Modernisation as a process of change has attracted much attention from both scholars and laymen. Some have studied the modernisation of the individual (Inkeles 1969), others have analysed the modernisation of society from the religious, political, economic and educational viewpoints. (Lerner : 1958; Eisenstadt : 1966; Rudolph and Rudolph : 1969; Smith : 1965; Levy : 1966; Apter : 1965 also 1966; Anderson : 1966; Srinivas 1966 and ; Singer : 1966). The present analysis is aimed at showing the impact of modernisation on the attitudes and beliefs of women in two developing countries — India and Turkey.

By modernisation, we mean, a process of long range social and cultural change, often regarded as leading to the progressive development of society. It is a multi-faceted development specifically leading to the industrialisation of economy, an increase in the geographic and social mobility and, the secularisation of ideas which give rise to secular, scientific and technical education. It also means a change from ascribed to achieved status and a higher standard of living (Ward and Rustov, 1966 : 3, 4). The indices of modernisation also show that modernisation can be measured roughly, by the ratio of inanimate to animate energy used in economy, by the proportion of population (working) employed in secondary or tertiary occupations as compared to the population employed in primary occupations,
by the level of urbanization, literacy, the circulation of mass-media, the GNP (Gross National Product) per capita and by the birth and death rates of a population (Ward and Rustov, 1964: 3, 4).

When modernization is viewed as an historical phenomenon, it involves an increasing control over nature by man and society, which in turn is reflected in the increasing division of labour and the complexity of human organization. According to Srinivas, "Westernization" - which term he uses synonymously with modernization - "results not only in the introduction of new institutions but also in fundamental changes in the old institutions. Implicit in westernization are certain value preferences. The most important value being humanitarianism - by which is meant an increasing concern for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, economic position, religion, age and sex". (Srinivas, 1966: 48).

In accordance with the aforesaid features of modernization in any particular society, the greater the degree of occurrence of these characteristics, the greater will be the degree of modernization achieved by that particular society. The presence of all indices of modernization to a maximum degree, in any society, represents the ideal typical situation which no society in reality possesses. The only societies that have reached fairly close to this ideal
are the modern western societies. Finally, we may say that modernisation has two major aspects. First, there is a system of thought and values with reference to which an individual orients his activities and, secondly, a system of institutions through which he carries out his activities. The two systems together influence the behaviour of an individual with respect to his self system and his social system.

In consonance with the structural changes towards modernisation of societies, changes in the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of the people also come about. From the above discussion it is evident that modernisation involves structural changes and that changes in the social structure are related to changes in the attitudes and beliefs of the people. In a modern society, the thoughts, beliefs, habits and customs of the people lay greater emphasis on rationality, universality and a secular ideology, which mean, equality, freedom and independence for every one (Apter : 1965). Social relationships become impersonal, contractual and secondary in nature (Smelser : 1965). Preference is given to utilitarian rather than altruistic motives and behaviour tends to be oriented towards individualism (Singh: 1965 : 59). Such a pattern of values again represents an ideal type of modern society for all practical purposes.
The values in a modernizing society are internalized by the individuals and they are reflected in their personal attributes. A synchronized effect of these attributes leads to the theoretical conception of a modern man. The modern man takes a rational attitude in forming opinions, is psychologically disposed towards innovation and has the power of 'empathy', that is, the capacity to hold different opinions on a large number of problems concerning not only his immediate environment but also the outside one (Lerner, 1958: 45-51). The modern man is more efficacious, calculating and planning-minded. He also lays more stress on the dignity of others and believes in distributive justice. (Inkeles, 1966 and 1969).

Glancing at the present day Turkey and India, we find that both societies are moving towards modernization. In Turkey as well as in India, the emerging social structures call for a society based on achievement rather than ascription, which means an increase in the social and spatial mobility of the individuals. More and more people are seeking employment in manufacturing and service occupations than in agriculture. The rate of literacy has gone high with a consequent rise, though meagre, in the per capita income of the people and their standard of living. With effective interest in science and medicine the death rate has considerably gone down (See Appendix 1). As a result of these
changes in the social organization of the two countries, a
similar change in the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of
the individuals has also taken place. The new values call
for equality, individuality and independence in the develop­
ment of personality. People are becoming politically
conscious, not only about local affairs but, also in the
affairs of the nation and even the world (Lerner 1958;
Rudolph and Rudolph 1969). The attitudes and behaviour of
the people point in the direction of secularism. The ruling
political parties in the two States, have taken the responsi­
bility to impart universal education and to bridge the gap
between the rich and the poor. Both countries have framed
democratic constitutions — Turkey since the inauguration of
the Republic in 1923 and India since Independence in 1947.

Turkey and India, are not only two separate political
States but, they are also physically apart from each other
by a distance of about 4000 k.m. They have different cultu­
ral histories and, it seems pertinent here to view the
development of modernization from the two different cultural
perspectives.

In the pre-modern Turkish society the system of
government was feudal. The Ottoman Empire persisted for
centuries, sanctioning Divine powers for the Ottoman rulers
(Inalcik 1964 : 42,43). Islam, the people's religion, itself
lays down various religious, ethical and legal injunctions.
According to Islamic Law, a man could marry four wives and have several concubines at a time. He could divorce his wife at any time whereas she could not divorce her husband (except under special conditions). The whole aim of marriage was the propagation of the race. The husband paid some money or 'mahar' at the time of marriage and that money or property remained her exclusive property. (Peale, 1949 : 70-74; Zahra, 1965 : 132-178). It was the responsibility of the father and brother to see that their daughters or sisters did not bring a bad name to their family or lineage either before marriage or afterwards in her husband's house (Mango, 1968 : 134). Thus, the premarital chastity of women came to be highly valued and complete submission was required of women towards their fathers, husbands or brothers. Consequently child marriages became customary. The system of family life was patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal. Joint family system was prevalent in the largely agrarian Turkish society and marriages came to be arranged by the family rather than by the individuals concerned (Bisbee, 1966 : 41; Urtören, 1965).

In the family also the woman was subordinate to the man. In other words, the whole gamut of social relationships was that of superordination and subordination. The ruler and the ruled, the patriarch or the patria potestas and the
protected, the Ulema* (ecclesiastical judges, priests and teachers) and the ignorant masses. Thus, the whole structure of society was such that it called for segregation, subordination and servility of woman to man and man to man.

This called for a complete segregation of the sexes. This segregation was not only observable in 'overt manners of dress' which hid the form of the woman from the man but, also in various social gatherings where women were confined to the women's quarters — Haremlik — and men to the men's quarters — salemlik — (Lerner, 1968 : 197).

As a result of modernization the earlier basis of social organization has been shaken and a new social order has taken place which is oriented towards modernity. The Ottoman Empire crumbled down in 1919 and Democracy was established in 1923. With the introduction of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926, polygamy was abolished, provision for bilateral divorce was made and, the judicial inequality of the conjoined was considerably reduced. Such radical reform supposes, not only the modification of the laws of marriage but, a complete change in attitudes towards sexual and familial norms. Consequently, in 1934, the right to equal

*The word 'Ulema' is derived from the word Alim, which means one who knows or 'the wise men of the Empire'. (Dwight, 1901; 201).
suffrage was granted for women above 22 years and the right to universal suffrage for women was granted in 1946.

Unlike Turkey, India is a land of great cultural variation and any attempt to generalize on the cultural system would be in a very broad and impressionistic sense. Pre-modern Indian society was caste structured and mostly patriarchal and patrilineal. The system of family life was mostly joint or extended (Gore, 1963; Ross, 1961; Kerve, 1963). Primary emphasis was placed on ritual (caste) status of the individual. The Karma theory holds that one's actions in the past determine one's present life. Marriage according to Hindu Law is a sacrament and the bond of marriage was irrevocable. Divorce and widow remarriage were out of the picture and any marriage performed under Hindu Law had to be within the caste group. Child marriages were considered to be the best and, marriages were mostly arranged by the parents rather than the individuals. From the religious point of view, the ritual status of women came to be regarded as equal to that of 'Sudras', as the former were considered as easily susceptible to pollution as the latter. Thus, women lived a life of seclusion and observed 'purdah' in many parts of Northern India among the upper castes. Many customs like 'Suttee' (burning oneself alive on the funeral pyre of the husband), child marriage and dowry were

During the British rule the structure of the Indian society started changing. Industrialization was introduced in the Indian economy. The percentage of the population living in urban areas increased. Caste started giving way to class, at least in urban areas and, education and employment opportunities came to be extended to all levels of society - irrespective of caste, creed or sex. As a result of such changes in the structure of society, similar changes in the values of the society, also took place. Consequently, 'Suttee' and child marriage were abolished. Divorce, widow remarriage and inter-caste marriages were recognized. Women were given a share in the ancestral property and the custom of dowry came to be criticized by the people. The process of modernization, set into motion during the British regime, was strengthened further after India gained independence. The Indian constitution today prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

The purpose of the present analysis is to observe the trends in the cognitive structure which we expect from the modernizing process in a particular section of the women population. Thus, our assumption here may be stated
as: Urbanisation, education and employment, have brought about changes in the attitudes and beliefs of women in terms such as equality, individuality and independence. Hence, we may further assume that the changes in the differential status and role of women are a corollary of the changes towards the modernisation of society. Education, occupation and income, are certain structural factors in the status of women, which have brought about a change in the cognitive structure. Taking these factors into account we would like to observe, whether, there is a congruence between the structural factors and the value patterns that cohere with a certain social system and, how these values are internalised by the individuals and, to what extent their behaviour and attitudes are concurrent with the structure of society.

Comparison between the changed attitudes of women in India and Turkey is attempted, because India and Turkey are both modernizing societies and, both countries are committed to rapid social, cultural and economic change, by means of planned development. Both countries had a glorious past while their institutions which were quite functional during that period became obsolete according to modern ideas. Moreover, in the position of women in the two countries we find many similarities. Both the countries are mostly patriarchal societies. In both, the position of
woman was subordinate to that of man and, again in both, there was extreme segregation between the sexes and customs of 'purdah' were prevalent. These similarities in the past status of women call for similar changes in the attitudes of women in the two countries. Women represent a rather conservative section of the population and, it can be shown that, given certain structural features of modernity, the women in the two countries are expected to have imbibed the values of a modern society, which may be gauged from their personalities. If it can be demonstrated that adjustment in attitudes of women has occurred in India and Turkey, it would imply that change in society has in reality taken place and that it is not something superficial. Women have been selected for study because they have an important role to play in the socialization of the individual and, if a change in their attitudes and beliefs does not take place, it may be postulated that not much can be achieved by way of the transformation of society.

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<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
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</thead>
</table>
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Zahra, Muhammad Abu.
RESEARCH DESIGN

In the year 1965-66, I was granted a one year research scholarship by the Turkish Government, under the cultural exchange scheme. While in Turkey, I conducted a fact-finding survey of the socio-economic conditions and the attitudes and beliefs of working women in Ankara, keeping in view the modernization of the Turkish society, especially with regard to the changes in the status of women. As my stay in Turkey was limited it was not possible to supplicate the study for a Ph.D. But when I returned to India, I decided to improve upon the study for a Ph.D degree and to prepare a comparative study of India and Turkey, because I observed an almost similar trend in attitudes could be manifest in the Indian society also. Thus, the problem was further reformulated keeping in view the comparative dimension and the Indian data was collected after the formulation of the problem in the year 1968 in Chandigarh. Such a course of events poses many problems in formulating the problem, defining the Universe, selecting the sample and in collecting and analysing the data.

In its present form, the design of research formulated for the study, falls into the category of descriptive studies which are used for depicting precisely the characteristics of specific situations, individuals and groups; and studying the frequency with which things occur with or without the help of
specific hypotheses (Seltis et al. 1969: 50). Any design of enquiry is an insurance against failure in research and, a descriptive research necessitates a proper conceptualization of the problem, location of the phenomenon and, the presentation of the procedures (Hyman 1960: 92-172). The problem of conceptualization has been dealt with in the introduction. At present we shall discuss the remaining two aspects of the descriptive research design, that is, the location of the phenomenon and the presentation of the procedures. The present study concerns itself with the attitudes and beliefs of women in two modernizing societies—India and Turkey. In other words, we are trying to describe how the changed attitudes of women are linked with the modernization of societies.

**Universe of the study:**

While making a study of two large and heterogenous societies, it becomes necessary to describe the universe or the population to which the findings of the study have any applicability. The universe of the research refers to the women working in central or state governments in Ankara and Chandigarh, in non-manual service occupations such as clerical, executive, managerial and professional. This particular group has been selected for study because women working in government bureaucratic organizations represent more or less a uniform group with almost the same employment
opportunities and conditions and, comprising more or less a similar social group in society. On the other hand, because of the differences in the status hierarchy of the organization itself, we are likely to get a cross section of the larger community. Working women have been considered for study because they happen to be employed in urban areas and have also acquired a specific amount of education for their employment per se. It is the urban, educated and employed women in whom the changes in attitudes and beliefs are more visible than in their counterparts, who live in rural areas with little or no education.

Ankara, has been selected as an appropriate field of research in Turkey, as it is the modern capital city of the country and women from all parts of the country are likely to work there. In India, Chandigarh came to be chosen for study, because Chandigarh represents a capital city of the two states of Punjab and Haryana and, it is the seat of the Commissioner of the Union Territory of Chandigarh. Women from all parts of these two states and the Union territory come to work in Chandigarh. Moreover, it is a modern city, architecturally planned by modern architects. A modern oriented ecological structure is expected to encompass a modern social structure and a modern ethos. Hence, the selection of Ankara and Chandigarh was considered quite valid for the purpose of the study.
Selection of the Sample

To reduce bias and introduce accuracy to the measurements in research it is necessary to make use of a proper sampling method. In probability statements it is necessary to make use of random procedures in which every unit has a known chance of selection. The method employed for this study is that of systematic random sample. For selecting such a random sample one should have a proper sampling frame which is a list of units selected from the total population. Therefore, it was necessary to get a list of the total population. To procure such a list I visited all the Ministries in Ankara (except the Ministry of Defence because it was not possible to collect information from there) and collected a list of the names and designations of the women working in non-manual clerical, administrative and professional occupations. The total number of women working in such occupations at the time of the survey came to 2778. The total number of women is as follows.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Ministry</th>
<th>Number of Working Women</th>
<th>Number of Women selected for the sample</th>
<th>Percentage of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ministry of Justice</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Prime Ministry</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ministry of Public Works</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ministry of Labour</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ministry of Customs &amp; Monopolies</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ministry of Reconstruction &amp; Settlement</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ministry of Interior</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ministry of Finance</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ministry of Education</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ministry of Health and Social Welfare</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ministry Of Industry</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ministry of Agriculture</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ministry of Commerce</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Ministry of Tourism and Information</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Ministry of Communication</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2775</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.3</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While selecting a certain number of units for a sample to be studied it is necessary to bear in mind that, the sample should be sufficiently large to enable us to arrive at statistically significant conclusions and, it should be sufficiently small to be manageable by a single researcher. In conformity with these principles it was decided to select a sample of 120 women as units of study. After taking 4.3 per cent as the ratio of the total population almost every twenty-third person was considered as a unit for the sample thus forming an interval or a systematic random sample.

Similarly, in Chandigarh, a list of all the working women in various government offices of Punjab, Haryana and the Union Territory of Chandigarh, was prepared. The total number of women working in non-manual clerical, administrative and professional services was 320 and as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of State Government</th>
<th>Total number of women working</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Territory of Chandigarh</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This number was much smaller than that of Ankara (2776). It may be mentioned here that, Ankara is a much bigger city than Chandigarh and, had a population of 9,02,216 persons (Population Census of Turkey, 1965. 1 per cent sample results : p.28. Yayin Publication No. 508); and the proportion of female workers to the proportion of male workers in Ankara in 1965 was 9.0 per cent. On the other hand, the total population of Chandigarh according to the 1971 census is 2,33,004 and the proportion of women workers is 6.66 per cent (1971 Census, Paper I Supplement, Provisional Population Totals, India). So the number of women working in various Government offices in Chandigarh was very small, and, it was decided, to include the women working in all the Government colleges in the total population. Women working in colleges were included, because it was found that the number of women employed in administrative or professional and technical occupations in the original list (for the Indian sample) was too small or rather insignificant that is 21. In order to give sufficient representation to this group of women in the total population, it was decided, to include women working in colleges, who have a higher level of education than the normal level of education for women working in various schools and hospitals. Thus, the total number of women working in all the government colleges and offices in non-manual service occupations such as clerical, administrative and professional came to 459. From this population,
126 women were selected as units for the sample of the study. In the selection of the sample once again the procedure of systematic random sample was adopted; that is, first the lists of the total population were procured and from each list a certain proportion (27.2 per cent of the total) of women were selected by choosing the first number randomly and the rest by intervals of 27.2 per cent.

Procedure of Data Collection

A presentation of the procedures of data collection is significant for the researcher to make sure that the data has been collected by "fairly well established standards" (Hyman, 1960 : 142). The information was collected with the help of interview schedules from the two groups of women. Since the study in Ankara was conducted earlier (without the comparative focus) the interview schedule for Ankara was prepared keeping in mind the Turkish cultural requirements only. Later, when the decision to make a comparative study was taken, the schedule was modified according to the Indian situation. The information asked for in the two schedules is mostly comparative with some variations according to the cultural differences. However, while preparing the second questionnaire, it was felt that on some items more or a different type of information could have been elicited at the first stage of investigation. In the preparation of the interview schedules
an attempt was made to have as many structured responses to the items as possible. The two schedules were first pre-tested and suitable modifications made therein. The questionnaire for Ankara was first prepared in English and then translated into Turkish with the help of some Turkish friends.

Field work was conducted in two distinct stages. The first stage of fieldwork was conducted in Ankara in the year 1986 and the second stage was conducted in Chandigarh in the year 1968. Interviews were conducted by myself, both in Ankara and in Chandigarh. For the purpose of conducting the interviews in Ankara in the Turkish language, I attended Turkish language classes at the 'Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi' of the Ankara University. The interviews were conducted only after I had gained a good working knowledge of the Turkish language. The interviews were largely conducted at the place of work and some at the residence of the respondents. In the beginning, in Ankara, I had to take the help of some Turkish friends in conducting the interviews and in getting introduced to the respondents. However, after about 20 interviews, I gained sufficient confidence and was able to conduct the rest of the interviews independently. After completing the interviews, the total number of respondents dropped down to 108 in the Turkish sample and, the total number of Indian respondents came down
to 120. The lack of response in Ankara was not because of the lack of confidence in the researcher but, because it was a holiday season being the months of June, July and August, most of the respondents who could not be interviewed had gone on vacation and they could not be contacted in time.

To gauge the extent or the level of individual modernization two separate but similar indices of attitudinal modernization have been prepared for the two cultures described in a subsequent chapter.

Limitations of the Study

During the course of conducting a research one has to constantly guard against introducing bias, subjectivity and inaccuracy while selecting the sample, making observations, relating findings and at every other step. However, a researcher may be careful to avoid such pitfalls, a minimum amount of bias and inaccuracy is always present in any research. The present study happens to be no exception and in fact it is replete with instances of problematic situations where some error could not possibly be avoided. As mentioned earlier, the genesis of these problems and limitations arose in the genesis of the present research work. When the formulation of the problem is done, after a part of the data has already been collected, it presents difficulties not only in making the data comparable at every step
of investigation but also in reducing error, or bias while adopting various procedures of research. For these reasons it may be stated here that the study has a limited applicability at the micro-social level rather than at the macro-social level and, the comparisons that have been drawn for the two cultural groups are only to be considered in the light of the limitations just mentioned.

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