WHAT CAN WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL WORK IN TURKEY TELL US ABOUT THE OPERATIONS OF PATRIARCHY ON WORK?

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Introduction

The world of 21st century, which is 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 (Arat, 1998a: 21), are oppressed by patriarchy. 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 believe that women and men, who are biologically male and female, are genders that are socially constructed within the present sex/gender system¹, namely patriarchy. Regarding Connell (1983)², I suggest that, patriarchy is ideological structure in which of sexual and biological differences are transformed into social, cultural and political sources of oppression. By 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 relations³. I agree that patriarchy is

…. the creation and maintenance of men’s social, ideological, sexual, political and economic dominance.... Not only power of men in general on 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).

The materiality of patriarchy appears within practice, which means patriarchy itself and its dominated categories, such as men, women, masculinity or heterosexuality, are products of “practice”. The various forms patriarchy takes within the 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. 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.

For patriarchy, women’s body and labour power are the two main areas of practice in which it becomes. In Hartmann’s words, patriarchy realises itself by controlling women’s labour power and sexuality (1981; 59). For me, men’s control over women’s labour power is not the fundamental source or material base as Hartmann assumes. Rather it is one of the main patriarchal manifestations. In this paper I try to question the theoretical formulations of patriarchy on women’s work. Here, by the inspiration of

¹ 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 Hartman, 1981). Bradley thinks that Rubin’s theory of sex/gender system has a great advantage for the theoretical possibility of egalitarian gender arrangements and hence avoids the universalistic assumption of male dominance (Bradley, 1989)
² Connell assumes that, “we have a social dynamic which incorporates, uses and transforms biological differences” (Connell, 1983: 60).
³ Regarding Walby, I use term structure to “reject the notion that every individual men is in a dominant position and every women is in a subordinate one”. Rather I believe that both men and women reproduces this structure. Thus it is not produced and reproduced towards individuals but structures.
Walby’s statement saying “the changing structure and the principles of change, which should not be reduced to historical accident, is crucial to analyse patriarchy” (Walby, 1990), I am basically questioning how patriarchy operates on women’s work in articulation with other dominating systems. To do this I focus on women’s participation in professional work.

1. Women in labour market

1.1. General characteristics of women’s labour force participation

It has been argued that deep gender inequalities within production relations construct the characteristics of women’s labour force participation. According to the widespread prejudice, women are accepted to be less appropriate to labour market. Moreover because of the gender ideology (Davidson & Gordon, 1979) in the labour market, the tasks women can engage with are already defined (Ecevit, 1998). However this definition is unequal (Barrett, 1995). Especially in the industrial sectors, women are generally employed in secondary labour market jobs, which are temporary or part-time jobs and characterised by low wage, insecurity, poor working conditions, low possibility of advancement, weak trade unionisation, and unskilled status (Sinclair, 1991). Even in the same occupation or same sector, women are generally accumulated in lower positions, while men occupy higher positions. (Cockburn 1988; Barret, 1995; Alverez et al., 1996). The definitions of skills, which are ideologically male (West, 1989; Cockburn, 1988; Walby, 1990) and “saturated with sexual basis” (Philips & Taylor, 1980: 79), ensures the disadvantaged position of women within capitalist labour market. Besides this, women’s formal education is poorer than that of men’s. For this reason they appear to have obtained less desirable jobs (Hartman, 1990: 157). Women’s formal training within the workplace is also poor since employers assume that women have lower degree of attachment to the firm than men and thus they prefer to train male workers (Sinclair, 1991: 15). The levels of unionisation and organization, which are the channels of challenging gender inequalities, are also low. For Hartmann, it is based on the lack of organizational skills among women. Historically it is men who have the ability to organize themselves (Hartmann, 1990). Moreover, within the unions, because men have superior position and women-centred issues are ignored women are reluctant to participate in (Ecevit, 1998; Needleman & Tanner, 1987). Within this conditions women are open to the enforcement of “last in first out”(Barret; 1995, 150).

In terms of capitalist labour market those characteristics are not resulted form the capitalist and patriarchal exploitation but they are the natural consequences of women’s gender positions. That is to say the exclusion of women from labour market is naturally results from women’s social and cultural existence. Moreover the sex blind approaches of Non-feminist theories on women’s work try to make reasonable explanations and justify women’s position in labour market by the theories of new home economies, human capital, rational choice, deskillining, labour market segmentation and occupational segregation.

1.2. Feminist accounts on women’s work

Women’s labour force participation has always been an important and primary scope in feminist theory since work is the one of the main realms of patriarchal practice and at the same time the source of liberation and emancipation. Mostly Marxist and socialist feminism dealt with the issue.

For Marxism women’s oppression is determined by the patriarchal organization of monogamous family, which is arisen on the basis of private property and depends on women’s slavery within household. On the one hand women’s massive entrance to labour market can disperse the male authority

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4 This social and cultural existence is explained by “sex role socialization” approach, which we call gender ideology. According to gender ideology, women’s natural existence in labour market results from the sex role socialization, which is conceptualised as natural phenomenon rather than an ideological fiction. It is assumed that male have instrumental role and female have expressive role. 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. Functionalist way of conceptualising sex roles has no meaning other than keeping women subservient to men.
within family and would challenge patriarchal family. On the other hand their entrance to class struggle as a part of working class would challenge capitalism (Editions Sociale, 1996; 41). It is believed that exploitation of women within family and within production relations can only be challenged by the struggle against capitalism (Editions Sociale, 1996; 110-111). With the strong influence of Marxist approaches on women, Marxist feminism suggests that there is no notion of “independent system of patriarchy” (Walby, 1992) and no need for “a separate theory of the relations between men and women” (Bradley, 1989; 57). It is still believed that the anti-capitalist struggle would emancipate women from patriarchal oppression. However, Unlike Marxism, women are not directly invited to the anti-capitalist struggle, but the women’s movement itself is conceptualised as anti-capitalist. Although Marxist feminism has some important contributions such as conceptualisation of domestic labour and women specific exploitation strategies of capitalism, it cannot succeed to advance the Marxist conceptualisation of patriarchy as well as feminism.

Opposing the reduction of patriarchal relations to class relations, socialist feminism claims that the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy is more complex than this. According to the underlying assumption of socialist feminist approach, “neither an account of patriarchy nor of capitalism alone will accurately explain sexual division, thus an analysis in terms of both gender and class is needed” (Bradley, 1989; 58). Socialist feminist theory “seeks the ‘laws of motion of the system of patriarchy, the internal dynamics and contradictions of patriarchy, and articulate how these interact and perhaps conflict with the internal dynamics of capitalism” (Young, 1981; 44). According to socialist feminist approach class relations and gender relations are two intersecting piles. Socialist feminist approaches conceptualises the relationship between those piles in two different directions which of one is dual-system and the other is unified-system (Tong, 1989; Bradley, 1989). As to dual-system theory the separate but interacting systems of capitalism and patriarchy are present and important in the structuring of contemporary gender relations (Walby, 1992; Bradley, 1989: 59). The unified-system theory on the other hand suggests that marginalisation and subordination of women is an essential and fundamental characteristic of capitalism (Tong, 1989). It integrates class and gender analysis into a totalistic theory of capitalist patriarchy or patriarchal capitalism (Bradley, 1989; 58).

To sum up I could say that those feminist accounts suggest different formulations to explain women’s subordination in capitalist labour market (see table 3). According to the formulation of 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 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 within interaction. The formulation of unified-system theory suggests that the social structure, which is the capitalist patriarchy or patriarchal capitalism. In practice capitalism operates within patriarchy, but patriarchy is not necessarily appears within capitalism. In terms of classical logic capitalism is a sufficient condition for patriarchy and patriarchy is a necessary condition for capitalism (see table 1).

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<tr>
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<th>Marxist feminism</th>
<th>Dual-system approach</th>
<th>Unified-system approach</th>
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<tr>
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<td>sort of the relationship</td>
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Table. 1 Different approaches to patriarchy-capitalism relationship

Sylvia Walby has a critical stance to those formulations. She states her dissatisfaction with those explanations of patriarchy and claims that the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism is more complicated than this. According to her the variations of patriarchal oppression should be detached carefully. Walby assumes that women’s experiences should be explained with respect to threefold relationship (see table 2), 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).

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<th>Interaction between</th>
<th>Race</th>
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3
within the structures of | collectivity | Work | Family
---|---|---|---
Determined by the systems of | ethnicity | Capitalism | Patriarchy

Table. 2 Walby’s conceptualisation of the interrelational systems which determines women’s experiences.

For Walby, “the specification of several rather than one base is necessary in order to avoid reductionism and essentialism” (Walby, 1992; 22). To avoid restrictions and limitations, she extend her analysis to six key structures: paid work, state, male violence, sexuality, cultural institutions and household. The interaction between those structures changes due to time and place. In order to indicate both the changing structure of patriarchy and the principles of change (Walby, 1990; 117) Walby clarifies public and private patriarchy. According to Walby, private patriarchy is a patriarchal control of women individually and directly in the relatively private sphere of 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, 1990; 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. In the public patriarchy, “the expropriation of women is performed more collectively than by individual patriarchs”. 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, 1990; 179). For Walby with the advancement of the collective form of women’s oppression, household is no longer the main place. Walby is not mentioning directly a linear historical process that the beginning of public patriarchy where the private patriarchy ends. But 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 public to private patriarchy (see table 3).

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<th>Dominant structure</th>
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<td>Household production</td>
<td>Employment / State</td>
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<th>Wider patriarchal structures</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sexuality, violence, culture, household production</td>
<td>Sexuality, violence, culture, state</td>
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<th>Period</th>
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<td>C20th</td>
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Table. 3 Walby’s classification of private/public patriarchy

According to Walby paid work is one of the public forms of patriarchy. In order to understand the patriarchal structure of paid employment she suggests focusing on the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. In doing this she is likely to be close to dual-system approach. However, unlike dual-system approaches she emphasises the tension between these two exploitive systems and the historicity of this relationship. She also assumes the need for considering state, ethnicity, race and the capitalist restructuring such as flexible work and international division of labour. Accordingly she states the differentiation of patriarchal strategies in paid work and assumes that there is a shift form exclusionary strategy to 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 formulation. She suggests considering the relationship between different structures like race or state, but she conceptualised 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.

I conclude that, all those approaches are explaining women’s difficult position in labour market and arguing the capitalist and patriarchal strategies that oppress women. However, they generally build their approach around the experiences of “working-class women” and concentrate on feminised areas of work, or factory work, in which women’s participation is already constructed by patriarchy and capitalism together.
2. Professional work and women’s participation

To challenge and question those formulations, I focus on the area in which Kandiyoti (1997: 41) complains about the lack of knowledge: it is the everyday life and work experiences of professional women. I argue what the conditions of participation of women in professional occupations and the meaning of being professional for women are. Are the existing formulations of women’s labour force participation applicable to women’s participation in professions or do we need new formulations?

But before this argument a focus on the meaning and the characteristics of professional work is needed in order to understand the social-political and economic realm surrounds women professionals. Because, the original forms of women’s participation in professional work results form the original characteristics of professional work in general. In this respect first of all I want to mention the meaning of professional work, the characteristics in which it differs form other work patterns, the dynamic relations with the society at large and the locations within the social whole. Then, I try to state the characteristics of women’s participation in professions.

2.1. What is professional work

In contemporary urbanised societies professional occupations are increasingly dominated the realm of work and they are expected to determine the future economies (Taylor, 1968; Slocum, 1967). Professional work has become increasingly important as a contemporary form of work. Harold Parkin 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 society is dominated by professionals (1996:1). According to Parkin (1996) the rise of professional expertise is the third revolution in the civilization history. Thirty years before this assumption, Vollmer and Mills mentioned that professional activity was coming to play a predominant role in 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). Professional work has an increasing importance in society, since “the professionals provides services which may be essential to the health or the welfare of the individual asking for the service” (Gross, 1958: 80). Professional work, which is expanding most rapidly in the second half of 20th century as Taylor (1968) mention, is closely related with the idea of modernization and industrialisation. The increase in the number of professionals and the growth of professionalism, as Johnson (1972) puts it, “has been generally accepted by social scientists as a major if not a defining characteristics” of the modern era.

In 1960 professional work is conceptualised by focusing mainly on its distinguishing characteristics. Although they are criticised for being essentialist, fundamentalist, and ignoring the historicity and variations, the trait approaches can give a first insights about the particular characteristics and attributes of professional work (Witz, 1992; 40).

According to trait approaches professional work is based on a systematic body of theory and a higher degree of generalized and abstract knowledge (Goode, 1969), which can be gained via specialized intellectual and formal training in institutions of higher learning (Carr-Saunders 1969; Salocum, 1967). This abstract knowledge should be applicable to the concrete problems, second it should be abstract and organised into a codified body of principles, third members of the society should believe that it solve the problems, forth the professional him/herself should help to create, organize and transmit the knowledge, fifth the amount of knowledge and skill and the difficulty to acquire them should be great enough that professions are considered as special (Goode, 1969; 275-278). The theoretical orientation of professionals (Turner and Hodge, 1970) are said to be achieved “best through formal education in an academic setting” (Greenwood, 1966) where they are licensed on the basis of their technical competence by educational institutions. For professionals deep personal investment in the form of many years in education and specialised intellectual training in institutions of higher learning is prerequisite (Taylor, 1968; Carr-Saunders 1966; Slocum, 1967; Volmer & Mills, 1966). The professional monopoly over their work
depends on their competence on the subject, which is gained by the specialised intellectual training. Parsons assume that non-routine, extraordinarily complex work professionals do, requires performance, extensive training, intelligence and skills. “Those characteristics leads worker to consider himself to be quite different from indeed superior to those of other occupations” (cited in Freidson, 1970; 155). They have the right to consider their own practices and the definition and the organization of work as well as the definition of skill and knowledge (Turner & Hodge, 1970; Freidson 1970; Salocum, 1967; Burrage & Tornstendahl, 1988). This monopoly secured by the internal control, which Barber calls a “high degree of self control of behaviour” (cited in Johnson; 1972, 36). “The real measures of professional production in expertise is controlled internally by their occupational practitioner colloquieship. There is a collective control over practitioners” (Taylor 1968; 481-82). This monopolistic structure becomes an independent organization with the support of community sanction, which Turner and Hodge (1970) calls external recognition. This monopolistic self-controlled structure, 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. According to Freidson (1970) this autonomy consists of legal, educational and ethical elements. A profession has obtained legal or political position of privilege. Education enables the quality of production and application of knowledge and skill in the work it performs. Finally codes of ethics are for declaring that the occupation can be trusted. The professional associations are the institutions where the autonomy is exercised. It is possible to assume that all those characteristics creates a cultural whole, which defines the professional identities, languages, jargon, stereotypes, and even life styles. Greenwood (1966) claims that the elements of the culture of professions are the values which are the basic fundamental believes, norms which are the guides of behaviour and symbols which are the meaning-laden items like history or folklore of the profession.

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 (cited in McDonald, 1995). Moreover, they ignore the historical conditions, possible variations; “they impose a universally applicable process of professionalism and linear view of development of selected occupation, thus they are disable to analyse real variations in the organizations of occupations culturally and historically” (Johnson, 1972, 37). According to the critical stance of power approach, which is developed in 1970s and 80s (Witz, 1992; 40), the way professionals prove their distinctiveness, the strategy or the project of professionalisation, the power they exercise within the society, and the threats their power is subjected to are the main concerns to understand the professions. Professionalism is conceptualised as a peculiar type of occupational control (Johnson, 1972); or a project which is resulted in the shift from the mode of profession to the ideology of profession (Larson, 1977); or the process of domination of the society to secure their privileged position by the creation of needs (Illich, 1994; Zola, 1994; McKnight, 1994).

2.2. Professionals as social class or social closure

The social integrity professionals’ form within the social structure is also critical to understand the inherency of professions. Moreover, within the problematic of this paper, focusing on class location of professionals is also important for acknowledge the similarities and dissimilarities between social positions of professional women and women in other work patterns especially in industrial work. In order to indicate the place that professionals take in the system of social stratification one can refer two analytical structures: class and social closure.

For several reasons professionals’ class location is problematic in class analysis. Wright states that 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). Since they “could be understood as simultaneously in the working class and the capitalist class” and “since the class interests

5 Slocum (1967) reminds the cases that professionals are working under the authority of hospitals, companies of engineering 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”. The work they do is still determined by totally themselves, they are bound by their organizations 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.
of workers and capitalists were inherently antagonistic” (Wright, 1989b: 302) they should “typically hold contradictory interests with respect to the primary forms of class struggle in capitalist society” (Wright, 1989a: 26). It is also argued that professionals and managers do not have property assets as capitalists do, but instead they have organisation assets and skill/credential assets (Becker, 1989: 146; Wright, 1989a; Savage et. all, 1995: 17-18), which give them a privileged position. Because of the will to protect their privileged positions and social and economic interests which are provided by the existing system in society, their class interests corresponds with the interests of dominant classes (Mills, 1964; Bottomore, 1992; Savage, 1995.).

What makes it complicated to consider professionals within the class structure is the non-capitalist forms of production relations they are engaged in. Within the professional work the categories like mode of production, labour or exploitation is replaced by the concepts like respect, trust, knowledge, competence, sanction. Collins (1988) states that professionals as a social class, which is organised around the class interests, transformed into a status group when they developed shared ideals, cultural codes and living standards. Professionals constitute a status group, which indents to protect and strengthen their privileged group within the society via the strategies of inclusion and exclusion (Collins, 1988; Savage, 1995). So, instead of class, conceptual structures such as status group and social closure theory6 within the Weberian stratification theory introduce an alternative. During 1970s and 1980s, the main interests of Anglo-American sociological analysis of the professionalism 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).

According to the early and contemporary theoretical approaches on professions and the explanations about the position of professionals in social stratification system, which are mentioned up to here, I could 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 professionalism7. For the ideological formation of professions, which is a process of professionalism, they have “distinctive form of organizations, distinctive resources and distinctive strategies” (Burrage, 1992: 3). Professionalism constructs the ideas that legitimise the hegemony of professions as social group and offers a privileged position to its members. The power exercised within professions serves as naturalization process of the inevitability and uniqueness of professionals6. The self-representation of professionals, which is successfully inserted to the social structure, is not questioned and accepted by society.

But what are the forms of women’s existence within such structure?

2.3. Women in professions

In the light of short reviews concerning patriarchy on women’s work and the professional work one can claim that women’s entrance to professional work appears to be a great opportunity for them. If we think in terms of class-based explanations of patriarchy on women’s work, it is possible to assume that apart from other strategies, having a qualified education and occupation can provide professional women, most of whom are upper-middle and middle class members, with some important means for bargaining

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6 Weber used the term closure to refer to the process of subordination where by one group monopolises advantages by closing off opportunities to another group of outsiders beneath it which is defines as inferior and ineligible. 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). In social closure “the occupations and its organization attempts to close access to the occupation to its knowledge, to its education, training and credentials and to its markets in service and jobs” (Evetts, 2002).

7 Collins emphasizes that professionals “surround their work with an ideological covering. Profession is a ‘calling’, not merely a job. It is carried our from high motives of altruism of glory, or of moral, spiritual or aesthetic commitment rather than for mundane gain”(Collins, 1990: 35-36).

8 Those characteristics of professions corresponds with some of the definitions of ideology which Egalton states: “Means of production of meanings and sings, a standpoint of a certain social class or group, the ideas which legitimize the hegemony, systematically distorted communication, the false idea which justifies the hegemony, idea which offer a position to a subject,..., conjuncture of discourse as power, medium in which consciousness of their actors make sense, consciousness of linguistics, the naturalization process of things, and some more” (Egalton, 1991; 18)
with patriarchy. Women in professions have higher education on 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. They have a respectful position within the public domain, whichinserts them to power relations. Since they are from middle class families and their income is high, they can buy services for their domestic work. Thus, their occupations do not become a second burden for them. Moreover, being professional has some strategic consequences, which gives women the opportunity to affect the realm of knowledge as a subject and to participate in the public realm, where they can affect and influence the collective power. For women, with such qualifications it may be more possible to overcome the patriarchal system of professions as well as society as a whole. 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. Parkin believes that “once women broke in to 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”. But he also states that “women still have both biological and cultural disadvantages, which unfairly restricted their appointment, and promotion prospects in a male dominated professional world” (Parkin, 1996; 13). The disadvantaged position of women in work relations continues in professions and is mainly ensured by its gendered character.

Within the gendered structure of professions, women’s participation is seen structurally an unusual and extraordinary phenomenon. In professions where men have predominated, being female has typically meant being unlike, and therefore unsuitable (Epstein, 1970: 152). Women are regarded not only as different but also less capable of being professional. They are “inferior types of beings” (Spencer and Padmore, 1987; 126). Unfortunately, to have a professional qualification, which Parkin 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. The gender ideology is so internal to the professionalism that women neither allowed, nor have access to professional specialisation equally with men. As Alvarez (1990) mentions gender is one of the categories that determines acceptance into the professional community in the past. In contemporary societies it is still a category that effects women’s participation in professions and acceptance into professional community.

At a macro level it is argued that the profession, as a modern structure (Taylor: 1968; Salocum, 1967; Johnson, 1972; Parkin 1996; Witz, 1992) cannot be free form the patriarchal formation of modernity. At a micro level it is assumed that the identifications of professionals and related concepts are arisen from male standpoint and harmonious with male attributes (Alvarez et al., 1996; Spencer and Padmore, 1987). This creates an underlying contradiction between gender identities and occupational identities of women professionals. Spencer and Padmore assume that “the basic incongruity between their identity as feminine and their membership of a profession which is strongly masculine” is the determining factor of women’s participation in professions (1987; 129). As they conclude form their research on women in low, the profession is defined as objective, logical and pragmatic. Moreover it is assumed that the professional work is required to be aggressive and competitive. These attributes are very much linked to masculine stereotypes. For Epstein, “sex typing and status-set typing are of major importance 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” (1970: 152).

However, the male character of career is neither the result of shared success of men on professions nor the natural formation of the professional occupations. It is rather the consequence of patriarchal structure of society in general and professions in particular. Because of this structure women are misrepresented and generally occupy subordinate positions. Moreover sexual stereotyping of
professions is generally helpful with men, while restricting for women (Alverez et al., 1996; Gray, 1987; Epstein, 1970; Fox and Hess-Biber, 1984). The definition of the characteristics of women as “innately gentler, more caring, and more people-oriented than men” seems, according to Spencer and Padmore, (1987: 125) to be a derivation from the kind of unpaid domestic service activities undertaken by women in the home what is assumed to be innately women’s work. In this respect women are occupied in professions which are corresponding with their assumed sex roles and socializations (Gray, 1987: 229; Epstein, 1970; Alvarez et al., 1996:118). However those professions are generally less respected or semi-professional occupations.

In spite of this irritating picture, women’s participation in professional work increased dramatically (Alvarez et al., 1996; Cleveland, 1996, Hantaris, 1990; Solokoff, 1992). According to Coates (1994) women’s entrance and increasing participation to the professional work is dependent on their acceptance and adaptation to this male discourse of professions, which is more assertive and more masculine. Spencer and Padmore state that women do not question the “masculine ethos of law”. Instead women are to modify their behaviour in order to conform the supposed aggressive and competitive nature of the profession (1987: 119-120). For Nicolson, the professional culture, which is inherently patriarchal, appears to be inevitable and constant form of rules and values. However, women do not “mobilise politically to break the institutional web that locked out representativeness of women and representativeness of women’s standpoint”(Alvarez et al, 1996:119). Epstein (1970) emphasize that, since women are located in lower positions without having authority, their contributions to the profession are weak. Men share and create common values and norms as well as rules and “styles of competing, bargaining and succeeding” in the socialisation process (Fox and Hess-Biber, 1984). Moreover, women are less involved in professional organizations where the membership and participation is important. They are also excluded from the informal activities which are so important to build a successful career (Spencer and Padmore, 1987: 2; Fox and Hess-Biber, 1984:141). In male dominated professions, lack of role models makes women’s existence so visible that when their success, as well as their failure, gets even greater notice than that of men (Epstein, 1970). Furthermore, long hours of work, which is counted as a requirement of profession, (Epstein 1970: 183) and the ‘all or nothing’ notion of professional career (Spencer and Padmore, 1987: 2) are compelling for women. The normal working life as defined by men gives no permission to leave for a while. Therefore marriage and the family responsibilities become major obstacles for women’s professional lives (Gray, 1987) both because of their double day and the prejudice about their disability to combine work and family.

From all those explanations, it is evident that gender is a source of closure to obtain male dominance within a profession. According to Witz, “the creation and control of occupational boundaries and inter occupational relations may be crucially mediated by patriarchal power relations” (Witz, 1992: 47). Since the concept of profession is implicitly gendered, the gender dimension of occupational closure appears in its use as a means of mobilising male power to secure the access to resource and opportunities. Men seek to control their work and environment. Hearn, radically defines professional control as patriarchal control and professional power as male power (cited in Witz, 1992: 61).

As a conclusion I can say that the construction of the professionals’ attributes and culture is the prolongation of traditional forms of patriarchy. In this respect having professional qualities alone, which is expected to be a great opportunity to cope with the oppressing practices of labour market, does not mean equal participation as well as emancipation of women within labour market. The class-based approaches of Marxist and Socialist feminism are not capable of explaining subordination of professional women who have many qualities to cope with capitalist exploitation. Even Walby’s rich conceptual framework, which offers multiple bases for patriarchy, interaction of different structures and finally the public-private distinction, has some limitations in explaining the case of professionals. In the realm of professions there is an individualistic and direct subordination of women. Although the realm of professions is in public sphere, strategies of private patriarchy operate within the structure of professions. Walby’s approach does not conceptualise a private patriarchy, which operates in public sphere. Thus the existing formulations of patriarchy within work do not explain patriarchal strategies within the structure

12 Women’s responses to this pre-existing structure are problematic. For women, Nicolson classifies three stages of socialisation in such organizations: “shock on entry into the system; then, anger or protest and a decision to leave, or development of a coping strategy; and finally internalisation of values” (Nicolson, 1996; 72).
of professions. In this respect I suggest that of women’s professional work is not determined by professionalism alone. It is also determined by the patriarchal strategies within professions. In other words, in professions, patriarchy articulates with professionalism and designate women’s participation in professional work. However, even the formulation of “professionalism plus patriarchy” does not explanatory for the case of professional women in Turkey. Thus in order to challenge the strict formulations Turkey is a significant and original example.

3. Professional Women In Turkey

3.1. An Overview

In Turkey, despite important gender inequalities within the realm of work\(^{13}\), which makes it highly probable that the number of women in professions is low, professional women form the biggest group among economically active women in urban areas. The proportion of women’s labour force participation in professional occupations in Turkey is relatively high compared to their participation in other work patterns and in professional occupations in similar countries. This is a trend that should be underlined, as it is not common to see such a high rate of participation in professional work in a context where women’s labour force participation is mainly dominated by agricultural work whereby they generally work as 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. While the general characteristics of women’s labour force participation display important similarities with many third world countries and Middle Eastern economies, women’s participation in professional work seems more similar to that of the developed countries as USA and France (Kandiyoti, 1997: 40). Such a trend had also been seen after the Second World War in a number of developing countries as Brazil, Argentina and Greece due to the decrease in the number of the male labour force and in order to meet the labour force demand of rapidly developing industries (Öncü, 1982: 257). The ratio of the women in professional work in Turkey is %23 of the women labour force in urban areas. The same ratio for men is very low: only %8.7 of men is professionals in the urban labour force. Although, women’s rates within professional occupations (%38.2) are lower than that of men (%61.8), this difference is smaller than that between the participation rates of women and men in other patterns of work.

However those high ratios do not indicate the equal participation of women in professions. For although they are occupying professional positions, women are generally subordinated within the occupational hierarchy, marginalized and occupied in professions considered having lower prestige. Moreover, there is a wage inequality between professional women and men: as Ecevit (2000) puts it, according to the 1999 data, women earn %53.6 of men’s wage in professional occupations. Both vertical and horizontal segregation are the reasons of wage inequalities. Thus it is possible to assume that women’s participation in professions is in high rates but unequal.

3.2. Determinants of women’s participation in professions in Turkey

There are economic and social factors that effects women’s participation in professions in Turkey: First, since unskilled women are cheap labour force within the labour market, professional women can easily occupy them for domestic service. So that they can reconcile professional and family obligations Second, traditionally they can get the help of their women relatives within the structure of Turkish family. Third since professional women are educated and skilled, their demand for participation in urban labour market increases. Because it is easier for them to cope with the strong gender inequalities within urban labour market. According to the 1999 data, labour force participation ratios of women who are graduated from the university is 71.3 per cent, while it is 5.5 per cent for illiterate women in urban (Ecevit et. all., 2000, Eyuboğlu et all, 2000a). Moreover the effect of education to labour force

\(^{13}\) 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) caused holding women away from labour force participation.
participation is much less for men compare to that of women (Ecevit, 2000: 134): The labour force participation ratios for university graduates men is 83.7 per cent and while for illiterate men is 40.7 per cent. Those indicators mention important gender inequalities in Turkish labour market. Being less educated, less trained and unskilled makes women vulnerable and open to women specific exploitation within the patriarchal system of labour market.

However, in order to understand the position of professional women in Turkey, it is necessary to focus on historical determinants. The significant position of professional women in Turkey is very much related with the Turkish modernization and its reflections on women’s lives. It is possible to say that professional women are very much subjected to reforms and revolutions in Turkish history. The characteristics of Turkish professional women originate from the Ottoman tradition and are closely related to the educational reforms. Starting from the 18th century Ottoman Empire, women were considered as responsible for rising next generations and guaranteeing the peaceful family that was the basis of the prosperity of a nation. Upper and upper middle class modernist and westernist men defended women rights in the name of modernization. They criticised the traditional relations of marriage and patriarchal family, which restricts their way of life as well (Durakbaşa, 1998). Kandiyoti call this male-feminism (1995: 303) which is based on the fact that “modern men often felt alienated from ottoman patriarchal structures made a case for the emancipation of women in moralistic, sentimental and civilisational terms” (Kandiyoti, 1991: 26).

Those men primarily required education for their future wives. Education was seen as primary and crucial for Ottoman modernization project (Durakbaşa, 2000: 93-97; Ecevit et al., 2000: 31). Women, even whose walking on the streets were restricted by laws in the 1750s, gained some rights in the period of Tanzimat14. In 1842, the medicine lessons, in 1858 middle school classes for young women, in 1869 first technical schools and in 1860s the beginning of the construction of women teacher training schools, were all significant steps to give educational opportunities to Ottoman urbanite women (Onay, 1969). These developments were followed by the increasing participation of women in production relations with the influence of the First World War.

The Kemalist Revolution inherited women from the Ottomans under these conditions15. In the first years of republic “The new women of the Kemalist era become an explicit symbol of the break with the past” and within this symbolism women images were seen as the most influential advertisement of young modern Republic (Kandiyoti, 1997: 215). The image of the modern, educated, westernised women was the icon for the construction of the modern secular state, and indicated the success of the war against the theological regime. Moreover, the education of women was considered crucial since women were conceived as 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 techniques. It is within this framework that the tradition of higher education for women in Turkey was constructed. By

14 “Tanzimat reforms was officially announced on 3 November 1839.... (they are) extensive reforms with far-reaching consequences in the field of administration, legislation and education.” (Kandiyoti, 1991: 24)
15 According to Kandiyoti (1991) before Kemalism the women and the family were considered within three recipes, which can be identified as Islamist, Westernist and Turkist. The Islamists believed that although the adaptation of western technology and material progress were deemed to be inevitable, Western culture must no account be allowed to contaminate the values of Islam. The position of women represented the touchstone of such contamination, and discussions on veiling, polygamy and divorce become bitterly political (Kandiyoti, 1991: 32). According Westernists, the Islamist ideology and religion is responsible for women’s unequal position in society, thus not only advanced technology of the west but also the rationalistic and positivistic outlook should be adopted. Under the leading ideologue Ziya Gökalp the Turkism represented “an attempt at recuperating a sense of national identity which did not rest solely on Islam.... Gökalp emphasises the national-cultural, rather than Islamic sources of morality (Kandiyoti, 1991, 33). He suggested that family morality based on pre-Islamic Turkic Patters includes 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. Kemalist modernization project differs form Gökalp’s Turkism: Gökalp was arguing “the mutual compatibility of Islam, Turkish culture and contemporary civilisation”, while “Kemal had opted for a model that required the total privatisation of religion and the full secularisation of social life” (Kandiyoti, 1991: 38). On the other hand Kemalism proposed a radical break with the Islamic Ottoman tradition in social, economic, moral and legal life. With this regard it seems that the westernist approach constituted the basis of Kemalist modernism project, and the women question is considered within this context 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 form a monarchy to a populist republic. (Kandiyoti, 1991: 39)
means of education, women participated within the trained workforce as the professionals of the Turkish republic.

Here, in order to understand the Turkish case, we should refer to McCleland's (1990) classification of professionalisation. With respect to German experience he conceptualises two different ways of professionalisation: as “Professionalisation from-within” and as “professionalisation from-above”. According to him if a profession is constructed and the professionals themselves determine professional culture within a long period of time, it is called “professionalisation from within”. If professions corporate with state or other social forces such as politicians or capitalists and construct a profession then it is called “professionalisation from above” or the construction of the occupation. MacCleland 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 Turkish case has many similarities with the German case. In Turkish case the idea was to break with the ottoman traditions and to catch up with the contemporary civilisations of the western world. Thus it was necessary to create new and original institutions of young republic. This ended up with the strong state intervention on education system and, indirectly or directly, on professions. Moreover, just like the German case, rapid economic development required more and more professionals. Within this framework we can say that professions in Turkish republic is constructed “from above”. Not only bureaucratic and politic institutions of the state or army force but also the professions had planed by the political will. Thus in order to understand the process of professionalisation in Turkey MacClelands approach gives us a more useful conceptual framework than that of Anglo-American approaches.

However the from-above professionalisation in Turkey has an original character. This character is very critical for women, since they are encouraged or forced to be professionals. Thus it is possible to assume that the determinants of women’s participation in professions in Turkey are not only professions and patriarchy but also Kemalism. In other words women are welcomed to the professional occupations, which are constructed by Kemalism. As Öncü mentions, the professionalisation is a new phenomenon for developing country. Thus it doesn’t have a long history in which a group of elites has developed. Apart form the western examples, there are no generations, which has been socialised by the idea that professions are not suitable for women. Instead there is a strong state policy that refers to the equality between men and women (Öncü, 1982: 264). One can even expect that women’s from above entrance to professional work from the beginning should have effect the masculine structure of the professions. However, such expectation ignores the organization of patriarchy within Kemalism.

Women’s entrance to professions has three characteristics. First the gender identity of women within professions is strictly defined. Kemalism constructed not only the professions but also the personal and the professional identities of those women. Kemalism avoid discussing gender relations. As Durakbaş puts it “Kemalizm, did not alter the patriarchal norms of morality and in fact maintain the basic cultural conservatism about male-female relations, despite its radicalism in opening a space for women in public domain” (1998a:140). Women are urged to protect their honour which means the the sexuality of the ideal Turkish women (Arat, 1998c: 55) and the conditions of women’s existence in public realm was “partly legitimated through the protection of an ‘asexual’ or even slightly masculinities 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).

Second, women were very much internalised the roles and expectations attributed to them. Being professional is one of the contradictory roles16 attributed to women in the republican period. Women’s professional services were devoted to nation. Professional women were considered to be mothers of

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16 Arat (1998c) defines those roles as an educated professional, a social activist working for the republican ideals, well educated wife and mother and a feminine lady dancing in the balls.
modern nation (Arat, 1998b). Even the traditional identities like being housewife and mother was secondary while their professional identity was primary for them (Durakbaş, 1998a).

Third, conditions of rapid development required educated labour force, and daughters of upper and upper middle class families were preferred to lower class men since “the prejudice against class is stronger then prejudice against gender” (Öncü, 1982: 262-263). Thus education and occupation for women was so elitist (Nausel, 1996: 17; Acar, 1996: 81) that it strengthens the class inequalities (Kandiyoti, 1997: 41).

Those characteristics of the women’s professionalisation in Turkey indicates that the determinants of women’s professional work is not only the professionalism which articulates with patriarchy, but also the Kemalist ideology. One step Further I can say that in Turkish case, one can observe the domination of both professionalism and patriarchy by the political will. As I mentioned before professions are constructed from-above depending on the requirements of Kemalist regime and the patriarchal strategies within the political and social structures. Thus in order to understand women’s experiences of professionalisation in Turkey I could suggest that one should make a three fold analysis considering professionalism, Kemalism and patriarchy. Here patriarchy crosscuts the structures of professionalism and Kemalism.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I tried to question the approaches about patriarchy on women’s work. For this respect I have argued the limitations of existing approaches and question if they are applicable to professional work or not. From the entire considerations I have concluded that neither the class-based approaches of Marxist and Socialist feminism nor the alternative approach of Walby give satisfactory explanations about women’s subordination and oppression in professional work. With this dissatisfaction in mind I have suggested another formulation that considers patriarchy in articulation with professionalism. However when I focus on the historical and contextual characteristics of Turkish professional women and the process of professionalisation, which they have experienced, I ended up with the conclusion that for the case of women’s entrance to professions in Turkey, even the formulation of “professionalism plus patriarchy” is limited. The experiences of Turkish professional women are not similar to those experiences from which the concepts of professions as well as the women’s oppression at work are driven. Those concepts, most of which are Anglo-American, are not capable of explaining the historical and contextual specificities of Turkish case. In this respect the contextual and historical specificity of the phenomenon have appeared to be primary. In this step of the study I suggested that in order to understand women’s participation in professions in Turkey Kemalism and the republican period should carefully be examined together with the professionalism and patriarchy.

That is to say, in different stages of the study I’ve faced with different strategies of patriarchy, which indicates that it is not possible to make a single formulation of patriarchal strategies that explain women’s oppression at production relations within different contexts. However I strongly believe that the need for naming women’s shared experiences of oppression increases the need for a single concept of patriarchy. Defining patriarchy and patriarchal strategies is also necessary to address the object of the feminist struggle. In this conditions there are two possible ways of consideration. According to this, one can either rejects any theoretical formulations, and studies each case within its own reality; or develops a formulation, which can include any possible formulations.

Here, I take the second way and suggest a dual conceptualisation of patriarchy on women’s work. According to this, by maintaining in the social subconscious in the form of deep cultural and ideological value17, patriarchy can remain the same form to a certain point; on the other hand, patriarchal power reforms itself in different social, economic and historical structures. This ability of reformation secures the maintenance of patriarchy within different contexts. By doing so it modifies itself to suit the requirements

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17 Kandiyoti (1995) has an intention to explain the possibility of different patriarchies shaping due to the fact that “women’s strategies and coping mechanisms lead to a more culturally and temporally grounded understanding of patriarchal systems than the unqualified, abstract notion of patriarchal encountered in contemporary feminist theory”. She focuses on cultural differences and use the term classical patriarchy in order to explain “the predominance of three-generational patrilocal household”(1995: 308).
of different structures such as capitalism, Kemalism, or professionalism. It bargains and cooperates with any kind of structure, in my case with professionalism and Kemalism. Otherwise the interests of patriarchy may conflict with the interests of another structure. This conflict endangers the maintenance of patriarchy. Patriarchy avoids such danger by the process of modification.

These two different ways of occurrence implies two types of patriarchies: The first one, which can be called ‘common patriarchy’, implies a shared and common form. It mainly resembles the basic and the classical form of male domination. It also influences public realm. However it neither implies an inevitable and successfully maintaining structure, nor indicates a fundamental and essential form. It is rather an abstraction. The word ‘common’ is chosen to imply shared oppression of women living in different social political, economic and even geographical conditions. It also emphasises the widespread base of feminist struggle. The other type of patriarchy, which can be called as ‘contemporaneous patriarchy’, is a changing form. Rather than a structure in itself, it is an apparition, a manifestation, or a practice. This very actual form of patriarchy reforms itself due to existing social, political and economic system of a society in a certain period. It mostly operates in public realm but influences private realm.

This dual conceptualisation of patriarchy also corresponds with the definition of patriarchy within abstraction-practice relationship, which I have made in the beginning of this paper. It also refers to each and any differentiation originated from regional, religious or ethnical diversities and different kinds of relationships or articulations. Thus such conceptual framework is applicable to patriarchal oppression of women in professional work as well as the case of Turkey, since it is able to consider the effect of existing social, ideological, cultural and political structures as well as the historical context. Apart form those methodological and theoretical advantages, this conceptualisation is strategically important for feminism. It helps us to address the object of the feminist struggle.

It is possible to assume that there is an infinite variation of women’s oppression. Patriarchy is not a rigid structure. It changes itself due to the requirements of the present social structure and appears in different forms. In this respect feminist struggle is left no choice but to change the means and the directions in respect of each structure. This threatens the integrity of women’s movement and creates the danger of dispersion. Since patriarchy continuously reforms itself, a successful challenge against those actual forms of patriarchy does not guarantee the liberation and emancipation of women from male domination. Thus it is necessary to describe and define the basics of women’s oppression and differentiate it form apparitions or actual forms of patriarchy, which are constantly changing. In other words, I suggest that for radical solutions, feminism should challenge not only the contemporaneous patriarchy but also the common patriarchy. I believe that a focus on common patriarchy ensures the maintenance and power of feminism.
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