would be able to work with a stereoscope and a sphygmomanometer which she could easily carry to anywhere her husband would be assigned.

NS wanted to be assinged to Çivril, the place where her husband worked. However, she recived an answer saying that it was not possible. In this manner, she stopped working as a judge and become a self employed lawyer in Çivril.

If we have a look at Belkıs' words we can easily see how determinant and dominant her husbands' career plan was on her own career:

> I graduated from the faculty in the first rank. (.....) However, becoming a judge was not possible for me. I could not enter such a career, because they made me get married as soon as I graduated, when I was 21. I did not work until my children were old enough to complain about their discomfort with their maid, then I started working. I had to look after them all through their babyhood. My father wanted me to become a self-employed lawyer. Although he was not a wealthy man as an official, he rented a bureau for me and I worked comfortably for 2 years as a lawyer connected with the bar. However, when the state sent my husband to Germany, people told me –youth years- "do not leave your husband for two years, why do not you go with him. It can be useful for you". I went to Germany six months after he had gone, and stayed there for 1.5 years. (….) We did not have enough money to rent a bureau when we come back to Turkey. Therefore, I entered Sumerbank as an official. [309]

Onlar yüzünden benim Yargıtay üyeliği arzum yahut talep ortada kaldı. Halbuki bir mesleğin zirvesinde olmak güzel şeydir."

[309] Belkıs said: "Fakülteyi birincilikle bitirdim(....) Ama hakim veya savcılık o tarihte kısmet değilmiş oraya intisap edemedim. Çünkü hemen evlendirdiler beni 21 yaşında evlendim (1942).(....) Evvela, kocam çok istedi 3-4 sene evde kaldım. Çocuklarım hizmetçi geldiğinden sonra memnun değillerse

They sometimes resigned from their positions to be able to live in the city where their husbands worked. Lamia wanted to be assigned to İstanbul since her husband was working there. She said:

> I had to go to Istanbul, I believed that my family could dissolve after my husband's leave. I went to Istanbul on the condition that I would go back at the nearest suitable time. I had resigned before I move to İstanbul.[310]

Nezihe resigned unwillingly from her work to join her husband who was doing his military service:

> Pertev had become a reserve officer. One day, he called me and said "Nezihe, I have completed the duration of my duty and become an officer". I said "wonderful" Then he told me: "I drew Balıkesir. Will you come with me?".His family was from Balıkesir. I replied "sure, I love the countryside" and then hung up the phone. While I was grumbling, Saim Bey was with me. I told him that Pertev became an officer and we would move to Balıkesir. He asked if Pertev had become a Pasha. In fact, he was teasing me. He wondered how we would live on with Pertev's officer salary. I said "no, his position is higher than a pasha's position. He has become a lieutenant general". Anyway, I did not go to work the next day (which meant she had resigned from work) .[311]

şikayet edebilecek duruma geldikten sonra ben çalışmaya başladım. Bebekliklerinde hep ben baktım. Sonra avukatlık stajımı yaptım (1947-1948). Kocam serbest avukat olmamı çok istiyordu. Bana kendi imkanları memur olarak çok fazla olmamasına rağmen büro açtı ve ben çok güzel 2 sene çalıştım baroya kayıtlı olarak. Fakat devlet kocamı Almanya'ya gönderince dediler -gençlik yılları- 'iki sene neden kocanı yalnız bırakıyorsun sen de faydalanırsın, sen de git'. Ben, kocam gittikten altı ay sonra Almanya'ya gittim ve 1,5 sene Almanya'da kaldım.(...) (Döndüğümüzde) tekrar yazıhane açmaya paramız yoktu. O zaman Sümerbank'a memur olarak girdim."

[310] Lamia said: "İstanbul'a gitmem gerekiyordu. Çünkü eşim ayrılacaktı falan, ve biraz aile dağılabilirdi diye düşündüm. Yeniden münasip olan zamanda dönmek kaydıyla İstanbul'a döndüm, yani istifa ederek İstanbul'a döndüm."

[311] Nezihe said: "Pertev de yedek subay oldu. Yedek subaylığı bitmiş meğerse bir gün telefon etti daireye, dedi ki 'ben subay oldum Nezihe' dedi. 'İyi maşallah' dedim ondan sonra 'Balıkesir'i çektim' dedi, 'gider misin?' dedi. Onlar Balıkesir'li…. Ondan sonra 'tabi' dedim 'ben kırları severim'. Artık kapattım telefonu söylendim… Ondan sonra, Saim bey de orada, 'Pertev subay çıktı' dedim, 'biz Balıkesir'e gidiyoruz'. 'Kardeşim dedi paşa mı oldu dedi'. 'Subay olduktan sonra nasıl geçineceksin?' der gibi. 'Yok paşa değil' dedim 'paşaların üstü oldu. Korgeneral oldu' dedim. Neyse ben ertesi gün gitmedim işe."

6.4.2. Coping Strategies

As I have mentioned before, because of the lack of social provisions women professionals in Turkey were left alone to cope with the family-work dilemma. Although the state passed the necessary legislation to ensure women's participation in the professions and emotionally encouraged women to become professionals, it did not build a support system which helped women to combine professional responsibilities with family responsibilities. So, they had to create specific strategies by themselves to cope with work-family conflict. These strategies were more or less common to all participant women in the study. İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa (2001) point out in their study that when women were directly asked about what kind of help they got in carrying out housework and childcare almost all of them talked about the domestic servants and women relatives:

> A forgotten or disguised part of the modernization stories involves how the so called 'new women' managed to be successful in being career women and at the same time good housewives, which can be considered a cliche in dominant discourse of modernization and in some sociological accounts. What is concealed in this account? Whereas public discourse defined 'new women' as good mothers, wives and housewives, it did not tell about the labour of servants and women kin, which we observed in almost all the accounts (İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa: 2001: 7?).

Within this research it is observed that professional women not only had the help of maids and women kin. They were also helped by their colleagues and friends especially at work. Moreover, they organized their work with respect to their family responsibilities, chose appropriate types of work and established home-offices.

6.4.2.1. Maids

First of all, both for child caring and for domestic work, the professional women emloyed a maid. Because they generally came from upper middle class families, they could easily afford to employ someone. Those employees were generally women who would help them with their domestic responsibilities. Such a trend can also be seen among the professional women in Turkey today. It is argued that since the unskilled women constitute the cheap labour force in urban places, it is very common to use the labour of such a woman to overcome the work-family dillema (see, 3.2. and also see Öncü, 1982).

According to the participant women's narratives, there was a division of labour between the maids and them. The housework, which requires less responsibility, was done by a maid:

> Our maid would do the laundry. One of them lived with us for 14 years, the other one used to come at 7 o'clock in the mornings and leave in the evenings. When my husband came home early, he let her to go. I taught her how to cook. I used to clean the dishes and leave them to be washed. [312]

In this respect, it is possible to see that a maid did not totally free women from her domestic responsibilities. The participant women were not saved even from the housework. The maid was helping women with the house, but the main responsibility was still on women. Thus, although a maid created an opportunity to decrease the burden of the housework, it had nothing to do with the gender relations. Women were still counted as the ones who were primarily responsible for the domestic work.

In some cases a maid saved women from becoming a complete housewife while she was a successful professional. Nezihe needed a maid not to be engaged with housework so much, but not to lose her connection with her professions. Although she was at home and, after her pregnancy, she stayed at home for a considerable period of time, she hired a woman:

> We had a regular charwoman. She would wash the napkins, and the do other housework. I was occupied with my child. In the first months, I did not get any development plans anyway. I just gave opinion on them. Pertev and I had two painters, I was giving ideas to them on their tasks. I would give the preliminary sketch, and they would apply it. However, I noticed that I needed someone to help me regularly, so that I would not get tired. Otherwise, I was concerned about losing my interest with irregular working, so I hired a boarding charwoman. She cared for my children, cooked for us, and fulfilled all other housework. I started working every morning form 9'o clock up to 12 o'clock like an official as soon as Pertev left home. At 12 o'clock I would have my lunch and then have a 2 hour sleep. When I got up, I would smoke 2 cigarettes and drink a cup of coffee. A very lovely maid worked for me for ten years, she was the wife of our doorkeeper. She would wake me up "get up Hanımım,

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[312] Belkıs said: "Yardımcımız, temizlik çamaşır işlerini yapardı. Bir 14 sene gece gündüz kaldı. Biri 7'de gelirdi akşam giderdi. Kocam eve erken gelirse onu gönderirdi. Günlük yemekleri ona öğretmiştim. Akşam bulaşığı çalkalar bırakırdım."

your coffee is ready". Then, I worked until Pertev came home.[313]

Nezihe's words indicate that women's participation in professions and their continuing their career was sometimes ensured by maids.

Relatedly, İlyasoğlu and Durakbaşa (2001) state that a significant consequence of women's entering to the professions is that the creation of a group of elite professional women has gone hand in hand with the emergence of a class of female servants. However, in a broader sense, hiring a women for the domestic works strengthened the patriarchal idea that suggests women must do the housework.

6.4.2.2. Women Relatives

As a second solution, almost all the married women participants stated that they used the help of their women relatives. Unmarried women employed the help of their mothers and sisters to meet some of their reproductive needs. Married women with children benefited from women kin's help especially for child rearing. Like hiring a maid, this is also a continuing trend in Turkey where there is a strong network among the women relatives to support each other   (Kandiyoti, 1997; Öncü, 1981; Z.Arat, 1998a).

In that period the pregnancy leave was only 20 days and thus breast feeding became a problem for working women. To overcome this problem they took the help of the women of their family. Safiye told that most of the time her sister-in-law brought her child to the hospital which is near their house for breast feeding. Similarly, Hamide took the help of her two sisters-in-law and her mother-in-law. She said "they always tried to ease my burden after I had my child (…)". When I asked if she had suffered from a double burden she answered:

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[313] Nezihe said: "O zamanlara gündelikçi geliyordu, bezini yıkıyordu şunu yapıyordu bunu yapıyordu. Ben çocuğumla meşgul oluyordum falan. İlk aylarda zaten pek imar planı da almadım, yapmadım. Fikir veriyordum. Pertevle iki tane ressamımız vardı onlara fikir veriyordum. Eskiz yapıyordum çalışıyorlardı. Fakat yorulmamam için daimi adama ihtiyaç olduğunu anladım. Aksi halde bir düzensiz çalışma ile bu çalışma hevesimin kaybolmasından korktum onun için gece yatısına bir kadın tuttum. Çocuğuma baktı, bize yemek pişirdi, her şeyi yaptı. Ben de memur gibi sabah dokuzda Pertev gider gitmez işimin başına oturdum 12'ye kadar. 12'de yemeğimi yedim iki saat uzanırdım. Ondan sonra kalkarım iki sigara içerim bir kahve. Çok tatlı da bir kadınım vardı 10 sene çalıştı bana, kapıcının karısı. ,Kalk hanım kalk kahveler hazır' diye gelir bana. Ondan sonra çalışırdım Pertev gelene kadar."

"I did not , if I say so it will not be true. There was always the power of help."[314] By looking at those narratives it is possible to say that the help of kin women simplified women's conditions and thus contributed to their success at work.

6.4.2.3. Colleagues and Other Friends

Third, especially when women had childeren their friends helped them to undertake their professional responsibilities properly. As an example, Safiye had overcome the obstacle of night duty during the period with the help of her colleagues. Although she was forced to have nightly duty by her supervisors, her friends took over this responsibility for her:

> It was impossible to neglect the turn. It would take one week apiece. There was not baby food at that time, I was breast-feeding my child. I waited until eight o'clock in the evening, and meanwhile my husband's sister used to take my baby to the office when he needed to be fed. Each day one of my friends was voluntary for my turn, s/he came at eight o'clock in the evening. I came in the morning. Then I could stay at home at nights on the condition that my friends had taken my responsibility at work when I was not there. I was thankful to them during this period[315]

Safiye had overcome the restrictions of working conditions that makes it impossible to combine work and family responsibilities by the solidarity at work.

6.4.2.4. Home-Offices

To establish home-offices was the fourth solution that the participant women invented to overcome the work-family dilemma. As long as their professions allowed them, they preferred to work in an environment where they could arrange working hours on their own

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[314] Hamide said: "(Çocuk olduktan sonra zorluklar) başladı ama mümkün olduğunca benim yükümü hafifletmeye çalıştılar. (...) Görümcelerim kayınvalidem (...) Hiçbir zaman çocuk bana yük olmamıştır. Zaten üç hala vardı. (aile sorumluluklarını yerine getirmekte güçlük) çekmedim çektim desem yalan olur"

[315] Safiye said: „Nöbete gitmemek yoktu. Nöbetimiz birer hafta sürerdi. Daha mama yok bişey yok, ben çocuğumu emziriyorum… Ben saat sekize kadar beklerdim. Bu arada görümcem çocuğu getirip götürürdü. Akşam sekiz gibi gelirdi bir arkadaşım, benim yerime gönüllü kalırdı. Ben sabahleyim geliyordum. Yani geceleri evde kaldım, arkadaşlarım benim yerime bakması şartıyla. Bu dönemi arkadaşlarıma minnet borcu duyarak geçirdim."

and where they could realise their domestic responsibilities especially when they were pregnant or their children were young. For example, when Güzin's child was sick she could look after her and work at the same time as her consulting room was at home:

> Once, my child was feverish. I had to care for a patient at the same time. I would go to care for the patient, and my child. I would write a prescription for the patient, then look after my child. I was lucky because both my office and home were in the same place; the lower floor was my office, and the upper floor was my home. I managed things in that way[316].

On the other hand, I had an impression from their way of expressing their pregnancy that for a pregnant women to work or to be in the public sphere was not accustomed to or morally acceptable. I also noticed that being pregnant was something to be ashamed of. For example, Nezihe told that she could not say to her manager that she was pregnant, she just resigned from the job. Although they tried hard to convince her and offered to increase her salary she did not accept the job. Some of them told me that they tried to hide the changes in their bodily features because of the pregnancy. Some women stated that they could easily work during the first months of their pregnancy, until their pregnancy became apparent. Naciye said that "when I was pregnant no one recognized it till the eighth month. Then I used my leave[317]". However, there is no material basis for women to be isolated from social life just because they are pregnant. It was only a social expectation full of patriarchal values saying that a pregnant woman should not work in the public sphere.

Because there was no physical problem which hindered them from working, they could work. Since they did not have to see their clients face-to face when working from home, some women preferred to work from home during their pregnancies. For example, Harika worked at home during her pregnancy, and it was still hard work. She said although she was not going to the office, at home she worked for the project competitions which they attended with her husband and some other colleagues,

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[316] Güzin said: "Çocuğum ateşlendi. O sırada çocuğumun yanındayken ben hastaya da bakmak mecburiyetindeydim. Gidiyordum hastaya bakıyordum, geliyordum çocuğuma bakıyorum. Hastanın reçetesini yazıp gelip ona bakıyordum. İkisi arasında işte… Bir şansım aynı yerde olmasıydı muayenehaneyle evin. Altı dükkan, üstü bir kattı böyle. O şekilde idare ettim."

[317] Naciye said: "Valla hamilelikte hiç kimse fark etmedi hamile olduğumu. Hep gömlek giyiyordum ve hiçbir zaman dar giymezdim. Onun için fark etmediler. Sonra belli oldu. Yedi aydan sonra da istirahat aldım."

sometimes working all night until the next morning, up to the 7th month of her pregnancy[318].

Some of them continued to work at home not only during the pregnancy, but also after they had children if their professions allowed them. Nezihe for example worked for a considerable period of time at home (from her pregnancy until her daughter became a high school student) preparing the city reconstruction plans and raising her daughter at the same time.

6.4.2.5. Despite the Support System

Although the support system used by women decreased the effect of the double burden, it did not free them from being primarily responsible for the household. Actually, the support system worked most efficiently when all the elements ran at the same time. In other words, for professional women things went well when they had all those solutions together. Naciye's sister helped her with the baby. However, there was also a nanny at home and the maidservant of Naciye's consulting room was helping with the housework. The sister was more concerned with taking care of the household. Hamide had her women relatives as well as a young girl to help her and she was able to control her working hours since she worked at the university.

Of those who worked at home, Güzin was one of the luckiest: Güzin's consulting room was next to her house and she had her mother-in-law with her, to take care of the household while the maid was doing the necessary housework:

> I was always busy with something when s/he was not ill. For instance, I would iron the laundry that the maid washed. I was not responsible for cooking, my husband's mother was a good cook. But I would care for the children. They would not go to bed without taking a bath. I was completely responsible for their homework, and fulfilled this with pleasure. Also, that was because I was young at that time. [319]

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[318] Harika said: :İstanbul'a taşındık, Ama yedi aylık hamile olana kadar boyuna yarışmalara girdik..... İşte çalışmıyorum, ama ne kadar çok çalışmıyorum. Kaç tane yarışmaya girdik. Gece sabahlara kadar çalışıyorum."

[319] GK said: "Hastam olmadığı zaman ben daima bir şeyle meşgul oluyordum. Mesela kadın çamaşır yıkamıştır, onun ütüsü yapılacak. Yemek benim üstümde değildi kayınvalidem çok güzel yemek

But for others, the situation was not always that easy. Harika hesitated to leave her twins alone with the nanny. She said, "There was a nanny when the twins became 1,5-2 years old. The nanny was always under my control. I could never feel confortable about leaving the twins with the nanny. I had my mother with me" [320].

Similarly, Cahide complains about the difficulties she faced when she hired a woman for her child:

> What we could do was to hire a maid. My salary was 100 TL, a maid wanted 35 TL . We took that salary risk, and hired her but she was smoking. I did not accept that because she would smoke near my baby. I asked my mother if she could take care of my daughter. She was a very self-sacrificing woman, she accepted my request. I was so happy because I was not in a needy position anymore. She called one of our relatives to help her and they took care of my daughter in my mother's place. I would visit my daughter twice a week and come back home, and also take her to the doctor once in a month. Then, my mother weakened a lot, so I had to take my daughter back. she was just 2.5 years old . I looked after my mother for a month and make her put on 10 kilos of weight. The doctor said that we saved my mother. Then, I took my baby, came back to my home and hired a village woman to take care of the child. She left the job, and we hired a new one, then hired a new one in place of her, and again and again. One of these babysitters stole the gold of the baby, then did something else, and so on. These things happened after our child started school; she was old enough to tell us. In conclusion, I had a lot of difficulties, my mother had, too. She would even die…[321]

yapardı. Yemeğe ben girmezdim ama çocukların bakımı benim üzerimdeydi. Her akşam yıkamadan yatırmazdım ikisini de. Dersleri. Hepsi benim üstümde ve zevkle yapardım. Gençlik de vardı o zaman"

[320] Harika said :"Çocuklar 1,5 –2 yaşına gelince dadı vardı. Ama dadı kontrolündeydi daima yani. Hiçbir zaman dadıya rahatça bırakamıyordum, annem de vardı."

[321] Cahide said: "Ne yapacağız mecburen adam aradık. E, bir kadın bulduk, o zaman benim param aylığım 100 lira, kadın 35 lira istiyor...35 lirayı da göze aldık da kadın sigara içiyor. E küçük çocuğun yanında sigara içerse ben buna razı olur muyum? Baktım olmayacak 35 lirayı oraya verince, anneme de vereceğim. Eve de yardım ediyorum, e bana hiçbir şey kalmıyor. Tramvayla gidiyoruz geliyoruz, onun üzerine 'anne' dedim 'kızıma bakar mısın?'. Annecim çok fedakar bir insandı, 'bakarım' dedi. Bakarım deyince artık dünyalar benim oldu çünkü artık kimseye müdanaam kalmadı. Annem bir akrabayı aldı yanına anneme verdik çocuğu, ama Ayşenur 2,5 yaşına gelinceye kadar biz haftada 2 gün geliyoruz işte mamasını getiriyoruz, ben süt veremedim, esema şey yapıyor filan, esema diye o zaman bir şey vardı süt yerine o veriliyordu onunla büyüdü. Ben haftada 2 defa gidiyorum, bir şeylerini götürüyoruz, çocuğumuzu seviyoruz ondan sonra dönüyoruz, doktora götürüyoruz, ayda bir kere... Derken zafiyet gelmiş anneme.. Mecburen 2,5 yaşında çocuğu aldım. Annemin yanında 1 ay kaldım, 1 ayda 10 kilo aldırdım anneme... doktor dedi ki 'kurtardık'. Onun üzerine çocuğu aldım geldim bu sefer bir köylü kadın getirdik çocuğa baksın diye..... O gitti başkası geldi, o gitti başkası geldi çocuk mektep yaşına gelinceye kadar. Tabi sonra artık kendi derdini anlatmaya başladı..... Yani çok eziyet çektim, çok zorluk çektim. Hatta annem ölüyordu"

NS had a more interesting way to overcome the problem of looking after her children when she was at work:

> I applied for the justice representative position, because I wanted to go back to my job. They appointed me to Çanakkale as a judge. …I went there with my child, my husband was in Çivril. There was a little girl with me. I used to lock the door on her and my child until I came back from work. It was risky, but what would I do. They would not go outside the room until I came back. [322]

The poor conditions of the place where they were living sometimes increased the burden of domestic work. As I had mentioned before both women and men were idealists and wanted to bring their professional service to the less developed regions of Anatolia. However, in such areas it was not always easy to live by the standards they were used to. While both men and women dealt with the occupational problems, the difficulties regarding the domestic life within poor conditions were women's responsibility:

> Conditions were harder in Anatolia. You could not find a maid as you would like to have. Secondly, there were certain tools, to set on fire, or to use wood furnaces…and other difficulties…There was not any electricity in some places we went, such as in Manisa. There was a pump in the garden. We would make cleaning by carrying water. A local woman would supply drinking water for us. [323]

It is important to note that despite the coping strategies, the participant women suffered from their traditional roles within the patriarchal family. Patriarhy restricted these professional women's lives. To cope with these restrictions, without challenging the patriarchy, some women mobilized their labour or were mobilized by the professional women. Only in a few cases, male colleagues were sometimes helpful to their female friends when they desperately needed to be supported, e.g. they had a baby to breastfeed at night and at the same time had a night duty in the hospital. Women's participation in professions was mainly secured by other women who mobilised their labour to support the professional women and decrease the burden of their domestic responsibilities. On the other hand, to establish home offices or to

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[322] NS said: "Ben adliye vakaletine müracaat ettim mesleğe dönmek istiyorum diye. Onlar da beni hakim olarak Çanakkale'ye tayin ettiler.... Çanakkaleye yalnız çocuğumla gittim. Eşim Çivril'de idi. Yanımda ufak bir kız vardı. Onla birlikte çocuğumu bir odaya kapatıyordum, işte biraz zor bir iş, gidiyordum işe. Ben gelinceye kadar çıkmıyorlardı, ben gelince onları çıkarıyordum odadan."

[323] NS said:. "Anadolu'da daha zordu o zaman. Yani istediğiniz gibi bir yardımcı kadın bulamazsınız. Sonra aletler, bir takım yerdeki aletler var. Ateş yakmak, odun ocaklarını kullanmak filan... zorluklar vardı. Elektrik yoktu evvela gittiğimiz her yerde Mesela Manisa'da bahçe içinde tulumba vardı. Su çekerek yıkardık öte beriyi.... İçme suyunu da ahaliden bir kadın taşıyıp getirirdi."

continue to work at home was not contradicting with the patriarchal ideology. In these conditions, although they benefitted from continuing their professional service, women were excluded from the realm where professional power was constructed, which is firstly the workplace. This was, for example, the case of Nezihe who did many development plans for many regions of Turkey, while she worked at home and took care of her daughter until her husband relented unwillingly to the idea of her working. With the help of these strategies, women found a way to balance their family responsibilities and professional responsibilities..

6.4.3. Self-sacrificing Women

Nevertheless, the participants were self-sacrificing women who sometimes found it hard to balance their work and family obligations. Most of the participants belived that sacrificing is the necessary condition to be able to work as a professional. They seem that they internalizsed the idea to be self sacricfice women[324]. Nuriye stated that to balance work life with family life totally depends on one's personal self-sacrifice. Similarly, NS said that "For sure it can only be possible with self-sacrifice. There is no other way"[325]. Their narratives were full of examples of their sacrifice. Harika suffered a lot when her son was in the hospital:

> I was working part-time there. For lunch we were having the food prepared the night before. I was going to hospital for Ali in the afternoons. Then was coming back approximately at 8 o'clock in the evenings. I was cooking, washing the dishes, and doing the laundry almost every night. We went back to Turkey after 21 months[326].

When the strategies they introduced to balance their family lives with their work lives failed, they had to make a choice. Actually, the realm of professions requires women to make a choice between family and work but does not offer the possibility of having them both.

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[324] A similar trend can be observed in the testimony of Nimet Zerrin Tüzün who is one of the first women in education management. She states that "A little bit self –sacrifising….sometimes it is necessary to sleep less, and to work hard…" (see. Tan, 1998)

[325] NS said: "Evet, tabi fedakarlıkla oluyor, başka türlü olmuyor"

[326] Harika said: HS: "Yarım gün (orada) çalışıyorum. Akşamdan yapılan yemeği öğlen de yiyoruz. Öğlenden sonra Ali'ye gidiyorum. Akşam sekizde filan dönüyorum. Yemek, bulaşık, tabi gece de çamaşır. Her gece değil ama işte. 21 ay sonra, Türkiye'ye döndük"

Thus, women are left no choice but to leave the realm or suffer within the realm.

In some cases, they report that they had to refuse to shape their career in line with their family and they had to abrogate their personal lives and choices. Lamia for example decided not to have a second child although she wanted to: "Ayşe, my daughter could have a sister or a brother".[327] Cahide had to send her son to her ex-husband when she was preparing for high school graduation exams and during her university years:

> Because I didn't have any income and expenditure. I would go to school every day, and my child would start school for the first time soon. I sent him to his father. It was a hard decision, but I would take him back as soon as I graduated. In his first year in the school I registered him to a school near his father's house. He went to primary school there, and I studied architecture for 5 years... [328]

In the literature it was argued that women generally have the feeling of guilt, because they think they neglect their family. Women especially had such anxieties regarding their role of motherhood (Luukkennen-Gronov and Stolte-Heiskanen, 1983). This situation can also be seen in the participant women's narratives. In this research the women metioned that they sometimes felt guilty or regretful. However, they express that they did not disregard their families. They tried their best and they did everything a woman can do to be successful as a professional and a mother and a wife. Moreover, when we talked about such issues, most of the time they stressed their success in their professions. Cahide says that:

> I sent my child to his father so that he could get an education, not because I was willing to do so. When he was a child, I told him,, "I can't fulfill my motherly responsibilities". In other words, I didn't fulfill them rather than not being able to fulfill them. All I could do was that (…)I could spend time neither with my child, nor with my husband, nor in my home. However, since I got that education, I had to give all my effort primarily to my profession. Then I spent the time left with the others. My job was in the first place, then other responsibilities followed it in the second

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[327] Lamia said: "Ayşe'nin, kızımın bir kardeşi olabilirdi, ama çalışma şartlarımız imkan vermedi."

[328] Cahide said: "Çünkü gelirim yok, giderim yok. Her gün mektebe gideceğim. Çocuk da ilk mektebe başlayacak. Çocuğu babasına verdim. Çocuğum orada, tabi çok zor oldu, ama bir gayem var: şu mektebi bitireyim çocuğumu alırım diye… Birinci sınıftayken mektebe yazdırdım, sonra da naklini yaptırdım.....İlkokulu orada okudu, ben de 5 sene mimarı okudum...."

place.[329]

Similarly Belkıs said sincerely that:

> It is not impossible to say that I was not caring for them. I did care! But I cannot say that I was spending all my day with them. I was a working mother, I had to work. Working in a job strengthens the personality of a woman as usual. I wouldn't be away from my job. On the other hand, for sure I would like to be closer with my children.[330]

Nuriye radically stated that although it is so difficult, one should make sacrifices from the family life for the sake of her profession since the profession should come first[331].

By looking at these statements it is clear that the professional in women in Turkey suffered from the anxieties resulting from the tension between their professional responsibilities and domestic reaponsibilities. To overcome this tension they had to make sacrifices. Women's statements also indicate that their professional identity had primacy. Actually, this was a result of professionalism which means that being professional requires a total devotion and professionals should define themselves by their professions. On the other hand, the Kemalist effect on their identity also supports the idea of devotion to the profession to serve the nation. Women were strongly influenced by both professional identity and its patriarchal exclusion of women, and the Kemalist identity which put the task of building the nation on these women's shoulders. Thus, they gave their efforts primarily to their professions, although they had to deal with the feeling of guilt. Still, their identification with had to have been like that.

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[329] Cahide said: "Çocuğumu babasına verdim, tahsil etmek için onu da isteyerek vermedim yani. Geçenlerde ona 'sana ben tam annelik yapamadım' dedim. Yapamadım ama elimde bu kadardı. Yani yapmamak için yapmadım (…) Çocuğuma da vakit ayıramadım, aileme de ayıramadım kocama da ayıramadım, evime de ayıramadım elbette. Ama ben madem ki bu mesleği edinmişim, çalışıyorum bir defa her şeyimle o mesleği yapmak mecburiyetindeyim. Ondan kalan vakitleri buralara (aile ile ilgili konulara) sarf edeceğim. Önce işim sonra öbürküler."

[330] Belkıs said: "Her zaman ilgileniyordum, ilgilenmiyorum demem imkansız. Ama hiçbir zaman diyemem ki bütün günümü onlara hasrediyordum. Çalışan bir anneydim çalışmak zorundaydım. Normal olarak çalışmak da bir kadına kişilik veren bir şey. Ondan da uzak kalmayı istemezdim. Ama çocuklarımla daha yakın olmayı istedim tabi ki."

[331] Nuriye said: "Evliliğin çalışma yaşamına bir etkisi olmadı. Olamazdı. Ev hayatını çalışma hayatıyla yürütmek tamamen kişisel fedakarlığımızla mümkün oldu. (...) Ama ön planda çalışma hayatı vardı. Evde fedakarlık şarttı."

6.5. The Meaning of Being Professional: The Emancipatory Effect

For women who became professionals under the specific conditions of the young Republic, being professional had very strong meanings. According to Saliha, since it was not common for women to be professionals when compared to men, and since women were rarely offered the opportunity to have higher education, women's point of view at work and the meaning of being professional was different for women from that of men in the Republican period. Professional women were the ones who really wanted to perform a profession so they worked hard despite all the difficulties and disadvantages. Saliha believes that:

> Women always work more seriously then men. (…) Not at the present time maybe... But for our generation after the secondary school girls who did not want to work and preferred to be a housewife went to girls institutes. Or others who wanted to work, especially in the provinces, went to teachers training schools. They preferred girls institutes most, because the education in these institutions was connected with being housewife. Only the ones who were really interested, attended the university and then had the chance to practice her profession which she loved to. I rarely faced with women colleagues who are lazy[332].

Thus, being professional meant a lot to women. Necla said that "My profession brought me everything; to love people, to be able to help them means everything". Without a doubt, all the participant women told me that their profession provided them with respect within the social life. Thanks to their profession, they said they "won life", "broadened the vision of life", "had a respectful place within the society", "were given the chance to prove themselves", and "developed a strong personality". Cahide belives that:

> Firstly, my profession gave me life. I saw that I was not the kind of person who wanders around and does nothing. I did what I had to do as well as I could do it…. The Ministry of Culture of the French government didn't award me, Cahide, because they loved me, or liked my smiling

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[332] Saliha said "Şimdi bakın, benim prensibim şudur; daima kadınlar erkeklerden daha ciddi işe sarılıyor. (…) O dönemde, ortaokulu bitirince ev hanımı olmak isteyen çalışmayı göze alamayan bir enstitüye gidiyor en azından. Yahut bir öğretmen okuluna gidiyor. İşte okumak isteyenin de çoğu taşrada özellikle öğretmen okuluna gidiyor. Yahut işte enstitüye gidiyor. Enstitüyü çok seviyorlar çünkü orada(-ki eğitim) ev hanımlığı ile beraber (ilgili)…. Ama hakikaten meraklı olan, ama öyle okumak olmuş olmak için değil. Meraklı olan istediği bölümde okumak istiyor ve severek o işi yapıyor diye düşünüyorum ben. Onun için de hanımlar içinde pek öyle kaytarıcıya rastlamadım."

face of course.[333]

Women had struggled hard to become professionals and thought that being a professional was a chance for them. Cahide completely loved her profession:

> We worked willingly so much that we didn't have any burden. I mean, I didn't feel that my work was a burden on me, I had worked with pleasure, and obtained that profession against all difficulties. Loving it is my right in that situation. Nobody offered it to me, I broke through all the obstacles to get it.[334].

The participant women stated that because they are professionals they felt much more powerful when they had to make a decision. Their being professionals gives them the opportunity to make their own decisions about their own life free from the social restrictions of the patriarchal society. They sometimes felt themselves powerful enough to reject being obliged to live according to the typical, or stereotypical way which the gender ideology dictates them to. Şükran, who did not marry and was concerned primarily with her profession admitted that if she would fall in love she would get married, but there is no need to get married just to get married. Güzin concluded that a profession increases the self confidence of a person. Şükran agrees:

> I feel more comfortable in public life. Now I can go to a café which is only for men, and talk to them without any hesitation in every part of Turkey. (...) Could I think of doing such a thing if I did not work for all those years?[335]

Gültekin said that "A person's self-confidence increases when her/his career starts. (....) First of all, I got used to living freely. (...) I knew that I couldn't maintain my independence if I

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[333] Cahide said: "Bir defa bana hayatımı kazandırdı. Ben demek ki oralarda dolaşacak adam değilmişim. Bunları yaptığıma göre yapabildiğime göre… Ne bileyim ben, bir Fransız hükümetinin kültür bakanlığı herhalde Cahide'ye aşkından dolayı vermedi o şeyi (şovalyelik nişanı)"

[334] Cahide said: "Yani o kadar severek çalıştık ki. Yani ben iş yükü diye bir şey… (işim) yük olmadı bana, severek çalıştım ve ben bu mesleği çok zor elde ettim. Sevmek de hakkımdır yani. Öyle kıyıdan köşeden bana ikram edilmedi. Ben böyle dişimle söke söke söke öyle aldım.

[335] Şükran said: "Daha rahat oluyorsunuz. Mesela bugün bir kahveye gidip rahatlıkla oturabilirim o durumda. Erkeklerin oturduğu kahvehaneye giderim, Türkiye'nin neresinde olursa oturabilirim, konuşabilirim. Yani bunu yaparım rahatlıkla. Bunlar avantajdır. Pısırıklığı katiyen sevmem. Her aklıma gelen şeyi konuşabilirim, hakkımı korumasını bilirim, başkasının hakkına saygılıyımdır, ne sıramı veririm ne başkasının sırasını alırım"

was married"[336] (from the oral history interview by İlyasoğlu, 1997)

Similarly, Cahide did not ask permission for her second marriage from her uncle, who became the head of their family when her father passed away. She relates her attitude with her being professional. She said "I became an architect, a professional, so I obtained my freedom.[337]" Naciye belives that it is very important for a woman to earn her own money. According to her, she had such a belief because she had worked.

When her husband told her that he was the head of the family as it was written in Turkish Civil Law, Harika responded to him that she could repeal the law: "There must be a family for you to be the head. If I destroy the institution of the family whom are you going to be the head of?[338]" Harika said she could find the power to confront her husband and to threaten him with divorce, because she had a job. She stated that if you have a profession:

> First of all, you prove your own personality. At least, you prove it to yourself. When you see your husband's misbehavior to your child, at least you can say, "I don't want a father like you, I will divorce you". But, how could I say that so easily if I didn't have a profession. I don't need to go either to my mother's, nor to my father's or to my elderly sister's place with my two children. I mean, it had lots of advantages.[339]

All those statements show that women themselves believed that their being professional gave them power to challenge the patriarchal restrictions they faced with in social life. In this respect, it is possible to conclude that being professional had liberating effects on women. At least they believed so. It is important to note that such a belief makes women stronger and makes them recognise the possibility to cope with patriarchy.

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[336] Gültekin said: ".Meslek hayatına başlayınca insanın kendine güveni daha da bir artıyor. (...) bir defa serbest yaşamaya alışık oldum.(...) evlilikte bunu yürütemeyeceğimi biliyordum."

[337] Cahide said: "Artık ben mimar olmuşum, artık meslek sahibi olmuşuz, artık hürriyetimizi (kazanmışız)...."

[338] Harika said: "Çocukların bir meselesinde mesela bir gün (kocam) dedi ki 'ben aile reisiyim benim dediğim olur' dedi. Dedim ki 'hani biz böyle düşünmüyorduk'. 'Hayır' dedi bu kanun, 'biz düşünmüyoruz, yani düşünüyoruz ne olacak' dedi 'kanun böyle' dedi. Dedim ki 'o kanunu kaldırırım' dedim. 'Nasıl kaldırırsın bu kanun' dedi. Dedim ki 'aile reisi aile mevcudiyetinde bulunur' dedim. 'Ben aile müessesesini bozarsam sen kime reis olursun?'. Yani dedim ki 'eşitliği kabul etmiyorsan ayrılmayı kabul edeceksin'. İkisinden biri."

[339] Harika said: "Bir defa kendi şahsiyetini, en azından kendine ispat ediyorsun. Hiç olmazsa diyorsun ki, işte dediğim gibi çocuğuma çok sert davrandığını görünce 'ben istemiyorum senin gibi babayı ayrılacağım bitti' diyebiliyorsun. Ama mesleğim olmasa ben bunu nasıl derim. İki çocuğumu alıp ne anamın evine, ne babamın evine, ne ablamın evine giderim. Yani avantajı pek çok."

Besides the individual benefits gained from being professional, some of the participant women stated that to work and to have a professional qualification empowers women in general, helps in their emancipation and has great influences on women's lives within the wider society. In that way, women's entry to the realm of professions influences the social life in general and weakens efficiency of the gender ideology within society. For Nuriye and Belkıs, "to work" provides women a personality. They both belive that a woman should not give up working because of her family responsibilities. According to Lamia, when women enter to the realm of professions and to the public sphere they have a chance to show that they are as successfull as men and there is no reason for their being subordinated. Thus women's entry to the professions most certainly influenced and improved social life and balanced the gender relations in society. Lamia adds:

> In my opinion, participation of many women into many different profession created a social balance. It is the signal of equality between people. The truth that women and men, without respecting their sex, can equally fulfill their profession perfectly was revealed.[340]

On the basis of these memories, it is possible to say that although they had experienced many discriminatory or patriarchal practices, being professional had a liberating effect on their lives. At least the participant women thought so.

6.5.1.Thanks to Atatürk

The participant women believed that they owed their situation to Mustafa Kemal Ataturk who "had always exalted women" (Urgan, 1998) and to his being foresighted and successful, in their words.

Safiye and Şükran believed that it was almost impossible for a woman who was a professional in the Republican period not to become a Kemalist[341]. The Kemalist discourse

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[340] Lamia said: "Bir çok mesleğe kadınların da girmiş olması bence sosyal bir denge yaratmıştır. İnsanların müsavi olduklarının işareti, aynı işi erkek kadın fark olmaksızın, aynı mükemmeliyette yapabilmeleri gerçeği meydana çıkmıştır."

[341] Very Similarly Mina Urgan said that "I want to make myself clear that I am completely a Kemalist. I am Kemalist not because he danced with me and talked to me like an adult when I was only ten years old, but because I would not be me withhout Mustafa Kemal. Educated women who are over 80 and who do not belive in Kemalism would be abnormal. I was young but I can remember in the

considered women to be equal citizens of the Turkish Republic. Some participant women belived that they had nothing to ask for since they had already been given what they wanted to have. Moreover, Saliha said that:

> The former generations had struggled for women to become doctors or to go here or there. But we as women have no requirement of rights, because we were already offered rights and used them with love (...) Maybe women were struggling in various parts of life, but we were exceptions. We worked and were offered anything both in a material and a spiritual sense. We never experienced discrimination.[342]

Safiye and Şükran described themselves as Kemalists and mentioned that they were strongly attached to and primarily dealt with their profession. They think that owing to the foresightedness of Atatürk, women were given the rights for the good of the country.

The participant women generally think that because they have been given rights to be educated and to have professions, they were allowed to enter the public sphere equally with men as professionals. They often compared the conditions of women's lives in Ottoman society and the Turkish Republic. When they see that their position is much more advanced than the position of women in the Ottomon period, they conclude from this comparison that they were liberated. However, with respect to women's liberation, the difference between the Ottoman period and the Republican period was the forms of patriarchy that manifested themselves. This tendency has been discussed in the literature and it is claimed that the Kemalist movement secured women from Ottoman patriarchy, but then subjected them to western patriarchy. In this respect, it was not dealing directly with women's liberation from patriarchy. Here I suggest that since the Kemalist discourse did not have a women's standpoint, it could not challenge the patriarchy itself but only its manifestations in Ottoman

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tramway the places where men and women sit were seperated with a curtain. With his beautiful hands, Mustafa Kemal tore this curtain as well as other ones which excluded women from the social life and closed them in the dark corners. For this reason there is no other way than to be with Mustafa Kemal for a women who was 7-8 years old when the Republic was declared and witnessed the revolutions he made with her own eyes." (1998: 158). Mina Urgan mentiones Mustafa Kemal's words concerning women's place in the society and quotes form him that "a nation that excludes women, can never become contemporary; in a civilised society women's role is as important as men's" (Urgan, 1998: 119).

[342] Saliha said: "Bizden önceki nesiller, hanımlar doktor olsun, hanımlar şuraya buraya gitsin diye mücadele etmişler. Ama bizim hanım olarak bir talep hakkımız yok diye düşünürüm zaten. Her hakkı veriyorlar her şeyi de severek alıyorsun. Onun için bir avantaj bir fark istememek lazım (...) Belki çok yerde mücadele ediyorlardır kadınlar. Ama biz bunun istisnasıyız. Biz çalıştık, bize de herşeyi verdiler. Yani maddi bakımdan olsun manevi bakımdan olsun."

society. Thus, in the Republican period, patriarchy appeared in different forms in articulation with the newly introduced structures of the society.

On the other hand, most of the participant women were aware of the fact that the women's rights that were given by Atatürk shadowed women's movements in the late Ottoman period. Parallel with the critiques of Kemalist reforms regarding women in the literature which claim that the Ottoman women's movement was denied, the participant women emphasized the Ottoman women's demands for advancing women's position in the society. However, the participant women did not question whether Kemalism ignored the Ottoman women's movement and the women's standpoint. Belkıs states that:

> In Germany, I was told that Ataturk gave rights to women as if giving them a ready-made dress to wear. It is believed that Turkish women obtained these rights without any struggle..It is impossible to accept this completely. I remember that a huge meeting had been organised in Kastomonu by women before the declaration of Republic. In a such conservative place…Also, we have lots of women writers and poets. Before these rights were given to Turkish women, there had been very important women in our history. For example, during the Ottoman Empire, there were many women who devoted their lives to art and science. We can't wipe them out at once. On the other hand, I can not state that equality between

> women and men has been achived completely everywhere in Turkey. This is also true in other parts of the world.[343]

Hamide, pointing out the long history of women's fight for emancipation reminded that:

> Politics have been so influential on women's education. Women's education was started in the late Ottoman period, it was not introduced by the establishment of the Republic. The goal of the state was to raise enlightened women. There were important women before Republic since the 1870s-80s, like Nigar Hanım. In that period there was this contact with Europe. The basis of development can be found in Ottoman society.

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[343] Belkıs said: "Bana Almanya'da bana dediler ki 'Atatürk bir hazır elbise gibi kadın haklarının Türk kadınlarının sırtına geçirdi. Halbuki Türk kadını bir mücadele vermedi. ' diye. Bunu yüzde yüz bu şekilde kabul etmek mümkün değil. Hatırladığıma göre cumhuriyetten önce Kastamonu'da muazzam bir kadın mitingi olmuş. O kadar mutaassıp bir çevrede. Sonra bizim çok kadın şairlerimiz yazarlarımız yetişmiş. Türk kadınına bu halklar tanınmadan da çok değerli kadınlar yetişmiş. Mesela Osmanlılar zamanında bile ne kadar çok bilime ve sanata kendini veren kadınlar var. Onları da bir kalemde silemeyiz. Ama hiçbir devir de 'Türkiye'de kadın-erkek eşitliği tam' diyemem. Ama bu dünyanın her tarafında var. "

Especially in Rumeli.[344]

According to Hamide, new generations should not behave unjustly to the Ottoman period, but acknowledge that the conditions of revolution arose from it. She said that:

> Of course Kemalism did not create a miracle. Since the conditions were ready the revulotion succeeded. If the conditions are not ready it is impossible to want something. You should first change the conditions.[345]

6.5.2. On Gender Equality in Turkey

The participant women conceptualize women's liberation as gender equality. They claim that they are naturally equal with men. Gültekin said that men and women are born equal, long afterwards we(the people) misclaim the inequality (From the oral history interview by İlyasoğlu, 1997). Most of the participants are aware of the fact that they seem relatively liberated but it is rather connected with their class position. These women benefitted quite a lot from the advantages of being professional. However, because of their class position they had the chance to access higher education and to be professionals. Meanwhile, the lower class women in Anatolia could not have these opportunities; they could not be educated, become professionals or even work, and thus they could not experience the liberating effects of being professional and participating in the public realm.

On the other hand, the participant women all know that their position does not represent the Turkish women's situation in general. Hamide stated that after the founding of the Republic gender relations were considerably changed towards equality, but it was very much related to class. Nuriye said that:

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[344] Hamide said: "Şimdi bakınız, ne kadar siyasetin etkisi var Türkiye'de kadınların okuması yetişmesi konusunda. Osmanlı'nın son döneminde başlamış zaten, Cumhuriyetle gelmiş bir şey değil. Devletin ideali olarak münevver kadın yetişecek. Ve o zaman yetişen hanımlar vardı. Mesela Nigar Hanım… Onların eserlerinde de görüyorsunuz. Arapça öğreniyor, Farsça öğreniyor, şiir yazmasını öğreniyor. Bazı vesilelerle ….Öyle zannettiğimiz gibi bir şey değil. Sonradan keşfetmiş falan değiliz. 1870'lerden 1880'lerden beri var. Ve o dönemde Avrupa halkıyla da temas çok. Bir kere kendi azınlıklarımız var. Onlar teba-i sadıka, sonradan yakıştırılan şey değil. Kökü var Osmanlılarda gelişmenin. Ama bu hep Rumeli ve Osmanlı.."

[345] Hamide said: "Bütün tarihte olduğu gibi cumhuriyet bir mucize yaratmadı. Şartlar tam oldu o zaman neticeyi aldı. (...) Şartlar olmadığı zaman onu istemek zaten olmaz. Şartları değiştireceksiniz"

With an orientalist point of view, society considered women as secondary people . Equality was only under consideration for a certain class of women and limited with them. However, democracy should start at home first. There is male domination. People were socialized in that.[346]

The participant women also stressed regional differences in Turkey. Nüzhet said that "when you say Turkish women you should think urban women on the one hand and rural women on the other hand."[347] According to Nüzhet, the urban woman is an educated, modern woman who works, however who is not free from the assumed gender roles. Relatedly, Hamide said that:

There is something determined by the Turkish geographic structure. Imagine a country that starts from Iran and ends at Vienna. In such a wide land various kinds of communities live together. Is it possible to distribute a new norm equally? Turkey was sentenced to live this unequal development between regions.[348]

These statements are related to the discussions in the literature finding the Kemalist conceptualization of Republican women so prototypical that it reduced women to dual forms of rural and urban women and ignored the variations among them. When I asked if there was equality between women and men most of the answers were negative:

Of course it doesn't exist. Firstly, women are not economically independent. Especially in villages, women are unpaid laborers of their families, it means they are slaves. Secondly, for example, take our Mehmet Usta's family. His wife gave birth to 7 children, but only 6 of them are alive. They had built a squatter house on a slope going down to the Okmeydanı Hospital. Can you believe that she was carrying water on her back to her house, and cleaning her child, and doing the washing and cleaning with that water? How and what kind of a freedom can she have?[349]

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[346] Nuriye said: "Toplum hala şark kafasıyla kadını ikinci sınıf insan olarak kabul etmiştir. Bu düşünce henüz silinmedi. Eşitlik sadece belli bir zümre için söz konusu oldu ve bununla sınırlandı. Demokrasi öncelikle evde olacak. Erkek hakimiyeti vardır. Öyle yetişmiş millet. Oğlu iş yapmaz, kadın ona hizmet eder..."

[347] Nüzhet said: "Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde kadının bir tipi yok. Kentteki kadın, köydeki kadın… Böyle ayrı ayrı tetkik edeceksiniz onları"

[348] Hamide said: "Şu var: Türkiye'nin coğrafi yapısının tayin ettiği birtakım şeyler var. Türkiye bir köprüdür. İran'dan başlar Viyana'da biter. Şimdi düşünün siz İran'dan Viyana'ya kadar kaç çeşit topluluk var. Ve bu toplulukta yeni bir normu eşit olarak dağıtmak mümkün mü? Farklı bölgelerinin farklı gelişmeler kaydetmesine mahkum".

[349] Harika said: "Tabi ki yok, var demek çok zor. Bir defa kadının ekonomik özgürlüğü yok. Kadın hele köylerde ailenin bedava işçisi, bu ne demek esiri demek. Sonra kadın, mesela bizim Mehmet

Moreover, participant women think that gender inequality is not unique to Turkey. Harika stated that gender inequality was a universal phenomenon and could not be expected to be solved within a short period of time like 50-60 years. The struggle for liberation needed to be a fundamental and long-term task[350]. According to her, having a profession or having some legal rights were necessary conditions. Economic independence was the most important component of women's emancipation. But all these were not enough. The system of social relations had to be transformed. Harika said that:

> In Turkey, the common problem is injustice: Inequality. Yet, people in America are not equals, too. Even if every kind of liberty is given, a woman has the luck that if she was raped in a desolated place, she would hesitate to complain about it.[351]

For Harika, the threat against the sexuality of women is the most frightening danger. The participant women generally seem to think that women's subordinated position within society is the result of a deep and widespread gender ideology which defines women primarily as housewives and mothers. Harika stated that:

> It is said that heaven lies under mothers' feet, and all mothers are respected in the society. Girls are raised to get married or to set up their home. However, every girl may not get married. (…..) it is not inevitable. These conditional obligations make women unhappy. This is to prune the psychology of woman in her very early years. From this point of view, woman are not equal with men. [352]

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ustanın ailesi, yedi çocuğu olmuş altısı yaşamış. Okmeydanı hastanesinin altına doğru bir yokuşta bir gecekondu yapmışlar. Düşünebiliyor musun o kadın sırtıyla su taşırmış, o kadar çocuğuna eşyasını yıkamış yapmış, bunun ne gibi özgürlüğü olabilir...... "

[350] Harika said: "Yani elbette ki yok insan hürriyeti, kadın hürriyeti ve bu herhalde öyle 50-60 senede de yerine gelmez. Ama bu hususta muhakkak çalışmak lazım. Çok çalışmak lazım."

[351] Harika said: "Türkiye'deki mesele umumi bir haksızlık: Eşitsizlik. Ama Amerika'dakiler eşit mi? O da değil. Sonra dediğim gibi, en büyük hürriyetleri bile versen kadının bir tarafı var ki seni tenha bir yerde yakalayıp da tecavüz etti mi sen bunu şikayet etmekte kararlı olamıyorsun".....

[352] Harika said: „Cennet annelerin ayağının altındadır deniliyor ve bütün laflarda annelere saygı… Kız çocuklarının yetiştirilmesi de ,büyüsün evlensin başımızdan gitsin ya da yuvasını kursun' diye…. Ama her kız evlenmeyebilir(…) İllaki evlenmek şart değil Bunlarla koşullandırmak mutsuz kılar kadınları, Bu daha baştan budamak demektir kadınların pisikolojisini. Bu bakımdan kadınlar hiç eşit değil."

6.5.3. About Their Liberation

Most of the the participant women think that they are the privileged minority who are liberated. Belkıs's account on women's liberation is as follows:

> Let's say she has become a businesswoman. There are women in Turkey who are educated and have become professionals. There are ones who have careers. The new generation is especially very valuable. This is (liberation of women) true for one section of the society, however it would be wrong to generalize that and say women and men are equals. [353]

Although the participant women admitted that they had benefitted a lot from the given rights, they emphasised that they struggled quite a lot to create a relatively more equal environment for themselves. Harika said that "I would not have been liberated if I did not fight for it". This indicates that although the given rights open the way for women to improve their state within the society, their success was very much ensured by their personal struggles. Mefküre complained that in Turkey women have always been subordinated and belittled. When I asked her if she had actually been subordinated or despised, she said "yes", but she added that, "Actually I did not let myself be oppressed, because I did not struggle to be in front. If I would so, may be I would get kicked. I thought of my husband's position and always stayed at the back".[354] They either stayed behind or worked hard to avoid being despised. Some women tried hard to prove themselves within their professions and make themselves accepted by the professional community. Accordingly, Naciye said that:

> Some people believed while some did not, in the gender equality. Some people think that women are not mentally mature enough. I refused it and made people around me refuse it too. I challenged those kinds of people. I made them understand that women and men are equal, a man would not do my job better then me. They could not claim the opposite[355]

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[353] Belkıs said: „diyelim ki iş kadını oldu… profesyonel yetişen kadınlarımız var. Meslek sahibi olanlar var. Yeni gençlik özellikle çok değerli. Bir kesim böyle ama bunu genelleştirmek yaygınlaştırmak kadın erkek eşittir demek mümkün değil. „

[354] Mefkure said: "Yani kendimi ezdirmedim ama yani şu bakımdan ezdirmedim; Hiç bir zaman da ben öne çıkayım diye böyle bir şey göstermedim.(...) Gösterseydim belki de o zaman tepelenecektim iyice. Kocamın vaziyetini düşünerek ben daima geri planda kalmayı tercih ettim. Öyle bir ihtirasım da yok."

[355] Naciye said: "Kadın erkek eşitliğine inananlar da var inanmayanlar da var. yani kadının aklı ermez diyen bir grup var. Ben onlarla mücadele ettiğim için, kendim (eşitsizliği) kabullenmediğim için onlara (eşitliği) kabul ettirdim. Kadın erkek eşittir. Yani benden daha iyi yapacak değiller diye kendilerine söylerdim. Benim muhitimdekiler kabul etmişlerdir."

It is important to note that the women participants played important roles in the emancipation of Turkish women in that for the next generation they created the role models of self confident, educated, modern Turkish women in professions. When she was a child, Harika thought that it was not possible for a woman to become an architect and everyone would reject her if she wanted to be an architect because she had never seen a woman architect before. But, being the first generation professionals they themselves constructed the role models for the next generations. The fact of their being successful professionals would seem to have decreased the problems women faced within the professions for the next generations. Indeed, Harika stated that:

> (A younger colleague), told me later that "Aunt Harika, I considered becoming an architect after I saw you". There were many women who considered becoming an architect when inspired by me. Yes, this (their being professional women) was encouraging for them.[356]

Similarly, when I asked if people around her were inspired by her to be educated and become professionals, NS answered that:

> Yes, there were people who imitated us. When we went to Anatolia for the first time, people who saw us attempted to send their children to school. We were like role models for them. They took me as a model, since I was an attorney general, they wanted their daughters to become attorney generals, too. They were somehow enlightened. Then, I can say that we as the first workimg women were good models for them, because they wanted to be like us. [357]

Şükran also stated that after people saw her working as a geologist and geology engineer, not only the ordinary people but also her colleagues within the institution where she worked started to think more positively about employment of women within the technical fields such as engineering. Her manager told her that he was impressed by her work:

> Our manager started to employ women after me, not only as geologists but also as civil engineers or electrical engineers. And he told them "after

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[356]Harika said: "(genç bir meslektaş) sonradan söyledi, 'Harika teyze seni görüp ben mimar olmayı düşündüm' diye. Öyle çok var, yani beni görerek mimar mesleğine girmeyi düşünmüş bir çok kişi var. Yani o teşvik edici oluyor."

[357] NS said: "Evet, oldu. mesela çok özenen oldu. Biz Anadolu'ya gittiğimiz ilk zamanlar çok numune alıp, çok özenenler oldu. Yani çocuklarını okutmayı, şey etmeyi (meslek sahibi etmeyi) falan (isteyenler) oldu. Savcı hanımı görüp, ,bizim kızımız da savcı olsun hukuku okusun' diyenler çok oldu, yani bir uyandırma oldu. Demek ki iyi numune olmuşuz demektir, (biz) o ilk olanlar (nesil). Çünkü heves edenler çok oldu."

I saw Şükran Hanım's successful work we started to employ women". Actually all of them were very succesful. (...)[358]

This was a success for her that she could influence the realm of professions in the name of women's entry[359]. A similar trend has also been discussed in the literature: It is argued that women's increasing entry to the professions effects the realm of professions in various ways (Coates, Alvarez et al, 1996; MacCrate, 1989).[360] However, although some effects of women's participation on the realm of professions can be seen, this was not the main tendency in the Turkish case of professionals because of the strong influence of the patriarchal nature of professionalism and Kemalism.

Some of the participant women directly worked for the good of society and women. Naciye tried to establish a section of Women's Association (Kadinlar Birliği) in Eskişehir. Then she worked for the establishment of a Soroptimist Association in Eskişehir. Wthin this association she worked for women's education and health in her home town. Güzin is a member of the Association for the Thoughts of Atatürk (Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği). Safiye has been working for women in various forms as an activist. Şükran was a member of the Association for the Thoughts of Atatürk (Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği). Lamia wrote 4 books one of which is about the Kemalist revolutions. Necla adopted girls and supported their education, established a school in Bursa and wrote a book titled "Women's Rights". Nüzhet worked for a long time for the Federation of Women's Associations (Kadın Dernekleri Federasyonu) Hamide attended the meetings at the Parliament concerning "positive discrimination" in favor of women together with her young fellows in 2004, and as an academician, discussed the women question in her lessons. She inspired many women to focus on such a subject and at a very early date, in 1957, she published her research on women's work within the Research Institution of Women's Social Lives called "The indicators of women's work and the role of women's income in the family budget". Belkıs,

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[358] Şükran said: "Bizi çalıştıran müdür benden sonra hanım elemanları almaya başladı. Sadece jeolog değil, inşaat mühendis hanımlar, jeoloji mühendisi hanımlar, onlara da öyle söylemiş: 'Şükran Hanımı gördüm çok iyi çalıştığı için hanımları alıyoruz'. Ve hakikaten de hanımlar başarılı olmuştur."

[359] Nimet Zerrin Tüzün emphisized that men thought that they were dominant (in a certain area of work). If you prove that they are not dominant and from time to time women can also be as successful as them and as hard working as them, they respect you, believe in you and, I believe, their point of view starts to change" (Tan, 1998: 225)

[360] According to Alvarez et all with the participation of women in professions the issues of presentation have come to into play, women's perspectives and self interests would be discussed McCrate (1989) suggests that with the increasing participation of women in low the practice of low is started to be questioned.

during the years she spent in Germany, was asked to make a presentation about Turkish women which she worked on a lot and is still proud of.

6.6.Conclusion

In this chapter, the conflict between the gender roles and the occupational roles of participant women and the tension that is created by this conflict at home and at work has been pointed out. In addition, women's conceptualization of gender equality and their liberation is discussed.

Work experiences of the participant women indicate that women's position in professions has been surrounded by a gender ideology which is internal to professionalism and Kemalism as discussed in the previous chapter. Both ideological structures have patriarchal content and patriarchy appears in different ways within the practices of these structures. It operates depending on the social and historical conditions of the context of the structure from which it appears.

With the influence of the Kemalist discourse of gender equality, women believed that the realm of professions in Turkey was equalitarian especially because their participation in professions was not restricted with the regulations. This feeling of the participant women strengthened with the "respect" they were assigned especially by the modernist men. Actually, the modernist men saw the reflecton of 'their' successful modernisation project on the bodies of professional women who were assumed to be the images of a modern, secular, and democratic state and they were proud of it.

However, within the Kemalist and profesionalist practices patriarchy appears in various forms. First, it appears at work in the form of gender discrimination, subordination of professional women and gender stereotyping of the professions. Here it was significant that these manifestations of patriarchy were not always in institutionalised forms, but generally indicated the maintenance of the basic patriarchal values within the gender relations. As it is possible to see, the realm of professions appeared as the prolongation of the traditional patriarchal relations. As discussed in the literature, professional control appeared in the form of patriarchal control of the collectivised father. Thus, it cannot be simply called public

patriarchy in Walby's terms (1992), because within work relations women were mostly subjected to patriarchy in individual practices and face to face relations.

Second, patriarchy appears in the form of what Walby calls private patriarchy within the traditional gender relations of the family. As discussed before, Kemalism did not question the patriarchal structure of the family. Moreover, it did not pay attention to the problems professional women had to deal with in their private lives. Thus, women had to deal with the two conflicting roles of being housewives at home and being professionals at work. They suffered from the distinction between the public and private since in the Republican period the private was surrounded by traditional patriarchal family relations, and the public was surrounded by the ideal of modernism. This positioning of women was a result of the fact that the women's standpoint was ignored within the Kemalist discourse of gender equality. Within this discourse women's traditional gender roles were not considerably questioned. Their being proper mothers and housewives was even suggested as an inevitable role that they play with love. They were seen as being responsible for the order of the house. The order of the household was secured by women who mobilised every possible support for themselves. Especially the privacy of the patriarchal structure of the family was respected and the male domination within the household was reproduced. In this respect, despite women's changing position within their social lives, their roles at home did not considerably change. The tasks of realising both the professional responsibilities and domestic responsibilities successfully were seen as women's problem. Actually, most participant women managed to realise these tasks successfully.

Between these conflicting positions, women found themselves liberated. They were glad to have the opportunity to enter to the realm of professions. Their being in the public realm as professionals had quite an important liberating effect on their lives. But they were aware that they were the luckiest minority who had the access to this liberating channel because of their positions in the social strata. Although they seem to realise the limitations of Kemalist women's reforms as being class based and ignoring women's standpoint, they feel thankful to Atatürk. It is significant that some of them emphasized their personal efforts to build an equalitarian environment for themselves. In the end, some of the participant women discussed gender inequality as a universal phenomenon which could only be overcome by a comprehensive and long term project.

By looking at the narratives of participant women, I would conclude that although women

were subjected to different manifestations of patriarchy, their being professional had a liberating effect. This effect was very much related to the consciousness they had raised towards their being liberated within their experiences of participation in the public realm as professionals.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study begins with the intention of understanding the relationship between women's work and women's liberation from oppression. The main determinant of women's oppression is patriarchy. Thus it is primary to understand the operations of patriarchy on women's work to be able to comprehend the relationship between women's liberation and women's work.

The first task has been to focus on the concept of patriarchy. In the context of this study, patriarchy has been defined as a formation or a construction in which sexual and biological differences are transformed into social, economic, cultural and political sources of oppression. Patriarchy is an abstraction in and of itself that comes into existence within practice. It is even a speculative form since there is no material base for male domination. The irrationality of the subordination of one gender to the other appears in the fact that bases for gender hierarchies are not material realities but rather ideological fictions or mthys. The materiality of patriarchy appears within practice, which means the manifestations of patriarchy and its dominant categories, such as femininity, masculinity, or heterosexuality, are the products of the "practice".

Here "the notion of practice" has been used for referring to the process in and according to which patriarchy manifests itself and in turn which is affected by patriarchy, while "the notion of manifestation" has been used for providing an understanding of different forms and appearances of patriarchy,. The variations in the form of patriarchal manifestations stem either from the different practices in which patriarchy interacts with other structures such as

culture, ideology, politics and economy, or created by various other forms of relations like conformity or conflict. Thus patriarchy is fundamentally contextual. Due to this characteristic, it survives in various social relations and appears in different forms. Patriarchy, which is hypothetically common, in actual life manifests itself in various forms towards the requirements of the practice it operates within. In this sense the concept of patriarchy connects women's experiences of oppression in different contexts without being lost or dispersed in the conceptuality and without being universal. At the same time it has a potential to refer to each variation that stems from regional, religious or ethnic diversities and different kinds of relationships or ways of articulations.

The second task to understand the relationship between women's liberation and work has been to examine the effects of patriarchy on women's work. The realm of work appears to be critical since it is one of the main areas of manifestation of patriarchy, and at the same time one of the possible springboards of women's liberation. I believe that as women enter into the labour market, they have the opportunities to earn their living, to enter the public realm, to access the channels from which they can affect the public power where they have been unrepresented, to share the experience of oppression with other women and to raise consciousness. In this respect work has a liberating effect on women's lives. However, as discussed in the literature, women's experiences within the realm of work have been rather oppressing. To be able to understand what decreases or compresses the liberating effect of work, I have focused on how patriarchy operate on women's work.

The existing approaches concerning the operations of patriarchy on women's work which are mainly Marxist and socialist feminist accounts, suggest that patriarchy and capitalism articulates in various forms and operates on women's work together. The variations among these approaches stem from the different ways of formulating the relationship between two exploitative systems, namely capitalism and patriarchy. The framework of the mentioned theoretical stances mainly deals with the practice of capitalist production relations and capitalist exploitation of women's labour and conceptualize patriarchy in the form as it manifests itself within this practices. To go beyond the boarder lines of these approaches, I question whether patriarchy may take other forms to survive within different practices, structures or production relations and whether it may manifest itself according to the requirements of systems and structures other than capitalism. When the exploitative effects of capitalism decrease or become less direct, or some other factors become more effective on

women's work, does patriarchy manifest itself in the same way?

In this research, the realm to be chosen to discuss these questions is women's professional work in Turkey in the early republican period. I turned my attention to the realm of professions since the features of professional work and the conditions of women's participation in professions are appropriate to find the answers to those questions.

Professional work has a privileged position within the capitalist system since its unique and vital production, which is the professional service, is based on a systematic body of theory that can only be gained via specialized intellectual and formal training. In addition, because of the immediate consumption of the product of professionals, which is professional service, it is less subjected to the capitalist production relations and relatedly less conditioned by capitalist exploitation relations. Moreover, mainly for classical/free professions, the control of their professional service is not originally and ideally capitalist. Instead there is an inter-occupational control. Because professionals have a monopoly over their knowledge and practices, they have the right to control their own realm. This internal control secures the maintenance of the community sanction concerning their competence. Thus, they have power within the society that can be called professional power which places them in a privileged position within the capitalist system. In fact the professionals are conceptualized either as being members of the dominant classes because of their skill/credential assets and cultural capital, or defined as a status group or closure system, which intends to protect and strengthen their privileged position via the strategies of inclusion and exclusion. As a matter of fact, they are neither directly under capitalist control nor totally free from the capitalist system. What makes professionals privileged social integrity within the entire society is the occupational ideology. The community of professionals can be seen as a cultural whole in itself which defines the professional identities, language, jargon, stereotypes and even the lifestyle. It is surrounded by a strong occupational ideology that is called professionalism. Professionalism is the ideology that conditions the professional service and on professions it is much more effective than capitalism. For all these reasons professionalism appears to be an operational concept to understand the distinctive place of professionals and the qualities what distinguishes them. The realm of professions also appears to be an appropriate place to start to see if there are any other forms that patriarchy takes to effect women's work.

With respect to the literature on women's professional work, I have argued that, having professional qualities alone, which is expected to be a great opportunity to cope with the

oppressing practices of labour market, does not yield equal participation or emancipation for women. It is because professional culture and ideology is an extension of traditional forms of patriarchy in the workplace. That is to say, the occupational ideology namely professionalism is patriarchal, because within it the occupational control is patriarchal, and the power is patriarchal power. As a matter of fact women's existence in professions is seen as unusual. The feminine characteristics of women are assumed to contradict with the masculine ethos of the professions. Women are expected to internalize the masculine ethos of professions to be accepted to the professional community. Women have to fight against patriarchal practices of exclusion in professions. When they succeed to enter they have to deal with other types of operations of patriarchy within the realm of professions.

To be able to understand the characteristics and the determinants of women's participation in professions, I refer to socialist feminist standpoint.

As mentioned in the second chapter, this study relies basically on the socialist feminist standpoint because its primary concern is the effects of patriarchy on women's work and because, like socialist feminism, it rejects the idea that patriarchy or capitalism alone is responsible from women's oppression within production relations. In this respect socialist feminist approaches are the most comprehansive approaches towards women's work. However, these approaches excludes the experiences of women's work which are not totally, only and directly determined by the context of western capitalism in the case of women's participation in professions in the early republican period in Turkey since in this case the occupational ideology as well as cultural and historical determinants comes into considiration. However these feminist approaches are generally built around the experiences of "working-class women" and concentrate mainly on feminized areas of work, or factory work, in which women's participation is already constructed by patriarchy and capitalism together. This overemphasis on the working class experience and capitalist production relations limits our understanding of the forms that patriarchy may potentially take.

To go beyond its limitations I interpret socialist feminist assumptions by using "the notion of manifestation" and "the notion of practice". I claimed that, instead of approaching patriarchy only within the determination of capitalist production relations, if we formulate it as an ideological formation that embodies and manifests itself within the practice it can have more explanatory power. Patriarchy can manifest itself in various forms towards the requirements of any practice as it does in capitalist relations of production.   In this regard I inerpret what

socialist feminists conceptualises as patriarchy at work, as the manifestation of patriarchy at women's waged work following the requirements of the practice of capitalist production relations.

Applying this interpretation to the realm of professions I have suggested that patriarchy operates within occupational practices and manifests itself towards the requirements of professionalism.

However, the conceptualization which considers the convergence of professionalism and patriarchy to understand women's participation in professions is not capable of explaining the whole context of the Turkish case. In Turkey, the historical and contextual particularities of professionalisation and women's entry to the realm of professions indicate that besides professionalism there is another determining social practice due to which patriarchy manifests itself which is Kemalism. As mentioned in the third chapter the phenomenon of women's entry to professions was a significant development that appeared in the early republican period. For that it is a fertile realm to observe the different forms patriarchy takes under different conditions and different strategies of manifestations depending on the contextual frame of the particular society in a certain period. In this chapter I have pointed out the hegemonic forces such as professionalism, Kemalism and patriarchy that interrelatedly surrounded the personal and work experiences of professional women in Turkey in the very beginning of their entry to the realm of professions. It is important to see that within this complex interrelation professionalism and patriarchy themselves have been modified within social and historical contexts. To that end the focus was on the historical and contextual features of the Turkish case.

In Turkey, beginning from the reformist movements of the early 19th century, women gained certain educational and legal rights. The radical changes on women's lives took place after the founding of the Republic in 1923. In the first years of the Republic, the new women of the Republican era became an explicit symbol of the break with the past and the modern, democratic and secular state (Durakbaşa, 1998a; Kandiyoti, 1997; Z. Arat, 1998). Within the positivistic tradition of the Kemalist ideology, women's progress in educational and occupational life was supported as part of the state ideology and the mission of modernization of Turkey (Acar, 1996: 77). The Republican government benefited from women's willingness to have higher education and professions. By means of education, women participated in the trained workforce which was urgently required by the young

Turkish Republic under the conditions of rapid development. Women were welcomed to the professional occupations, which were constructed by Kemalism in a way which McClelands (1990) calls "from above professionalisation" meaning the political will intervened in providing opportunities for the creation of professions and professional education or which Larson(1977) claims by using the "heteronymous" means by which the form of professions are chiefly defined or formed by other social groups who were, in fact, the Republican elite in Turkish case.

It appears that, in order to understand the determinants of women's entrance to the public realm as professionals and women's experiences of professionalisation in Turkey, I can suggest one should make a three-fold analysis taking into account professionalism, Kemalism and patriarchy. Up to here I pointed out the manifestations of patriarchy within professionalism and the manifestations of patriarchy within kemalism. In this respect it is possible to state that women's professional work in the early republican period was subjected to the two structures of Kemliams and professionalism and these structures were appeared to be the practices in with patriarchy manifested itself. Here, I assumed that patriarchy crosscuts the structures of professionalism and Kemalism. It might manifest itself in different forms within the practices of these two structures. Patriarchy operated interrelatedly within women's professional work.

The realm in which I would be able to see these manifestations and understand the strategies of patriarchy is the personal and work life experiences of the first generation professional women in Turkey. In fact extensive discussions in literature on republican period and republican women claim that the realm of professions was built from above and the identity of women in public realm was determined by Kemalism. In this literature although the Kemalism and modernization has been deeply evaluated, women's becoming and being professionals have been hardly emphasized and even neglected. Considering the lack of this emphasis, it becomes more important to look at the process of women's participation in professions and the meaning and the consequences of being professional by referring their own experiences.

In this context, to indicate the basis and the determinants of women's participation in professional work and to understand the hegemonic forces that surrounded the first generation of professional women in Turkey, I referred to their oral history narratives. As I discussed in the forth chapter, from a feminist standpoint the evaluation of women's personal

life experiences obtained by the oral history research is the main methodological tool within this study. The feminist standpoint allows me to go beyond the experiences which are under the shadow of patriarchy while the oral history research as a process in which experience turns into knowledge and as an open ended journey, allows me to go beyond my cognitive limitations throughout the research. Besides, to be able to explore the "special rhythm of women's lives" (Gluck, 1977: 216) I benefited from the statements concerning women's oral history for my research.

By looking at these women's oral history narratives and other sources such as biographic and autobiographic writings, memories and news about professional women of the period   I believe I could reach the satisfactory explanations about the structures surrounding women's participation in professions.

The most important findings driven from their testimonies can be summarised as follows:

To begin with, women's advancement in educational and occupational life should not be reduced to a consequence of the republican reforms. In fact, without progressive women's strong demands concerning educational and social rights starting from 1910s the reforms would not be able to realised and even conceptualised. Within the testomonies of the participant women it is clear that they and their former generations had a strong will to enter to the realm of education and professions and had very decisively struggled for this.

The Republican State encouraged women to enter professions and supported them not only because they wanted to have professional occupations, but also because the young Republic required their labour and expertise. Republican government combined its ideological and material interests with women's strong enthusiasm about education and work, supported their education and created the necessary legal and material conditions for them to become professionals. Although Republican policies that supported the idea of gender equality disallowed a strong resistance against women's entry to the newly established institutions of higher education and professions, they were not always welcomed.

As the participant women emphasized, what shaped them as professionals was the "atmosphere" they were born in. The atmosphere can be understood as a combination of the complex whole of "conditions" that surrounds and determines women's lives including their family background and the social and political conditions of the period. The atmosphere was

conditioned by following factors: (1) The families belonged to the upper and upper middle strata who were rich first, in cultural capital and second, in economic capital; (2) While men's education was financially supported by the state, for women education was sometimes seen as a luxury. So that only certain types of families which were living in cities like Selanik, İstanbul and İzmir, or which could afford and ideologically accepted sending their daughters to big cities for education; (3) Usually other members of the families were educated and some of them were professional; (4) The fathers played an important role in their daughters socialization. Yet, despite their encouraging attitudes towards their daughters education and professions they were still authoritarian; (5) Role of mothers (which were often neglected by the literature) were also significant. They encouraged and supported their daughters not only in their education but also during their professional work life; (6) Family structures were modernist, democratic and adherent to republican ideology; (7) Kemalism was the sovereign ideology which affected every aspect of life. (8) Besides, in the cultural environment the "modern" coexisted with the traditional. This is also a trend that determined the gender relations at high school and at the university. All these factors created "the atmosphere" that women claimed to be influenced and inspired by, while making a decision towards having a profession.

The determinants of their identity as educated professionals were rather different. This research indicates that the identity construction of the very first generation professional women was shaped around the three sets of components which are (1) professional identity and professionalism; (2) gender identity and patriarchy; (3) national identity and Kemalism.

Unlike the suggestion that women were mainly motivated by the Kemalist discourse recommended to them to serve the nation, it appears from this research that they were primarily motivated by the professionalist discourse which dictated them to devote themselves to their professions and to be concerned mainly with the needs of their clients. Although they were thankful to the Kemalist revolution for their professions, the motive in their professional service was not the sense of this indebtedness. They did not practice their professional services mainly with the aim of serving the nation. On the contrary they were primarily engaged in their professions and tried to practice them properly.

It is true that women with the Kemalist/Republican spirit, tried hard to build the modern Republic. But this does not mean that they considered themselves as the servants of the nation. In other words they did not devote themselves to their nation as the Republican elite

wanted them to, but to their professions which were dedicated to the service of the nation in the very first decades of the Republic. That is to say this research shows that being professional was the primary role for the women to play, although it has generally been ignored by the literature concerning the Republican women. In this literature due to the lack of reference to the realm of professions as well as the sociology of professionals, the strong effect of professionalism on women's self identification and representation has been overlooked.

In Turkey, professionalism and Kemalism appears to be the two main determinants that direct women professionals and build their professional identity. They, together also build the practices within which patriarchy manifests itself. On the one hand, patriarchy within professionalism suggests women to internalize the masculine ethos and the patriarchal culture of the professions as a necessary condition to become professionals. On the other hand, patriarchy in Kemalism suggests an asexual identity as a necessary condition to participate in the public realm. These two suggestions are competable with each other. They together determine women's existence in the public realm as professionals.

These patriarchal contents of Kemalism and professionalism were so determining in women's lives that when they took part in the public realm as professionals they easily and without questioning internalized and reproduced the identity which had been attributed to them. Hence, the conflict between the gender identity and the occupational identity of the women professionals occurred not as strong as it is expected in the Turkish case.

 For this reason, the informant women presumed the existence of gender equality within their social environment. Despite many problems they had to deal with in being women professionals the participant women had a strong feeling about the fact that they had equally participated within the professions. Their thought were strengthened with the effect of three factors on the surface of social relations: (1) There was equalitarian treatment in terms of institutional practices and legislation that like their male colleagues, women were offered very different positions in very different areas of work regardless of their gender since there was an urgent need for women professionals under the conditions of rapid development in the early Republican period. However, the gender discrimination at work which was delayed in the name of the national need for a certain period of time during the first years of the Republic took place as soon as the conditions allowed. It indirectly indicates also that the prejudice against gender was maintained and appeared when the conditions were ready to

practice it. (2) Women belived that there was an equal threatmen in education as especially in terms of mentoring system which has a great importance in professionals advancement. Within this research, apart from a few examples, women participants rarely stated that they had a problem with the mentoring system. In fact, I observed that they do not have an image of a mentor and a mentoring system internal to their professions. (3) Women were respected by their male colleagues. For modernist men, women's existence within the realm of professions was the success of the modernization project rather then the failure of masculine character of the profession.

In fact women's narratives were full of example how they were suffered form the gender discrimination at professions were their participation was seen unusual.

In professions, patriarchy maninly manifests itself within the individuals' pratices, especially towards men's attitudes. In the first glance it can be seen that women were supported and respected by men. However, within the work relations, men, who supported and even struggled for women's entry to professions in the name of modernization, behaved not in an egalitarian way. Therefore women suffered from the patriarchal nature of professions and individual practices of male colleagues, lay people and their husbands. Thus, patriarchy which manifests itself within work relations as overcontrol, underestimation, or suspect against women's professional competance cannot be simply seen as an institutionalised form of public patriarchy in Walby's terms (1992); it was rather similar to what Hearn says the patriarchal control of the collectivised fathers'.

Basic and classical forms of male domination appeared sometimes within the work relations when women's sex was over emphasised, or the manager threatened women as if they were their fathers. They suffered form men's mentioning their being women very often. These traditional patriarchal relations appear in the form of professional relations. Regarding Hearn's (1987) approach, women were subjected to the patriarchal control of the fathers in the form of the professional control of the collectivised fathers' who are professionals and governmental elite. Under these conditions they worked hard to become successful professionals as it was expected from them. Their work was over-visible and over-controlled by others as well as their failure and under these conditions they had to work harder and become successful.

It is also significant that their participation in professional associations (meslek odası) was

low. Women claimed that their low participation in these associations was a result of lack of time. However they worked in many other civil society organizations aiming disadvantaged groups in society. This may indicate a latent exclusion of women by men from the professional associations. Probably their men colleagues did not want to share responsibility and power with them within these associations. Because of this exclusion and lack of representation women could not contribute to the development of their professions through these associations.

Despite these negative experiences women strongly denied the existence of the effect of gender on professions. According to them their professions are not men made and masculine. Instead they stressed the positivistic/scientific features of the professions. The point was, as they claimed, to obey the scientific rules and technical competence and the priority of reason. This also answers the question why did not they affected the realm of professions to be less masculine realm in Turkey. The neglect and denial of the effect of gender on professions supported by the Kemalist discourse which suggested that women should develop slightly masculinist identity in order to be able to work in the public sphere as professionals.

In this connection the positions of authority is significant. It is surprising that women did not mention any considerable difficulty in having and exercising power at work. From their testimonies it is clear to see that they developed a female type of authority which was a combination of masculine attitudes and feminine qualities such as relation, understanding, nurturance, empathy and support.

For these women there was an expectation other than being professions of the young republic, and it was that in any case women should realise family responsibilities properly. In Turkey the state support was mainly ideological and discursive. State discursively encouraged women to professions and did only the necessary regulations concerning women's entry to the universities and the professions, since their professional services were urgently needed to make the newly establishing institutions of the Republic work. Yet it did not offer services and facilities making it easier for women to work as professionals. Thus women had to deal with the patriarchal nature of work as well as the patriarchal structure of the traditional family without having any institutionalised help. In other words, women were left alone to overcome the work-family dilemma. They had to create their own support system. They quite often managed to realise both roles with the help of other women

including relatives, friends and child minders. In any case they had to organise their career plans and shape their work according to their domestic responsibilities.

This research indicates various manifestations of patriarchy and thus proves that patriarchy takes many different forms and operates in different ways in women's work. The case of professional women in Turkey presents a multitude of experiences through which the interpretation of patriarchy on women's work by using the notion of manifestation and practice can be applied and tested. As suggested in the second chapter, the principle is the manifestation of patriarchy in practices where the form it takes is determined and where patriarchy becomes a natural part. I argue that it is possible to understand the way patriarchy operates on women's work in Turkey in the early republican period with this principle.

In fact, this research points out the interrelated operations of patriarchy, professionalism and Kemalism in women's work. However this interrelation is a complex one and needs to be analysed further. Kemalism and professionalism appears to be the practices which form the patriarchal manifestations. There are two points which they are in agreement and make them to collaborate: First, as modernist and developmental projects, they both rely on the priority of science, reason and techniques. Second, they both suggest women to internalize a slightly masculine identity to be able to participate in professions and to become an active agent in the public sphere. This latter point indicates the patriarchal nature of professions which excludes and devalues feminine attitudes as well as the patriarchal nature of Kemalism. As I argued before Kemalism suggests women to be a part of the nation building project without questioning the gender relations in the family as well as in entire society.

Turning back to my main concern in this research is it possible to ask whether professional work had a liberating effect on women's lives during the early republican period.

The liberating effect of work and specifically the professional work for women in Turkey in the early republican period has been limited by three processes within which the manifestations of patriarchy played a role: First, the 'from-above professionalisation'; second, deep occupational ideology that women gained via the training period, and third Nation building process and the republican ideology. Thus although being professional have yield certain liberating effects on the lives of the very first generation professional women, it has not created a giant step for women's liberation. Because patriarchy was the major component of the determinants of women's personal and professional lives and it has

manifested itself within the practices of Kemalism and professionalism. In other words, patriarchy appears to be the crosscutting element which has been manifested within the practices of both Kemalism and professionalism.

Participant women have expressed that being professional has meant a lot for them. Despite the manifestations of patriarchy within work and home, women participants mostly have described themselves relatively liberated. Working as professionals have enabled them to be aware of their gender position and provided them the tools to struggle against oppression. Professional work has provided an oportunity to realise themselves. They have felt themselves being powerful and having high self-esteem. Moreover, since they were among the professionals who built the modern Republic, they had some degree of public power and to affect it. When they compared their conditions with women of the late Ottoman period, they regarded themselves quite advanced in terms of liberation. For them it is impossible for a professional woman who has been educated in the early republican period not to adhere Kemalism. In that sense they have believed that they owe very much to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. However, they have admitted that they were the small minority who, because of their privileged positions in the social strata, gained the access to this liberating channel.

They have also added that they have not only had personal/individual benefits, their having professional qualifications also empowered other women.. They have suggested that women's entry into professions improves the social life and balances the gender relations in a particular society.

Some of the participant women have discussed gender inequality as a universal phenomenon which could only be overcome by a comprehensive and long term project. It is not possible to overcome gender inequality within a short period of time and only with legal changes. Since it is deeply ingrained in patriarchal society, they have suggested that a long term struggle should be developed to challenge it.

This study does not claim to find a complete answer to the question can work liberate women. However the underlying goal has been to understand the operations of patriarchy which reduces the liberating effects of work. In this context, the present study has reached its aim by contributing to our knowledge about what makes work an oppressing realm for women and how patriarchy operates on women's lives. It does this by suggesting an

understanding of patriarchy as a formation that manifests itself in different forms within different practices. The way it manifests itself is determined by the reqiuirements of the actual practice or interrelating practices in a certain social and historical context. Thus, a better comprehension of patriarchy necessitates a focus on the specific social and historical contexts.

Patriarchy is a complex phenomenon that appears in different forms in different aspects of life. Therefore it should be studied in relation not only to work but other areas in which it manifests. To understand the effects of patriarchy on women's lives further studies should be done considering the different dimentions of this complex phenomenon.

This study indicates that to create a better understnading of women's professional work in Turkey more researches are needed. Especially, a specific emphasis on the effect of political and economic changes on professions and professionalism and the relation of women to professional work within the present conditions in Turkey would contribute to this understanding. The evaluation of the professions from being state oriented towards being free professions or salaried experts within the capitalist market and different manifestations patriarchy whitin this process should be focused as well. Moreover, studies focusing on women's professional work in economic, political and social contexts other then Turkey and discussing the different experiences of women in professions in different parts of the world enrich our knowledge as   about the nature of professionalism and about patriarchy on women's work.

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APPENDICES

APENDIX A

TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma, uzman meslekler alanına ve Türkiye'de erkek egemen uzman meslekler alanında yer almış ilk nesil Kadınların yaşam anlatılarına başvurarak kadının çalışması ile özgürleşmesi arasındaki ilişkinin doğasını anlamaya çalışmaktadır.

İçinde bulunduğumuz toplumsal cinsiyet sisteminde yani ataerkil sistemde biyolojik farklılıkların toplumsal, kültürel, ekonomik, ve politik baskı kaynaklarına dönüşür. Ataerkillik, toplumsal, kültürel, politik, ideolojik ve ekonomik yapılarla etkileşim içinde ve bu etkileşimin kurulduğu ilişkinin uyum ya da çatışma gibi farklı biçimlerine bağlı olarak çeşitli biçimlerde tezahür eden tamamlanmamış bir yapılaşmadır. Ataerkilliğin maddi niteliği pratikler içinde belirginleşir, pratiğin kendisinin ataerkilliği oluşturan süreçlerden biridir. Biz ataerkilliğin farklı pratikler ya da pratikler bütünü içindeki farklı tezahürlerini deneyimleriz. Bu tezahürler ise pratiğin doğal bir parçası olur ve onu dönüştürür. Ataerkilliğin değişken doğası, farklı dönemler, farklı yerler ve toplumun farklı kesimleri yani çeşitli toplumsal pratikler içinde varlığını sürdürmesini garanti eder.

Kadının emek gücünün ve kullanımının kontrolü ise ataerkilliğin tezahürlerinin en başta gelenlerinden biridir. Bu da çalışmanın kadın açısından özgürleştirici niteliklerini baskılar ve bu alanda bir ataerkil sömürüye maruz kalmasına yol açar. Kadının emek kullanımının niteliklerinin, üretim ilişkilerindeki köklü toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri tarafından belirlendiği uzun yıllardan beri tartışıla gelmektedir. Çalışma yaşamı, hem ataerkilliğin temel

eylem alanlarından hem de kadının erkek egemenliğinden kurtulmasının ve özgürleşmesinin en önemli kanallarından biri olması nedeniyle sıkça tartışılmış, feminist teoride kadının çalışma yaşamına katılımı özellikle Marksist ve Sosyalist feminist yaklaşımlar içinde öncelikli olarak ele alınmıştır.

Bu yaklaşımlar kadının emek kullanımını çevreleyen yapılara ve bu yapıların birbirleriyle ilişkilenme biçimlerine dikkati çekmektedirler. Buna göre, kadının emek pazarındaki dezavantajlı konumu ataerkillik ile kapitalizmin eklemlendiği bir sistem içinde belirlenir. Bu yaklaşımlar içindeki varyasyonlar ise bu iki sömürü düzenin bir aradalığını yani ataerkillik ile kapitalizmin eklemlenme stratejilerini formüle etmedeki farklılıklardan doğmaktadır. Ancak bu yaklaşımlar genellikle kadının emek kullanımının kapitalizm ve ataerkilliğin birlikteliği tarafından biçimlendiği ve belirlendiği alanlarla ilgilenmiş ve çalışma yaşamında kadını sadece ücretli emekçi kategorisinde ele alarak sınıf analizi ile ataerkil analizin bütünleştiği modellerle sınırlı kalmışlardır. Dolayısı ile çalışma yaşamında karşılaştığı eşitsizliklerin analiz edildiği aktör, ataerkillik tarafından iktidardan uzak tutulmuş, kendi emeği üzerindeki kontrolünü kaybetmiş, kapitalist sistem için kırılgan ve kolay sömürülür hale getirilmiş kadındır.

Bu noktada ücretli emek gibi doğrudan doğruya kapitalist sömürü ilişkilerine tabi olmayan, farklı kontrol mekanizmalarının ve üretim ilişkilerinin etkin olduğu bir çalışma biçiminde de bu mevcut formüller açıklayıcı olabilir mi, yoksa ataerkillik farklı yapılar içinde farklı biçimler alabilir mi sorusu gündeme gelir. Ataerkilliğin farklı tezahürlerini görmek amacı ile ben kendi çalışmamda Kandiyoti'nin (1997: 41) "pek az bilgimiz var" dediği profesyoneller alanı ile ilgileniyorum. Çünkü bu emek kullanım biçiminin özgül nitelikleri, çalışma ilişkilerinde ataerkil pratiklerin kavramsallaştırılma biçimlerini ve aynı zamanda da kapitalizm ile ataerkilliğin ilişkilenme prensipleri konusundaki bilgilerimizi sorgulama olanağı yaratmaktadır.

Kavramsal açıdan profesyonellik çağdaş, kentsel, endüstriyel toplumlarda başat bir çalışma alanı olarak görülmekte, gelecek ekonomilerin profesyonellerce belirleneceği vurgulanmaktadır (Taylor 1968; Slocum, 1967). Profesyonellik 1960'lı yıllarda ayıt edici özelliklerine vurgu yapılarak ele alınmıştır. Buna göre profesyonellik temelde miktarı ve zorluk derecesi bakımından herkes tarafından kolayca ulaşılır olmayan (Greenwood 1966; Freidson, 1970), somut problemlere uygulanabilir, profesyonellerce üretilen, değiştirilen, tartışılan ve kullanılan, toplumun problemleri çözeceğine inandığı (Goode, 1969: 275-278; Gross, 1958), uzun yıllar süren ve bir belgeleme istemi tarafından belgelenen akademik

formal eğitim yolu ile kazanılabilen (Turner & Hodge, 1970; Greenwood, 1966; Taylor, 1968; Carr-Sounders 1966; Volmer & Mills, 1966) teorik bilgiye dayanır. Kapitalist üretim ilişkileri içinde satılan, kullanılan ve tüketilen ve artı değer üretimine katkıda bulunan emek gücü yerini profesyoneller alanında, doğrudan hizmet olarak satılan ve satıldığı anda kullanılan ve tüketilen, kullanım değeri ivedi olarak gerçekleşen bu teorik bilgiye ve uygulamaya dönük beceriye bırakır. Dolayısıyla artı değer üretimine katkıda bulunmaz. Bu da profesyonellerin kapitalist sistem içindeki ayrıcalıklı bir konumuna sahip olduğunu gösterir. Ancak profesyoneller sadece emeğin niteliği dolayısıyla değil aynı zamanda toplumsal yapı içindeki konumlarıyla da farklılaşırlar. Profesyoneller iş, bilgi, beceri ve pratiklerin tanımlanması ve denetlenmesi konusunda tek söz sahibidirler (Turner & Hodge, 1970, Freidson 1970; Burrage& Tronstendal, 1988). Toplum, profesyonellerin meslekleri üzerindeki tekelini onaylamakta (Gross, 1958). Kendi kendisini kontrol eden bir tekelci yapı(Taylor 1968) içinde, toplumun onayından destek alarak özerk bir örgütlenme biçimini alır (Goode, 1969). Profesyonelliğin özerk örgütlenmesi, meslek odaları, dernekler ve birlikler, kendileri hakkındaki yasal düzenlemeleri belirler ve mesleki uygulamanın meslek sahipleri tarafından denetlenmesini sağlayan altyapıyı oluşturur. Üyelik can alıcı önem taşır ve pek çok durumda mesleği icra etmenin ön koşulu olarak görülür (Carr-Saunders, 1966). Profesyonelliğin yapısını belirleyen tüm bu özelliklerin, mesleki kimlikleri, dili, jargonu, kalıp davranışları, yaşam biçimlerini tanımlayan bir kültürel örüntü haline geldiğini söylemek mümkün (Greenwood, 1966). Profesyonel çalışmanın bu niteliği daha çok Marksist analizi temel alan yaklaşımlar tarafından vurgulanmış, profesyonellik, tarihsel bir bağlamda ve diğer toplumsal yapılarla ilişkisellik içinde değerlendirilmiştir. Buna göre profesyonellik, basitçe bir mesleğin uzmanlaşması olarak değil, uzmanlaşmanın ve beraberinde gelen ayrıcalıklı konumun sağlanmasına yönelmiş bir ideoloji olarak kavramsallaştırılmaktadır. Bu biçimiyle profesyoneller, toplumdaki yapısal eşitsizliklerin sürdürülmesinde rol oynar ve "toplumsal faydaya adanmış meslek" ideali de bir mit olarak kalır (Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977; Illich, 1994; Zola, 1994; McKnight, 1994).

Profesyonellerin oluşturduğu sosyal bütünlüğün toplum içindeki yerini tanımlamak, için ise teoride sınıf analizi ve toplumsal kapanma sistemi kavramlarına başvurulmaktadır. Profesyoneller, orta sınıf olarak kavramsallaştırılsa da proleterleşerek işçi sınıfına dahil olacak bir toplumsal tabaka olarak değil, mülk avantajları olmadığı halde sahip oldukları uzmanlık nedeniyle toplum içinde ayrıcalıklı bir konuma sahip ve bu ayrıcalıklı konumu korumak için mevcut üretim ilişkilerinin korunmasından yana olan, böylelikle de sınıfsal

çıkarlarının egemen sınıf çıkarları ile örtüşen bir konumdadır (Bottomore, 1992: 45-47; Mills, 1964; Savage v.d. 1995: 17-18). Weber'in toplumsal tabakalaşma yaklaşımı içinde profesyoneller içerme ve dışlama strateejileri ile ayrıcalıklı konumlarını korumaya yönelik bir "statü grubu" (Collins, 1988; Savage, 1995) ve hatta bir "toplumsal kapanma sistemi"(Evetts, 2002) olarak görülebilir.

Bütün bu açıklamalar ışığında, diyebiliriz ki profesyonellik mesleki uzmanlık olarak anlaşılamayacak kadar karmaşık bir yapıya sahiptir. Toplumun onayını alarak, kendi kendisini yöneten ve denetleyen, kendi değerler sistemini geliştiren ve koruyan bir yapı olarak profesyonellik toplumdaki ayrıcalıklı konumunun korunması ve geliştirilmesi idealine yönelmiş olan ideolojik yapı olarak karşımıza çıkar. Profesyonelizm ideolojisi mesleğin hegemonyasını kuran ve meşrulaştıran zemini hazırlayan ve profesyonellerin vazgeçilmezliğine ve biricikliğine olan inancın gerçeklik olarak algılanmasını sağlayan bir dinamiktir.

Böyle bir yapı içinde kadının var oluş biçimleri hakkında neler söylenebilir? Bir mesleki uzmanlaşma biçimi olarak ele aldığımızda profesyonel meslekleri kadınlar için eşitlikçi bir alan olduğunu düşünmek mümkün. Çünkü profesyonel mesleklerdeki kadınlar: yüksek öğrenim görmüş; az bulunur vasıflara ve zor elde edilir becerilere sahip; beşeri sermayeleri yüksek; mesleki hiyerarşinin en üst basamaklarında yer alan ve yüksek ücretlerle ödüllendirilen; kamusal alanda saygın bir yeri olan; ev içinde ise kendilerine yüklenen sorumlulukları yerine getirecek emek gücünü satın alabilecek maddi güce sahip ve bu sayede mesleki çalışmayı ikinci yük olarak pratik etmeyen kadınlardır.

Ancak profesyonel çalışma alanına kadınların katılımı ile ilgili analizler göstermektedir ki kadınlar profesyonel alanlarda çeşitli baskılara maruz kalırlar. Parkin'in (1996) "geçiş bileti" (ticket to ride) diye adlandırdığı uzmanlık kadınların profesyonel alanlardaki eşit katılımını gerektirmez ya da mümkün kılmaz çünkü kadınların bu alana katılımım maddi koşullarla, diplomalarla ya da eğitimle değil ideolojik temsillerle tanımlanıyor. Bu tanımlamalara göre kadının uzman mesleklerde yer alması alışılmadık hatta aykırı ve uygunsuz bir durumdur (Epstein, 1970: 152). Kadınlara uygun olduğu düşünülen çalışma biçimleri ve meslek türleri ise daha az prestijli, daha az kazançlı, daha az zahmetli ve daha az gündemde olan alanlardır (Spencer & Padmore, 1987). Profesyonel meslekler eril niteliklerle özdeşleştirilir ve tarafsız, mantıksal, faydacı, agrasif ve yarışmacı oldukları var sayılır (Epstein 1970; Fox & Hessbiber, 1984; Homans, 1987; Coates, 1996). Witz'in (1992) de belirttiği gibi belirli yetenekler ve becerilerin kullanımı konusundaki mesleki tekelin kurulmasını amaçlayan

mesleki kapanma stratejileri ile oluşan profesyonellik projesi yapısal olarak cinsiyetçidir. Böyle bir yapıda kadınlar profesyonel alanlara girmekte güçlük çeker ve daha çok öğretmenlik, hemşirelik gibi yarı profesyonel alanlarda yer alırlar. Epstein'a (1970) göre meslek kadınları otoriteden yoksun ve aşağı pozisyonlarda bulunurlar ve bu pozisyonlara bağlı olarak alana katılımları ve katkıları da düşüktür. Buna ek olarak varlıkları, yaptıkları her hatanın belirgin biçimde görülmesine yol açacak denli göz önündedir. Ayrıca uzun çalışma saatleri kadınlar için sorun oluşturur. Mesleki örgütlenmelere katılımı düşük olduğu gibi çalışma saatleri dışında gerçekleşen gayri resmi ilişkilerden de dışlanırlar (Epstein, 1970; Fox & Hessbiber, 1984). Mesleğin cinsiyete dayalı kalıp yargılarla tanımlanması (Alverez et al., 1996) sonucunda cinsiyet rolü sosyalleşmesi kadınların mesleki alanlarda yer alışlarını etkilemekte (Fox & Hessbiber, 1984), aile ve ev yaşantısı erkek profesyoneller için bir avantaj, fakat kadın profesyoneller için önemli bir handikap olarak görülmektedir (Homans 1987). Nicolson'a göre (1996) erkek söylemi içinde biçimlenen profesyonel alanlarda kadınları girişte şok yaşar; daha sonra ayrılma kararı ya da protesto etme gibi şekillerde kendisini gösteren bir başa çıkma stratejisi geliştirir; son aşamada da mevcut değerler sisteminin içselleştirerek alanda yer almaya çalışırlar.

Ne var ki, beşeri sermaye, beceri, ücret, statü açılarından donanımlı ve dolayısı ile kapitalizm karşısındaki tüm güçsüz bıraktırmaların üstesinden gelebilmiş bir kadının karşılaştığı bütün bu eşitsizlikler, ataerkillik tarafından kapitalizm karşısında korunmasız ve güçsüz hale getirilmiş bir kadının çalışma yaşamındaki sömürüsüne dayanarak üretilen kavramsallaştırmalar yardımı ile ancak kısmen açıklanabilir. Ancak, ataerkilliği maddi niteliğini pratik içinde kazanan, pratiğin belirlediği biçimde vücuda gelen ve tezahür eden bir soyutlama olarak düşünecek olursak, çalışma yaşamına yönelik en yetkin yaklaşım olan sosyalist feminizmin kavramsal çerçevesini profesyonelleri de içerecek biçimde genişletmiş oluruz. Bu kavramsal çerçeveyi kullanarak sosyalist feminizmin sınıf ve kapitalist üretim ilişkilerini dediği yapıyı ataerkilliği çevreleyen ve onun biçimini ve maddi niteliğini oluşturan pratikler olarak anlayabilir, ataerkilliğin çalışma yaşamında söz konusu pratikler içinde ve onların öngördüğü biçimlerde şekillenerek tezahür ettiğini söyleyebiliriz. Bu yoruma göre ataerkillik ile sınıf arasındaki eklemlenme ilişkisi de yerini pratik ile tezahür arasındaki ilişkiye bırakır. Böylece sosyalist feminist bir perspektiften uzman mesleklerde ataerkilliğin hareketlerini anlayabiliriz. Kadının uzman meslekler alanına katılımını belirleyen pratik doğrudan doğruya kapitalist üretim ilişkileri değil, üretimi, çalışmayı ve kontrolü belirleyen profesyonellik ideolojisidir.

Bu çerçeveden baktığımızda Türkiye'de kadınların meslek alanlarına girişi, sadece profesyonalizm ile ataerkilliğin ilişkisini değil, her ikisini de etkileyen farklı tarihsel ve toplumsal pratiklerin gözlenebileceğimiz bir örnek olarak karşımıza çıkar. Türkiye'de profesyonel kadınların oranı diğer alanlarla ve benzer ülkelerle karşılaştırıldığında göreceli olarak yüksektir. Uzman mesleklerde Türk kadınının görece yüksek katılımına sebep olan çeşitli ekonomik ve sosyal ve tarihsel belirleyenler söz konusudur. Bütün bunların yanı sıra Türk modernleşmesinin ve Kemalist ideolojinin kadına yaklaşımı Türkiye'de kentli kadının profesyonel alanlara katılımını temellendiren en önemli değişkendir. McClelland'ın (1990) ve Larson'un (1977) profesyonelleşme ile ilgili sınıflamalarına atfen diyebiliriz ki Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde profesyonelliğin kuruluşu tepeden inmeci bir biçim göstermektedir. Ancak Türkiye'de profesyonel alanların tepeden inme kuruluşunun özgün, benzersiz bir yönü vardır. Bu yön her şeyden önce kadınlar açısından kritiktir. Kadınların meslek sahibi olmaları ve mesleki alanlarda gelişmiş ülkelerdeki hemcinsleri ile benzer oranlarda yer almaları Osmanlının son dönemlerinde başlayarak Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında yönünü ve amaçlarını "batılılaşmaya dönük liberal demokratik ve laik bir toplum yaratma" (Y. Arat, 1998: 85) olarak belirleyen modernleşme projesinin sonucu olarak görülebilir. Kadınların eğitimi ve meslek edinmeleri "'Türkiye'nin çağdaşlaşması' misyonunun bir parçası olarak kuvvetle desteklenmiştir" (Acar, 1996: 77).

Kadınların meslek alanlarına girişi ile ilgili argümanlarda üç temel vurgu yapılmaktadır. Birincisi, meslek sahibi kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet kişilikleri Kemalizm tarafından kesin olarak belirlendiği ifade edilmiştir. Kadına kamusal alanda önemli yerler açmış olmasına rağmen Kemalizm toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerini tartışmaktan kaçınmakta ve bu ilişkilere dair basit kültürel tutuculuğu sürdürmekte idi. Kadının meslek alanlarında varoluşu ise a seksüel hatta biraz da erkeksi bir kimlik edinmesi, cinsel olarak ulaşılmaz olduğu göndermesinde bulunması ile mümkündü. İkinci olarak profesyonelliğin cumhuriyetçi ideoloji tarafından kadınlara atfedilen rollerden biri olduğu ifade edilmektedir. Kadının mesleki çalışması millete adanmış, bu rol annelik ve eşlik gibi geleneksel kadınlık rollerinin bile ötesine geçmişti. Üçüncü olarak, hızlı ilerleme koşullarında, ihtiyaç duyulan eğitimli kadroların, sınıf atlama çabası içindeki köylü erkekler tarafından doldurulmasındansa üst-orta ve orta sınıf şehirli ailelerin kızları tarafından doldurulmasını tercih edildiği vurgulanır. Bu anlamda profesyonel meslekler ve yüksek öğrenim kadınlara açılmakla birlikte bu seçkinci bir nitelik taşımakta ve sınıfsal eşitsizliklerin pekiştirilmesi ve korunması niyetine hizmet etmek adına toplumsal cinsiyetçi yargılardan feragat edildiği gözlenmektedir. Sonuç

olarak, Kemalizm'in hem meslekler alanını hem de kadının meslekler alanına girmelerini belirlediğini görüyoruz. Dolayısıyla Türkiye örneği profesyonalizm ve ataerkillik arasındaki ilişkiye Kemalizm'in eklemlendiği bir süreçtir.

Cumhuriyet dönemi ve cumhuriyet kadınları üzerine yazılan geniş literatür, Kemalizm'in ve modernleşmenin Cumhuriyet kadınının yaşamındaki belirleyiciliği derinlemesine ele almış olmasına rağmen, pek çoğu uzman mesleklerde yer alan bu kadınların mesleki kimlikleri üzerinde yeterince durulmamıştır. Bu nedenle, kadınların meslekler alanına yer alması, meslek sahibi olmanın anlamı ve sonuçları konusunda çalışmak önem kazanır.

Bu çalışmada kadınların meslekler alanında yer alışını belirleyen tarihsel, sosyal ve politik etkenleri görebilmek için, cumhuriyetin ilk 20 yılında eslek sahibi olmuş kadınların öz yaşam öykülerini, feminist bir bakış açısı ve sözlü tarih yöntemi ile değerlendirilmiştir. Araştırma sürecinde, feminist bakış açısı bana deneyimin ötesine geçerek ataerkilliğin gölgesinde kalmamış olan bilgiye ulaşma olanağı vermiş, sözlü tarih yöntemi ise, araştırmacı olan benim bilişsel sınırlılıklarımın ötesine çıkmamı ve bilginin içinden üretildiği deneyimlere ulaşmamı sağlamıştır. 5'i 90 yaşın üzerinde; 11'i 80 yaşın üzerinde; 2'si 75 yaşın üzerinde: 1 eczacı, 1 lise öğretmeni, 1 mühendis, 4 hukukçu, 8 doktor ve 3 mimar toplam 18 meslek sahibi kadınla yaptığım sözlü tarih görüşmeleri, daha önce benzer aktörlerle Aynur İlyasoğlu Tarafından gerçekleştirilmiş iki sözlü tarih görüşmesi metni, aynı döneme ait ve kadınlarla ilgili bazı dokümanlar ile benzer mesleklerde ve yaşlardaki kadınlara ait biyografik metinler temel bilgi kaynaklarını oluşturmaktadır.

Çok kısa olarak araştırmam sonucunda elde ettiğim bulgulardan bazıları şöyle:

Kadınların eğitim ve meslekler alanında ilerlemeleri devletin gerekli kurumsal ve yasal düzenlemeleri gerçekleştirmesi sonucunda mümkün olabilmiştir. Ancak dönemin ilerici kadınlarının eğitim ve meslek sahibi olmak konusundaki taleplerine ilişkin 1910'lu yılarda başlayan tartışmalar, 20-21 yıllarında kadınların eğitim kurumlarına girme girişimleri ile vücut bulmuştur. Devlet kadınların eğitim görmek ve meslek sahibi olmak konusundaki istekliliklerini, kendi ideolojik ve maddi çıkarları ile birleştirerek desteklemiş ve gerekli yasal ve kurumsal düzenlemeleri gerçekleştirmiştir. bu ortamda kadınlar taleplerini kolayca elde edebilmişlerdir.

Kadınlarım uzman meslek sahibi olma konusundaki isteklilikleri onları çevreleyen pek çok koşullun bir arada oluşturdukları "atmosfer"den doğar. Doğrusu, ne Kemalism ve profesyonalizm gibi ideolojiler, modernleşme ya da gelenek gibi kavramlar ne de sınıf gibi

analitik araçlar bu koşullanmalar bütününü tam olarak yansıtmadığından ben kadınların kendileri için kullandıkları "atmosfer" ifadesini kavramsal alana taşımayı anlamlı buldum. Bu atmosfer, daha çok üst gelir düzeyine sahip ancak ekonomik kapitalden çok kültürel kapitalleri yüksek olan, aile üyelerinin pek çoğunun eğitimli olduğu, aile içinde öğrenmeye ve bilgiye yönelik bir saygı ve ilgi olan, ilerlemeci ideallere ve Kemalism'e sıkıca bağlı bir aile yapısında ortaya çıkar. Literatürde belirtildiği gibi babalar, bu kadınlarım meslek sahibi olmalarında etkilidir ancak, benim bulgularıma göre aynı zamanda da otoriterdirler. Aile içinde söz sahibi olmak açısından babalar kadar etkin olmamalarına karşın, anneler kızlarının mesleğe girişlerinde, eğitimleri sürecinde ve çalışma yaşamlarında, onların başarılarının en önemli kaynaklarından birini oluştururlar. Yaşamın pek çok alanını çevreleyen Kemalizm ve onun modern, demokratik, laik idealleri, atmosferin en önemli tabakalarından biridir. Öte yandan gelenek modernle birlikte varlığını sürdürmektedir ki çeşitli toplumsal ilişkilerde olduğu kadar, lise ve üniversite yıllarında okul içindeki cinsiyet ilişkilerinde de kendisini göstermektedir.

Bir yandan üniversite eğitimi için zorunlu olan lise tahsili olanağının kadınlar için erkeklere oranla sınırlı olması; öte yandan Erkelerin üniversite eğitimi görebilmeleri için kendilerine yurt gibi maddi olanaklar sağlanırken, kadınların bu imkanlardan yararlanamamaları gibi etkenler meslek kadınlarının daha çok Selanik, İstanbul ve İzmir gibi büyük şehirlerde yaşayan, ya da kızlarının bu şehirlerde lise tahsili yapmasını kabul edebilecek ve maddi olarak sağlayabilecek özelliklere sahip ailelerin üyesi olması sonucunu doğurmuştur. Yani kadınların bu tür ailelere mensup olmaları, kadınların eğitiminin bir lüks olarak görülmesi ve eğitimin seçkinci bir gözle ele alınmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla erken cumhuriyet dönemi koşullarında ihtiyaç duyulan eğitimli işgücünü oluşturabilecek en uygun grup söz konusu kadınlardır. Dolayısıyla meslek kadınlarının üst orta sınıf mensubu olmaları bilinçli bir tercih sonucu değil, zorunlu ve doğal bir sonuç olarak karşımıza çıkar.

 Literatürde kadınların Kemalist söylemin etkisiyle kendilerini ülkeye hizmete adadıkları sıklıkla vurgulanmaktadır. Gerçekten de Kemalist/cumhuriyetçi bir ruhla ülkeleri için çalışmak büyük önem taşır. Ancak "ülkeye hizmet" vurgusu bu kadınların çalışmalarını belirleyen temel motif olarak sunulduğunda mesleki kimlikleri görmezden gelinmiş, edindikleri meslek ülkeye hizmet etmenin aracına indirgenmiş olur. Oysa benim bulgularım, bu kadınların mesleki kimliklerinin Kemalist söylemden çok mesleki söylemle belirlendiğini göstermektedir. Buna göre meslek ideolojisi kadınlara kendilerini mesleklerine adamaları gerektiğini dikte eder. Bu kimlik öyle güçlüdür ki, Kemalizm'den de ve hatta toplumsal

cinsiyet kimliklerinden de öncelikli olduğu söylenebilir. Meslek edinmeleri konusunda Atatürk'e minnettar olmakla birlikte, çalışmaları konusunda onları motive den şey esas olarak bu minnettarlık duygusu değil, mesleki ideallerdir. Bununla birlikte profesyonalizm ile Kemalizm'in birbirlerinden tamamen bağımsız alanlar değiller ve hatta meslekler alanı özellikle profesyonelleşme süreci açısında pek çok meslek için Kemalizm'in doğrudan etkisi altındadır. Profesyonalizmin etkinliğinde gözlenen artış ise Kemalizm tarafında tepeden inmeci bir biçimde yapılandırılmış olan meslekler alanının kendi kurumsal ve ideolojik yapılarını güçlendirmeye başladığının bir göstergesi olabilir. Bu sonuçlar ve çıkarsamalar gösteriyor ki, profesyoneller literatürüne başvurmaksızın ve bu alanı tanımadan meslek kadınları ile ilgili yorumlarda bulunmak ve kadınların mesleki kimliklerinin bu denli belirleyici ve etkili olduğunu anlamak mümkün değildir. Tartışmayı sadece Kemalizm ve modernleşme bağlamında sınırlamadan profesyonalizm de göz önünde bulundurmak gerekir.

Kemalizm'in ve profesyonalizmin birbirlerine paralel olarak meslek kadınlarına önerdikleri bu eril kimlik ilk nesil meslek kadınları tarafından öyle içselleştirilmiştir ki, toplumsal cinsiyet özellikleri ile mesleğin eril nitelikleri arasındaki muhtemel çatışma beklenildiği kadar çetin yaşanmamış, meslek yaşantısına girerken gördükleri devlet desteğinin de etkisi ile kadınlar bir eşitlik duygusu içinde mesleki yaşamlarını yorumlamışlardır. Bu duygu çevrelerindeki erkeklerden, ki bunların çoğu cumhuriyetçi aydınlardır, gördükleri saygı ile güçlenir. Meslek alanlarında ilk bakışta erkek meslektaşların kadın meslektaşlarına gösterdikleri saygı ve destek ne kadınların meslek alanlarına kabulünün bir göstergesi ne de mesleğin eril niteliklerinin Türkiye örneğinde çeşitli etkenlerle azaldığının bir göstergesidir. Bu daha çok modernleşme projesinin sahipleri olan erkeklerin kendi başarılarını taktir etmeleridir. Ülkenin maddi ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için ve aynı zamanda modelleşmesinin, demokratikleşmesinin ve laikleşmesinin göstergesi olarak kadınların meslekler alanında yer almaları, modernleşme projesinin sahipleri olan erkekler için bir başarı ve övünç kaynağı oldu.

Nitekim, meslek içi ilişkilerde beklenildiği kadar eşitlikçi davranmadıklarını görüyoruz. Meslek içi ilişkilerde kadınlar toplumsal cinsiyetlerinden temellenen pek çok problemle karşılaştılar. Mesleğin ataerkil doğasının yanında meslektaşların, kocaların ve halkın meslek kadınlarına bakışından kaynaklanan bireysel pratikler içinde ataerkilliğin tezahür ettiğini görüyoruz. Bu anlamda ataerkillik daha çok geleneksel ataerkil ilişkilerin meslekler alanına doğru genişlediği bir biçimde tezahür ediyor. Ayrıca, mesleği ve uzmanlaşmayı seçerken toplumsal cinsiyet ön plana çıkmış, kadınlar yapamayacağı iddia edilen meslekler değil,

uygun oldukları düşünülen mesleklere yönelmiş ve yönlendirilmişlerdir. Çalışma yeri ve koşulları da toplumsal cinsiyete bağlı olarak seçilmekte, kadınlar bu sınırlamalar çerçevesinde mesleki ideallerini baskılamıştır. Literatürde sözü edile "aşırı görünürlük", bu kadınlar için de bir problem teşkil eder ve çalışmalarının dikkatle izlendiği, başarısızlıklarının kollandığı ve vurgulandığı bir ortamda erkek meslektaşlarından çok daha fazla ve özenli çalışmak durumunda kalmışlardır. Bunun yanında cinselliğin vurgulanması ve aşağılayıcı bir öğe olarak kadınların önüne konulması kadınları çalışma yaşamlarında sıkıntıya sokmuştur. Meslek kadınlarının, meslek örgütlenmelerinde düşük oranlarda görev aldıkları, buna karşılık farklı sivil örgütlenmeler ve mesleğin yan örgütlenmelerinde etkin biçimde çalıştıkları gözlenmiştir. Bu da ataerkiliğin mesleki örgütlenme içindeki tezahürünü akla getirmektedir. Bu koşullarla çevrili olan meslek kadınlarının otorite pozisyonlarına sahip olmak ve bunu kullanmak konusunda zorluk çektikleri beklenebilir. Fakat, kadınların kendi toplumsal cinsiyet özelliklerini katarak yorumladıkları otorite kullanım biçimi onların aynı zamanda başarılı yöneticiler olmalarını sağlamıştır. Nitekim kadın yöneticilerle çalışmayı göze alamayan erkek profesyonellerin bu örgütlenme içinde yer almayı tercih etmediği örnekler anlatılmıştır. Bütün bu gösterenlere rağmen meslek kadınların mesleğin toplumsal cinsiyete bağlı bir doğası olduğunu kabul etmez. Aksine, toplumsal cinsiyetten bağımsız olduğunu ve, pozitif bilimin unsurları ile belirlendiğine inanırlar. Meslek ideolojisinin etkisi o kadar güçlüdür ki, ifade ettikleri bütün toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerine rağmen mesleğin kendisinin tüm bu ideolojik kabullerden bağımsız olduğuna inanırlar.

Bu araştırmanın işaret ettiği bir diğer alan da ev için sorumlulukları ile mesleki sorumlulukların bir arada yürütülmesi sırasında ortaya çıkan problemler olmuştur. Ev işleri ve çocuk bakımı uzman meslek kadınları için dahi birincil görev addedilmiş, bu sorumlulukların yerine getirilmesi beklenmiştir. Bu kadınlar söz konusu beklentileri, kendi deyimleriyle fedakarlıklar yaparak yerine getirmeyi başarmışlardır. Kadınların kariyer planları başlıca iki unsura bağlıdır. Bunlardan en önemlisi çocuk bakımıdır. Özellikle ilk nesil kadınların hemen hemen hepsi çocuklarını yetiştirmek için çalışmaya ara vermişlerdir. İkincisi ise eşlerinin kariyer planları ve kararlarıdır. Özellikle çalışacakları şehri ya da bölgeyi ve bazen de alanı eşlerinin kariyer planlarını gerçekleştirmelerine uygun olarak düzenlerler. Bu planların her zaman sadece eşlere değil bazen de babaların taleplerine ve beklentilerine göre düzenlendiği örnekler de vardır.

Turkiye'de kadının meslek alanlarında yer alması konusundaki devlet desteği, örneğin Fransa'dakinden farklı olarak daha çok ideolojik alanda kalmış, kadına yüklenen iki ayaklı sorumluluklar bütünü konusunda bir öneri geliştirememiştir. Geleneksel ataerkil toplum yapısına rağmen kadınların meslek alanlarına girmesi devletin desteği sayesinde mümkün olabilmiştir, ancak devlet sadece zorunlu düzenlemeleri yapmakla yetinmiş, çocuk bakımı, yaşlı ve hasta bakımı, ev işleri, doğum ev benzeri konularda kadına destek olacak mekanizmaları geliştirmekte sessiz kalmıştır. Dolayısı ile meslek kadınları her iki sorumluluğu da yerine getirebilmek için çeşitli stratejiler geliştirmişlerdir. Kadınlar kendilerine yüklenen görevleri, annelerinden, diğer kadın akrabalardan yardımcı kadınlardan ve bazı çalışma arkadaşlarından özellikle çocuk bakımı ile ilgili destek almak ve evde çalışmaya olanak sağlayacak "ev-ofis"ler organize etmek gibi stratejiler geliştirerek yerine getirebilmişlerdir. Ancak bu stratejilerin kadını kısmen rahatlattığı, ikili yükten kurtarmadığı açıktır. Yine de, ev yaşamını meslek yaşamıyla bir arada yürütebilmenin ilk şartının kişisel çaba ve fedakarlıklar olduğunu vurgulamaktadırlar.

Ataerkillik, Kemalizm ve profesyonalizmin ve bunlar arasındaki karşılıklı etkileşimin ve ilişkinin içinde tezahür eder. Kemalizm ve profesyonelliği birleştiren iki temel nitelik vardır. Birincisi, her ikisi de bilimin, rasyonel düşünce ve pozitivizmin önceliğini ve gelişme ve ilerlemeyi hedefler, ikincisi her ikisi için de iktidarın ve kontrolün nitelikleri ataerkildir. Meslekler pratiğinde tezahür eden ataerkillik kadının mesleğin eril niteliklerini içselleştirmesi koşulunu dayatırken, Kemalizm'in pratikleri içinde tezahür eden ataerkillik, kadının kamusal alanda cinsiyetsiz bir kimliğe bürünmesi gerektiğini empoze eder. Bu ilişkide ortaya çıkan ataerkillik, kadınların kamusal alanda profesyonel meslek sahipleri olarak yer almaları, ancak feminen özelliklerini bastırmaları ile mümkün olabileceği öngörür. Bu anlamda denilebilir ki kadının var oluş koşullarını kadınlara tanımlarken Kemalism ile profesyonalizm arasında ciddi bir ayrılık yoktur.

Başlangıçtaki soruma dönecek olursam, katılımcıların anlatıları bütün bu sıkıntılara rağmen, meslek sahibi olmanın yaşamlarında özgürleştirici bir etki yarattığını göstermektedir. Kendilerinin şanslı bir azınlık olduklarının farkındalar. Kemalizm'in kadına yönelik reformlarının sınırlılıklarını bildikleri, sınıfsal bir içeriği olduğunu ve kadın bakış açısını görmezden geldiğini eleştirdikleri halde meslek kapılarını açan Atatürk'e minnettardırlar. Ancak içlerinde bazıları kadın-erkek eşitliğinin Kemalist devrimden beklenmemesi gerektiği, bu problemin son derece evrensel bir problem olduğu ve ancak köklü ve uzun vadeli bir çalışma ile toplumun bilincinden silinebileceği görüşündeler. Bütün bu ifadeler, meslek

sahibi kadınların sadece ataerkilliğin tezahürleri ile baş edebildiklerini değil aynı zamanda ataerkil ideolojinin temellerini de sorguladıklarını gösterir, ki bu önemli bir özgürleştirici etken olarak görülebilir.

Sonuç olarak diyebilirim ki, bu çalışma, çalışma yaşamına katılımın kadını özgürleştirip özgürleştirmeyeceği sorusuna bütünsel bir yanıt verme iddiasını taşımaz. Temel amaç çalışma yaşamına katılmanın özgürleştirici etkilerini baskılayan ve azaltan ataerkilliğin nasıl işgördüğüne dair bilgiye katkıda bulunmaktır. Bunu ataerkilliğin farklı pratikler içinde tezahür eden bir yapı olduğunu ve ataerkilliği daha iyi tanımak için farklı toplumsal ve tarihsel bağlamların göz önünde bulundurulması gerektiğini söyleyerek yapar. "Tezahür" ve "pratik" kavramları ataerkilliğin din, bölge, ırk, etnik köken, sınıf gibi toplumsal farklılıklara; politik ekonomik tarihsel ve sosyal koşullara göre değişen yapısını, tekbiçimliliğe düşmeden ama aynı zamanda da çeşitlilik içinde kaybolmadan kavramsallaştırmayı sağlar. Elde edilen bulgular ataerkilliğin profesyonel meslekler alanı ve erken cumhuriyet dönemi gibi farklı toplumsal pratikler içindeki farklı tezahürlerine dair örnekler ortaya koyarken, söz konusu kavramsal yaklaşımın bu örnekleri ve bulguları analiz etmek için uygun bir çerçeve sunduğunu göstermektedir.

THE GUIDELINE FOR THE INTERVIEWS

1. Çocukluk yılları ve aile:

1.1.aile bilgileri

- Hangi yıl, nerede doğdu? Çocukluğu nerede ve nasıl geçti? Kendisini nereli olarak tanımlıyor? Nasıl bir ailede yetişti? Kaç kişilik? Kaç kardeşler? Kaç erkek kaç kız? Evde anne babadan başka büyük var mı? Aile içi ilişkiler ve görev dağılımı nasıldı?Anne ve Babanın eğitim durumları nedir? Ailenin, yaşadıkları toplum içindeki konumu, statüsü nedir? Babanın mesleği ne? Anne ne tür işlerle meşgul? Diğer kardeşlerin, amca ve halaların eğitim durumları ne? Ailenin eğitime ve meslek sahibi olmaya yönelik görüşleri neler? Ekonomik durumları nasıl?

1. 2. eğitim

- Yaşadığı yörede ilk ve orta okul var mı? İlk ve orta okul yıllarına ilişkin anıları? Okulda nasıl giyinirdi? Okul giysilerini sever miydi? Yaşadığı yerde lise var mı? O yıllarda ülkede eğitim kurumlarının durumu nasıl? Hangi liseye gitti? Kaç yıl okudu? Ne koşullarda üniversite eğitimine kadar geldi? Hangi üniversiteye gitti?

2. Mesleğe hazırlık: sosyalleşme ve eğitim

2.1. Mesleği ne? Kaç yıl fiilen çalıştı? Nerelerde ve ne tür işlerde görev yaptı?

2.2. Bu mesleği seçmedeki temel itkiler neler?

- Kişisel ve sosyal faktörler: Mesleği seçmesine neden olan toplumsal etkenler nelerdi? Ailesinin ve sosyalizasyon sürecinin etkileri nelerdi? Meslek seçimini etkileyen kişisel deneyimler (hastalık vb.) nelerdi?

- Maddi ve ekonomik faktörler: Ekonomik koşullar ve bunların meslek seçimindeki rolü ne oldu? Bunun dışındaki maddi koşullar nelerdi?

- Dönemin etkileri: Cumhuriyetçi dünya görüşü meslek seçiminde etkili oldu mu? Modernist ve ilerici fijkirlerden bu anlamda etkilendi mi?

- Kişisel düşünceler: Meslek sahibi olmak onun için ne anlama geliyor? Meslek sahibi olmayı istedi mi? Mesleğin kendisine uygun olduğunu düşündü mü? Neden? Mesleğe girmeden önce kendi mesleğine ilişkin bilgisi ve düşünceleri nelerdi? Bu fikirleri nereden edinmişti?

2.3. Toplumsal çevrenin meslek edinmesi konusundaki tutumu:

- aile, sınıf arkadaşlar, lise öğretmenleri, akrabalar, çevre: Mesleki eğitim almanızı kim istedi? Bu konuda size kim destek oldu? Sosyal çevrenin meslek kadını olma isteğine tepkisi nasıl oldu? Aile içinden destek gördü mü? Onaylamayanlar oldu mu? Gerekçeleri ne idi? Lisedeki hocaları bu kararı nasıl karşıladı? Desteklediler mi? Üniversiteye nasıl kabul edildi? Bu konuda kimin yardımını aldı?

2.4. Eğitim yılları:

- Nerede okudu? Nasıl geçindi? Nasıl koşullarda okudu? Okurken nerede kaldı? İhtiyaç duyduğu maddi desteği nereden aldı? kim yardımcı oldu? üniversşiteye nasıl kabul edildi? Ne sıklıkta evini ve ailesini ziyarete geldi? Ailesi onu ziyaret eder miydi?

- Dersleri nasıldı? Erkek arkadaşları ile kızlar arasında okulda bir farklılık var mıydı? Arkadaşları ile ilişkileri nasıldı? Okul dışındaki ilişkileri nasıldı? Derslere nasıl hazırlanırdı? Hocaları kimlerdi? Hoca-Öğrenci ilişkileri nasıldı?

- Aldığı eğitim meslek sahibi olmak dışında ne kazandırdı? Eğitim sürecinde yaşadığı zorluklara değdiğini düşünüyor mu? Eğitim görmedeki amacı ne idi? (D)

Lisans eğitiminden sonra eğitimine devam etti mi? Nerelerde ve hangi alanlarda? Yurt dışında eğitim gördü mü? Bu yıllara ait anıları neler?

2.5. Mesleklerde kadınların durumu üzerine düşünceler ve gözlemler:

• Bölümde ve fakültede kaç kadın öğretim görevlisi vardı? Bölümde ya da fakültede kaç kadın öğrenci vardı? Erkeklerin çoğunlukta olduğu bir ortamda ve alanda eğitim almak sizi nasıl etkiledi? Zorlandığı noktalar oldu mu? Zorluklarla nasıl başa çıktı? Bu ortamın olumlu katkıları oldu mu? Neler olabilir?

2.6. Mesleki Danışmanlık/ destek sisteminin etkileri:

• Kendisine profesyonel alnlamda destek veren kimse oldu mu? Asistanlık/staj yaptı mı? Okulundaki diğer kız arkadaşları kariyerlerini sürdürdü mü? Danışmanlık ve rehberlik konularında cinsiyete dayalı bir farklılık yaşadı mı?

3. Meslek yaşamı

3.1. Çalışmanın temel nedenleri:

• Gelir elde etme / çocuklarının geleceğini sağlama / görmüş olduğu eğitimi kullanma / ekonomik özgürlüğünün kazanmak / ülkeye hizmet etmek / insanlara yardım etmek.

3.2.Rol modeller:

• Meslek yaşamında kimi örnek aldı? Neden? Kendisi gibi bu alanda çalışan kadın meslektaşlarının olmaması ya da az sayıda olması ne gibi sonuçlar doğuruyordu (meslek alanının buna hazır olmaması/ over visibility / destek görmemesi)?

3.3. Çalışma yaşamına giriş:

• İlk işini nasıl buldu? Nasıl bir işti? Ne kadar çalıştı? Neden? okul yıllarında nerede çalışıcağına dair planlar yapıyor muydu? bu planları gercekleştirebildi mi?

hayırsa neden?

3.4.Çalışma yaşanımı belirleyen factorler:

- İşi neredeydi? Seyahat etmesi gerekti mi? Başka bir ile taşınması gerekti mi? Bu tür bir durumla karşılaştığında tepkisi ne oldu?

- kaç saat çalışıyordu? Saat kaçta işi başlıyordu? Kaçta bitiyordu? Çalışma saatlari düzenli miydi? Her zamanki mesainin dışında çalışması gerekiyor muydu? Çalışma saatlerini kendisi ayarlayabiliyor muydu? Çalışma saatleri neye göre belirleniyordu?

- Mesleki hiyerarlşinin neresinde yer alıyordu? Otoriteye sahip miydi? Sahip olmayı tercih eder miydi? Otoriteyi kullanırken kadın olmasından doğan farklılıklar yaşıyor muydu? Sözde katılım olgusu yaşanmış mı?

- Erkek meslekdaşlarınızla aynı ücreti mi alıyordunuz? Erkek meslektaşlarınızın daha çok gelir getirici alanlarda mı? neden olabilir?

- Terfi konusunda herhangi bir güçlük ya da haksızlıkla karşılaştığını düşünüyor mu? Evetse nedenleri neler?

- Meslek birliğine üyemiydi? Burada aktif görev aldı mı? (Meslek alanının kurallarının belirlenmesinde ve denetlenmesinde) Meslek birliklerinin görevi ve rolü nedir? Bu görevlerin yerine getirilmesinde ve rolün belirlenmesinde bir etkisi oldu mu?

- Meslek örgütlerinin siyasi irade ile ilişkisi nasıldı? meslek örgütlerinin özerk yapılar olduğu söylenebilir mi? Kemalist ideoloji ile meslek ideolojisi arasındaki ilişki nasıl kurulmuştu?

- Enformal ilişkilerinin meslek alanındaki yeri nedir? Bu ilişkilerin meslek alanında bir etki yarattığını düşünüyor mu? Mesleğin yapısını oluşturan bir süreç midir? Siz bu ilişkilere yeterince katılabiliyor muydunuz? Bu ilişkilerin daha çok erkeklerin kendi aralarında gerçekleştirdikleri toplantılar vb. oldukları söylenebilir mi? kadın olduğunuz için bu tür ilişkilere giremediğiniz oldu mu? Kadın meslektaşlar arasında da bu tür ilişkiler kurulduğu söylenebilir mi? bunlardan erkekler dışlanmış mıdır?

4. Meslek sahibi olmanın anlamı

4.1. Profesyonel meslek sahibi olmanın anlamı:

- Profesyonel meslek sahibi olmak toplumsal yaşamlarına ne kattı? Profesyonel meslek sahibi olmak kişisel olarak kendilerine ne kazandırdı? Anna-babaları ve kendi aileleri için bir farklılık yarattığını düşünüyorlar mı? profesyonel meslek sahibi olmayı ev kadınlığına tercih etmelerine neden olan etkenler nelerdi? Mesleğiniz size kişisel tatmin sağladı mı? mesleğinizde dilediğiniz başarıyı sağladınız mı? başarınızı neye borçlusunuz? Meslek yaşamında karşılaştığınız en büyük güçlük ne idi?

4.2. Mesleğiniz kişisel tatmin sağladı mı? çalışan kadın olmanın avantajları ve dez avantajları neler? meslek alanının kendisine yönelik bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor mu?

4.3. Profesyonel meslekler konusundaki görüşleri:

- Profesyonel meslekleri diğer alanlardan ayıran özellikler nelerdir? Meslek sahibi olmanın kadın ve erkeklerin yaşantısında yarattığı etkiler nelerdir? Çalışan kadın olmanın avantajları ve dez avantajları nelerdir? Meslek alanının oluşmasında ve değişmesinde bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor mu? Ne tür bir etki? Başarılı bir meslek kadını olmak için ne yapmalı?

5. İş ve aile yaşamını dengelemek

5.1. Evlilik ve aile sorumlulukları, ve aile içi işbölümü üzerine:

- Aile içinde ne tür sorumluluklar üstlenmeniz gerekiyordu? Bu sorumlulukları kimlerle paylaşıyordunuz? Eşiniz yardımcı oluyor muydu ya da bu sorumlulukları kendi sorumlulıklşarı olarak görüyor muydu? Bu konuda size yardımcı olan diger kadınlar kimlerdi? Yardımcınız var mıydı? Kimdi? Ne tür işler yapıyordu? Bir bakıcı tutmak sizin ekonomik koşullarınızı nasıl etkiliyordu? Çocuk bakımı konusunda kimden destek aldınız? Meslek sahibi olmak eşinin size karşı tutumunda bir değişiklik yarattı mı?

5.2. Aile içine karar alma alışkanlıkları:

- Ailenizi ve işinizi ilgilendiren kararları nasıl alırdınız? Gelirinizin kullanımı nasıldı? Eşin çalışma yaşamına katılım konusundaki tutumu ne idi? Onaylamadığı halde eşinin karatlarına uymak zorunda kaldığı oldu mu?

5.3.Aile sorumlulukları nedeniyle çalışma yaşanımda karşılaşılan güçlükler:

- Meslek hayatınızda ailevi sorumluluklarınızdan kaynaklanan ne tür güçlüklerle karşılaştınız?

- Çalışma saatlerini ailevi sorumluluklarınızı yerine getirmenize uygun muydu? Bu tür nedenlerle çalışma saatlerinizde esneklik uygulayabiliyor muydunuz? Örneğin çocuğunuz hastalandığında aynı anda çok önemli bir toplantınız da olsa bu sorunla nasıl başa çıkardınız? Eşiniz bu gibi durumlarda yardımcı olur muydu?

- Ailevi sorumluluklarınız dolayısı ile terfi alamadığınız oldu mu? Kadınların ev işi ile mesleği bir arada yürütemeyecekleri ve asıl işlerinin ev işi olduğu konusundaki kalıp yargılarla karşılatınız mı? Mesleğiniz için çok iyi olacağını düşündüğünüz herhangi bir durumdan (meslek içi eğitim için şehir dışına çıkmak, ikametgah değiştirmek, vb.) ailevi sorumluluklarınız nedeni ile vazgeçtiğiniz oldu mu?

- Ailevi sorumluluklarınız gayri resmi ilişkilere katılmanız için bir engel oluşturdu mu? Ev işleri meslek örgütüne üyelik için zaman harcamanızı engelliyor muydu? Bir sıralama yapacak olsanız şu üç alanı önem sırasına göre nasıl sıralardınız: aile / meslek / mesleki ilişkiler?

5.4. Mesleki sorumluluklardan dolayı aile içinde yaşanan zorluklar:

- Mesleğinizin gereklilikleri nedeni ile ailevi sorumluluklarınızı yerine getirmediğiniz oldu mu? Ailenizle ilgili kararlar alırken mesleğiniz belirleyici oldu mu? Kocanıızın mesleği belirleyici oldu mu? (çocuk sahibi olma, şehir değiştirme, ev alma, eğitim vb.) Ailenizdeki büyüklerin tepkileri ne oldu? Pişmanlık ve suçluluk duygusu duyduğunuz oldu mu?

6. Meslek kadını olmanın dönemsel belirleyenleri/temelleri:

6.1. Kadın erkek eşitliği üzerine düşünceler:

- Türkiye cunhuriyeti kadın erkek eşitliğini sağladığına mı inanıyor? Bunu yaşamın her alanı için geçerli olduğunu düşünüyor mu (hem özel alan hem kamusal alan için)

6.2.Batılı, modern kadın imajı üzerine düşünceler:

- Türkiye cumhuriyeti kadınını nasıl tanımlıyor? Modernliği ve kendi modernliğini nasıl kavramsallaştırıyor? Batılılık onun için ne anlama geliyor?Türkiye dünyanın neresinde ve neresinde olmalı?

6.3. Kamusal alanda kadın imajı konusunda düşünceler ve deneyimler:

- Modern ama namuslu kadın imgesi nasıl kuruluyor? Namus kavramını nasıl kurguluyor? Ailesinin ve çevresinin bu konuda kendisine gösterdiği yaklaşım nasıl? Nasıl giyiniyor? Kadın ve erkek meslektaşları ile ilişkileri birbirinden farklı mı? Erkek meslektaşlarının yaklaşımı nasıl? Erkeklerle ilişkilerinde nelere dikkat ediyor? Çevrenin tepkileri davranışlarında ne derece belirleyici oluyor? İşyerinde her zaman davrandığı gibi davranabiliyor mu? Aradaki fark nedir? Toplum yaşantısında namusunu nasıl koruyor? Cumhuriyet balolarına katılıyor mu? buralarda nasıl giyiniyor? Nasıl davranıyor? Kendi cinsiyet özelliklerini nasıl bastırıyor ve ne zaman serbest bırakacağına nasıl karar veriyor? Zaman zaman kendisini erkek gibi hissettiği oluyor mu?

6.4.Ülkeye hizmet konusundaki düşünceler.:

- Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında en cok hangi alanlada eğitim veriliyor. Kadınlar en çok hangi alanlarda bulunuyor? Toplumun kendisinden beklentisi nedir?

6.5.Türkiye'de meslekler alanının özellikleri

- Türkiye'de profesyonel meslekler alanı cumhuriyet ile birlikte mi kuruldu? Kendi mesleğinizin nasıl bir geleneği vardı? Bu gelenek kadınları içeriyor muydu?

Ya da bu konuda ne düşünüyordu? Kemalizm'in kadınları meslek alanlarına teşvik etmesine meslek alanlarının tepkisi nasıl oldu? Kadınlar meslek alanlarına girdiklerinde bir rezistansla karşılaştılar mı?

• Kadınların meslek alanlarına girişleri meslek alanlarını değiştirdi mi? bu değişiklikler ne tür alanlarda öne çıktı? Yaşanan değişimler sonraki nesillerin meslek alanlarına girmelerinde belirleyici oldu mu? olnların bu alanlara girişlerini kolaylaştırdı mı? Şimdi uzman mesleklerdeki kadınlarla kendiniz arasındaki farklılıkların neler olabileceğini düşünüyorsunuz? Meslekteki ilk yıllarınızla, son yıllarınız arasında meslek alanında kadınlar açısından bir farklılık yaşandığını gözlediniz mi?

APPENDIX C

PICTURES

Picture 1. Mother, Daughter, nanny and the baby
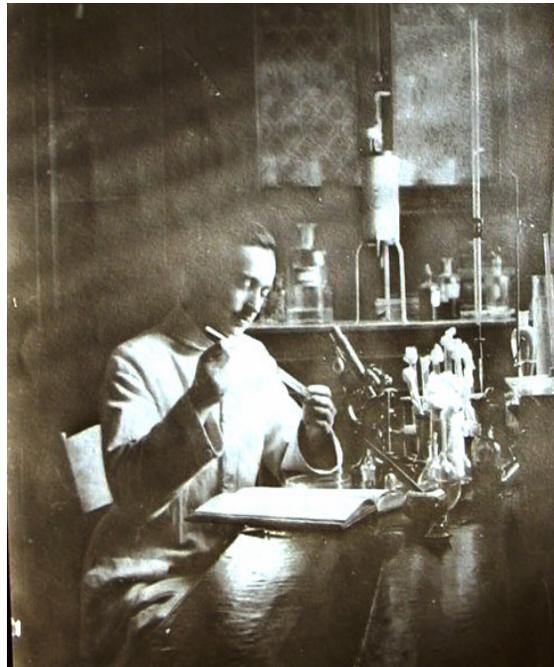
Picture 2. Güzin's father in the chemistry laboratury

Picture 3. Güzin's mother in 1918

Picture 4. End of 1910s:
Two primary school teachers,
Güzin's mother and aunt.

Picture 5. A women in İstanbul wearing *Maşlah*, (1917-1918)

Picture 6. *Sıkmabaş*: A style of covering (1918)

Picture 7. With Atatürk
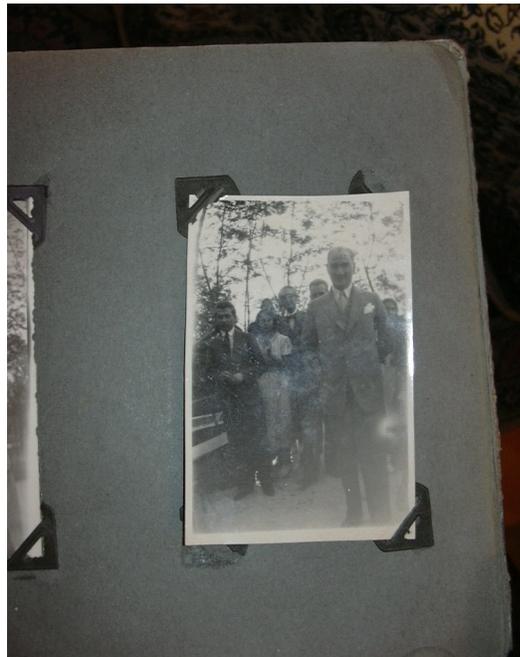
**Picture 8. Photograph of Atatürk in a family album**

Picture 9. High school years (1930)

Picture 10. İstanbul University, Faculty of Medicine (1941-1946)

Picture 11. Achademy of Fine Arts, Department of Architectre (1933)
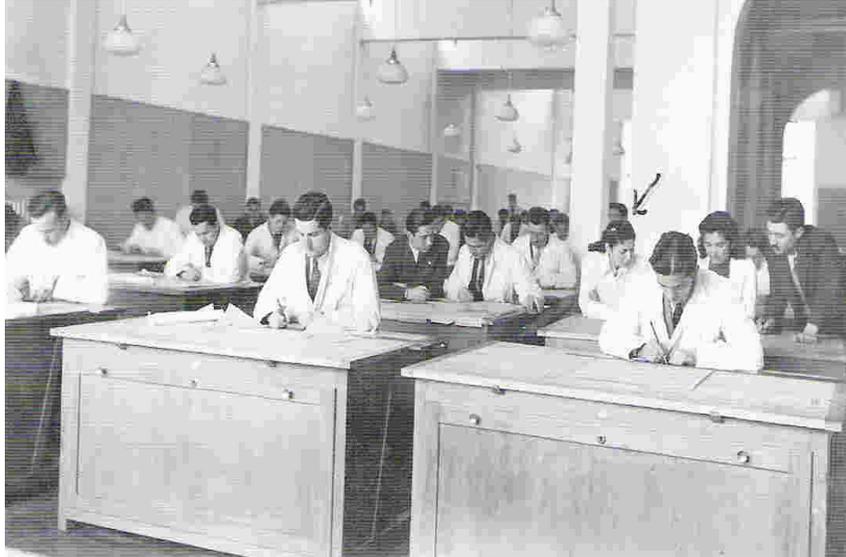
Picture 12 1932 Graduates of the Faculty of Medicine

Picture 13. Fahriye with her cusin just before going to the graduation ball (1940)

Picture 14. The head architect. At the restoration of Hagia sophia (1946)

Picture 15. Newly graduated Architect Cahide, 1936

Picture 16. Meeting with friends, (1987)

Picture 17. Nezihe in her Office

Picture 18. Cahide with her portrait by Çallı

Picture 19. Reyhan

Picture 20. Harika

Picture 21. Lamia

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Thesis: A sociological Inquiry of Documentary Films and the Structure and development of Documentary Film in Turkey

Hacettepe University, Ankara

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Middle East Technical University,

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TUBITAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey), Popular Science Books Department.

SPECIALIZATION AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

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Women's Liberation

Feminist Epistemology and Methodology

Sociology of Music

MEMBERSHIP

International Sociological Association (ISA)

Sosyoloji Derneği

Eğitim-sen

PROJECTS AND RESEARCH

2004, Post Graduate Course: Women's Work: Biographies, Living Conditions and Global Transformation in Comparative Studies,Inter University Centre, Crotia, DubrovnikJune 28th-July 2nd 2004

2002, XV. ISA World Congress of Sociology, International Laboratory for PhD students, Workshop on Sociological Methodology, Avustralia, Brisbane, 1-14 July

2001, "Who is Who in Women Studies in Turkey", (the research project also includes construction of a web page including personal and professional information about the researchers who concentrates on women question: www.soc.metu.edu.tr/yildizecevit), under the chairmanship of Assoc. Prof. Yildiz Ecevit, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, The Research Fond Project

2001, "The Historical Background, Current Status and the Future of Sociology in Turkey",

under the chairmanship of Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Ecevit, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, The Research Fond Project

1999, "Women's Entrepreneurship in Turkey", under the chairmanship of Assoc. Prof. Yildiz Ecevit, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, the Research Fond Project

PAPERS & PRESENTATIONS

2004, "Manifestations of patriarchy: case of professional women in Turkey" presented at Women's Work: Biographies, Living Conditions and Global Transformation in Comparative Studies Inter University Centre Dubrovnik June 28th-July 2nd 2004

2004, Understanding women's participation in professional work in Turkey XII International Oral History Conference 22-26 June 2004

2004, "'Bu mesleği çok zor elde ettim, sevmek de hakkımdır...!'": Cumhuriyetin Profesyonel Kadınları", Yedi Tepe Üniversitesi. Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi, "Kadın Çalışmalarında Disiplinler Arası Buluşma, 1-4 Mart, İstanbul

2003 "What Can Women's Participation in Professional Work in Turkey Tell us About the Operations of Patriarchy on Work?", presented at Gender and Power in the New Europe, the 5th European Feminist Research Conference, August 20-24, 2003 Lund University, Sweden

2003, "Writing a feminist PhD thesis....." , a handout delivered at The Methodological and Conceptual Problems in Women's Studies Forum, Meeting for Women Studies at Universities-1, 23-24 January 2003, Ankara, Turkey.

2003, "Gender Inequality, Women's Participation in Labour Force and Professional Women in Turkey" presented at IV. National Sociology Congress, 16-18 October 2003, Sivas, Turkey.

2003, "How can it be possible to write a feminist PhD dissertation?", presented at 8. National Social Sciences Congress, 3-5 December 2003 Ankara, Turkey.

2002, "Being Professional: Questioning the Relationship between Women's Work and Liberation within the Case of Women's Professional Work in Turkey", presented at ISA International Laboratory in Sociology, Brisbane, Australia.

PUBLICATIONS

2003, "5 days feminism", Uçan Haber, No: 21

2004, "'Bu mesleği çok zor elde ettim, sevmek de hakkımdır...!'": Cumhuriyetin Profesyonel Kadınları", Yedi Tepe Üniversitesi. Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi, "Kadın Çalışmalarında Disiplinler Arası Buluşma, Sempozyum Kitabı.

GRANTS

UNESCO scholarship to attend the ISA International Laboratory for Ph.D. students in Sociology, August 2002.