SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The process of modernization seems to have left hardly any society unaffected and, scholars all over the world seem to be concerned with studying the various aspects of modernity. The modern western societies have achieved a substantial degree of modernization, whereas, the societies of Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East and the Far East, are developing at a faster rate to gain an even ground with the developed societies. India and Turkey, are two such societies, which are experiencing a fast development in the direction of modernization. When modernization takes root in a society, it not only affects the structure of that society but also the values and attitudes that are held by members of that society. A change in values in turn affects the social relationships of that society (Lerner 1965; Inkeles 1969).

The modernizing societies of India and Turkey experienced similar changes in the structural, cultural and personality systems. When the structure of a society, is in the process of modernization, it is bound to affect the values on the relative position of man and woman in that society, as is evident from the cultural histories of India and Turkey, as well as of many other modernized countries. The past histories of these societies indicate,
the prevalence of superordination and subordination in the relations of men and women. The dominant values of the pre-modern societies were dominance, dependence, segregation, servility, obedience and loyalty. Modern societies on the other hand, lay emphasis on the independence, individuality, equality and companionship in the relations of men and women. Since India and Turkey are both modernizing societies, it was thought pertinent to study, whether, the structural changes towards modernization are also inter-linked with the changes in cultural and personality systems of the two countries and, whether these changes are congruent with the existent structures of their societies. Hence, the need to make a study of the attitudes of educated working women towards the position of women in modernizing societies of India and Turkey. Accordingly, the major assumption advanced was that urbanization (urban residence), education (formal schooling) and, employment (in modern bureaucratic organizations) of women are connected with the changes in the attitudes of women in favour of equality, individuality and independence and, the changes in the differential status and role of women are related to the changes towards modernization of society.

India and Turkey are two separate political States, separated by a distance of about 4000 k.m. and, they have separate cultural histories. In spite of these differences
we find many similarities in the position of women in the pre-modern and modern societies of the two countries. In both societies extreme segregation between the sexes along with the customs of 'Purdah' were prevalent in the pre-modern era. (Lerner : 1965, Abadan 1963, Misra, 1967, Desai 1967, Cormack 1961). The position of women was subordinate to that of men. With the modernization of these societies it is assumed that, segregation between the sexes will be no longer emphasized and, in place of the subordinate position of women, modern women will enjoy greater equality in their relations with men.

The modern cities of Chandigarh and Ankara were considered appropriate communities for making case studies to represent India and Turkey respectively. The study confines itself to the analysis of trends in the cognitive structure of the urbanized, educated and employed women of Chandigarh and Ankara. Among the employed women, only the women employed in central or state Governments, in non-manual service occupations, such as clerical, administrative and professional, were taken note of. A procedure of systematic random sampling was adopted for both categories of women and, the listing of the population was effected, by individually collecting the lists of names and designations of women from each ministry, office or institution. A sample of
120 women was selected as units for analysis in Chandigarh and a sample of 108 women as units for analysis in Ankara. The information was collected by means of a largely structured interview schedule. The data presented for analysis is largely comparative with some cultural variations at some places. Where it was not possible to draw a truly comparative picture is due to the reason that the comparative dimension of the study, was added later, when the reformulation of the problem was done in India, since the possibility of going back to the field in Ankara was restricted.

To demonstrate that the process of modernization is "systemic" and that, structural changes are linked with the changes in the personality system, it was necessary to devise an index of a modernized personality. Taking Inkeles' (1969 : 210) description as a model of a modern man, two separate but similar indices of modernity were prepared, rating individuals as "modern" or "traditional" on a set of items of attitudes and behaviours. The two indices are culturally determined and, hence, are separate but similar with regard to themes and form. After devising the two indices of modernity it was necessary to gauge the distribution of modernity in the two categories of women. The distribution of the respondents in both Chandigarh and Ankara on Index Form I and II follow closely
the normal distribution pattern after deciding the cutting points at one standard deviation away from the mean. The mean score for 'over-all' modernity is 21.4 for Indian women and 17.9 for Turkish women. The maximum score that an individual could get on Index I was thirty (30) and minimum ten (10), while the minimum score for Index II was eight (8) and the maximum score was twenty-four (24). The mean scores indicate that both the groups of women are modernity-oriented. A large percentage of women in the two groups are spread over the medium level of modernity, meaning thereby that, they are moderately modernised. To find whether one group of women was more modernised than the other or that both groups were on a similar level, no attempt has been made to apply the test of significance between means. However, a $ test of proportions was applied and, it was found that no significant differences exist between the different types of modernity in the two groups of women.

The level of modernity that an individual possesses in society is associated largely with the character of his socio-demographic factors. To observe as to how far the socio-demographic factors are related to the formation of the personality of an individual education, occupation and income have been associated with the level
of modernity of the respondents. In the process of modernization that has occurred in the two countries, education, occupation and income, are becoming important individual attributes in the attainment and inducement of change. The fact that these factors help in 'making men modern' has been corroborated by Hauser (1967); Lerner (1965); Inkeles (1969); and Schmaiberg (1970a). Thus, it was hypothesized that: the more urbanized, educated, the higher the income of the respondent and, the higher the level of employment, the higher will be the score on the level of modernity. Considering single factor associations between education, occupation and income on the one hand and modernity on the other, the Indian data on the whole supports the thesis that, a woman's background factors are associated with her attitudes and beliefs in the direction of modernity. On the other hand, in the Turkish data, it was found that the associations between the background variables and the degree of modernity are not statistically significant enough. However, the relationship between education and modernity becomes statistically significant when the educational level is divided into two broad categories, that is, lycée (Lise Turkish) and higher education. The question now arises, how is it that, in two societies moving towards a similar destination we find that, in
one society education, occupation and income have a positive association with the level of modernity and this association is also statistically significant, whereas, in the other society the association is not statistically significant, especially in the case of occupation and income? Perhaps this could be explained by the differential conditions and means adopted and achieved by the two societies but, this has not been done in this study.

So far we have concerned ourselves with devising a measure of modernity, finding out the degree of modernization achieved by the two groups and, demonstrating how attitudinal modernity is associated with the socio-demographic factors. Next, we focus our attention to the study of trends in the attitudinal complex on the position of women in the two societies. Therefore, for the purpose of analysis the attitudes on the position of women have been treated as dependent variables and modernity as an independent variable although no attempt has been made to show the causal connections. The comparison between the attitudes of women in the two samples has been done on two levels:

(1) On the aggregate level - considering the overall percentages in the two samples; and
(2) the different attitudes on the position of women have been associated with the level of modernity of the respondents.

Attitudes towards Education of Women:

Considering in the first place the attitudes of women on their own education it was assumed that the more modern women are also likely to possess more modern attitudes towards the education of women, that is to say, an inclination to acquire more and more knowledge and education on a level plane with men. The Indian sample shows that the desire for higher education is manifest in the total sample (81.7 per cent) but, it varies between different types of modernity. In the Turkish sample the desire for higher education is inculcated irrespective of the different levels of modernity in the total sample (88.1 per cent). The Indian sample shows a highly significant association between the aspiration for higher education and the level of modernity of the respondents, whereas, the Turkish sample exhibits no statistically significant association between the two.

The attitude towards equal education for men and women is acceptable to 98.1 per cent of the Turkish respondents. Among the Indian respondents we observe a trend in favour of more modern women favouring equal education for men and women and vice versa. In the sample
as a whole we find that 62.1 per cent of the Indian respondents feel that women should be educated as much as men. The attitude on the preferred level of education for women shows that 96.2 per cent of the Turkish respondents prefer at least a university education for women and 91.6 per cent of the Indian respondents consider university graduation as a minimum for women. Nevertheless in both the samples, the attitude towards the preferred level of education does not seem to point out any statistically significant association with the level of modernity of the respondents. Probably, it depends more on individual ability and capacity than on modernity. The Turkish group as a whole favours co-education (96.3 per cent in favour) and the Indian group as a whole disfavours it despite the different types of modernity (79.1 per cent not in favour). The level of modernity of the respondents is not associated significantly with their opinion on co-education. The difference in attitude towards co-education, in the two samples, could probably be accounted for by the fact that, primary school education in Turkey is free, compulsory and co-educational and hence, co-education has become habitual and no longer a matter of dispute for a majority of women. In India, on the other hand, there exist hardly any co-educational institutions even at the primary
Again, the differences in the attitudes of the two groups of women can be understood in terms of the differences in the overall conditions of the two countries. Although the rate of literacy has been steadily rising during the last few decades in the two countries yet, the total literacy rate in Turkey (48.2 per cent in 1965) stands much higher than that of India (34.5 per cent in 1971). The overall school enrolments for the two countries suggest that Turkey has a higher growth, though the differences are not too large. This clarifies the point as to why most of the modern ideas about women's education have been acceptable to a large number of women in the Turkish sample as compared to the respondents in the Indian sample.

Attitudes towards Marriage and Family

The values in a pre-modern society emphasize subordination-superordination and dependence - dominance in the relations of men and women. On the other hand the core values of a modern society are equality, individuality and independence. In consonance with the modernization of society changes in the ideas on marriage and divorce also take place. Thus, it was hypothesized that the more modern women will possess more equalitarian, democratic and secular attitudes on marriage and divorce.
Comparison between the two samples on the above ideas shows that in both the samples an overwhelming majority of women (82.2 per cent for the Indian group and 75.0 per cent for the Turkish group) get married (or prefer to get married)\(^*\) at a relatively higher age, meaning thereby that, higher age at marriage is no longer a matter of dispute for women in both the samples. Both the samples show no statistically significant association between the attitude on (or the actual) age at marriage and the level of modernity.

The data on mate selection suggests that, whereas, a majority (74.2 per cent) of the Indian respondents are in favour of the choice of a husband by parents, in Turkey, the choice of a husband in the majority of the cases (68.0 per cent) lies with the individual respondents, indicating thereby that, a greater proportion of the Turkish respondents have a more modern outlook on mate selection. Whereas the opinion on the choice of a husband shows no statistically significant relationship with modernity in the Indian sample, the choice of a husband has a highly significant association with the level of modernity of the respondents in the Turkish sample. The differences in the two samples could probably be imputed\(^*\)

\(^*\)Though an attempt has been made to make comparison here the items on 'age at marriage' are not exactly similar in the two groups under consideration.
to the fact that, free mixing between the sexes is still not the norm in Indian society and since the institution of dowry is still prevalent in Indian society the parental hold in the selection of a mate predominates. On the other hand, in the Turkish society it is observed that, at least, in the urban sections of the society, there is free mixing among the youth and hence, greater independence in the choice of a husband.

The ideas on divorce are not strictly comparable because of the cultural differences in the two groups of women. The Indian sample as a whole shows that a majority of the women (56.4 per cent) opine that divorce is harmful for a woman. On the other hand, the Turkish sample indicates that for an overwhelming majority of the respondents (96.3 per cent) men does not have the unique right to divorce a woman at his will, showing that a system of bilateral divorce is now acceptable to the sample as a whole. Modernity seems to be quite significantly associated with the attitude towards divorce in the Indian sample but, it has no such significant association in the Turkish sample.

Attitudes towards marriage and employment of women show that, the Indian respondents are almost equally divided over the choice between marriage and career, while the Turkish respondents show a slightly higher
tendency in favour of getting married (61.4 per cent). However, both the samples show no statistically significant association between the attitude on choice between marriage and career and the different levels of modernity. In both the samples, we find almost a similar percentage of women (61.9 for Indian and 61.4 for Turkish), preferring to combine their work with their marriage. The attitudes on the marriage and employment of women show very little association with the level of modernity but, are probably associated with certain extraneous factors. On the whole, it may be said that, the Turkish respondents represent a more modern outlook on marriage and divorce than the Indian.

Attitudes towards the Relative Position of Man and Woman

In a modern society, ideas on the status of women point towards equalitarianism and companionship in the man-woman relationship. Therefore, it was hypothesized that more modern women would hold more equalitarian ideas on the relative position of woman as compared to man as against her less modern counterpart. It has been observed that, whereas, a larger percentage (56.2) of the Indian respondents felt that women enjoyed an equal status with men, a rather smaller percentage (44.4) of the Turkish respondents felt this way. In both the samples the attitude on the equality of status shows
no statistically significant association with the degree of modernity. Perception of greater inequality in the case of Turkish women, is probably because, the Turkish respondents as a whole, hold more modern ideas on the position of women and as such the perception of existing differences becomes much more glaring.

Whereas, a majority of the Indian respondents (64.1 per cent) still believe in the natural superiority of man, a majority of the Turkish respondents (60 per cent) do not believe in it. It shows that the Turkish women hold a more modern outlook on this aspect as well. Although, there is no statistically significant relationship between the different levels of modernity and the belief in the natural superiority of men, in the Indian sample; the association is statistically significant (at .05 level) in the Turkish sample.

**Attitudes towards Joint Family**

The data on the joint family dimension are not really comparable because, the item was posed in a slightly different way to the two groups of women. Nevertheless, it indicates that whereas a majority (61.4 per cent) of the Indian respondents still prefer to live in a joint family, a larger percentage of the Turkish respondents (67.2 per cent) have never lived with their parents-in-law. The Indian data also points out
a closer association with the degree of modernisation, whereas, the Turkish data does not bear it out to a statistically significant degree. Almost similar findings have been arrived at by Gusfield (1967: 359) and Schneiberg (1970-a: 81).

**Attitudes towards Political Participation of Women**

In both the samples a larger percentage of women (74.8 in India and 85.7 in Turkey) hold a favourable opinion on the attitude on women's participation in politics. In the Turkish sample we observe a closer association between the level of modernity and the attitude on women's participation in politics.

**Summing up the position as a whole, on the attitudes towards the position of women in the two samples, it may be said that both the groups suggest the acceptance of modern values. However, with regard to some values pronounced differences may be observed between the two groups. From Table 72, it can be seen that the attitude towards co-education shows that a larger proportion of the Indian respondents are tradition-oriented and a larger proportion of the Turkish women are modern-oriented ($z = 3.89, p < .01$). Similarly, the attitude on the 'natural superiority of man' shows that, a larger proportion of the Indian respondents are still tradition-oriented while, a larger proportion of the Turkish**
respondents are modern-oriented ($\leq 3.5$, $p < .01$).

Again, the data on joint family living (though not strictly comparable) shows that the Indian respondents are largely tradition-oriented, whereas, the Turkish respondents are largely modern-oriented. ($\leq 3.5$, $p < .01$). The attitude on the choice of a partner by parents and the opinion towards divorce, also indicate that, the Indian group of respondents is more tradition-oriented, whereas, the Turkish group of respondents is more modern-oriented.

Considering these attitudes and the orientation of the respondents towards modernity two things emerge. First, that there is a greater diffusion of modern values on the position of women in the Turkish sample. The Turkish group also seems more homogenous with respect to the attitudes on the emancipation of women. Secondly, that there are glaring differences between the two groups of respondents on the above mentioned attitudes. The question now arises how can we account for the greater diffusion of some of the modern values in the Turkish sample and the existence of differences in the two groups when both of them are undergoing a similar process of change (modernization)?

One way of explaining the differential acceptance of attitudes, could be that, new ideas or values need
TABLE 72

Percentage Distribution of Respondents on various Attitudinal Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Response indicating Modernism and Traditionalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INDIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Aspiration for higher education.**</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women should be educated as much as men.</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Preferred level of education for women.</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Co-education.</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Preferred or actual age at marriage.</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Choice of partner by parents (In Turkey the actual choice of husband was asked).</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Opinion on Divorce. (In Turkey the item referred to the desirability of bilateral divorce.)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Choice between marriage and career.</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>INDIA</th>
<th>Modernism</th>
<th>Traditionalism</th>
<th>TURKEY</th>
<th>Modernism</th>
<th>Traditionalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9. Preference to work after marriage.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Equal status of women vis-a-vis men in real life.</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Belief in natural superiority of men.</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Preference to live in a joint family or living with parents-in-law.</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Women's participation in politics.</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>74.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The total number of cases do not tally in all items because the number of no reply cases varies in each item.

** The question was posed only to those respondents who had not already acquired higher education.

*** The responses have been dichotomized in the Indian sample for the purpose of making comparison. The method of dichotomization has been explained elsewhere.
acceptance and that means diffusion. Diffusion takes place in response to certain stimuli and, when these stimuli exist along with the prototype ideas which are familiar, the thought of crossing over to the new seems strange. (Barnett, 1963: 332). The same could be said about the Indian respondents for whom, although the various stimuli for modernity are present yet, the conditions supporting the prototype values of the pre-modern society also exist as alternatives. Hence, there is a lesser degree of diffusion on some of the values on the position of women. For example, the Indian sample shows a more traditional attitude towards co-education. Although there are some co-educational institutions in India but, mostly there are separate schools for boys and girls. Since the alternative of sending children to separate schools is also available, the idea in favour of co-education has not caught up with the otherwise modern Indian respondents.

Another way of explaining the differential acceptance of attitudes on the position of women could be by means of the overall development conditions in Turkey and India. If, Turkey shows a consistently higher rate of growth than India, then it could be said that, a greater diffusion has occurred in Turkey because of the higher rate of growth in the structural conditions. The
growth indicators (Table 73) for Turkey and India suggest that Turkey shows a consistently higher (though the differences are not too large) growth pattern. The U.N. Statistical Year Book (1968) includes Turkey in the category of Economic Class I (relatively developed societies) and India in the category of Economic Class II (developing societies). These variant levels of national achievement could explain the different impact of modernization on persons living in the two countries. Almost a similar position has been taken by Lerner (1965: 83-84) where he remarks that the different levels of national achievement account for the different impact of modernization on persons living in different countries, therefore, a modern person in country A may differ from its counterpart in country B. Accordingly, the logic of association between the different levels of modernity, remains significant only within the bounds of an individual country.

Still another way of looking at the differential acceptance of ideas in the two groups is the approach taken by Gusfield (1967: 351-362) and Schoenber (1970-b: 399-428). Gusfield maintains that, it is fallacious to assume that economic and political processes come in contact with the "unchanging and uniform body of institutional procedures and cultural values". He also maintains that, considering modernization as a linear
### TABLE - 72

**GROWTH INDICATORS FOR INDIA AND TURKEY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Density (per sq. km.)</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Rate of Population Increase (per cent)</td>
<td>1963-67</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization : Annual Rate (Population in communities of 20,000 and above)</td>
<td>1961/1965</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Production (Index Number 1963=100)</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Production (Index Number 1963=100)</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968/67</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Domestic Product at factor cost, Index Number 1963=100</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA : Net Domestic Product Consumption (Total calories per day).</td>
<td>1964/66</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1960/61</td>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965/66</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy Rate (per cent aged 5 and 6 respectively).</td>
<td>1971/1966</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**
2. Provisional Population Totals 1971 Census of India.
3. Population census of Turkey based on 1 per cent sample 1965.
5. Statistical Year Book of Turkey.
theory of change only distorts the history and variety of civilizations to a large extent. Again, to show how tradition, ideology and national unification are related to one another, he says that, Hinduism and Indian family life put great pressure in the continuity of Indian life, even in those sections of the population which are sufficiently modernized (westernized). The Indian intellectual today is firmly bound to an extended family system and the dominant mode of mate selection is a parental arrangement and, such pre-modern values offer themselves as the "great tradition" to him. The synthesis of the old and the new is manifest in the Gandhian tradition (Gusfield 1967 : 359-360).

Similarly, Schneiber (1970-b : 418-20) observes that it would be an overstatement to say that the process of modernization is a "single unilinear evolutionary development taking place across all behavioral and attitudinal spheres" and, there is no existing theory to explain the failure of certain items "to fit into the package called 'modernism' " (Schneiber 1970-b : 420).

The explanations advanced by Gusfield and Schneiber seem to be more plausible, and hence, we may explain the differential development of various modernization indices by following their line of argument. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that, to a larger extent we
observe more similarities than differences in the two samples with regard to the modernizing process. In fact, on the whole, it has been observed all through the present research that there are striking similarities in the attitudes of women with respect to the position of woman and, in either case they are in the direction of modernization.

Limitations of the Study:

It would not be proper here to close before mentioning some of the limitations of the study as a whole. First, the formulation of the problem was done in Chandigarh after the data in Ankara had already been collected. This presented many difficulties, especially, in making the data comparable at every step of investigation. The main hurdle in making the data comparable was found in the preparation of the questionnaire for the Indian respondents. Although the items in the two schedules refer to the same themes and dimensions yet, the form of these items is slightly different. It could have been possible to have exactly similar forms for the two sets of items (except in the case of culturally different variables) but, at the time of preparing the questionnaire in Chandigarh, it was felt that some of the items needed improvement in order to get the right responses. Hence, a changed form of items was adopted in order to improve upon the earlier study.
Secondly, the population of the study does not confine itself to all women in the two countries but, only to a section of the women population that is, the educated working women. Again, we have not considered all the educated working women but only those women who are employed in Government bureaucratic organizations. Again, it is to only those educated, working women employed in Government bureaucratic organisations of Ankara and Chandigarh that the population of the study refers.

These limitations of the study made it difficult to make generalizations of different statements. Thus it is more in the nature of an exploratory attempt to make certain comparisons.

It is, however, suggested that more careful studies need to be conducted on the subject in order to establish the uni/multi-linearity of the modernization process in comparative social research.
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