HOME-BASED WORK AND INFORMAL SECTOR IN THE PERIOD OF GLOBALISATION
AN ANALYSIS THROUGH CAPITALISM AND PATRIACHY
THE CASE OF TURKEY

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

HOME-BASED WORK AND INFORMAL SECTOR IN THE PERIOD OF GLOBALISATION: AN ANALYSIS THROUGH CAPITALISM AND PATRIACHY THE CASE OF TURKEY

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This study aims to formulate an understanding of the structuring of informal home-based work at the plane of interrelations between capitalism and patriarchy. It examines informal home-based work with an understanding based on two foci, which are market relations and traditional gender roles. It develops its own suggestions of conceptualisations, namely deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring, building up these concepts abstractly in the theoretical sections and concretely the analyses.

Keywords: Home-Based Work, Homeworking, Informal Sector, Patriarchy

ÖZ

KÜRSELLEŞME SÜRECİNDE EV EKSENLİ ÇALIŞMA VE ENFORMEL SEKTÖR
KAPİTALİZM VE ATAERKİLLİK ÜZERİNDEN BİR ANALİZ
TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma, kayıtdışı ev eksenli çalışmanın yapılanmasını hakkında bir anlayış geliştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu nedenle konuyu hem pazar ilişkilerini hem de geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini kapsayan iki odaklı bir yaklaşımla ele alır. Enformel ev-eksenli emeğin yapılanmasını incelemek için iki kavram önerisinde bulunmaktadır, bu kavramlar: 'bilinçli saklama' ve 'saklayarak değersizleştirme'dir. Önerilen kavramlar teorik incelemelerde soyut, analiz bölümlerinde somut olarak gösterilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ev Eksenli Çalışma, Evde Çalışma, Enformel Sektör, Ataerkillik

To my mother Erendiz Atasü

and to the memory of my father Ergin Atasü

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to show how contemporary capitalism and patriarchy articulate in the context of informal home-based work and to describe the articulation mechanism by suggesting two new conceptualisations. The main question is how capitalism with its informalisation aspect articulates with patriarchy and structures informal home-based work as a women labour-intensive production relation.

Home-based work is strongly connected with the diminishing traditional employment in factories and the growth of the informal sector, together with unemployment within the process of globalisation and post-Fordist production relations. Within this process, the gap between the labour supply and the employment opportunities created by the formal sector expands. This expansion reinforces the informalisation, and home-based work.

Many social scientists from different schools of thought have been trying to analyse the changing use of work and changing production relations in relation to each other from different points of views. Among these are theories of the informal sector (Turnham 1990; Kincaid and Portes 1994; Titov 2003), of globalisation and development and structural adjustment policies (Portes, 1985; Bradshaw, 1987; Singh and Viitanen 1987; Castells 1989), and of survival strategies as well as new arrangements of

production process and work, such as outwork, homeworking and home-based work (Portes, Castells and Benton, 1989; Beneria, 2003). Home-based work, both as an important aspect of the informal sector, and as a labour-intensive sector, especially with regard to women's labour, has been an interesting topic both for economists and sociologists. Economists generally consider the issue from a market-oriented viewpoint and try to explore and explain the structure and dynamics of the sector. Social scientists who specialise in women studies try to investigate and describe the production relations and the effects of home-based work on women.

This study uses both of the approaches in order to develop a macro and evocative picture of home-based work. This study on "Home-Based Work and the Informal Sector in the Period of Globalisation" concentrates particularly on informal home-based work, which largely consists of women's labour. This investigation would be incomplete if it failed to shed light on the dynamics of the informal sector in general; therefore this study intends to examine the informal sector from the perspective of home-based workers in order to draw an elaborated map of the structure of informal home-based work. The main purpose in examining informalisation is to see the integration and articulation mechanisms of capitalism and patriarchy. There are many studies on investigating the relations between patriarchy and capitalism (Bruegel, 1979; 1986; Ecevit, 1991; Milkman, 1976), but most of these studies only consider classical factory and part-time workers. I believe that in the context of the factory, where the entire production process is visible and there are direct relations between the employer and employees, there is a plain picture of capitalism and patriarchy articulation, which consists of one space, namely the factory, one precise employer, and a group of free wageworkers. The reason for the emphasis on informalisation in the study is that all the production relations become multi-layered and complicated with informalisation; thus a possible picture of relations between capitalism and patriarchy may become more complex and

detailed. Let me suggest that in order to gain a wider understanding of the impacts of capitalism and patriarchy on new work relations, one needs to consider informalisation and its worldwide structuring and growth with the globalisation of world markets. There are many studies that examine how informalisation expands with the acceleration of globalisation. Beneria (1981; 1999; 2003), Leonard (1998) and Mills (2003). Beneria (1981), Carr, Chen and Tate (2000) emphasise the growth of home-based work through informalisation. Thus informalisation becomes the key concept for understanding the relations between globalisation production relations and home-based work.

The relations between economic globalisation, informalisation and home-based work are important but not sufficient to comprehend the whole home-based work phenomenon, because these relations are only half of the story. In order to reach a clear understanding of informal home-based work, let me suggest an elliptic thinking strategy expanding from two focal points as a typical ellipse. The first focus is the relations of globalisation and home-based work, which converges on the issue as a problematisation of informalisation. The second focus, which is the conceptualisation of women and work, is related to patriarchy and to the patriarchal power that functions for the obliteration of women and their activities. In other words, the second focus sheds some light on patriarchal relations in connection with the invisibility of informal home-based work. This study assumes such thinking helps one comprehend how capitalism and patriarchy articulate in the context of informal home-based work as well as their articulation mechanism.

The reasons for choosing home-based work in the informal sector as an efficient context for studying women's labour is the fact that home-based work is an expanding mode of production and the discussions about its structure, its shortcomings and its benefits are still not fully explored. I believe an analysis of the informal sector provides us knowledge about the structure of today's capitalist work relations. Studying informal

home-based work in Turkey is an efficient method to see the relations between contemporary capitalism and patriarchy, and studying it also provides an opportunity to integrate the social practices of Turkey into the general theories.

1.1 Research Questions

The research questions of this study, which helps explaining the practices of informal home-based work, can be classified into two main problems. The first problem concerns the concentration of women into informal home-based work, which surveys the gendered characteristic of this type of work. The second problem is to see how capitalism and patriarchy relations form the structure of informal home-based work. The following subsections broadly introduce the research questions.

1.1.1 Why are Women Concentrated into Informal Home-Based Work?

The interesting point is that women are generally employed in informal home-based work. Why and how is this so? There are studies on theorising the use of women's work such as Beechey (1977;1978), Barrett and McIntosh (1980), Marshall (1985), Fernandez-Kelly (1994), which help to understand home-based work. This study examines them in section 2.3. Approaches to Home–Based Work. These studies converge on the issue of the concentration of women in certain industries in the market, form Marxist and socialist feminist perspectives and through the notion of the 'reserve army of labour'. The present study discusses the relevance and explanatory power of these studies in above-mentioned theoretical part. This literature survey helps to see the need to suggest new concepts for developing a more comprehensive understanding of home-based work. Studying the reasons for the

concentration of women's labour in informal home-based work provides us knowledge of patriarchal functions for the sexual division of labour.

Moreover, let me suggest that the relations between patriarchy and informal home-based work do not only consist of the sexual division of labour referred to in this study as the concentration of women in the above-mentioned sector. It would seem that the concentration of women in the informal sector introduces not only a wages differential, but also a gap of labour rights and social security between genders, which provide the materialisation of women's disadvantaged position in the labour market and help to maintain their subordination in the family. In addition to theories that emphasise the benefits provided by patriarchy to capitalism, such as gender inequality, which is constructed by patriarchy, the mutual interaction between patriarchy and capitalism also contributes to patriarchal power relations in other spheres of life. Gender inequality in getting the positive returns of work, such as wages, social benefits and status, leaves women dependent on fathers, brothers, husbands and the family. Family relations, the cultural value system and ongoing production relations simultaneously shape women's experiences of work. Thus, women's work in general, and informal home-based work in particular, can be analysed both through their traditional gender roles within the family, which are mainly shaped by cultural attributes to womanhood and manhood, and through economic aspects. Thus the second question of the study arises: Through what kind of mechanism do patriarchal ideology and capitalism articulate and create informal home-based work?

1.1.2. What is the Structuring of Informal Home-Based Work?

Exploring informal home-based work in the context of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchal ideology enables us to better observe the patriarchal ideology in terms of its articulation/diffusion mechanisms

into work relations in Turkey. The question than, is: What is the nature of the mechanisms of the articulation between the patriarchal ideology and capitalism that create informal home-based work? In other words, what is the structure of informal home-based work? Structures are structured as people practice them, in other words social structures are realized as people experience them.[1] Thus the structure of informal home-based work can be understood by the practices and experiences of this work. In order to define its structuring, one has to detect the practices of informal home-based work, that is to consider the life experiences of women in this particular field, and furthermore to problematise the informalisation itself also which will show how intricate, complicated and intense the capitalism patriarchy articulation is.

The study examines informal home-based work as an area where capitalist production relations and patriarchy are articulated to each other; and proposes its own understanding of home-based work with two conceptual suggestions, which are derived by analysing the phenomenon both by life experiences of women and literature. Such an effort is an attempt to make a contribution to the socialist feminist project, which theorises that society is structured mainly by both capitalism and patriarchy, not yet described the interaction (or articulation) mechanisms of capitalism and patriarchy in life practices. The analysis of the methods and results of this two-sided articulation means observing the capitalist production relations in a new manner; and is important from another aspect as well: the many sided interactions of home-based work may include some seeds of possibilities for improving feminist strategy via a

[1] Bourdieu in **Structures, Habitus and Practices**, emphasise the nature of objective structures (such as economy and language) claming there is a "relationship between objective structures and cognitive and motivating structures which they produce and which tend to reproduce them (1990:83)". Bourdieu continues: "objective structures are themselves products of historical practices and are constantly reproduced and transformed by historical practices whose productive principal is itself the product of structures which it consequently tends to reproduce (1990:83)". Bourdieu defines the never-ending cycle of structuring of structures in historical practices. In other words he describes how structures are reproduced within life practices.

better understanding of patriarchy, and for supporting our predictions about the future dynamics of the complex relations of this area of life.

1.2. Some Remarks on Terminology: Conceptual Clarification

This subsection introduces the basic concepts of the present study. First it will shortly examine the issue of describing work and emphasise the importance of the domestic labour debate in the conceptualisation of work, since many conceptualisations of work exclude work done at home and/or without wages. It is important to dwell on the scope of work. The reason for the stressing domestic labour is that the feminists' domestic labour debate effectively expands the conceptual boundaries of work. This study will than clarify the concepts of outwork, homeworking, and home-based work. These terms are used very often in the literature about home-based work. In order to clarify the scope of the study, the following subsections will introduce these terms respectively and denote the differences between them. Examining these concepts will help clarify the meaning of home-based work.

1.2.1. Work and Domestic Work

According to Wallman (1979) what is defined as work varies within different cultures and changes through time and space. Wallman (1979) suggests that work has significantly different and culture-specific meanings and interpretations such as social transactions, economic activities, physical transformations as well as material productions. Activities, which are called work, include different combinations of work process (Wallman, 1979). In the framework of this conceptualisation it is possible to clarify that for economists and sociologists such as Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (1994) and for psychologists such as Prieto and Martin (1990), work is generally about material production, thus has been

discussed within the conceptual boundaries of the market. Many sociologists that concentrate on industry and occupations restrict the boundaries of work with paid labour and male factory workers (Grint, 1991). Economists conceptualise work as the 'opportunity to make money' and 'loss of leisure' (Gill, 2000). Gill states that there are manifest and latent functions of waged work. The manifest function is simply money, and the latent functions are the sense of participation in a collective purpose and effort, the assignment of status and identity by virtue of employment, by virtue of being required. "The psychology literature emphasizes the importance of a range of attributes of jobs and workplace environments to individual mental and emotional well-being" (Gill, 2000:740). Psychologists also conceptualise work within the boundaries of market, and paid work.

> …for the wage earner the home is the place where he consumes but does not work and where his time is his own. For the housewife it's her place of work but she does not go elsewhere for her leisure. So in her life there is no rigid work/leisure distinction either in physical location or in time (Gardiner, Himmelweit and MacIntosh, 1980:169).

This approach breaks with the work/leisure binary opposition in conceptualisation of work. Gardiner's study shows the economic contribution and surplus-generating aspect of domestic work, thus proving that domestic work is a type of work, "while recognising the ideological importance of family" (Gardiner et. al. 1980: 116). "We should consider the past and present definitions of work as symbols of cultures and especially as mirrors of power: if what counts of work is glorified or despised or gender-related, than the language and practice of work allows us to read embodied fragments of wider social power" (Grint, 1991:7).

Feminists' most important contribution to the discussions about work is to start thinking of it beyond the market. Feminists, in their debates about domestic labour, carry the discussion focusing around work into the family and home. The domestic labour debate destroys the

conceptual boundary of wage, which distinguishes worker from non-worker. Furthermore, feminist studies change the discussions around work in terms of geographies of labour, and the very definition of worker (Fine, 1992). By doing so, the domestic labour debate exerts another and more fundamental influence which is the naming of the domestic labour as work which disrupts one of the main power relations in the society. Moreover, expanding the conceptual boundaries of work with the domestic labour debate helps one understand different social practices such as home-based work and other types of work.

1.2.2. Outworking, Homeworking, Home-Based Work

The subject of my study is of course not housework or domestic work, which correspond to unpaid reproductive work nearly always done by women. The critical point in considering domestic work is to widen the concept of work beyond salaried or waged work that is usually done in offices and factories. The focus of the argument is on income-generating activities which are implemented at home. There are three terms in the literature that refer to income-generating activities at home; these are outwork, homeworking and home-based work. In the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology homework/homeworking is defined as,

> A form of wages work undertaken by family members in their own homes, for large or small firms, usually on a piece rate basis. Not to be confused with school-children's tasks set by the school to be undertaken at home, nor with unpaid domestic labour, the later referring to the goods and services (including housework) produced within the home for consumption by household members.

There is also another term in the literature for defining the same kind of work, which is 'outwork' also defined in the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology as:

> Outwork, outworking: These terms refer to the employment of individual workers by firms outside

> the firm workplace- usually within the workers' own homes. The employer supplies materials (and possibly machinery) and workers are paid on piece rate basis. It commonly involves light assembly work.

Allen and Wolkovitz, who wrote the pioneering study **Homeworking: Myths and Realities,** define homeworking, as "the supply of work to be performed in domestic premises, usually for piece work payment. Known also as outwork, it is a global phenomenon" (Allen & Wolkovitz, 1987:1). Allen and Wolkovitz conceptualise the production range of homeworking in a wide range from traditional to industrial goods, both in developed and developing countries.

Preference for the concepts of homeworking or home-based work to the concept of outwork is clear: Outwork denotes the work implemented out of the factory; the workplace can be home, but also any place else. Thus the term outwork does not emphasise home as the place of the implementation of work. On the other hand, the terms of homeworking or home-based work, while emphasising the precise working place of the worker, also denote the Siamese twin-coexistences of women and the home. The reference to the ideology dictating that a woman's place is her home, and her best job is at her home, is only too obvious! So the very terms home-based work and homeworking directly refer to the articulation of womanhood and income generating activities, in other words to patriarchal roles and the market, in the context of living/working space.

Another terminological choice is possible between homeworking and home-based work, which has been one of the oldest debates in the literature about women and work. The phenomenon of working at home was named 'homeworking' in the early literature.

1.2.3. Home-Based Work: a broader conceptualisation instead of homeworking

The term of homeworking was born from the studies of women and work. Allen and Wolkovitz (1987) stated that homeworking had been a subject for public studies and legislation in Britain and other First World countries before the First World War, yet it was forgotten until the 1970's. Studies on home-based work were restarted in the 1970's, with the works sponsored by the Low Pay Unit and the Fabian Society; Brown suggests the existence of a large, low-paid labour force (Brown, 1974). These studies mainly focused on improving the working conditions of home-based workers. Early studies focus on "homeworking" that only includes piecework. ILO in its Homeworking Report defines the concept as "the production of goods and provision of services for an employer or contractor under an arrangement whereby the work is carried out at the place of the workers own choosing, often the worker's own home. It is normally carried out without direct supervision by employer or contractor" (1995:1). But working at home includes not only one kind of work. Dangler (1994) distinguishes the self-employed and waged homeworkers from salaried professionals who work at home.

Women who are doing homeworking may work both on their own account, and for another employer, at different times, sometimes in different hours of the same working day. In this respect I believe that the term home-based work will be helpful as a wider concept that includes different kinds of working at home. Allen and Wolkovitz define home-based work as "all kinds of income generating work including piece work" (Allen and Wolkovitz, 1987: 7). Because it gives a broader conceptual framework, I find it more useful for my study to use the term home-based work instead of homeworking. Homeworking is defined as one form of home-based work, either in manufacturing or service industries. It is a form of dependent employment, in which the worker is in fact subordinate to, if outside the direct control of, an employer. "The

majority of homeworkers are women, who take up home work because of the lack of alternatives" (Homeworkers Association 1990: 1). In Felsfeld's study on home-based workers in Britain, the term home – based workers was used to define 'people who carry out paid work in their own home, mostly working in the manufacturing or low level service sector jobs (as cited in Green, Strange and Trache, 2000). In the context of another research project completed by the Scottish Low Pay Unit, (Harris, 1997), the term home-based working was used to describe 'anyone working/producing materials/goods or products on a piece per hourly rate for one or more employer, contractor, or agent of an employer, and those whose work is similar to that done in factory or office but which is instead carried out at the workers home" (as quoted in Green et al., 2000).

Hakim (1984; 1985) uses the term home-based work as a broad category, including self-employed employees and those who work from as well as at home. Home-based work includes petty commodity producers, small-scale entrepreneurs, self-employed artisans and waged workers (Hakim 1984; 1985). Allen and Wolkovitz objects to the new category of home-based work, since "… an analysis in terms of relations of production makes it impossible to analyse the different sets of conditions under which people work" (Allen & Wolkovitz, 1987: 51). Although this objection seems justified at the first sight, one cannot ignore the fact that paid work practices of home-based working women may include petty commodity production, small-scale entrepreneurship, self-employed artisans and waged working in one women's working life, moreover sometimes in a single working day. Benton (1990) defines home-based workers in three groups, such as those who work for one or several firms, who work for individuals for orders and who sell goods or services directly to the public. In fact one home-based worker can do all these activities together.

Despite grouping home-based workers according to whom they work for, some authors group them according to their social status. In Phizacklea and Wolkovitz's (1995) study, one can see their major grouping between middle-class homeworking working women, who generally do white collar jobs and 'work for extra pin money', and Asian manual workers who work in the informal sector, have little capacity to limit the pace and duration of their work and have no means of bargaining for their wages.

Green (et al. 2000) groups home –based work in four categories:

a) *Home-based workers:* who do manual or traditional forms of home-based work normally paid on a piece rate,

b) *Start-up companies:* new business trading traditionally from home before establishing a commercial body,

c) *Small businesses:* self-employed individuals working in their own homes,

d) *Home-based teleworkers:* employees or self employed individuals who are working on computers at their home.

While dealing with the first and the third categories in the context of Turkey, it is important to denote that a significant division should be whether the worker has her business as a legal person or not. This division draws the borderline between the formal and the informal sectors. It is obvious that the second and fourth categories cannot be practiced informally. Therefore the first and third categories are critical for an examination. At this point there is a need to clarify that this study will handle the first and third categories as a single group, since categorising home-based work as homeworkers and small and medium enterprises does not reflect the practices of home-based work, especially when it is informal as in most of the cases. Moreover there are also examples in the literature such as Prügl and Tinker

(1997), which show that the experiences of women in home-based work delete the difference between the wageworker and self-employed categories. A further example is that "in India employers in the 'bidi' (Indian cigarette) industry have restored a 'sale-purchase system' in order to uphold the fiction that home-based workers are self-employed" (Boris and Prügl, 1996:5). Silver (1993) groups home-based workers into two categories as professional/managerial workers and working-class home-based workers. Silver's distinction is basically between white and blue colour jobs. In harmony with Silver's work, Annie Phizacklea and Carol Wolkovitz in **Homeworking Women: Gender Racism, Class at Work**, offer five different groups of working at home, causalised employees, micro-entrepreneurs, self-employed professionals, and very small business, technical, and executive level employees; but they distinguish middle-class women who choose to work at home by taking advantage of telecommunication. Home-based work which relies on qualified labour is generally named home-based telework. Home-based telework is out of the scope of this study, but I choose to describe it shortly here in order to clarify the scope of this study of informal home-based work:

The term home-based telework also emphasises the telecommunication technology which makes these jobs possible. Although there is a general idea that technological jobs are men's jobs, home-based telework is also common among women as shown by studies such as Sullivan (2000). Home-based telework is described in many studies as a work of the middle-class, and also as the future of work. Middle-class homeworking is a suitable name for home-based telework, because most of these works are white-collar jobs, and wages are close to market standards, but studies also show that women in telework do monotonous secretarial jobs, and there are also wage differentials between genders in telework. Telework is a

sector which is also dominated by women's labour. Why this sector is feminised is a question for further research[2].

In harmony with the socio-economic differences between two workingwomen groups as middle-class or professional home-based workers, teleworkers in general and home-based workers working for a company, for a middle-men, or on their own account as denoted in Silver (1993) and Phizacklea and Wolkovitz (1995), the type of the job, whether formal or informal, is another conspicuous division among home-based women workers. I shall therefore denote my exact study area as "informal home-based work" which can be described as:

- Without benefiting from any rectification about work,
- Without any health insurance and social security,
- Under unhealthy conditions,
- Without predetermined work hours,
- Without even benefiting from the minimum wage,
- Without the right to be organized,
- Without maternity allowance,
- Without benefiting from any vocational training,
- Under invisibility,
- Under isolated conditions,
- Without any power to bargain with bosses,
- In conditions which are intensely sensitive to all the uncertainties in the market.

[2] For more information please see: Simpson, 1999; Elison, 1999; Helling, 2001; Phillips, 2002; Berke, 2003 and Peters, 2003

1.3. Plan of the Study

Until here this study has introduced its aim describing the articulation mechanism of capitalism and patriarchy that structures informal home-based work. It has then clarified its two research questions that are related with the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy and a getaway possibility:

Why are women concentrated in informal home-based work?
What is the structuring of informal home-based work?

In order to answer these questions this study introduced its basic concepts and clarified the meaning of informal home-based work which is the scope of this study.

This study suggests an elliptic thinking strategy that considers both market and family relations for realising its aim. Thus the second chapter, after sketching the context of informal home-based work with its relations to global economic changes and use of women's work, will proceed to examine theoretical approaches to home-based work concentrating on women's work. Then, in order to clarify the aspects of informalisation, the study will discuss theoretical approaches to the informal sector. After clarifying both its theoretical approaches by discussing theories about women's work and the informal sector which are related to informal home-based work, the study will suggest its own model about the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy in the context of informal home-based work.

Home-based work seems to be a very widely practiced among women living in the squatter urban areas of Turkey. Thus, chapter three concentrates on the expansion of home-based work in Turkey within the same framework of chapter two. In other words, chapter three examines the home-based work in Turkey from focuses of economic relations and women's work. Chapter three looks at the economic changes in Turkey

and acceleration of informalisation within it. After sketching the economic background chapter three outlines the employment patterns of women in Turkey, in order to understand this expansion of home-based work in the context of Turkey.

Chapter four aims to clarify the methodological approach of this study which is used in answering its research questions, thus it examines the significance of feminist methodology, and discusses feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint. Than reviews and evaluates research methodologies of some recent studies on women's work and the informal sector; in order to see the field practices. Finally, Chapter four summarises the experiences of the author during this research.

Chapter five analyses the reasons for women to do home-based work, effects on home-based work on women and their work experiences by using the narratives of participants.

Chapter six analyses the case of informal home-based workers in Turkey within the elliptic framework mentioned in Chapter two. And tries to give some more visibility to the two-sided articulation of capitalism and patriarchy in the structuring of home-based work by using the two suggested concepts introduced by this study namely deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring.

Chapter seven will conclude that in order to understand informal home-based work which is mainly the work of women, one needs to formulate a two focused frame work concerning both capitalism and patriarchy in relation to each other. Afterwards concentrates on the further implications of this study.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter proposes its own suggestions for understanding the phenomenon of home-based work, after primarily introducing the context of the study and theoretical approaches to the informal sector and to women's work and home-based work. The context part is expounded in accordance with the actual aim of this study, which is to formulate a relation between capitalism and patriarchy for understanding informal home-based work as mentioned in the introductory chapter. While dealing with capitalism in the context of informal home-based work, this study has to refer to global relations, as it is quite obvious that without integration with the global economy home-based work would not has been able to expand to its full scope. Therefore effects of globalisation are important in describing the context.

According to the elliptic thinking strategy, which aims to cover the topic from both women's work and market cores, this study has examined the nature of the informal sector before reviewing the framework of women's work. Obviously in order to gain a lucid understanding of women's home-based work in the informal sector, there is a need to clarify what is meant by the informal sector. Thus, this study discusses the approaches to the informal sector. Unfortunately, approaches to the informal sector

ignore the important role of women in the sector. Thus these approaches omit the possibility of understanding the phenomenon through a feminist standpoint. Moreover they do not contribute explaining women's position in the informal sector. This review shows that there is a need to combine knowledge of the informal sector and knowledge of women's work in order to reach an understanding of women in informal home-based work.

After reviewing approaches to the informal sector in order to understand women's work relation in general and within informal home-based work in particular, the fallowing subsections examine theoretical approaches to women's work. The subsection 2.4.1 firstly covers the non-feminist approaches which conceptualise women's position in the market as a consequence of their status in the family. Non-feminist approaches also have a liberal standpoint. This study discusses these approaches by focusing on the Preference Theory developed by Hakim, with its relations to Human Capital Theory and Parsonian Functionalism in the context of informal home-based work. After denoting that non-feminist approaches do not help to understand and explain women's position in the labour market this study turns to the feminist approaches to women's work, namely Marxist and socialist feminist theories, by pointing out their relation to informal home-based work. Subsection 2.4.2 examines the capitalism-patriarchy relations and covers feminist studies on home-based workingwomen, questioning the possibilities of empowerment created by home-based work.

Reviewing the above-mentioned literature, this study reached the conclusion that the literature on home-based worker is either focused on global market relations, global commodity chains and subcontracting chains (such as Buenaventura-Culili, 1995; C.A.W. 1995; Carr et al. 2000; Beneria, 1995; 1999; 2000; 2003) or focused on the nature of work (such as Allen & Wolkovitz, 1987; Homeworkers Association, 1990; Dangler, 1994; ILO, 1995); studies concentrating on home-based work do not put a satisfactory emphasis on informal production relations. Thus

this review once again shows that there is a need to combine the literature on the informal sector and women's work in the context of informal home-based work, as posited by the elliptic thinking strategy.

This chapter ends with the completion of the ellipse, by suggesting a new conceptualisation of informal home-based work. The new conceptualisation is an attempt to describe how capitalism, via informalisation and global production relations, articulates with patriarchy. This articulation mechanism is delineated in the study as 'deliberate concealment' and 'devalorisation by obscuring'. These conceptualisations are introduced in the last subsection of this chapter to suggest an understanding of the structuring of informal home-based work.

2.2 Context: Expansion of informal home-based work with economic globalisation

Discovering the ways of expansion of informal home-based work is crucial to understand its structuring. To develop a historical context for informal home-based work, this study examines its growth in relation to globalisation. Globalisation has been continuously causing two changes: the informalisation of markets and the use of women's work. The most important change created by informalisation is the expansion of informal home-based work. Thus it is important to note the effects of economic globalisation on home-based work through informalisation and obscuration of women's work. To this end, this subsection examines the relations between globalisation, informalisation and use of women's work in the context of home-based work.

2.2.1 Home-based Work: globalisation, informalisation and gender

The studies on home-based work that focus on globalisation, informalisation and gender which are considered below, deal with the issue on a macro level and belong to authors who approach home-based work from a critical perspective. These studies theorise the relations between global economic integration and the international expansion of the informal sector, through subcontracting chains. They show how home –based work is used as the last link in the subcontracting chains. In order to understand the expansion of home-based work in the last decades, one has to look at the effects of increasing capital mobility and flexible work on working conditions and production relations. This subsection analyses these phenomena from a historical perspective. This historical perspective is valuable for understanding the structuring of home-based work.

Home-based work is not a new type of work. Although there is a tendency in the literature to conceptualise home-based work as a new kind of work born from post-Fordist production techniques, it is important to point out that it is in fact a very old form of labour. It had not been a new form even before the Industrial Revolution; working and living had been very closely tied to each other both in the spatial and the temporal sense (Thompson, 1963; Louw and De Vries, 2002). In her study Boris (1996) considers the history of home-based work from the late eighteenth century up to the Second World War and shows that home-based work was a very common type of work at the end of the eighteenth century, before the Industrial Revolution. She claims that the traditional division of labour required men to work in the artisan professions and women to do everything including home-based work at

home. Home- based work also continued after the establishment of factories in Europe (Boris, 1996).

These and similar studies show that "Home-based work is an ancient form of labour lately renamed flexible specialisation in marginal studies" (Parr, 1991: 1). On the other hand one should observe that the content of home-based work has also been changing with the growth of capitalism. Home-based work started with small artisans producing and selling their own goods as an informal SME (Small and Medium Enterprise) model. Sometimes these artisans had apprentices and foremen who also worked with them. Through capitalist accumulation, some of these small enterprises grew by time and became firms, which employed labour. And merchants started distributing raw materials or production tools to homes, afterwards collecting the end products (Thomson, 1963).

Thomson (1963) shows that the role and content of home-based work have been changing with the changes in the production processes of capitalism and in macroeconomic dynamics. Home-based work's function and content has also been changing in the modern world, especially with post-Fordist production and globalisation. Although home-based work has never been a formal job since the end of artisans, it was never be so extensively related with the global economy and the informal sector as in our time.

"The resurgence of neoliberal economies across the world, the globalising effects of technological change, the growth of multi-national corporations, and the huge accumulation of capital through mergers and acquisitions" (Beneria, Floro, Grown and McDonald, 2000: 7) went hand in hand with restructuring and globalisation. Restructuring and globalisation "have generated the growth of informal activities - resulting in the vicious circle of poverty and economic insecurity for an important proportion of the population" (Beneria, 2001:27). These conditions

prevail on people to work in the informal sector and in home. The first group to be convinced or to be bound to work informally at their homes are women. Studies like Bruegel (1986), Mies (1986), Cockburn (1988), Hartmann (1990), Elson (1992), Ecevit (1998) and Moghadam (1999) examine the restructuring process with an emphasis on patriarchy and show us that, with the effects of the articulation between patriarchy and the transition in production relations after the 1970's, women have borne the heaviest effects and results of poverty, unemployment and worsening working conditions, as well as job segregation and informalisation. One can therefore say that, generally, the informal sector grows with restructuring and with the number of women employed in it.

Globalisation has another significant effect in the changing use of work. According to Wood (1994) there have been significant changes in the skill requirements and on the dynamics of employment. Furthermore, globalisation has caused significant changes in relative wages within and across countries, particularly in terms of shifting labour-intensive processes of production to low-wage countries. This process is also gendered; one of its more obvious effects is referred to in the literature as 'feminisation of the labour force'. Acker (1998), Standing (1999) and Voladia (2001) define feminisation of the labour force as the increasing participation of women in the labour force, along with the deteriorating working conditions. One of the important aspects of this process is the expansion of home-based work which mean an increasing number of women working without any social security and unregistered behind the four walls of their homes. This means more and more women are working in poor conditions and isolation, imprisoned at home. Especially in Third World countries, where women's rights are insufficiently recognized, one can see that one way or another woman are locked up their homes.

We see that production relations change with time and with space (from Taylorist to Fordist production in First World factories to flexible production and subcontracting in the Third World), and practices of patriarchy vary with time and with space as denoted by Walby (1990). In light of these two tendencies, let me suggest that the forms of women's subordination also vary, but their subordination persists.

Keeping the continuity aspect of subordination in mind, one can easily see that there is a need to analyse subordination and its mechanisms. As we need to visualise and conceptualise the subordination process in order to interrupt it, feminist theory is a useful tool. In order to do this interruption by visualising and conceptualising, one needs to cover changing production relations and their reflection on the usage of women's labour in order to understand the context of informal home-based work. For such an undertaking, works of feminist economists suggest a broader view of homeworking, emphasising the gendered effects of macroeconomics. Feminist economics studies, such as Beneria (1981; 1992) and Carr, Chen and Tate (2000), have considered home-based work as an aspect in the large field of the effects of macroeconomics on women. The relevant literature lists many effects of macro economic policies and globalisation on women which highlight the links between globalisation, development policies, informalisation and women's work. These relations are covered in the following subsection titled Form Fordism to Post Fordism.

2.2.2 Form Fordism to Post-Fordism

We have seen that, what distinguishes informal home-based work from other types of work is its close relation to global economic integration and informalisation processes. This subsection examines the globalisation of economic relations and the process of informalisation to

reach a better understanding of how capitalism and patriarchy articulates to each other.

The global economic growth experienced after the Second World War started to decline in the 1970's. In order to cope with the economic crisis, the process of adopting new technologies, structural adjustment and reorganisation of production began in the developed countries, (Freeman and Perez, 1988). Until the 1970's the dominant mode of production in the developed world was Fordism. The use of post-Fordist production techniques after the 1970's brought about a new accumulation process, production mode and regulation mechanism (Eraydin and Erendil, 1999). Macro factors that affected the transition process from Fordist to Post-Fordist production can be summarised as increase in population (especially in the Third World), progress in communication technology and control mechanisms and cheapening of transportation. These factors had two main effects: cheapening of the labour force (especially in the Third World) and new opportunities created by technological improvement. Technological change during the 1970's and 1980's widened the scope of capital mobility. Thus these decades brought a wide increase in capital mobility with a relatively small increase in labour mobility. This situation created an advantageous group who works across borders (capitalists), and a disadvantaged group that cannot easily cross borders (Carr, Chen, and Tate, 2000). Capital mobility plus the improved communication and control mechanisms of employers construct the main characteristic of the new production style: flexibility.

"In both high and low income countries, labour market deregulation and increased flexibilization of the work process generated new challenges, particularly as market competition induced a search for lower production costs" (Priore and Sabel, 1984; Harrison and Bluestone, 1988[3] as quoted

[3] Piore, M. and Sabel C. (1984): **The Second Industrial Divide**, Basic Books, NewYork,

in Beneria, 2001:28). During this process firms adopted the shrinking of labour costs as their main strategy for decreasing production cost, so as to survive in international competition. The combined result of these pressures is a decline in labour standards, or in other words, an informalisation of employment relations.

> There is evidence that some manufacturers have responded to increased competition in the world market by intensifying production or extending the workday without increasing wages commensurably. Others have **shifted production to the informal sector**[4]: sweatshops and homeworkers; or to other countries with lower production costs. A third response has been to increase productivity through investment in machinery and/or workers, sometimes in the production of higher quality garments (North South Institute, 2000: 4).

Structural changes in the developed countries have also affected the developing ones. The economies of developing countries which had been industrialised with import substitution policies up until the 1970's, faced the rapid price increase in foreign inputs during the mentioned decade and were thrown into economic crises (Eraydin and Erendil, 1999). Economies which had not completed their industrialization under import substitution policies were forced to find their new places in the open market (Amsden, 1990).

The problem with the above-mentioned period is that although the open market model was implied as a natural consequence of economic growth in the Third World, it was in fact rendered compulsory at a very early stage due to structural adjustments in the 1970's, during a period when newly emerging industries still needed to be empowered by import substitution policies, and were therefore not yet prepared to compete with the industries of developed countries.

Harrison, B. & Bluestone, B. (1988): **The great u-trun: corporate restructuring and the polarization of America**, Basic Books New York

[4] Emphasis is author's.

Under such circumstances of high competition, Third World countries have tried to use their cheap labour force advantage to decrease the costs of production and take the advantage of lower prices in the international market. Developed countries, meanwhile have been relying on the advantage of flexible labour and product quality. For the Third World countries, therefore the sectors which could be suitable for competing in the international markets have been the ones labour-intensive by nature, or the ones in which labour can be easily substituted for capital.

"During the 1980's and 1990's, both Indonesia and Bangladesh joined the race to open their countries to foreign investment, thus revealing the use of young women workers in the export processing industries" (Pun, 1995:19). Similar processes were experienced in other developing countries: Philippine government initiated economic reforms in 1972; and in 1983 Indonesia did the same in consultation with the World Bank and the I.M.F. Both programmes aimed to attract foreign direct investment and focused on export-oriented labour-intensive industrialisation.

Since the 1990's, we have witnessed the progressive decentralisation of the production process, including its geographic dispersal around the world, a pattern that has been described as the 'Global Assembly Line'. "Structural changes in the organisation of international capitalism are determinately effecting women's economic position. Characteristic of these changes is a progressive decentralisation of production processes, including their geographic dispersal around the world, a pattern that has been described as the 'Global Assembly Line'" (Boris and Prügl, 1996: 5).

The macro trends of this process can be summarised as transnational mobility of large companies and the relatively smaller mobility of micro businesses, as well as labour and restructuring of production and distribution of (into) global value chains: 'Globe Assembly Line'. "Global

value chains are the networks that link the labour, production and distribution processes that result in different commodities and products. They represent an important dimension of global integration" (Carr, Chen and Tate, 2000: 125). The Global Assembly Line makes it possible for multi-national firms to subcontract production into small firms in different countries, predominantly in developing countries where the labour is cheap. Especially in the textile and garment sector, subcontractor firms use home-based workers. The Global Assembly Line or global subcontracting chains bind home-based workers to global value chains.

The capital movement from high income countries to industrialised regions of developing countries such as Hong Kong, South Korea in East Asia, the Philippines and Indonesia in Southeast Asia, and India and Bangladesh in South Asia is examined in the framework of the New Regional Division of Labour in studies such as Committee for Asian Women (CAW) (1995). These studies show that the use of women's labour is central to the development of export-processing, light-manufacturing industries. Buenaventura-Culili (1995) denotes that both wage rates and labour rights deteriorate during this process, and that all these Asian countries simultaneously experienced a feminisation of the labour force. Pun (1995) also emphasises the simultaneous relation between the deterioration of work conditions and causalised work and the feminisation of home-based work. Also, the participation of women in informal home-based work has accelerated with poverty and landlessness (Husain, 1996; Mitra, 1996). Thus, the increase in home-based work as a woman's job and an informal type of work is related to the poverty and the deterioration of work conditions experienced in developing countries.

The main effects of globalisation on the informal sector and gender since the 1970's can be summarised as:

- A "shift of employment from 'core' to 'periphery' activities located in smaller firms and independent contractors" (Harrison, 1994; Hsiung, 1996; Ybarra, 2005, as cited in Beneria, 2001: 30).
- The alteration of employment contracts towards unstable working conditions. "At the bottom of the income scale affecting low-skill labour, the fastest growing part of the labour force in many areas is to be found in informalised work or temporary and part-time employment"[6] (Beneria, 2001: 30).
- "The process of informalisation and decentralisation affecting current labour market trends has produced *a sharp increase in employment instability, and the number of workers experiencing the stressful consequences of unemployment*"[7] (Beneria, 2001: 31). Every type of work is characterised by insecurity (Beck, 2000).
- Growing *income polarisation in most countries*, as the result of these tendencies.

2.3 Approaches to the Informal Sector

In the context of informal home-based work, this study tries to conceptualise the relationship between informalisation and patriarchy, using the elliptic thinking strategy that mentioned earlier. In formulating this suggestion two focal points of the study are basically the informal sector as a manifestation of capitalism and of patriarchy. Before introducing its own interpretation of the nature and function of the informal sector within the framework of its relation to patriarchy in the structuring of home-based work, this study covers general

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[5] Harrison, B. (1994): **Lean and Mean: The Changing Landscape of Corporate Power in the Age of Flexibility**, Basic Books, New York
Hsiung, P.C. (1996): **Living Rooms as Factories: Class Gender and Satellite Factory System in Taiwan**, Temple University Press, Philadelphia
Ybarra, J-A. (2000): "La informalozacion como estrategia productiva. Un analis del calzado valenciano," **Revista de Estudios Regionales**, No. 57: 199-217
[6] The italics are author's.
[7] The italics are author's

understandings of the informal sector in order to clarify the concept. Thus this review shows why available theories do not satisfy the need for formulating an explanation of structuring of the informal sector. Section 2.4 discusses the approaches to women's work and home-based work, with a particular emphasis on patriarchy in work life.

Approaches to the informal sector can be grouped under three main headings. The first two approaches on the nature of the informal sector converge on the issue in the context of the debates about modernisation and development. These approaches conceptualise the informal sector as a temporary side-effect of the development process. After arguing that these approaches do not explain the phenomenon, this study examines The World System Theory as a third approach that addresses the issue in light of the global economic relations.

2.3.1 'The Informal Sector is Temporary'

"During the 1970's and 1980's, the informal sector was viewed as a transitory form of employment whose significance would be decreased as the formal sector grew with employment and absorbed the marginal working population" (Beneria, 2001: 33).

This approach, mainly advocated by economists, emphasizes that the informal sector is a phase in the process of development. It interprets the informal sector as a side effect of rapid development, which can be passed over by more and better practice of neo-liberal policies. Turnham's (1990) study is an empirical practice of this approach. He compares magnitudes of informal employment in developed and developing countries and shows that the amounts of informal employment decrease as the level of development increases.

Although the evidence from Turnham's (1990) data seems to prove that the informal sector is temporary in 1990's, for a deeper view we need to look at the sector in the Third World countries. Visvanathan (1997) shows that development process of Third World countries is not only a smooth process of industrialisation. The relations between first and Third World countries are defined by Visvanathan as:

> High-income nations committed themselves to monetary and technical aids channelled through United Nations agencies, based on theory that this aid would foster economic growth that would trickle down to the masses. Most aid was however in the form of loans in U.S. dollars tied to the purchase of technology from the West (Visvanathan, 1997: 2).

The bitter experience was the fact that the latest technology had never been suitable for being sold and bought in this process, because there were no suitable conditions including enough amount of high quality labour and money for the use of the latest technology in the Third World, and that the First World never took the risk of giving the latest technology to the rest of the world. Hence, Third World countries always bought the secondary or démodé technologies of the first world; and they never got the chance to 'catch up' or become a real competitor in the world market. Moreover, loans in U.S. dollars became a heavy burden for these countries. The 'leader-follower' model posits that the leader always leads and the followers go on following as long as they can breathe. This implies that developing countries will persist in 'developing' condition; and though their informal employment rates may decrease, it will still remain relatively high compared to the West of the world. This is because as mentioned in section 2.2.2, informal employment grows in Third World countries as a solution to increased competition with globalisation and then is integrated to worldwide production chains via subcontracting.

Contrary to this approach, there is economic development but we still have the informal sector and moreover the informal sector is growing. World economy, in other words the global economy has been growing in

the last decades, which means that the economies of many countries are at least not shrinking; the informal sector within has been growing also. Contrary to Turnham's expectations, the development of the last decades has not been able to erode the 'temporary' the informal sector. Time has shown that the informal sector still endures and that it has even been growing. The informal sector has become comparable in importance with the formal one in transitional and developing economies: in 1990 the Russian informal economy was predicted as between 20%-50% of GDP and between 5%-15% in OECD countries (Titov, 2003).

Statistics show that the informal sector does not seem to be temporary, and that it is more than a side effect of development. If it is not temporary, then there is a need to theorize the informal sector in structural terms, which is very critical for this study. There is need to theorize the informal sector as a structure of today's capitalism, locate its function in the global system, and examine its relation to other structures such as patriarchy. The authors, who assert that the informal sector is temporary, do not try to relate it with other structures either in economy or in society in general, because they think it will pass with time. There are also studies which conceptualise the informal sector as a separate sector in the economy. These studies emphasise the advantages of the informal sector. The following subsection shall review them in order to examine whether the informal sector is truly a separate sector in the economy.

2.3.2 Job-Creating Machine: Sometimes the Informal Sector is Advantageous

Some studies on the nature of the informal sector conceptualise it as an isolated and autonomous sector in the economy and moreover interpret it as an advantageous sector for poor people in developing countries.

This standpoint is closely related with neo-liberal principles, approaches the informal sector with sympathy as an element absorbing the unemployed masses, and defines it as useful. Ranis and Steward (1999) emphasise the job-creating aspect of the informal sector. In this sense the informal sector can be described as 'job creating machine'. It is easy to criticise this approach with the help of even some elementary knowledge of economics: The informal sector is a production area like all other sectors; so its optimum amount of goods and services produced is determined by the demand in the market. The optimum level of production necessitates a certain quantity of labour, thus limiting the number of unemployed which can be absorbed by the sector.

The neo-liberal view is based on the traditional view of dual markets (Harris and Todaro, 1970) that conceptualise the informal sector as an isolated and autonomous sector. However, according to the general equilibrium theory of Walras (Walras' Law of Markets[8]), all sectors in the economy are in relation with each other in terms of sharing the labour power and capital in a given economy. Thus, as Abzug (1999) states, no sector should be independently theorised. With this approach in mind, one may argue that the informal sector cannot be studied by ignoring its relations with the rest of the economy, because its very existence and growth depends on the overall functioning of the economy. Conceptualising the informal sector as an isolated structure in the market will misinform us about its nature and the whole of the economy's and prevent us from understanding its functioning.

Thus in an attempt to interpret the informal sector in structural terms, one should not forget that dependency in terms of existence and growth exists between the formal and the informal sectors. Such a way of thinking will provide a holistic approach to the structure of contemporary capitalism.

[8] For more information on Walras' Law of Markets, please see: Barro, 1997

2.3.3 The Informal Sector in the World Systems Theory

According to the writers who consider the informalisation process from the viewpoint of World System Theory, the informal sector in the peripheral countries supplies comparatively cheap labour for formal capitalist enterprises, thus contributing to the accumulation of capital in core countries, and this cheap labour also subsidises the welfare of the working class in the core countries (Brandshaw, 1987; Portes, 1985). These writers define the informal sector as "unregulated by the institutions of the society" (Portes and Castells, 1989:92). For Portes, Castells and Benton (1989) the informal economy is the central aspect of economic and social dynamics of less developed countries; but the informal sector can also be observed in some Western European countries.

The link between core and periphery countries in terms of cheap and informal labour and formal and the informal sectors are organised with subcontracting chains. Subcontracting chains are important for seeing how the formal and the informal sectors are in the same systemic body and are linked to each other. In other words:

> Analyses of subcontracting processes showed the extent to which the two sectors were highly interconnected, particularly but not solely in the industrial sector, through subcontracting and other links. These studies point out that, far from absorbing informal activities, the formal/modern sector often relied and fed on the former as a way to increase the competitiveness and profits (Beneria, 2001: 34).

The importance of World System Theory lies in the fact that it supplies a basis for theorising the links between the formal and the informal sectors. World System Theory, following the Marxist tradition, argues that core countries' economies cannot represent the future of the

periphery countries, because underdevelopment is necessary for world wide capitalist expansion (Wallerstein, 1979; 1980; 1988).

The World System Theory School has important implications, as it formulates the informal economy as a process rather than an object (Portes, Castells and Benton, 1989). This study too shall concentrate on the process of informalisation and its effects, enlargening the interpretation of informalisation as not only a process going on in the periphery to feed the core, but rather as an informalisation of global economy. Informalisation is not an essence of developing countries as seen by many theories concerning it; since the goods and products of informal production are delivered, sold and consumed globally, informalisation is a process that encompassed many parts of the world.

The expansion of informalisation as a process affecting the use of work is examined by Leonard (1998). Leonard summarises industrial capitalism in four processes, namely the development of regulatory systems, Fordism, welfare systems, and post-Fordism. She argues that Fordism marginalized but did not extinguish delete all kinds of work, including informal work; the growth of welfare regimes, moreover, increased the costs of production making the informal sector a more attractive alternative. The development of post Fordism gives an impetus to this trend. This is a "universal trend which encourages informalisation"(Leonard, 1998: 4). Her understanding of informalisation as a process suggests that the formal and the informal sectors should be thought as being in relation to each other. The informal sector is not a marginal but rather a central phenomenon of today's capitalism.

After reviewing all these studies on the informal sector, let me suggest that one should think of the informal sector first as a global concern and secondly as integrated with the formal sector in the sense of both economic and spatial relations, and even in the sense of people. One can propose that the formal and informal sectors are in relation to each

other even in the sense of people working in them, by relying on studies that assert firms can both work formally and informally (Roberts, 1989), and on studies of life stories of people who are working for their survival, both in formal and the informal sectors (Browne, 2002).

Thus the formation of informal work such as informal home-based work is not a marginal but rather a central aspect of contemporary capitalism. And informal work is not an isolated aspect of capitalism but rather a global aspect of it. Consequently, informal home-based work, which is women's labour-intensive, is closely tied to global capitalism. Moreover it is not a marginal aspect of it. But, none of the approaches to the informal sector, unfortunately, account for women's work. Even the in World Systems Theory gender inequalities have remained unseen Marshall (1985). One should appreciate Marshall's (1985) observation also in the context of informal home-based work. This shows the extent of the invisibility of women's work; women's work is invisible even in studies trying to analyse the informal sector, which is an invisible area itself. In order to understand informal home-based work, there is a need to combine the accumulated knowledge on the informal sector and on women's work and home-based work. This can only be studied by looking at the life experiences of women with a feminist methodology, as the present study tries to do with its own suggestion of concepts.

Analysing home-based work or women's work in the informal sector only by involving global economic trends is a very market oriented, in other words economy-focused view that misses the importance and the effects of patriarchy, the context of women and economy. The answer to the question 'Why do women shoulder the negative-effects of globalisation or indeed any economic aspect?' lies beyond the depths of market deficiency or human capital modelling, which will be covered below; it lies within the borders of patriarchy. Patriarchal ideology is one of the key factors in analysing the knot of power relations in society. Without answering the questions 'How does patriarchy effect the use of women's

work?' in general, and 'What kind of a role does patriarchy play in the structuring of informal home-based work?' in particular, one can neither completely formulate the role of women in informal economy, nor the role of gendered power relations in and beyond economy. In order to answer these questions, theoretical approaches to women's work need to be discussed.

Approaches to Women's Work and Home-Based Work

Theoretical approaches to home-based work can be grouped into two main headings: non- feminist approaches and feminist approaches. These approaches are first covered by emphasising their general understanding of women's work and are discussed through their relations to informal home-based work. After discussing the non-feminist approaches such as Preference Theory and Human Capital Theory and highlighting their unsatisfactory points in explaining women in informal home-based work, this study review the feminist approaches in which women's work is theorised. Literature on women's work in the context of capitalism/patriarchy relations stems mainly from Marxist and socialist feminists authors. Therefore works by authors belonging to the other feminist approaches had to be omitted in this study. This subsection deals with theories on women's work, that pertain to women in informal home-based work. The relevant literature is reviewed with regard to the two research questions of this study, which are the concentration of women in home-based work and the structure of informal home-based work. This study then covers feminist studies focusing on the negative and positive effects of home-based work.

2.4 Non-Feminist Approaches to Women's Work and Their Relevance to Women's Home-Based Work

Non-feminist accounts of women's work explain the different use of this work as a result of women's traditional role in the family. They also regard women's traditional role as their own rational choice, as in the case of Preference Theory and Human Capital Theory.

After discussing non-feminist theories on women's work in relation to informal home-based work, this study concentrates on non-feminist studies of home-based work. The main characteristics of these studies are that they disregard patriarchy while concentrating on the effects of home-based work on women, and generally ignore women's subjectivity; they do not examine how women perceive their own life experiences about home-based work at all.

2.4.1 Preference Theory: A Theoretical Path Between Human Capital Theory and Parsonian Functionalism

Preference Theory is developed by Hakim for explaining the paths of women's labour force participation in her studies in the 1990's. Hakim (1998) suggests that Preference Theory is developed with reference to women rather than to men, which makes it important for theorising in women studies. Her theorisation begins with a disclaimer of feminist studies about women's work, because "… feminist sociology has gone to create a new set of feminist myths to replace the old patriarchal myths about women's attitudes towards work" (Hakim, 1995:430). Although Hakim's field research is mainly on full-time and part-time workers, she generalises her findings to generate a theory that explains women attitudes towards work. It therefore seems necessary to evaluate Preference Theory to see whether it can explain women's labour in informal home-based work.

Hakim (1995) states that feminists create the myth that there are no sex differentials in work commitment and work orientation between women and men. She argues that, there are in fact two groups of workers, those committed and those less committed to work (Hakim, 1993). Hakim (1991) shows different commitment levels between full-time and part-time workers. 'Committed workers' refers to men and women working in full-time jobs and here there is an increase in female job integration, while second group refers to those who work in part-time jobs, most of whom are women who appreciate their traditional role and are less committed to their jobs. These women "are contributing to occupational segregation" (Hakim, 1993:309). Women who appreciate their traditional roles are committed to their marriage careers, and they do not invest in their human capital. This argument is very close to Becker's (1961) work on Human Capital Theory.

Becker (1961; 1985; 1991; 1993) tries to explain the reasons for the gender differential in the labour market with Human Capital Theory. "This theory assumes that people get paid according to their value to their employer" (Walby, 1990: 29). This value is determined by their human capital. "Economists like Theodore Schultz, Gary Becker and Jacob Mincer have pointed out that individuals and their families make analogous decisions regarding human capital investments" (Blau, Ferber and Winkler, 1998: 143); indicating that the level of investment to one's own human capital is his/her choice. Women's human capital is lower relative to men's, because they invest less into themselves as a result of their situation in the family and gender roles. This approach explains women's position in the market through their role in the family, but without questioning the family- therefore by disregarding patriarchy.

This approach is highly influenced by Parsonian Functionalism and thus conceptualises sexual division of labour, or as Becker (1961) terms it, traditional division of labour, as functional for sustaining the family and

society. It therefore solidifies the legitimating grounds of hegemony. As Parsons (1949) denotes, this division of labour has been functional for industrial societies.

The relation between Human Capital Theory and Preference Theory reveals a similar modelling in both of them. Preference Theory is a reflection of neo-classical economics as a sociological modelling. Though the neo-classical models are consistent with mainstream economic discourses, a sociological modelling could contradict the main sociological discourses since it ignores the cultural and historical specifity of social practices and indirectly claims universalism. Preference Theory does not only form a sociological modelling but it also suggests its own rules challenging the general consensus on women's work, such as the barriers of child care.

Hakim's arguments about feminist myths on women's work are not limited to the sexual differential issue. She has also things to say about child care. It should be noted here that there are also many non-feminist studies showing that child care is a significant determinant in women's choice of work, as Becker (1961), for one claims that women put off their jobs in order to looking after their children.

Felsfeld (et. al. 2001) tests the relation between women's home-based work and having children. Their study on the UK shows that women with dependent children are more likely to work at home. Perrons (2003) argues that women choose home-based work both for achieving the goals of child care and for earning income. But Hakim (1995) labels the general idea that child care is a barrier in women's labour force participation as another feminist myth. She argues that the methods of women's labour force participation are voluntarily chosen by them. Women's position in the market is therefore, a matter of their free choice.

Neither of these studies, nor the feminist studies, claim that women's work patterns are chosen by other people. But one can easily see that there are some determinants of their work patterns. Hakim's argument implies that there is neither capitalism nor patriarchy, nor any structure that affects women's labour force participation. Rather, women make their own choices; they decide about their work career. She also adds that becoming pregnant is also a woman's choice, because birth control has existed since the Second World War.

The remoteness of Hakim's way of thinking from the various and actual situations of women in different societies is surprising. Moreover, although it takes two people to have a child, she assumes that it is only women's work. She also omits that most birth control methods functions through women's bodies, interfere with their hormones, necessitate periodic medical controls and have a financial cost, except for the condom which functions on the men's bodies and thus for Hakim's way of thinking must imply a male choice. Needless to say, in many societies not giving birth is interpreted as a sign of a woman's infertility and may result in high costs for her such as divorce and or social exclusion and endless gossip.

Hakim's argument about a heterogeneous women's labour force consisting of the 'carrier committed on a continues basis' and of those who are 'concentrated on their marriage careers and have irregular jobs' also omits the reasons why she herself does not deem it necessary to classify men's labour force with respect to their orientation to work and family. She unquestioningly accepts that family and home are the spheres of women, and therefore also accepts the sexual division of both domestic work and space.

As Bruegel states, "Hakim's lack of interest in preference formation is all the more curious" (1996:175). Hakim (1996) examines women's labour force participation in China and Sweden and suggests that women tend

to choose their traditional roles in different societies that give them different options. The reasons for their similar preferences are more an agent/structure problem than a voluntarily choice problem. The construction of available options for a woman is very important in this process and the shaping of preferences also has much to do with social norms and values. Although she is a sociologist, Hakim unfortunately ignores social norms and values and is not interested in the extent to which patriarchal ideology is diffused and established in different societies. On the other hand, her China-Sweden data could also be interpreted as: demonstrating that economic progress and various governmental policies may not be sufficient for changing women's traditional roles in societies.

For many academicians in women studies, one of the main questions whether is wage work liberates women or not. I think that the important thing about studying work from women's standpoint is to analyse its effects on and its meanings for women which can be understood by looking into their life stories and not only at state statistics. I think Hakim's work can also be criticised methodologically: using only aggregate statistics to understand women's work orientations creates a methodological problem as these statistics only show women's work amounts, whereas orientation is a personal experience and knowledge of it can only be obtained by interviewing the individual. Thus her study can be methodologically criticised in the boundaries of positivism that there is a conceptual gap between her concepts the orientations of women and her variable to measure it. Also, and for the very same reason, abstracting women's preference formation from aggregate statistics is an epistemological problem. State statistics may help us in understanding macro changes in the labour markets of the world and economies in general, but cannot be expected to supply information about preferences.

Global economic changes bring about changes in the world's labour markets and production processes which have effects on the use of women's work and on the expansion of informal home-based work, as mentioned above. Non-feminist accounts of women's work also ignore these relations and directly concentrate on the effects of home-based work on women openly underlining the advantages of being at home.

2.4.2 Non-feminist Approaches to Home-Based Work

In the literature on home-based work one can easily observe two tendencies: one sympathising with the benefits of such work, the other opposing these so-called benefits. Non-feminist studies approve of home-based work and disregard the disadvantages of being a home-based worker.

The authors such as Rowe, Hayes and Stafford (1999) observe home-based work as a tool for community development. They emphasise its importance as an alternative and supplemental income source for communities. This approach ignores certain aspects of home-based work such as the lack of social security, low pay, the isolation of the worker and the reproduction of women's imprisonment at home. It also indirectly accepts women not as wage workers or workers of their own small business, but rather view women's work as a supplementary effort for income generation.

The income generation aspect of home-based work is openly emphasised by non-feminist studies as an easy way for women to earn money while doing their domestic work. Edwards and Field-Hendrey (2002) emphasise the attractiveness of home-based work for women, as they can enjoy both market and household production. Dangler (1994) declares that women choose home-based work partly for alleviating their double burden. Perrons (2003) that states new technologies and means

of communication allow the temporal and spatial boundaries of paid work to be extended, potentially allowing more people, especially those with child caring responsibilities, to became involved, possibly leading to a reduction in gender inequality.

Dangler (1994) and Perrons (2003) assume that flexible production techniques supply only formal job opportunities, which is contradicted by studies on the informal sector and flexible production such as Beck (2000), Beneria (2003) and Portes (1978; 1994). The inadequacy of Perrons' and Dangler's assumption results form the fact that their studies totally omit the informal sector phenomenon, without even mentioning, it.

Perrons (2003), Dangler (1994), and many authors who emphasise the advantages of working at home also have other assumptions, which need to be criticised. These studies on the advantages of home-based work assume that home-based workers can control their work. As Dangler (1994) argues, home-based work is not a simple exploitation mechanism of global capitalism, but it enables home-based workers to gain some control on their working and domestic lives: in other words it empowers them. Actually turns out not to be true, at least in the case of home- based workers in Turkey, as explained by White (1999).

The studies on the advantages of home-based work also emphasise that it is beneficial for children if their mother stays at home (Perrons, 2003), so home-based work is preferable. My objection to this idea is based on the simple fact that being in the same place does not always imply caring for each other. Moreover, a subtle consent to the traditional sexual division of labour is engraved in the literature that finds home-based work advantageous for women. Perrons' (2003) argument that the involvement of people with caring responsibilities in the labour market has an effect on reducing gender inequality implies that caring tasks are women's responsibilities. It is certainly surprising to think that gender

inequality can be reduced by promoting the traditional sexual division of labour. This way of thinking also ignores the patriarchal effects in gender-based job segregation between works at and outside home; thus reinforces women's position and traditional existence within the context of the public/private, outside/home binary opposition of the sexual division of space.

Moreover, non-feminist analyses neglect the possible meanings and effects of working at home for women, which are studied by the authors who are more critical about home-based work. I think the main reason for this negligence is that non-feminist approaches that have no feminist methodological perspective simply ignore and omit the fact of women's subjectivity. Thus, these studies do not examine women's own perception about their lives and their work. Therefore these studies cannot take into account the possible meanings and effects of working at home for women. This means they cannot reach the knowledge of real-life experiences of women. Not surprisingly, their analyses are challenged by feminist studies on informal home-based work, which are examined here after reviewing the feminist theoretical approaches that lie behind them. These are, respectively Marxist and socialist feminist accounts on women's work.

The last part of this sub-section deals with feminist studies focusing on negative effects and also empowerment possibilities of home-based work.

2.5 Feminist Approaches to Women's Work and Their Relevance to Home-Based Work

Feminist approaches to women's work have produced various theories of capitalism/patriarchy relations to explain the issue. Marxist and socialist feminists focus on the main topics in the use of women's work such as

the reasons for women's concentration in some sectors how capitalism and patriarchy shape women's work. These themes are closely related to the first two research questions of this study, which are 'why are women concentrated into informal home-based work?' and 'what is the structuring of informal home-based work?' As liberal and radical feminist have not theorised on these topics of women's work, their work is omitted in this study.

Marxist feminist thinking emphasises the effects of capitalism rather than those of patriarchy, in keeping with the Marxist tradition. As this approach does not satisfy the need to theorise patriarchy, socialist feminists tend to theorise women's work from the point of view of both the effects of capitalism and patriarchy. After reviewing Marxist and socialist feminist theories on women's work, this study will examine the feminist studies focused on the effects of home-based work on women.

2.5.1 Marxist - Feminist Approach

Many studies denote that women constitute the absolute majority of the labour force in informal home-based work Voladia (2001) shows the concentration of women in informal activities in South Africa, Delaney (1996) shows the expansion in the number of home-based workers in Austria, HomeNet (1997a) introduces women workers in Maderia, HomeNet (1997b) in Japan. Why and how women are concentrated in this work, in other words why and how women are segregated in informal home-based work is one of the research questions of this study. Women's segregation in the labour market is theorised by various authors. This study suggests that examining their work helps one to understand the phenomenon of informal home-based work more clearly.

Barrett and McIntosh (1980) explained women's segregated position in the labour market, the structure of which is not homogenous and is

divided by gender. Beechey (1977; 1978) called this phenomenon 'segmented labour market'. According to Beechey (1977), there are markets within the labour market, which are different in terms of wage rates and social rights, and women are segregated in a secondary labour market of unskilled and unimportant jobs. Hakim also points out women's concentration in several industries and men's concentration in the remaining ones, as horizontal segregation. The informal sector home-based work is both an area of horizontal segregation, as it only includes women's and child labour, and of vertical segregation in the sense that labourers in this production process have no chance to get promoted.

Although these studies (Barret and McIntosh, 1980; Beechey, 1977; 1978; Hakim, 1996) describe and provide an analytical picture of women's disadvantaged position in labour market, they do not explain the reasons underlying this picture. But their conceptualisations still function as useful tools for understanding women's labour in the informal home-based work. The informal sector may be conceptualised as a secondary labour market providing cheap labour for employers, as an alternative to the formal labour market. Marxist feminists, for example Bruegel (1979), have already theorized that gender segregation mount troops of women as a 'reserve army of labour' in the labour market. Women are a tamed and cheap group of labour, which can be employed when there is need and can easily unemployed when there is no longer any need for them. Employers use women is labour as a 'last in first out' input for production.

In this context, may one suggest that the mentality of a reserve army of labour, or a similar derivative of capitalism/patriarchy articulation, situates women in the informal sector? Thus, Marshall (1985) states that the reserve army of labour is shifted to the informal sector. Fernandez-Kelly (1994) suggests that women's labour is used in a 'last in first out' way in periods of restructuring and downsizing. On the contrary,

research on the informal sector and home-based work such as (Silver, 1993), show the importance of women labour in the sector. Therefore let me suggest that women's labour is a vital and continuing element for the informal sector rather than a 'last in first out' input. Also, studies on the participation of women in home-based work show that number of women in the sector is increasing (Delaney, 1996; HomeNet 1997a; 1997b; Volodia, 2001). One can therefore easily see that women have not left the sector.

To sum up, all these Marxist feminist studies theorise women's work and their position in the labour market and even at home by focusing on capitalist relations. The common analysis underlying these studies indicates that "capitalist labour processes facilitate and reinforce patriarchal relations through penetrating households" (Allen and Wolkovitz, 1987:12). This argument implicitly assumes patriarchy to be a negative-effect of capitalism. In other words, it assumes patriarchy to be a subset of the capitalist system. This understanding underestimates the fact that patriarchy existed before capitalism, and that is thus as historical and as strongly established as capitalism.

Although one should appreciate the important efforts of Marxist feminists in describing women's position in the labour market, one cannot deny the need for other explanation methods and theories for understanding women's work, as dual system theorists and unified system theorists do. Also, using a new terminology such as 'home-based work' may help in rethinking the subject on both the concrete and abstract levels.

2.5.2 Socialist Feminist Approach

Socialist feminists primarily criticise the restrictions of a capitalism-oriented view of Marxist feminist thought. Hartmann's work "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism" (1981) criticises the

Marxist view by showing its gender blind nature. According to Hartmann (1981), unemployment and patriarchal relations cannot be explained by capitalism. The boundaries of the Marxist feminist conceptualisation of patriarchy as a subset or a negative-effect of capitalism do not provide enough knowledge to explain and solve the problem of the subordination of women. Dual-system and unified system feminists conceptualise patriarchy as something more than an inequality caused by capitalism.

Ramazanoğlu (1989) suggests that inequalities in capitalism, which are such as working for the informal sector, deskilling, secondary labour markets and unemployment, are closely connected with women. One may argue that women as a group of workers who are concentrated into informal home-based work- thus excluded from the factory, and the unions- are a working-class group, that is invisible within the working class. The disadvantaged position of women within the working-class, is an aspect of division of labour by sex which weakens the working class (Barret, 1995).

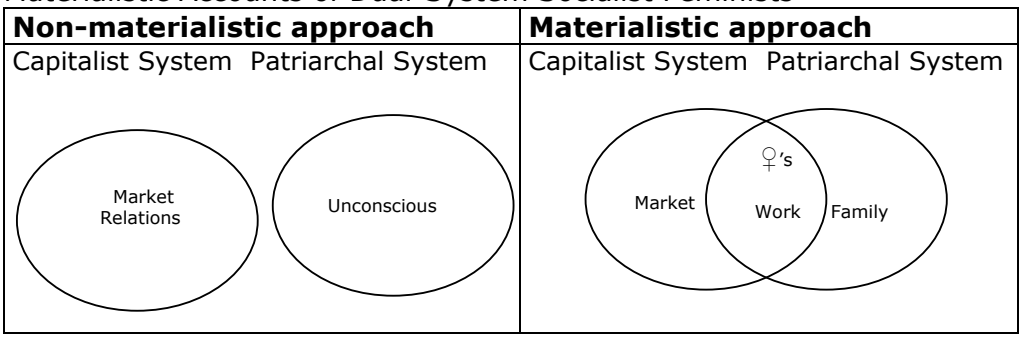
The socialist feminist approach tries to explain women's position in work life as a result of both capitalism and patriarchy and tries to formulate the relations between them. In socialist feminist literature, there are two basic accounts for explaining the capitalism-patriarchy relationship; one is dual-system theory and the other is unified systems theory.

The socialist feminist approach, as Delphy (1992) claims, aims to theorise how two exploitative systems, capitalism and patriarchy support and reinforce each other. Dual and unified system theorists try to explain women's segregation in the labour market by analysing both capitalist and patriarchal effects. The socialist feminist framework is especially important for this study, because the elliptic thinking strategy that was mentioned above is a practical suggestion for an attempt to theorise a relation between capitalism and patriarchy.

2.5.2.1 Dual-System Theory

Dual-system theory, which conceptualises capitalism and patriarchy as separate systems in society (Walby, 1992), is an attempt to cross the Marxist feminist boundaries of thinking of patriarchy as a side-effect of capitalism. Tong (1989) classifies approaches in socialist feminism into two groups, as non-materialistic and materialistic accounts. The non-materialistic account considers the mentioned systems to be ruling in different spheres of society. Mitchell (1975) discusses gender in terms of separation between two systems, on which the economic level is ordered by capitalism and on the level of unconscious is ordered by patriarchy. In order to explore and explain the latter she engages in a re-evaluation of Freud's work. Mitchells's work is important as it offers a clear understanding of the construction of masculinity and femininity in society. But let me suggest that the construction of gender also affects economic relations, which bring us to the materialist socialist feminist account that theorises the interrelations between the two systems. The following diagram visualises the perception of non-materialistic and materialistic accounts of Dual-system theory.

Figure 1. Perception of the Relation Between Non-Materialistic and Materialistic Accounts of Dual-System Socialist Feminists



Hatmann (1979; 1990) conceptualises capitalism and patriarchy as analytically different, but are empirically integrated. According to

Hartmann (1990), society is organised both by capitalism and by patriarchy. Hartmann (1979) points that patriarchy existed before capitalism, and they are thus historically separate systems, but that in order to understand the current reality one should consider how they both operate. Hartmann (1990) explains women's position in the labour market with her dual analytical approach: women are paid low wages in the market, therefore are dependent on their husband's wages, and have to perform domestic work. Their domestic responsibilities weaken their position in the market, thus causing them to earn less than men.

Informal home-based work can also be an example of this vicious circle, as women perform domestic work and thus weaken their position in the market and rendered to depend on their husbands. They do informal home-based work and earn less than their husbands (and even the minimum wage), therefore their dependence continues and they keep performing domestic work. So although they perform both domestic and market work, their subordination seems to continue.

Delphy (1992) suggests women are subject to both capitalist and patriarchal exploitation. She claims two modes of production have occurred after the Industrial Revolution. One is the capitalist mode of production and exploitation constructed by the industrial production of goods; and the other is the patriarchal mode of production and exploitation consisting of domestic work housework, child bearing, and production of some goods and services at home. Keeping in mind Delphy's theory, informal home-based work can be interpreted as an area in women's work in which they are subject to dual exploitation simultaneously at the same place. There are many studies such as Mirchandani (2000) and Estrada (2002), on home-based work, which demonstrate the dual exploitation of women.

2.5.2.2 Unified System Theory

The unity of capitalist and patriarchal effects in informal home-based work, both in the spatial and the temporal sense, may also imply the unity of capitalism and patriarchy, which is theorised by unified system theorists in the socialist feminist framework.

Contrary to the dual system theorists, theorists of the unified system such as Eisenstein, Young and Jaggar conceptualises capitalism and patriarchy not as separate systems but rather as a unified body. Eisenstein (1981) states that capitalism and patriarchy are very closely related and symbiotic to each other, that they have became one. Tong (1989) states that conceptualising capitalism and patriarchy as separate structures means there is sphere of capitalism which is free from patriarchy, which is not the case. Tong's argument can be criticised not as wrong but rather as incomplete. There is probably no sphere in capitalism free from patriarchy, but there are spheres of patriarchy which are free from capitalism, such as patriarchal practices in feudal societies, and in these not yet fully capitalised. Considering capitalism and patriarchy together as a unity may be a useful analytical tool for understanding contemporary capitalist societies.

In order to theorise a unified framework, Young (1981) uses the concept of 'division of labour' and Jaggar uses another single concept, 'alienation', emphasising that the system relies on women's alienation form everything and everyone even from herself, for explaining women's subordination. But the use of concepts rooted in economic relations such as division of labour and alienation is not sufficient for a full description or explanation of women's subordination either in the market or in the family, because it almost ignores patriarchy while trying to unite it with capitalism.

In sum, feminist theory gives us three options for theorising women's work: Marxist feminists perceive capitalism as the *sin qua non* of patriarchy (Bayrakçeken-Tüzel, 2004), the unified system approach declares the symbiotic presence of two systems, thus omits patriarchal effects independent of capitalism, such as patriarchal effects in other economic systems such as feudal system, and considers patriarchy only within its relation to capitalism. On the other hand the dual-system approach regards capitalism and patriarchy as separate systems and tries to formulate their interaction mechanisms, proposing a theoretical foundation suitable for the aim of this study which is to describe the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy in the formation of informal home-based work. This will be supplied in detail in the subsection 2.5 Suggestions for a New Conceptualisation. In order to clarify the relation between patriarchy/capitalism articulation and informal home-based work, there is the need to cover the studies on home-based work in this framework, and also to clearly define what is meant by the informal sector.

2.6 Feminist Perspectives of Home-Based Work

This part first examines the reflections of socialist feminist thought on the analysis of home-based work, which will help to formulate relations between capitalism and patriarchy in the context of home-based work. This short review will provide a feminist basis for understanding home-based work. This part will concentrate on feminist research directly focusing on home-based work.

2.6.1 Articulations of Capitalism and Patriarchy

There are important works in the literature that examine home-based work through capitalism and patriarchy relation, which have shed so

much light on this study. Capitalism/patriarchy relation has generally been examined in the literature as an articulation of two structures working in such a way that patriarchy ordinates people within the hierarchical ranks created in capitalist processes. Fernandez-Kelly (1994) looks at women's home-based work in industrial restructuring, by focusing on capitalism patriarchy relation in the way that has been mentioned above and thus concentrating on jobs with low pay and with no social security or continuity such as home-based work. Fernandez-Kelly (1994) emphasises that during the restructuring and downsizing process, the subordination of women renders them a 'last in first out' workforce, as argued by Marxist feminists. The class-gender perspective of Fernandez-Kelly, which is closer to Hartmann's analysis of women's work, is based on an effort to theorise both capitalism and patriarchy as separate structures that work together in harmony. Fernandez-Kelly (1994) suggests that cheap women's labour is an important source for firms that are seeking competitive advantage in national and international markets. Women are trapped into the vacuum and/or barriers of unskilled and semi-skilled labour demand, which increase in the process of restructuring and flexible production; and home-based work is a phenomenon expanding in this process. This argument supports the idea that, informal home-based work is also a result of the restructuring and flexible production processes, which is covered in the context part of this study. Fernandez-Kelly's (1994) study describes women as being concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, but does not analyse the reasons for the skill differences between genders. One may suggest the 'exclusion' argument of Hartmann to explain the skill differences between genders in Fernandez-Kelly's capitalism/ patriarchy cooperation framework.

Hartmann (1990) suggests that men get organised and exclude women from organised power. Her study concentrates on the working class and gives the example of trade unions. This study suggests a broader interpretation of Hartmann's study: that many disadvantages of women

such as not being allowed to go to school and to obtain skills are the consequences of this exclusion from organised power. Home-based work can be conceptualised as a consequence of this. Moreover, exclusion may also be interpreted by focusing on the power of definition of organised structures: employer associations, the academy and also unions have the power to define various jobs as skilled or as unskilled. Exclusion form this mechanism may also cause women's jobs being defined as unskilled or semiskilled. This exclusion may also be one of the reasons for defining home-based work as an unskilled or semiskilled job. Exclusion from organised power may also provide an answer for the skill and human capital differences between genders, and also many other gender differentials in work life.

The exclusion of women from certain fields in life is a practice of patriarchal ideology. Patriarchal ideology not only fills the hierarchical levels in capitalism or segregates genders in different sectors which have different wage rates and social status; patriarchal ideology also directly affects the wage rates and social definitions of jobs by itself.

In the practices of capitalism/patriarchy cooperation or articulation, gender hierarchy works to decrease labour costs for capital by defining women's and child labour as supplementary or devalued (see Elson, 1995; Enloel, 1989; Matchard and Ruyon 2000 as cited in Mills 2003). Mills suggests that the contribution of patriarchy to the articulation is the "hegemonic capacity of patriarchal norms to define women labour as not only 'cheap' but also socially and economically worthless" (2003: 43). This socially and economically worthless labour force has become crucial for global capital accumulation (Wright, 1999; 2001, as cited in Mills 2003). "Yet, today more than previous era, the gendered and ethnically segmented labour pool upon which capitalist accumulation depends encompasses every corner of the globe" (Miles, 2003: 47). "In varied and locally specific ways international capital relies on gendered ideologies and social relations to recruit and discipline workers, to

reproduce and cheapen segmented labour markets within and across national borders" (Mills, 2003: 43).

Mills theorises capitalism/patriarchy articulation in the Marxist feminist framework of segmented labour market theory; but she goes beyond it. In the Marxist feminist framework of segmented markets theory as established by Beechey (1987), segmentation in the labour market according to ethnicity and gender is taken for granted. In other words Beechey (1987) does not explain the reasons for and mechanisms of segmentation; rather she describes the situation. Mills (2003) widens the boundaries of theory. She suggests that patriarchy creates the basis of segregation. Women's status as wives and mothers justifies their lower wages and job insecurity (Kondo, 1990; Lomphere, 1987; Roberts, 1994 as cited in Mills 2003). Mill's understanding formulates a relation between capitalism and patriarchy in which the latter formulates the ideological basis of segregation and subordination of women and the former is influenced by this ideological basis. This study therefore classifies her work in socialist feminist studies. Mill's study implies that patriarchal ideology is a constitutive feature of the global economy. It is clear that patriarchal ideology and related gender inequalities are significant, even constitutive features of the global economy. "In complex and multifaceted ways, gendered hierarchies help to produce a segmented and global labour force" (Mills, 2003: 47).

On the other hand, the relation between patriarchal ideology and the global economy is not asymmetric. Economic practices also perpetuate patriarchal ideology. Cockburn (1988) introduces the active gendering of both people and jobs, but she suggests that capitalist work place structures fragmentation and hierarchy. Cockburn (1988) introduces that when people work they produce culture as well as goods. In the culture produced at the capitalist workplace, women are stereotyped as unambitious, generally preferring traditional jobs, not so eager for promotion. This stereotype is taken for granted in non-feminist studies

such as the Preference Theory by Hakim mentioned above. Cockburn (1988) disregards the role of patriarchy in her enculturation argument and conceptualises gender inequality as a result of capitalist work relations. Consequently, one may suggest that her argument is incomplete.

Let me formulate a suggestion from both Mills' (2003) and Cocburn's (1988) arguments: employers take advantage of gender definitions in segmenting the labour market, and by doing so they also reproduce the culture of work in which women are subordinated. Many studies on women's work conducted in Turkey are in harmony with this idea. Ecevit (1991) also denotes the stereotyping of women workers in Turkey in factory work: women workers are described by employers as naturally docile, patient and submissive, so the work they do is easy and light, whereas men are strong and skilful, therefore their work is heavy and requires skill. In this process women's labour is also defined as easy to control. In Ecevit's (1991) study one can see the relative understanding of skill with respect to gender ideology, and how patriarchy defines women as well as how this definition is perpetuated by work, thus sustaining her subordination.

These studies incessantly remind us that patriarchy and capitalism are interacting systems constructing social practices in life and continuously shaping the use of women's work, women's work in factories and informal home-based work as well. Although most of these analyses generally draw a black picture of integrating and interacting systems authorizing their existence on women's lives, there are also feminist studies on detecting the possibilities of empowerment and liberation under the current circumstances. There is a need to cover feminist research focusing on the negative effects and empowerment possibilities of home-based work. Feminist studies focused on home-based work will help one to question the dialectics of interaction between capitalism and patriarchy in the context of informal home-based work.

2.6.2 Feminist Research on Home–Based Work

Allen and Wolkovitz's (1987) study is important for countering the discussions blindly favouring homeworking and home-based work; their study is "an attempt to dispel the cosy myths of homeworking" (Turner and Hamilton, 1991). One can easily observe that there are two tendencies in the literature: one sympathising with the benefits of homeworking, the other opposing the myths. The studies that sympathise with home-based work without questioning patriarchy (and thus its possible negative effects on women) have been covered above in the section on Non-Feminist Approaches To Home-Based Work.

On the other hand, feminist authors supply studies which explore the effects of home-based work with both its negative and positive effects. Whereas Silver (2003) boldly underlines the isolation and time consuming aspects of home-based work, studies such as Beneria and Roldan (1987) and Kabeer (1997, 2000) delicately examine home-based work and try to explore the relations between economic freedom and empowerment.

There are many impacts of home-based work on its practitioners, but the foremost one, which also springs form the very nature of such work, is being at home; the second and more promising one is income generation. This study discusses the phenomenon with is positive and negative sides in this section and concentrates on the empowerment issue.

2.6.2.1 Working and Being at Home

Studies such as Sullivan (2001) and Estrada (2002) assert both positive -in other words empowering- and negative effects of home-based work. In this subsection denotes first the positive and then the negative aspects of home-based work.

Sullivan (2001) suggests that working at home enhances the work-life balance. Home-based work makes it possible to work at home thus makes it possible for more people to enter the work force. It is a way to earn money without leaving home. Moreover, the income generation aspect empowers women (Estrada, 2002).

Kantor (2002) suggests that home-based work is an opportunity for women to work and earn money without being contradicted by patriarchal ideology. She claims that the informal sector and home-based work offer women their best opportunity to work; because home-based work provides flexibility in work hours and location. At these conditions women are required to incorporate market work into their actual family work burdens as well as into the social norms regulating women's economic participation (Kantor, 2002).

Furthermore, there are also studies emphasising the importance of being at home asserting that "new technologies and patterns of working allow the temporal and spatial boundaries of paid work to be expended, potentially allowing more people to work at home, especially those with caring responsibilities, to become involved, possibly leading to a reduction in gender inequality" (Perrons, 2003: 65). Patterson (2003) examines the stress factors of home-based working mothers resulting from their work. This study asserts that the flexibility of home-based work makes it easy for women to allocate their time between domestic and market work.

On the other hand, all the arguments above can also be criticised. At least some studies (Estrada, 2002; Sullivan, 2001) show that home-based work also has negative side effects besides the positive ones. Besides facilitating women's participation to paid work, home-based work also perpetuates traditional work and family roles (Sullivan, 2001). Estrada (2002) avows the two-sided effect of home-based work in that it provides income while working at home and reinforces women's traditional roles.

Additionally opposing the argument about stress factors, Mirchandani (2000) studies the stress factor in Canadian professional home-based workers. The author suggests evidence that women home-based workers never get rid of their housework responsibility, thus that they have more stress relative to men home-based workers. These studies are more realistic about picturing home-based work, and its different effects.

Another important study critically examining home-based work is Silver's (2003) work. This study is critical of the empowering aspect of home-based work. Silver (2003) compares male and female home-based workers; her study shows that working at home does not change the traditional sexual division of domestic work. She defines three effects of home-based work on women: It leaves little free time, isolates workers socially and objects them to their husbands' control. Contradicting Kantor (2002), Silver shows that home-based workers do more housework and child care and have no leisure time. Being a workingwoman at home does not bring the solution of sharing the domestic work burden in a more equitable way within households, as shown by Silver (2003). Silver's study challenges the expectations of Patterson (2003) and Perrons (2003) that home-based work will help to reduce gender inequality. Silver (2003), in her positivist and descriptive study, comes to the conclusion that there is also gender inequality in various workplaces and home, thus that gender inequality persists regardless of the workplace.

2.6.2.2 Income Generation

The most important benefit of home-based work that one aught to mention is its income generation aspect. Earning one's own money can be very important for making one's own decisions about her/his consumption, but is it sufficient to gain the right to share life in an equivalent way? Can home-based work empower women trough income generation? These are critical questions, which many authors discuss.

The issue of home-based work and its possible empowering affects has long been discussed especially in Indian as well as in British literature. Since both literatures consist of academic work as well as work of important civil society organisations like S.E.W.A. (Self Employed Women Association) and since they cover the phenomenon both from the theoretical and the practical dimensions, they play an important role in studies about home-based work.

Home-based work is less empowering as compared to other types of work which can offer more independent and visible work locations for women. Studies such as Beneria and Roldan (1987) and Kabeer (1997; 2000) show that the labour process and the degree to which work is independent of male control determine the empowerment effect of wage work.

In this understanding of informal home-based work, Kantor (2003) examines the empowerment issue: she operationalises empowerment by dividing the term in two concepts, decision making within the household, and control over enterprise income. Kantor investigates whether income earning provides this empowerment, as Blood and Wolfe did in 1960 and Blumbug and Coleman in 1989, in the case of Europe (as cited in Kantor 2003).

Earning income by itself does not lead to a significant empowerment or a considerable decrease in gender inequality, since women's subordination is not only based on income distribution (Kabeer, 2000). Kabeer's studies on India suggest that women are dependent on men to have a proper position in society and to avoid social suspicion (1999, 2000). Thus earning money alone is not sufficient for empowerment (Kabeer 2000). As a young African woman states in a focus group on economic empowerment, economic empowerment and independence are necessary but not sufficient conditions for human flourishing (Van Staveren, 1997).

One can see that income earning does not necessarily bring empowerment, but there is another fact that one should note: empowerment may have different meanings in different cultures as Agarwal (1997) suggests, social norms can affect what is actually bargained about and also the bargaining power. Norms can define "which issues can legitimately be bargained over, and which fall in the area of the incontestable" (Agarwal, 1997: 15). For example, in a traditional society a young woman cannot bargain about her sexual freedom. Norms and traditions also define the sexual division of labour within and outside home. Thus norms restrict women's bargaining power by restricting their earnings outside the home with institutionalising lower wages for women, restricting their presence in the public sphere, defining child care as their responsibility and limiting their mobility and job options (Agarwal, 1997). These norms are practices of patriarchy -in other words, these restrictions legitimised by social norms are practices of patriarchal ideology. As bargaining objects and bargaining power may vary in different social contexts, contents of empowerment and requirements of empowerment may vary accordingly.

Moreover, patriarchal ideology also affects perceptions of gender roles; women's needs tend to be seen as the family's needs while men's needs

can be perceived in a more individualistic manner. Van Staveren (1997) suggests that some mothers empower themselves economically in order to be able to look after other people. But at this point it is important to note that available economic resources, in other words, having money effects the bargaining power and the closeness of the outcome to the will of women (Kabeer, 1994; McEloy, 1990; Sen, 1990).

Another critical aspect that one should keep in mind about wage work and empowerment over wage is that income generating does not always mean having money under your own control. Especially in the context of home-based production, the marketing and selling of the products are generally done by men. Thus men have direct control over income, or at least they know the exact amount that women earn, thus gaining an opportunity to control them (Abdullah and Zeidestein, 1982; Mandelbarm, 1888; as cited in Kantor, 2003). Therefore as long as the men know the amount of the money earned, they can claim either their own or the family's right on the money, so the free consumption decision which is the very empowerment effect of income generation may not always be achieved.

The only people who claim control over women's earnings from home-based work are not just their husbands; there are also other men such as middlemen and subcontractor firms. S.E.W.A, since 1972, have worked with different home-based producers, with the claim of increasing the bargaining power for higher price rates and improving direct market access. They suggest that the control over income increases with the income level. Home-based workers who work for a middleman are relatively more under control, and earn less, because the middleman takes some of the piece rate. Eliminating a subcontractor is thus very important in terms of income generation and reducing control. Eliminating a subcontractor can be interpreted in various ways as it may mean eliminating some middlemen who take the same of part of the wage which could be earned by the home-based worker, and may also

mean eliminating one curtain that obscures the home-based worker. S.E.W.A. suggests that own account workers are luckier than others. But it is also denoted in the literature that if women, especially if they are married, earn more after a certain point, they significantly lose their control over their income (Kantor, 2003). This phenomenon may be related with patriarchal effects on bargaining, but this subject is beyond the boundaries of this study.

Another interesting aspect that the Indian literature suggests is that education and experience do not bring control over income. The isolated nature of the work and the close nature of home-based work to housework result in the fact that women have very few opportunities to share their experiences and build identities as workers. Kantor (2003) suggests that if women home-based workers work for their own accounts, male knowledge and control over their work will be decreased; she adds patriarchal oppression decreases not only with income generation but also with working independently. Although one should appreciate her argument, one also has to confess that it is not sufficient, since working for one's own self dissolves neither the isolated nature of work nor its closeness to housework, which create some of the most significant problematic effects of home-based work. Let me suggest that the isolated nature of work and the general assumption about its closeness to housework are the main elements that sustain the illusions about home-based work. The most important illusion about home-based work is the its perception not as wage work but rather as an income generating activity generally done by women in order to contribute to the family income. There is a need to remember that home-based work is type of wage work. This is important because a wage work conceptualisation provides a basis to demand social and economic rights for home-based workers. Moreover, women themselves generally do not declare home-based work as working. All this perpetuates the invisibility of home-based work in threefold ways: unrecorded, unregulated and invisible even in the discourses of the home-based workers.

As a way to alleviate the invisibility and increase the benefits of home-based work, one should boldly underline the collective aspect of empowerment which refers to getting organised. "Since you cannot be out here alone, you have got to take other women with you" (Van Staveren, 1997: 133). These words emphasise the importance of the collective aspect of the feminist movement in the sense of obtaining wide and sustainable results in the struggle against invisibility and for equality. Invisibility in the case of informal home-based work is not only rooted in the patriarchal system of oppression but also in the capitalist system, in the informal sector. Therefore, for a clear understanding of home-based work this study suggests its own conceptualisations, approaching the phenomenon with the elliptic thinking strategy focusing on both capitalism and patriarchy.

2.7 Suggestions for a New Conceptualisation

Deliberate Concealment and Devalorisation by Obscuring: articulation mechanism of capitalism and patriarchy in the structuring of informal home-based work

This section introduces a suggestion for new conceptualisations of capitalism/patriarchy relations in order to understand the structuring of informal home-based work. 'Deliberate concealment' is the term for the obscuring aspects of both capitalism and patriarchy; 'devalorisation by obscuring' is a concept for naming the devalorisation effect of this obscuring on labour. This study introduces these terms by discussing the obscuring aspect of the informal sector as a core component of contemporary capitalism, and of patriarchy respectively.

In this suggestion the informal sector is treated with its relations to the formal sector and as a global concern.

Examining the interrelations of the formal and informal sectors reveals a dependency line between them, in terms of goods, services, cheap labour and income. The relationship between the globally mobile capital and the informal sector over the global commodity chains separates the discussions about informalisation from the context of development, bringing about the opportunity of discussing the informal sector beyond the boundaries of the developed/developing, or modern/not-modern binary oppositions. Then one can define the informal sector not just as a problem sparkling from the essence of developing -or Third World- countries, but rather as a global concern.

If we consider the informal sector globally, the question appears clearly: capitalism can find cheap labour all around the world, and decrease the cost of production via new and cheap communication and transportation technologies, and save from plant costs by flexible production techniques. But why is it informalising production?

First of all, let me suggest that the very characteristic of the informal sector is invisibility. Leonard (1998) examines informal work by emphasising the difficulty in measuring its extent and significance, thus defines its as invisible. Because it is invisible, it is unrecorded and unregulated. The informal sector is a production area with its magnitude, inputs and outputs and its processes, the knowledge of which neither governments nor academicians are able to attain.

The difficulty in obtaining information about the informal sector lies in the subcontracting chains that it consists of. Subcontracting in the case of informal home-based work ties the multinational capital to informally working women. Multinational firms subcontract their production to increasingly smaller firms (Beneria, 1989). And these small firms send the work to home-based workers. "Many homeworkers in industries such as garments, shoes and toys are producing goods for big retailers; at the end of subcontracting chains which stretch around the world"

(Delany, 1996: 10). "Subcontracting makes it very difficult to hold one employer responsible for protecting workers' rights due to the many layers of chain" (Beneria, 2001: 40).

Let me suggest that the invisibility, thus the obscuration of production in the informal sector is created in the layers of the subcontracting chains. So it is beyond taxation, regulation and even modelling. Institutions like states, banks, the financial sector, the very discipline of economics, are crucial for the system in order to sustain its existence. But all of these institutions have their own operating costs, which are of course collected as taxes.

Moreover "informalisation can add considerably to profitability" (Stark, 1989: 645). Stark (1989) suggests that the informal sector occurs in capitalism because employers want to increase their profitability by reducing the costs of bureaucracy. Bureaucratic costs and regulatory costs such as the social security costs of the employers and the aim of profit maximising constitute a structural conflict; the system, finding itself both in the need of sustaining the above-mentioned institutions (such as banks, taxing, professionals, state) and also of surmounting them, is in dilemma. In the late 19th century, protective labour legislation in Europe also caused a side-effect: employers manoeuvred around restrictive laws by sending work home. Thus after the legislation, the extent of home-based work increased considerably (Boris, 1996). The solution for the system seems to lie in the invisibility of the informal sector today, as it did yesterday.

The characteristic of invisibility is the critical point that distinguishes the informal and formal sectors from each other. At this point we can reformulate the last question 'why informalising' as 'why obscuring production?' This study suggests that the system deliberately conceals some part of the production, a process that the author of this study denotes shortly as 'deliberate concealment' and which is included and

diffused into the structure of contemporary capitalism, diffused so much that it is not promptly observed. Informalisation means that certain areas of the current system are inaccessible to the institutions of the system.

Deliberate concealment has direct benefits in terms of preserving and empowering the system's own existence. The informal sector as a production area beyond intervention, taxation and regulation, naturally decreases the production costs in two ways, thus maximising profits: it eliminates taxes, social security and other costs of labour as stated by Stark "undocumented work is unprotected work" (1989: 645). Bhatt (1987) claims that employers' benefits from the use of piece rate workers at home are prevailing overhead costs, removing the need for investment in new tools or machinery, supplying relief from trade unions to contend with thus "undermining organised labour's control over production" (Castells and Portes, 1989: 28) and surmounting the state's regulations on economy and its legislation defining workers' rights or requiring welfare measures such as minimum wages or social security.

Additionally, informalisation devaluates labour and thus decreases wages even more by obscuring production. The devalorisation process carried out on production and on labour was pointed out by Breverman (1974). Breverman (1974) argued that the capitalist tactic divides the production process into small pieces for deskilling the jobs, thus decreasing the wages. But since the 1970's, we have not witnessed such large deskilling in every sector. The natures of some sectors, like heavy industry, have not allowed the division of the production process to such an extent. So we must render our analysis sector sensitive: the textile sector would be a good example for Breverman's (1974) argument. There are also studies on the textile sector such as Kumar's (1994) work, which suggests that capital-intensive production also deskills jobs and decreases wages through the channels of simplifying and homogenising the labour need for production.

Furthermore, this study suggests that another kind of deskilling is created and carried out with another production mechanism: one should note that, as division of the production process is the first key factor for moving the production out of the factory, so it is also the first necessary condition for informalisation. In this case, rather be simplified and homogenised and thus deskilled! But certain kinds of labour need skill: knitting, sewing garments, making shoes (especially in Spain and Portugal), rolling cigarettes (India), soldering circuit boards, weaving carpets, doing embroidery, needlework and knitting pullovers (in Turkey and many other countries). So, if production is obscured, then the skills required for the production are also obscured. Once the necessary skill is obscured, then devalorisation of labour naturally follows. This phenomenon, which this study names as 'devalorisation by obscuring', can easily be observed if one compares the wages paid for the same work in the formal and the informal sectors. The wage differential between exactly the same work done at a factory (and small scale enterprises) and at home shows that the work done at home can easily be defined as less valued, thus deserving less wage.

A case study in the UK (Felsfeld et al., 2001) shows that home-based workers' wages are less than comparable wages in other workplaces; moreover home-based workers are paid less than the minimum wage. Additionally, women home-based workers who are the absolute majority in the sector are paid less than men. Another case study in Pakistan urban manufacturing sector (Sayeed, Khan and Javed, 2003) compared wages earned by three women workers' groups, namely workers who work in factories, who work in small firms and who work at home. They found that working formally and informally significantly affects wages. Informal workers definitely earn less than formal ones although they are doing the same work. Moreover the home-based worker earns the least wage in the cluster. Sayeed and co-researchers conclude that as the capital-labour ratio declines and labour productivity declines, firm size

becomes highly effective in the determination of wage rates. I suggest that obscuring the skill requirements behind the walls of the home causes the wages to decline. The textile and manufacturing sectors in developing countries are based on cheap labour, and they are labour-intensive due to the nature and the historical development of the particular sectors within the social structures of such countries. So one cannot argue that the capital-labour ratio differs so much between production done at home and in factories. A large part of work done at home is devalorised by the obscuration of production behind the walls of the home, and the low wages of home-based workers is a direct result of devalorisation by obscuring.

Devalorisation by obscuring is not only a mechanism that works through the informal sector. This study further argues that this method works specially over women's bodies; both devalorisation and obscuration are produced and reproduced by patriarchal ideology in order to reproduce itself. Both devalorisation and obscuration have many ties with invisibility, which is not only an aspect of informalisation.

Invisibility is also one of the main aspects of another structure, the patriarchy. Obscuring women is a well-known strategy of patriarchy. Marginalizing women in power relations and decision making processes, and silencing women in the public sphere can only be possible by confining them into the private sphere and hiding them there; in other words by obscuring them. Patriarchal ideology labels workers through their role in the family (Elson and Pearson, 1986), as male workers earn a 'family wage' as they are the heads of households, and women workers earn 'pin money' as they are firstly wives and mothers, and thus wage work is an extra thing for them. Mies (1986) makes a similar argument to Elson and Pearson's (1986) that in so far as women are defined as housewives, their work will no longer be defined as wage work. Once women are defined as housewives, their work is excluded from the category of free wage labour, and labelled as income generating activity.

Mies suggests that women as cheap, docile and easily manipulative workers are the optimal labour force for international capital seeking a world-scale accumulation.

> Women are the optimal labour force because they are now being universally defined as 'housewives' not as workers; this means their work, whether in use value or commodity production, is obscured, does not appear as 'free wage labour', is defined as an 'income-generating activity', and can hence be bought at much cheaper price than male labour. Moreover, by defining women universally as housewives, it is possible not only to cheapen their labour, but also to gain political and ideological power over them (Mies, 1986: 116).

Mies further argues that women are turned into the optimal labour force for capitalism by the way of 'housewifisation'. When we consider the state statistics on married women, we have to accept that their labour force participation has not declined in Europe. In other words, statistics of the formal sector do not support Mies' argument. On the other hand, labour force participation of not only married but also single and young women has increased in the informal sector. In the example of Austria, "every year for the last ten years the number of home-based workers in the clothing industry has doubled. Ten years ago, the estimated figure was 30,000 nationally; there are now an estimated 330,000 which means that for every worker in a factory, there are approximately 15 home-based workers" (Delaney, 1996: 11). Thus one may suggest that there is a special relationship between informal home-based work and women.

The special relationship between the informal sector and the women's work underlies their common aspects of obscuring and invisibility. Obscuring is crucial in the case of informal home-based work because it devalorises labour. The author of this study would like to argue that the strategy of patriarchal ideologies of devalorisation by obscuring works through women's roles, not only married women or housewife roles but

also through the various roles and positions of women in family and society. Elson and Pearson's (1986) theory on patriarchy defining workers over their family roles is based on the assumption that capitalist production relations are constructed only according to the role of profit maximising that women's position in the labour market can only be explained by 'patriarchal attitudes'. But in the case of informal home-based work, I suggest that this production mechanism is constructed through both capitalism and patriarchy: "The idea of home as a separate place from the world of work, one the realm of women, and the other domain of men, shaped the meaning of sexual division of labour" (Boris and Prügl, 1996: 24). Patriarchal ideology suggests that the ideal place for women is their home. "The idealisations of motherhood further separate nurturing and dependent care from work" (Boris and Prügl, 1996: 24). Let me suggest that Boris and Prügl's (1996) study shows that work done at home is excluded from the definition of work and included in the definition of womanhood. As White suggests in her study on home-based workers in Istanbul: "The women see these income producing activities, along with more traditional work of housewifery and motherhood, as being an expression of their identity as 'good' hard-working Muslim women" (1991: 19). Boris and Prügl's study also provides an example of the functioning of devalorisation by obscuring through transforming work into a reflection of women's role in the case of home-based work. In the beginning of the 18th century, home-based work meant the fulfilment of the family roles for the Italian women in urban centres (Boris and Prügl, 1996).

In the case of informal home-based work, the obscuring strategy of patriarchy not only works through women's roles, but also through the very space of home. "Their work is invisible because they work at home, behind closed doors, they are not considered as real workers or paid real wages" (HomeNet, 1995: 1). Singh and Vitanen (1987) states that home-based work is invisible in national and international statistics, invisible even for policymakers and planners, because a large proportion

of home-based workers are women. Home-based work is carried out along with unpaid domestic labour tasks and so tends to be undervalued, classified as a subsidiary activity, sometimes even seems like a hobby. Patriarchal ideology functions to confine women to their home and hide them there, thus obscuring their work, trivializing and devalorising their labour in order to maintain and sustain the existing power relations between genders. Thus this study suggests that there is an articulation between capitalism and patriarchy through obscuring some elements in order to maintain their own existence. One of the articulation mechanisms of the two structures is the method of hiding by obscuring, or obscuring by hiding. What makes informal home-based work very critical is that it is one of the concrete examples of this articulation mechanism.

Another aspect supporting the argument that patriarchy and informal labour is closely intertwined is that nearly all of the workers in informal home-based work are women. This fact is closely related with the invisibility characteristic of the informal sector as women belong to an obscured part of society. At this point let me suggest that patriarchy is an effective element in the construction of the informal sector. Since patriarchy is diffused into capitalism, we can also see its effects in the formal sector; but I have to draw attention to the fact that this diffusion is not homogenous; patriarchy weighs heavier in some areas of social practice such as in that of the informal sector.

The articulation mechanism of hiding and devaluation by obscuring works in both ways: it strengthens and reinforces the hiding practices, thus fortifying the aspects of exploitation, confiding, and devalorisation by obscuring in both capitalism and patriarchy. This study will try to shed some light on the mechanisms that patriarchy and capitalism articulate. The study will try to answer the questions below:

- What is the exact nature of home-based work?
- What kind of reflection of patriarchy is home-based work?

- What is the role of patriarchy in the concentration of women's work in home-based work?
- How is home-based work articulated to capitalism?

Answering these questions will help us understand informal home-based work in a macro sense, thus supplying the knowledge to understand deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring, which seems to be the articulations mechanism of patriarchy and capitalism.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has first outlined the context of the study by explaining the relations between economic globalisation and the expansion of the informal sector and home-based work. In order to have a clear perception of the phenomenon, this study evaluates women's work in home-based informal work with both its patriarchal and capitalist sides in accordance with to the elliptic thinking strategy that it suggests. Theoretical review has been very useful for defining various aspects of informal home-based work, but neither of theories is sufficient for a total comprehension of the phenomenon. Thus, using these theories, the present study suggests its own concepts, 'deliberate concealment' and 'devalorisation by obscuring' for understanding the structuring of informal home-based work in terms of capitalism and patriarchy relations.

CHAPTER 3

REFLECTIONS ON TURKEY

3.1 Introduction

This study has summarised the process of the change from Fordist to post-Fordist production in part 2.1. In this process the reorganisation of production varies between different countries and regions according to their historical, socio-cultural, and also physical features such as climate and land. Thus, studying the process and its effects such as informal home-based work, in different countries, such as Turkey, enriches the discussions in the literature.

This chapter concentrates on the expansion of home-based work in Turkey. Here the world expansion has been chosen deliberately since it was mentioned earlier in Chapter 1 that home-based work is an ancient type of work. In Turkey, women in urban and rural areas traditionally supply many services such as child and elderly care, and subsistence production in their homes. But this study concentrates on home-based working for firms, to order, or for one's own account. Home-based work seems to be very widely practiced among women living in the squatter urban areas of Turkey.

This chapter provides a quick look at the conditions in which home-based work has been expanding in Turkey. The consecutive subsections

respectively examines the economic changes in Turkey in the last three decades in part 3.2, the expansion of the size of the informal sector in part 3.3 then, looks at informal employment in Turkey in part 3.4 in order to present a picture of the nature of the informal sector in the country. Afterwards this chapter concentrates on women's position in the informal sector of Turkey in subsection 3.4 and than on home-based employment in Turkey in subsection 3.5.

3.2 Economic Changes in Turkey

During the crisis of Fordist production in the 1970's, many countries have tried to find new strategies to survive. The 1980's were the decade of the implementation of these strategies. In the 1990's First World countries switched to the post-Fordist production mode, and began to use the advantage of cheap labour in the Third World. On the other hand, Third World countries have created their own subcontracting industries, which link them to international capital. Also, the informal sector expanded and home-based work increased in this period.

Until the end of the 1970's, Turkey followed the import-substitution economic model. The integration of the Turkish economy into the world market began in the period 1980-1983 and matured in 1989-1990 (Yeldan, 2001: 25).

The 1990's brought financial liberalisation, and the Turkish economy became a fully open market economy. The open market model introduced new mechanisms for the creation of surplus and for income distribution. Yeldan (2001) summarises the effects of integration into globalisation in Turkey as (please see Table 1): new mechanisms of surplus production and income distribution are established with *speculative finance based on hot money* which means fragile growth and

public finance deficits. This triple constructs an environment of macro economic instability and crisis.

Figure 2. Yeldan's Analysis of Turkish Economy After 1990

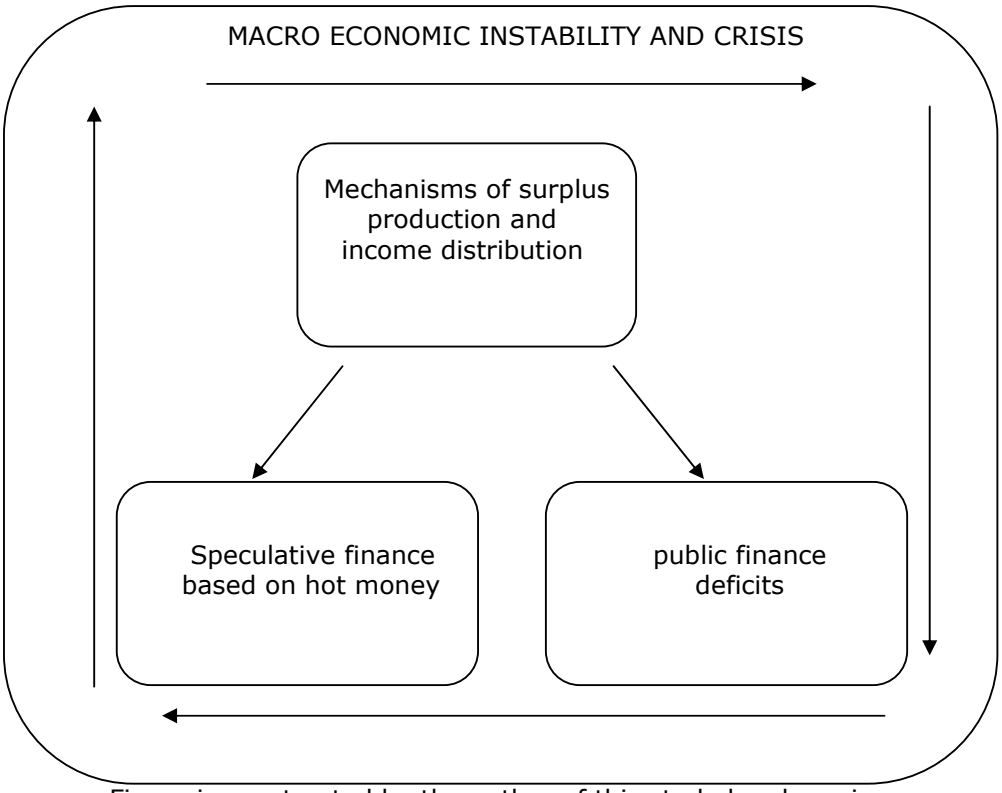


Figure is constructed by the author of this study by observing Yeldan's (2001) work.

In this process wages and employment do not grow proportionately with the productivity boost. This disproportion has accelerated the growth of the informal sector in Turkey. In order to understand the importance of the informal sector in Turkey there is need to look at the estimations concerning its size. These estimations will help one to understand the size of the informal sector as the background of home-based work.

3.3 The Estimated Size of the Informal Sector in Turkey

There are various approaches and methods of estimating the informal sector in economics, which can be grouped as direct and indirect approaches. Direct approaches, also called micro approaches, try to estimate the informal sector by comparing income declared for tax and income measured by selective checks. Income measured by selective checks means income information gathered by surveys to which people respond on a voluntary basis. The reliability of these approaches can be questioned as obtaining correct data for undeclared taxable income is not an easy task. Thus this study will use information gathered with indirect approaches.

Indirect approaches are macroeconomic approaches which try to estimate the growth of informal economy over time by using economic indicators. These approaches contain many methods such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Employment, Tax Auditing and Monetary approaches. This study does not compare and evaluate these methods, because such an evaluation is beyond its scope. Here, it is important to note that all methods provide different percentages of the informal sector in economy, but if one compares these percentages in time, s/he can see that all methods are consistent with each other. Thus, this study will refer to two indirect approaches which are Simple Currency Ratio and Currency Demand Methods. The Simple Currency Ratio Method depends on the assumption that a rise in currency stocks and payments are the indicators of informal transactions. The Currency Demand Method assumes that people use cash in informal transactions, thus there is correlation between currency demand and informal transactions.

Table 1. Estimation of the Informal Sector in Turkey

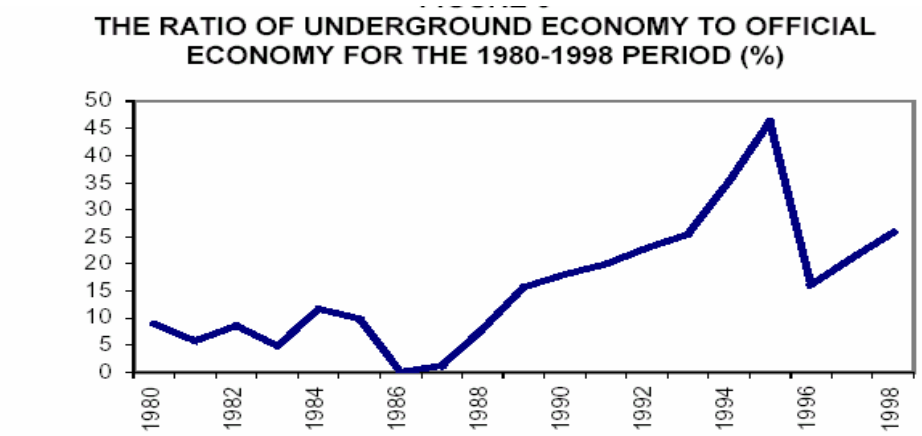
SIMPLE CURRENCY RATIO APPROACH BETWEEN THE YEARS 1980-1998 (BASE YEAR =1986)

	Currency in Circulation* (C)	Total Deposits * (D)	C/D	GNP*	V	Underground Economy *	Ratio ** (%)
1980	217600	486400	0.4474	5303010.2	8.20	471037.2	8.9
1981	280600	691500	0.4058	8022745.3	8.73	461643.3	5.8
1982	411800	930100	0.4427	10611859.2	8.58	905708.5	8.5
1983	547600	1393400	0.3930	13933008.1	7.52	667682.8	4.8
1984	735500	1517200	0.4848	22167739.9	10.99	2592835.3	11.7
1985	1011400	2197300	0.4603	35350318.4	12.10	3483659.2	9.9
1986	1301800	3953300	0.3293	51184759.3	9.74	0.0	0.0
1987	2211900	6417200	0.3447	75019388.0	8.79	868459.0	1.2
1988	3425700	7885900	0.4344	129175103.7	12.32	10214499.0	7.9
1989	6839900	12717800	0.5378	230369937.1	13.63	36138143.0	15.7
1990	11377600	20020400	0.5683	397177547.4	14.92	71412124.6	18.0
1991	17448900	29344100	0.5946	634392841.1	16.26	126629062.7	20.0
1992	30388900	47952200	0.6337	1103604908.9	17.31	252750612.5	22.9
1993	51645100	77442000	0.6669	1997322597.4	19.40	507248053.9	25.4
1994	102328400	128518500	0.7962	3887902916.5	22.76	1365643797.9	35.1
1995	188505900	199678600	0.9440	7854887200.0	29.59	3632609713.2	46.2
1996	315893100	580961500	0.5437	14978067300.0	19.39	2416324676.0	16.1
1997	598568600	982641400	0.6091	29393262100.0	22.50	6187977131.6	21.1
1998	1030504300	1531973800	0.6727	53518331600.0	26.28	13824314676.2	25.8

Source: (Öğünç and Yılmaz, 2000: 21)

C/D: Ratio of currency in circulation to deposits. This ratio was smallest in 1986, thus the researchers used 1986 as the base year and that is why in this estimation the size of the informal sector is 0% in 1986.

Figure 3. Graph of The informal Sector's Growth in Turkey



Source: (Öğünç and Yılmaz, 2000:22)

According to this method, the ratio of the informal sector to the formal sector low before 1987, and up until 1995 the informal sector grew to half the size of the formal sector.

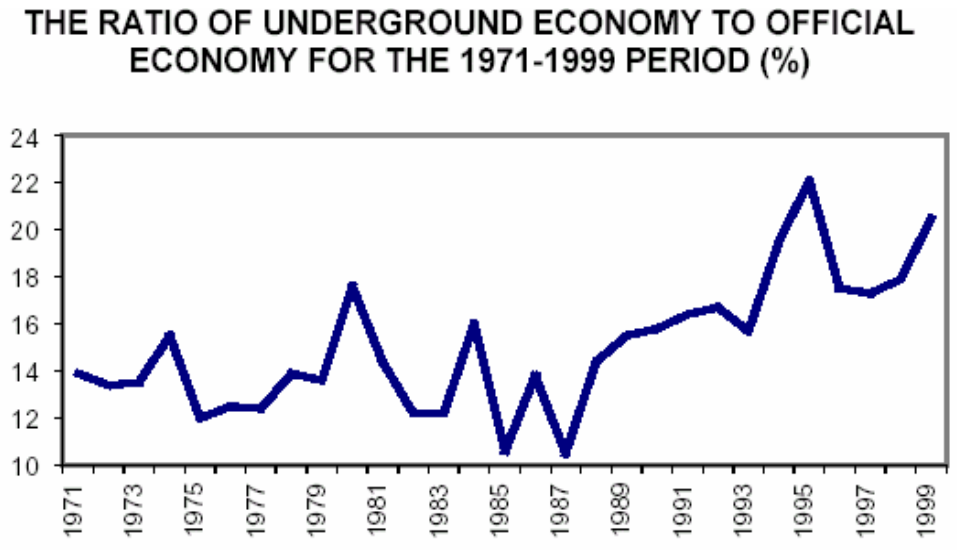
Table 2. Estimated Size of The Informal Sector 1971-1999

CURRENCY DEMAND METHOD 1971-1999

	CC	CC*	CC**	Illegal Money CC*-CC**	V	Underground Economy	Ratio (%)***
1971	13900	14122.7	8046.4	6076.4	6.0	36384.8	13.9
1972	16000	16657.3	9548.9	7108.4	5.9	42212.3	13.4
1973	20700	20514.6	11095.7	9418.9	5.7	53853.3	13.5
1974	26200	29000.5	15238.1	13762.4	6.1	83330.0	15.5
1975	32900	30898.8	16757.0	14141.7	5.9	83082.8	12.0
1976	42500	40885.7	22158.0	18727.7	5.8	108090.8	12.5
1977	63000	55973.3	30013.5	25959.9	5.3	137526.5	12.4
1978	93900	92598.1	53061.6	39536.6	5.8	229383.1	13.9
1979	143700	144949.6	84616.8	60332.8	6.5	390523.7	13.6
1980	217600	282587.0	158530.1	124056.9	7.5	934481.4	17.6
1981	280600	310679.1	170643.9	140035.2	8.3	1155710.9	14.4
1982	411800	353354.3	189034.6	164319.7	7.9	1299454.2	12.2
1983	547600	551674.6	315276.5	236398.1	7.2	1696927.5	12.2
1984	735500	835588.4	475495.1	360093.3	9.8	3543505.2	16.0
1985	1011400	924614.2	585031.2	339583.1	11.0	3741194.2	10.6
1986	1301800	1513980.2	786759.1	727221.1	9.7	7083145.5	13.8
1987	2211900	1874734.9	964390.9	910343.9	8.7	7914318.5	10.5
1988	3425700	3546725.7	1917332.5	1629393.2	11.4	18607184.6	14.4
1989	6839900	6589107.5	3563822.9	3025284.6	11.8	35634794.3	15.5
1990	11377600	10986400.4	6034951.3	4951449.1	12.6	62634703.2	15.8
1991	17448900	17142487.4	9474307.1	7668180.3	13.6	103960821.3	16.4
1992	30388900	29258442.0	16206181.7	13052260.3	14.1	183869495.8	16.7
1993	51645100	48112192.3	27857063.2	20255129.1	15.5	313401005.7	15.7
1994	102328400	103022083.7	58075331.4	44946752.4	16.8	756989197.7	19.5
1995	188505900	198903881.5	113022102.0	85881779.5	20.2	1737812021.1	22.1
1996	315893100	345404656.0	188898523.4	156506132.6	16.7	2613756328.9	17.5
1997	598568600	601336312.3	328415695.7	272920616.6	18.6	5073347130.8	17.3
1998	1030504300	1046264060.9	587211076.9	459052984.0	20.9	9587496502.7	17.9
1999	1887152800	1591971799.8	894996052.4	696975747.4	23.1	16069586528.9	20.5

Source: Öğünç and Yılmaz (2000:25)

Figure 4. Informal Sector 1971-1999



Source: Öğünç and Yılmaz (2000:25)

These statistics are important in order to see the size of the informal sector in the Turkish economy. One must not forget that these statistics are estimations, and the real size of informal activities could well be different. But at least these statistics provide an idea of the informal sector's minimum size.

Table 2 and Figure 4 show that there has been an informal sector since the 1970's. The results of the Currency Demand Method are in harmony with the Simple Currency Ratio Method. The second method also implies that the ratio of the informal sector to formal sector was low during 1985-1986 periods. The growth of the informal sector has gained speed after 1994.

Both approaches show that growth of the informal sector in Turkey has been accelerating since 1994. 1994 is not a surprising year for this acceleration, because a large financial crisis occurred in this year and the second half of the 1990's passed with periods of crisis and periods of recovery.

These statistics support Yeldan's (2001) study. In light of this information one can conclude that the growth of the informal sector in Turkey increased its speed during the 1990's while the Turkish economy became fully integrated into the world economy via short-term foreign investments, changed its production and income distribution mechanisms and was thrown into macroeconomic crisis. Under these conditions many firms chose to shift their production to the informal sector. Moreover, decreasing purchasing power and the insufficiency of employment opportunities for the growing young population forced people to work in informal jobs. In other words, the acceleration of the informal sector especially during the second half of the 1990's went hand in hand with changes in the labour market. These changes also affected the use of women's work. Thus the next subsections are concentrated on the informal labour market and the use of women's work in Turkey.

3.4 Informal Employment in Turkey

In this study, the labour market in Turkey is conceptualised with the dichotomy of formal and informal labour. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the informal use of labour mostly expands in the labour-intensive sectors such as textiles, garments and food. Although there have always been unrecorded economic transactions, the dual nature of the labour markets in Turkey became established during the changes in Turkey's economic structure of which are examined in the last subsection on the informal sector in Turkey.

During the rapid integration of home markets to world markets, Turkish firms have tried to compete with other equivalent competitors by using their cheap labour advantage both in and outside the host country. In this process the main competitive areas have been of course labour-intensive sectors such as the manufacturing sector. And also as mentioned in the context part of Chapter 2, some firms respond the competition by shifting their production from the formal to the informal sector. Thus, informal employment expands in the labour-intensive sectors with the worldwide spatial expansion of competition.

Unfortunately, there are no official statistics about the profile of all people working in the informal sector; what we have in hand are only estimations. The SIS statistics of the manufacturing sector only include formal firms, but on the other hand many studies on the labour market in Turkey (Bulutay, 1995; Şenses, 1996; Yentürk, 1997) show that there is a wide and expanding informal employment. In the 1980's, 41% of the total employment in the manufacturing sector was informal; this percentage increased to 49% in 1994, and to 90% in 1995 (Yeldan, 2001: 96). Yeldan (2001) shows that in 1996, only 43% of the total labour was employed formally, and 57% worked informally without any

social security. Besides, there is no information about gender, age, and qualities of skills of informal workers, a group exceeding half of the total employed. In other words gender, age and skills of informal workers are obscured and rendered invisible. Of course, firms' demand for this obscured labour has its own reasons.

Yeldan (2001) emphasises that the firms increase informal employment because they want to save from wages. In harmony with these suggestions, Köse and Öncü (1998; 2000) and Köse and Yeldan (1998 a, b) show that wages of informal workers are lower than the minimum wage in Turkey.

The wage differential between formal workers working in big firms (employing 10-49 people) and in the public sector, and informal workers has been increasing since 1988 (Yeldan, 2001). This increasing wage differential also strengthens the dual structure of the labour market.

These findings (Bulutay, 1995; Köse and Öncü, 1998, 2000; Şenses, 1996; Yeldan, 1998 a, b; Yeldan, 2001; Yentürk, 1997) also support this study's argument that deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring considerably increase the profitability of firms via decreasing wages by concealing the production process and skills required, thus devaluating labour.

In sum, the expansion of the informal sector goes hand in hand with the relatively decreasing informal wages, meaning more and more people tend to work under worsening conditions of informal employment. Instead of creating more competitive local markets, the integration into the world economy between 1980-1997 accelerated the expansion of the informal sector and informal employment in Turkey.

In the expansion process of the informal sector, the use of women's work has also changed in Turkey. Many studies show that women's

labour is used frequently in the informal sector. Moreover, one can further argue that some sectors in the informal sector, such as home-based work are women's labour-intensive.

3.5 Women in the Informal Sector of Turkey

In developing countries, half of the women labour force is generally employed in the informal sector (Koray et al., 1999). The employment of women in informal work increased during the 1980's and the 1990's in all developing countries and also in Turkey (Koray, 1993). Women's employment is increasing in part-time, temporary jobs in subcontracting firms, in other words such jobs are becoming feminised.

Furthermore, a similar trend can also be observed in EU countries, indicating the special relation between the informal sector and women's employment and also meaning that the informalisation process is a global concern beyond the boundaries of the developed/developing countries binary opposition, as mentioned in Chapter 2.3.3 In the EU, 44% of the women labour force is employed in atypical jobs whereas only 23% of men are employed in such jobs (Koray et al., 1999). In the EU, 83% of part-time workers, 70% of family workers, and 50% of temporary workers are women (European Community, 1996: 37). Of course there is a global trend of increasing informal employment and Turkey has its own features related to women's participation in the work force.

3.5.1 Women's Participation in the Work Force

In Turkey, both the formal and the informal participations of women in the work force are in harmony with each other in the sense that they are

horizontally segregated in both ways. In other words, both the formal and the informal labour markets are gendered.

In Turkey, women are generally employed both formally and informally in the textile and garments sectors, which are constructed according to gender discrimination. In other words these sectors are women's sectors. Horizontal segregation has become a norm in the labour markets of Turkey. Thus most of the women have no idea that they are discriminated against both in the sense of work place and of work (Eyüboğlu et al., 2000).

Moreover, when one looks at the distribution of women's labour between the formal and informal markets, s/he can easily observe another inequality. Throughout the 1980's and the 1990's, the formal employment of women declined from 34.9% in 1988 to 26.4% in 1998 (S.I.S., 1998). In addition, another study on the labour demand for women in Turkey shows that women's employment could possibly drop from 38% (1997) to 31% in 2010 (Günlük-Şenesen et al., 2000). These are the overall statistics for Turkey but one should mention that there are regional differences in participation rates. Labour force participation rates are lower in Anatolian, Southeast and East Anatolian Regions (Tansel, 1994; 1996). For example, women's participation in labour force was 22.8% in 2001 in Şanlıurfa (Çolak and Kilıç, 2001: 39). On the other hand, home-based workers are generally concentrated in the western and central regions of Turkey (HomeNet, 2000). The reasons why the labour force participation of women is lower in Turkey's eastern regions, is a question for another study, but the over all decrease in labour force participation indicates that, as studies (Çolak and Kılıç 2001; Koray 1993) suggest, the informal employment of women is increasing.

In Turkey the ratio of informally employed women to all employed women is 55.2% (HomeNet, 2000). In other words more than half of the women in the labour market are working informally. As Koray (1993: 73)

denotes, in the formal sector women's employment rate is low and their unemployment rate is high; therefore women are also discriminated against by being weightily employed in the informal sector. In other words, women in the labour markets of Turkey are subjected to dual-horizontal segregation, once in the formal/informal dichotomy and once more in the work done.

These studies show that women are willing to participate in the labour force but their chances in the formal sector are becoming lower while the chances of finding an informal job are getting higher. But why is this happening? Why are women weightily employed in the informal sector? In order to understand this, one should look at the economy as a whole as well as the employment patterns and the condition of women in Turkey.

3.5.2 Women's Employment Patterns

In Turkey women are traditionally employed in labour-intensive sectors and during the competition over cheap labour advantage, poorly educated 'unskilled' women's labour has become an important source for cheap production. In this sense, the most important sector is the manufacturing sector, which consists of the food, textile and garment sub-sectors. They are characterised by being the sectors in which low educated women labour are concentrated. Moreover, home-based women's work is mostly used in these sectors (Eraydın and Erendil, 1996; Hattatoğlu, 2000; Koray et al., 1999; Kümbetoğlu, 1992; White, 1999). Thus this study will concentrate especially on these sectors.

The food sector in the Turkish economy traditionally has an export potential, and uses 'unskilled' labour. Work in this sector, such as collecting and processing tobacco, fruit and vegetables, the production of farinaceous products and other traditional foods, is done by women.

The textile and garments sectors have been the main areas of women's employment in Turkey since 17th century (Çavdar, 1984). Research on textile and food sectors shows that there has been a significant wage differential between wages in these women's sectors and other sectors.

Certainly, an important factor in the wage differential between men and women in Turkey is also the fact that women's education level is low. Statistics for 1999 show that 52.2% of women in the formal sector have primary education, at most (TİSK, 1999). There is also evidence that education has a significant positive effect on women's labour force participation (Tansel, 1994; 1996). Although education level is an important factor in explaining wage differentials between genders, it does not help to explain gendered wage gaps between 'unskilled' works.

For example, in the beginning of the 20th century wages in the textile sector were ¼ of wages in the wood sector (Çavdar, 1984). In contemporary Turkey, wages in the textile and food sector are around 2/3 of wages in other sectors (Eyüboğlu, 1999: 58). No need to mention that these are the sectors in which production processes can be cut into small pieces, thus be partly or fully subcontracted to home workers via subcontracting chains. The wage gap will of course increase if one compares the wages of informal home-based workers to those workers in other sectors. This wage gap is examined in Subsection 6.5.3. In other words, horizontal segregation, which was referred in subsection 3.5.1, leaves women with low wages in both sectors. But the gap increases if the jobs are informal.

3.5.3 Women's Informal Employment

Studies such as Koray (1991; 1993; 1996), Eraydın and Erendil (1996) and Yeldan (2001) show that informal employment is generally used by

small firms especially in the food, textile and garments sectors. At this point one should denote that these sectors are women's sectors. And the decline in women's formal labour force participation that we have seen in subsection 3.5.1 may also be related to a trend that their employment in these sectors is shifting from the formal sector to the informal one.

Whether they are related or not, there is evidence that the informal employment of women is high. 56% of women workers in urban areas were working without any social security in 1993 (Toksöz, 1999: 60). 44% of formal firms were producing textiles for exports and using home-based workers (Ereydın and Erendil, 1999). These studies show that women are predominantly employed in the informal sector. In other words, informal employment is a characteristic of women's employment in Turkey (Çolak and Kılıç 2001; Toksöz, 1999), and seems likely to continue being so.

Factors affecting women's informal employment are global trends as mentioned in the beginning of part 3.5 the dual nature of the labour market, horizontal segregation and women's participation in the workforce in both of these as examined in part 3.5.1 and 3.5.2.

The nature of women's informal employment is theorised by Koray (et al., 1999). Koray's study suggests that "unskilled women's labour is the main source of the secondary labour market and is the target of insufficient working conditions, and works without any social security; and that it has become the basis of competition power by being the cheap labour in 'women sectors'" (Koray et al., 1999: 5). But Koray's (et al., 1999) suggestions only describe the situation of feminised markets in Turkish economy by generalising their research findings. One cannot pass their efforts without mentioning the importance and usefulness of their study. But the main concern of the present study is to construct an abstract analysis of what is behind this picture.

In order to realise this aim, this study tries to make a literature review and draw some suggestions from it. These suggestions basically offer names for some specific points concerning the topic, in order to make them more visible. This study suggests firstly that the system deliberately conceals some of its own production in order to increase profitability by avoiding labour costs such as social security, the minimum wage obligation and taxes. The second suggestion of this study is that throughout the above-mentioned process, women's labour is the most suitable labour to for easy devalorisation, and/or for worse employment conditions than men's, because patriarchal ideology conceals and devaluates women's labour.

Studies on Turkey such as Toksöz's (1999) work support the first part of this argument. Toksöz (1999) suggests that both public and private sector firms tend to use more temporary or part-time labour and informal labour by subcontracting production to smaller firms. This research is evidence for the assumption that profits' seeking by firms underlies the expansion of the informal sector.

The second part of the argument is supported by a penetrating understanding of the traditional consensus rendering the docile women labour force suitable for informal work. Women readily accept part-time and flexible time jobs, and do not seek continuity of work (Eraydın and Erendil, 1996). Behind the traditional consensus there lies the patriarchal ideology, which conceptualises women as housewives and excludes her total work from the conceptual boundaries of paid labour. Moreover it conceptualises that women's work outside the home can only be for the sake of home, and a small contribution to the family budget. This understanding devalorises women's labour by conceptualising it out of the boundaries of usual paid labour, and thus cheapens it in the labour market.

This study's suggestion on obscuration and devalorisation of women's labour in the informal sector also relies on patriarchal ideology as well as market relations. Another important manifestation of patriarchal ideology, which also plays a role in the concentration of women in the informal sector in the Turkish markets, is that women's skill is not generally accepted as such by employers. Ecevit (1991) and Eraydın and Erendil (1996) show that the same skills are accepted as 'skill' when done by men. Thus, skill is defined according to who possesses it. In other words, women's work is generally defined as unskilled, and by this definition their wages are automatically decreased. This understanding brings and justifies the wage differential between genders.

3.6 Home-Based Workers in Turkey

Women do home-based work in both rural and urban areas. In cities especially those living in 'gecekondu' (Turkish slum) areas work as home-based workers doing traditional jobs as well as jobs in newer industries. Home-based women workers do various jobs in the textile, garments, and shoes-leather sectors; furthermore they do assembly work with plastic parts in the electrical industry, assemble motors, assemble of electronic circuits, and do quality control of oil filters (HomeNet, 2000). Embroidery, carpet weaving and knitting are done in both rural and urban areas (Çağa 1996; Demiriz 2002). But on the other hand, "home-based work is an invisible kind of work and does not appear in the GDP accounts" (Aklar, 1996: 11).

Home-based workers in Turkey vary in large categories from piece rate workers to self-employed women (Hattatoğlu, 2000). They generally get work from a middleman, small workshops and small firms or work for their own account. In more traditional jobs such as embroidery, they generally work to order. This subsection provides historical and contemporary information on home-based workers in Turkey.

3.6.1 Internal Migration and Home-Based Work

Studies such as Çınar et al. 1987; Lordoğlu1990, 1993; Kümbetoğlu 1992; White, 1994; Çınar, 1994 and Hattatoğlu, 2000 show that home-based work is common in 'gecekondu' areas, implying that home-based working in Turkey also related to the internal migration from rural to urban areas.

Migration from rural to urban areas changes the family structure and use of women's work. Women have traditionally been employed as unpaid family workers. In the first decades of the migration process, the larger part of the family remaining in the village provided a sense of security for the immigrants, as did the other migrated villagers in the city (Tolan, 1990: 500). Relatives and fellow townsmen help the newcomers in finding homes and jobs. Although there are relations with family members and fellow townsmen, families shrink during the migration process. In families that shrink in the process of migration from rural to urban areas, that live in the 'gecekondu' areas and in which mothers have formal jobs outside their home, women's authority and responsibilities and the solidarity between husbands and wives increase (İlbars, 1990). Ilbars (1990) suggests that the process of coping with the city sometimes provides women with a chance to get a formal job.

The most important difference between formal work and informal home-based work is, as the studies show, that formal work causes changes in the traditional division of labour. ''Formal work empower women by providing economic liberty, social security and education possibilities" (Koray et al., 1999: 21). But one has to mention that women who can find a formal job constitute a lucky minority.

Generally, after the migration women tend to be employed in informal jobs (Tolan, 1990). Studies such as Eyüboğlu, 1999 show that, in this process women's entrance into the labour market occurs as a result of poor economic conditions. Furthermore, in their research in Şanlıurfa, Çolak and Kılıç (2001) show that families do not allow women to work unless there is poverty; and generally husbands do not want to give permission to their wives to work. Home-based work appears to be the most suitable alternative for women to earn money without challenging their traditional roles. This fact indicates the close relation between patriarchal ideology and home-based work.

3.6.2 Patriarchal Ideology

Studies also show that patriarchal ideology affects women's participation patterns in the work force. Çitçi (1982) states that traditional gender roles imposed on women have an important role in their low participation in the labour force. Aklar's argument that "Home-based working is in harmony with the patriarchal ideology in Turkey" (1996: 11) may be added to hers.

Patriarchal ideology can also be traced in studies such as Hak-İş (1998), which takes a negative attitude to women's participation the labour force. Hak-İş (1998) states that women's participation in labour for income-producing reasons increases men's unemployment. One should also mention the discriminative approach of such studies.

Patriarchal ideology is also internalised by women themselves. Lordoğlu (1993) suggests that home-based workingwomen see their jobs as a way of earning money without neglecting their roles as mothers and wives. This also demonstrates the invisibility of home-based work even in the eyes of its practitioners. This invisibility or concealment of worker

s' identities also brings about the important difference between formal and informal work.

3.6.3 Identification Problem

Koray (et al., 1999) also denotes a further important aspect: unless women work in a paid job outside the home, they do not recognize themselves as workers. Thus the self-recognition of worker identity is very much influenced by the work place. In keeping with this, many studies on home-based work denote that women home-based workers do not develop a worker identity and that they do not recognize themselves as workers.

Another interesting interpretation of the immature worker identities of women stems from Koray (1993). Although Koray's interpretation is based on factory workers, it may also shed some light in the case of home-based workers. In her research on women workers in the unions of the food and textile sectors, she denotes that education is an important factor in women's perceptions about their jobs and themselves. As their education level increases women tend to perceive themselves as workers, and tend to think that working has raised their status both at home and in society.

3.6.4 Studies on Home-Based Work in Turkey

Home-based work is generally examined in Turkey within the scope of studies on women. Eyüboğlu (1999) summarises the trend in the research on women in Turkey as follows: Until the 1960's, studies about women had conceptualised women as 'an element of the family' but later researchers saw the need to study women as a sociological category. Recent studies on women in Turkey put an emphasis on power relations.

Literature on home-based work basically belongs to the last two decades and they all view women as a social category; moreover studies from the last decade emphasise power relations and also empowerment possibilities.

Women have always been employed as unpaid family workers in Turkey, as field hands or home-based workers. The oldest information on home-based working in Turkey dates back to the 19th century. Hattatoğlu notes that "in the 1910's 45,000 women wove carpets in their homes" (2000: 73). Patterns of women's employment changed after the 1950's. Ecevit (1993) denotes that before the 1950's, there was a shortage of men's labour in the Turkish labour market and women's work was in use. But things changed. During the period between 1960-1985 women were employed only in 13 of every 100 work opportunities (Ecevit, 1993: 119). Home-based work in Turkey continued in carpet weaving probably until the 1970–1980's then expanded to the production of other goods and services. The real flourishing of home-based work has of course taken place parallel to the acceleration of internal migration (thus increasing the number of women suitable for it) to the structural changes in the Turkish economy and, to the expansion of flexible production in the world.

Ayata's (1987) study is important for examining the transition process and the structural change of small production in Turkey. His study scrutinizes carpet weavers in Kayseri, and points out how work conditions changed during the transition to capitalist production. Ayata observes that the traditional carpet weaving model family is an independent unit which buys or produces its own inputs, possesses the means of production and freely makes every decision in the production process. But in the capitalist model, the family as a production unit looses its independence. Moreover, members of the family, in other words women carpet weavers, became piece-rate workers who take both inputs and means of production form a middleman or a manufacturer.

Ayata's (1987) finding also provides evidence that contemporary home-based work is not an ancient type of work, rather that it is an old form which has completely changed its structuring and has become a special production method of modern capitalism, at least in the case of Turkey. Such an approach also supports the basis of this study that questions the structure of home-based work in terms of capitalism and patriarchy.

The importance of Ayata's (1987) work is that it shows that both the factory production and the capitalist home industry were growing together in Turkey throughout the 1980's.

Home-based work, or as Ayata (1987) calls it, capitalist home industry, expanded its range further from carpet weaving, during the structural changes in Turkish economy. The export-oriented growth model implemented during the 1980's could not create new job opportunities as expected[9]. In the period between 1985 and 1994 economic crisis, investments were concentrated into the construction sector (Çanakçı and Çelikoğlu, 1995). On the other hand, women's labour in Turkey is generally employed in the textile, garment and food sectors (one can easily see that, women workers in both the urban and rural labour markets did not benefit from the investments between 1985 and 1994, simply due to the fact that construction sector is a men's sector. Studies (Lordoğlu, 1990; 1993) show that home-based work in Turkey increased during this era. Official numbers for home-based workers have been available only after 1989.

3.6.5 Number of Home-Based Workers in Turkey

There are important studies on the number of home-based workers in Turkey, but most of them give regional information. Çınar (1994) shows

[9] (Please see Boratav, 1999; 2003 and Yeldan, 2001 for further information)

that in Istanbul 1 of every 4 housewives is working as a home-based worker. But her numbers are observed only by considering formal firms. The only overall statistics about home-based workers in Turkey is provided by the Informal Sector Questionnaire in the S.I.S. Household Labour Questionnaire. According to the work of S.I.S, the number of home-based workers in Turkey and their dispersion according to gender is as follows:

Table 3.
Numbers of Home-Based Workers
(Thousand people)

Years	Male	Female	Total
1989	22	211	233
1990	12	152	164
1991	11	169	180
1992	29	272	301
1993	29	187	216
1994	45	238	283
1995	33	183	216
1996	38	145	183
1997	42	169	212
1998	36	157	193
1999	60	215	274
2000	52	192	244
2001	52	154	178

Source: (HomeNet, 2000:33)

Table 4.
Distribution of Home-Based Workers According to Gender

Years	Male	Female	Total
1989	9.5	90.5	100
1990	7.2	92.8	100
1991	6.2	93.8	100
1992	9.5	90.5	100
1993	13.4	86.6	100
1994	15.8	84.2	100
1995	15.3	84.7	100
1996	21	79	100
1997	20	80	100
1998	18.7	81.3	100
1999	21.7	78.3	100
2000	21.1	78.9	100
2001	13.8	86.2	100

Source: (HomeNet, 2000:33)

According to SIS questionnaires, 82.5% of home-based workers work for subcontractor firms in modern industries; in the textile and garments industry, 88.9% of all home-based workers are women (HomeNet, 2000: 33).

But these numbers only show home-based workers who identify themselves as home-based workers in the questionnaires. There are also many who do not name themselves as such.

I would like to draw attention to another interesting fact: despite the investment concentration in the construction sector, the sector which has

the greatest proportion in of Turkey's exports is still the textile and garments sector.

3.6.6 Home-Based Work and the Textile Sector

Studies on the textile sector provide information on both informalisation and women's work. "65% of the workers are women in the textile sector which perform 60% of total exports of Turkey and half of them are working informally" (Eraydın, 2000: 46). Toksöz (1999) notes that in the period 1975-1993, the number of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in the Aegean Region decreased by %50, and that of formal women workers decreased by 30%. "It is obvious that these women who once worked formally in the textile sector are drawn into the informal sector" (Toksöz, 1999: 7).

The garments sector, which is one of the main branches of the textile sector and has a significant weight in the exports of Turkey, is also another important area in the informal sector of the country and provides interesting data about the structure of the informal sector. Toksöz's (1999) study on garment firms which are members of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce shows that 82% of the firms employ 50 or less people. Small firms also make it difficult to record the activities in a sector (Toptaş, 1998). And the dominant firm type in the garment sector is small firm employing 20 or less people (1999: 61). Toksöz (1999) also denotes that there are many more firms operating in the sector which are working completely unrecorded. Most of the informal firms do not have any record in anywhere, thus it is very difficult to find and conduct research with them (Koray et al., 1999; Toksöz, 1999) Nearly all the firms in the garments sector are subcontractor firms and they prefer to employ women, most of whom do not have any social security.

This picture clearly shows that the textile sector in Turkey works as part of global subcontracting, and prefers to use informal women's work both on the shop-floor and at home, indicating that home-based work in Turkey has augmented also in the export-oriented industries. We can assert that a significant proportion of Turkish exports are dependent on cheap home-based women's labour, since we know that home-based workers in Turkey are women and generally working for the textile sector. The power that fuels the Turkish economy and maintains its existence is women's labour power, which is unseen and invisible (Eraydın, 2000). Women are the providers of the cheap labour which constructs the competition power of Turkish firms in the world economy.

Thus labour has moved from factories and ateliers to homes as flexible production enables firms to employ people in their homes. And this flexibility bestrews new benefits on certain sectors such as the textile (Eraydın and Erendil, 1999).

3.6.7 Subcontracting Chains

There are many studies on subcontracting in Turkey, such as Çınar, Evcimen and Kaytaz 1987; Lordoğlu 1990; Çinar 1994; White 1994; Kümbetoğlu 1996 and Eraydın and Erendil 1999. These studies show that many women in Turkey work formally or informally for SMEs which subcontract from other firms.

Women is labour, instead of being a 'reserve army of labour' in the labour market with the combined effect of capitalism and patriarchy as argued by Marshall (1985), is rather structured as an invisible gear that runs at the bottom of the subcontracting chains. Most of the firms in subcontracting chains choose women labour for getting rid of social security costs and other responsibilities to labour (Atauz and Atauz, 1992). Home-based work raises profits by decreasing wages.

3.6.8 Devalorisation by Obscuring and Wage Differentials

As mentioned in Chapter 2, capitalism and patriarchy both devalorise labour via deliberate concealment in the structuring of home-based work. Wage differential is the main proof of this double-sided devalorisation.

Devalorisation of home-based labour in Turkey can be clearly detected in the relevant research on Turkey. Patriarchal effects of devalorisation can be easily observed by comparing wages in women's and men's sectors. Gülmez (1985) concludes that there has been a wage differential between women's sectors such as the sugar industry, ready-made food, and textiles, and those of men's. Let me suggest that devalorisation of women's labour goes hand in hand with the dual horizontal segregation of women in the labour market. In the 1990's wage in the metal sector was 11.573 TL whereas wages in the textile, garments, leather and shoes sectors were 2.775 TL (Hattatoğlu, 2000: 74).

On the other hand, the wage differential between home-based work and the minimum wage can also provide an idea about the combined devalorisation effects of both capitalism and patriarchy. Lordoğlu (1993) denotes that wages in home-based work are 1/3 of the minimum wage. Ayata (1987) also scrutinizes the wage differential between home-based carpet weavers and the hourly wages of construction workers as two gendered and unskilled jobs. According to him such a wage differential has two reasons: Carpet weavers do not get organised and advocate their interests and wages of women are low because of the low social status of women in society.

3.6.9 Empowerment Possibility of Home-Based Work

Although the wage differential cannot be denied by any study, most authors also mention the empowerment possibilities of home-based work, such as Ayata (1987) who denotes that though home-based work imprisons women to home, the income-generation aspect of it challenges the traditional roles in the family, but this assertion has been undermined by another important study on home-based work. Berik's (1987) study on the effects of earning money on gender positions of women carpet weavers suggest that a greater contribution by weaving to the household income does not lead to greater financial autonomy for the weavers. Rather, a woman's age and gender hierarchies in the household determine financial or other autonomy. Berik's study shows that working or earning money by themselves does not help to change the firmly established patriarchal life practices in Turkey.

Hattatoğlu's (2000) study also examines the empowerment possibilities of home-based work. She suggests that the income-generation aspect empowers home-based workers, but she also asserts that getting organised is very important in the process of empowerment. There are also undeniable efforts of groups of home-based workers for getting organised in Turkey. But the structure and dynamics of these organisations is the subject of another study.

3.7 Conclusion

Results of studies on Turkey are generally in harmony with the world literature on home-based work. This study will examine the various aspects of home-based work via its research questions on the nature of such work and try to develop an understanding of the structuring of home-based work according to its conceptualisations, which are derived

from the literature by analysing the qualitative data. The next chapter is on the methodological understanding and the method of this study.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the methodology of this study, and to map its place in the theoretical space of methodology. In order to realise this aim, subsection 4.2, 'Significance of feminist methodology', discusses the various feminist methodological and epistemological understandings by using Harding's (1987) classification of feminist epistemologies.

It is obvious that for designing a method to study informal home-based work, only considering theoretical approaches to methodology is not sufficient; there is also a need to see what has been actually done in the applied studies on similar subjects in the social, cultural, physical and intellectual conditions of Turkey. Thus, after reviewing the feminist methodologies, subsection 4.3 evaluates the methodology of some recent and basic studies on women's work and the informal sector conducted in Turkey by using the insight from the theoretical part. Afterwards subsection 4.4 summarises the story of this study and subsection 4.5 introduces the participants.

4.2 Significance of Feminist Methodology

This study is a feminist study. In order to make itself clearer, this study denotes the significance of feminist methodology in this subsection.

When feminists came to the understanding that women had been systematically excluded from science, and that a great gap in the theoretical knowledge about women had thus appeared; they tried to find ways of creating knowledge about women and integrating it into science. While dealing with these issues, feminist had to solve several problems. The first question was 'How can one conduct feminist research?' After asking this question of methodology, one should also ask a question about method (what are the relevant techniques for acquiring women's knowledge?) and about epistemology (how can we know women, who can know? Only men or women also? What is knowable? Are only men's experiences knowable?).

There have been long and very fruitful debates on these issues in feminist theory, but an evaluation of these discussions is beyond the scope of this study. This chapter shortly reviews feminist empiricist and feminist standpoint understandings in feminist methodology by using classification of Harding. Harding (1987) classifies feminist epistemologies in two main points as for and against science, and under tree main headings; Feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint and feminist post-modernism.

Table 5. Harding's Classification of Feminist Epistemologies

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Feminist epistemologies</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">For science

An attempt to produce feminist science
An attempt to produce less distorted knowledge</td><td>Against science

Rejects science</td></tr>
<tr><td>Feminist Empiricism</td><td>Feminist Standpoint</td><td>Post-Modern Feminism</td></tr>
</table>

Table is constructed by the author of this study by observing Harding's (1987) work.

Post-modern feminism rejects science and its institutions, such as the academy. Therefore this study, which is a thesis written in the framework of and subjected to the control of the academy, omits its discussions.

4.2.1 Feminist Empiricists

In feminist empiricism "social biases are conceptualised as prejudices" (Harding, 1987: 182). Feminist empiricists believe that hegemonic, sexist and andocentric biases can be eliminated in the existing mode of scientific inquiry. Feminist empiricists state that the biases come from the researchers themselves. Men are the part of society who benefit from patriarchy, thus they have hegemonic biases; since most of the scientists are men, so most of the accumulated knowledge produced by those men about women is distorted. If men are biased because they have benefits from patriarchy, there is another group who has no benefits from it, basically women. Thus women who label themselves as feminists can do unbiased research.

Therefore, the empirical view of feminist empiricists can be summarized as follows: scientific knowledge about women is knowledge, which is produced in the traditional empiricist ways by feminists. Their understanding asserts that feminist knowledge is knowledge about women produced according to the scientific techniques. This is the classical understanding of feminist knowledge.

However, Harding (1987) underlines three important challenges that feminist empiricism introduces against traditional empiricism.

i. Feminist empiricism suggests that the context of discovery is as important as the context of justification (Harding, 1987).
ii. Feminist empiricism argues that since there is no problem with the existing scientific method, biases against women can only stem from the researcher himself.
iii. Feminist empiricists suggest that, in order to avoid biases, researchers must follow the existing scientific research steps more strictly.

Feminist empiricists' approach is important for feminist epistemology and theory, because it shows the subjectivity of the researcher in science.

4.2.2 Feminist Standpoint

Feminist standpoint is the methodological understanding of this study. The feminist standpoint approach is based on three questions: What knowledge is, who can know, and what is knowable. According to Harding:

> (Standpoint feminists') … justification approach originates in Hegel's insight into the relationship between the master and the slave, and the development of Hegel's perceptions into the 'proletarian standpoint' by Marx, Engels and Lucas. The argument here is the human activity or the

> 'material life' not only structures but also sets limits on human understanding; what we do shapes and contains what we know.
> …
> For these theorists, knowledge emerges from the oppressed only through the struggles they wage against their oppressors.
> ...
> Thus feminist standpoint is not something anyone can have by claiming it, but an achievement (1987: 185).

In the epistemological view of this approach, knowledge is not an essence which can be explored but rather it is a construction or an achievement, which can be created through struggle.

Although feminist standpoint seems like a Marxist feminist approach at the first sight as a result of its Hegelian fundaments, it is actually a socialist feminist approach, because in contrast with the economic-determinist understanding of the Marxist feminist approach, it asserts sexual relations in the infrastructure, such as economic relations. The difficulty of this paradigm is defining links between the economic structure and patriarchal structures. The main aim of this view is to produce undistorted knowledge about women. This study is conducted as a part of this project.

4.2.3 The Basic Features of Feminist Research Methods

Although there are different methodological and epistemological theoretical approaches, there are commonly accepted features and methods of feminist research. These basic features are important for conducting feminist research.

The consensus points in different feminist empirical understandings and different feminist methodological views are as follows:

i. Women's knowledge is not fully written yet,
ii. The aim of feminist research is to create knowledge of women undistorted by patriarchy as far as possible,
iii. There are some techniques to acquire women's knowledge (research methods, qualitative techniques),
iv. Feminist research is non-hierarchical, reflexive, based on interaction (Fonow and Cook, 1991),
v. It has the goal of consciousness raising for both the researcher and the researched,

Theorising methodology is a hard philosophical task, but another difficult issue is the application of methodology, method and conducting field research. In order to see to what extend these principles are realised in the recent studies on home-based work and women and informal work conducted in Turkey, the following subsection will make a methodological evaluation of some of them. Discussions on feminist methodologies and epistemologies are new in Turkey, thus evaluating old research with new criteria would be unfair and therefore recent studies have been chosen.

4.3 Examining the Methodological Perspectives of Selected Studies on Women's Work and the Informal Sector

This subsection examines the methodology of six studies on women's work and the informal sector. The studies examined here are: Employment Of Women Labor Force Within the Informal Sector (Eryılmaz - Say, 2000); Organisation and Solidarity Between Home-based Women Workers (Hattatoğlu, 2000); Women's the Informal sector Contribution to Household Survival in Turkey, (Kümbetoğlu, 1992); Workers Organisations in the Informal Sector (Selçuk, 1999); Laleli - Moskova Shuttle: Informal Trade Relations and Gender Relations, (Yükseker, 2003); Money Makes Us Relatives (White, 1999).

This review examines the methodology of each study separately, then makes an overall evaluation and shows that most of the studies on women in Turkey were realized in a methodological paradigm that swings between classical science methodology and feminist empiricism.

The selected works' methodologies are reviewed according to three basic criteria. The first criterion is whether the researcher presents her/himself or the study as feminist or not. The second criterion is whether the study aims to empower women's status. The third criterion is whether the research is conducted in a non-hierarchical and interactive way or not.

4.3.1 Workers' Organisations in the Informal Sector

Selçuk (1999) overviews workers' unions on organizing within the informal sector in the world and in Turkey. In this framework, Selçuk basically examines the experiences of ILO and SEWA as international organisations, and TÜRK-İŞ and D.İ.S.K. as organisations in Turkey. Selçuk studies the TÜRK-İŞ projects funded by ILO in the period 1993-1999 and projects realized by D.İ.S.K. by their own efforts in the same period.

Selçuk (1999) makes a literature review by examining project reports and papers about the subject. Her work is in the classical boundaries of science. Selçuk (1999) does not claim a methodological standpoint, never deals with people's subjectivity, what workers in the informal sector think about themselves or their own life experiences. Selçuk (1999) does not have the goal of consciousness-raising. Her study fails as regards all the three criteria and thus one can say that her study is very far from a feminist approach.

4.3.2 Laleli - Moskova Shuttle: Informal Trade Relations and Gender Relations

Yükseker (2003) examines women workers in shuttle trade between former Soviet Union countries and Turkey. "The study is based on the field research that I have done in Istanbul, Moscow, Trabzon and Ordu between 1996 –1997 and the repetition of the same research in Istanbul during 1999, 2000 and 2001" (Yükseker, 2003: 32). Her research is based on closed-ended questionnaires and observations in the field. Her quantitative study is far from reflecting the women's own life experiences and their subjective perceptions, feelings and thoughts about their lives and their work. Yükseker's positivist methodology never considers feminist understanding and a non-hierarchical and interactive research process. She also does not mention any alternative for empowering women in the shuttle trade. So her research falls short of the three criteria of feminist research.

4.3.3 Women's Informal Sector Contribution to Household Survival in Turkey

Kümbetoğlu (1992) conducted her research in a squatter area of Istanbul. She examines "Women's Informal Sector Contribution to Household Survival in Turkey" on three questions:

i. How do poor women manage to survive?
ii. What are the monthly incomes and wages of these women?
iii. What is the contribution of these women's income, which is generated from informal sector activities, to the household income?

Kümbetoğlu (1992) works with in-depth interviews and observation techniques. She does not mention that her study is feminist one. Kümbetoğlu (1992) generally uses frequency tables; and shows the

similarities between her sample's findings and the results of S.İ.S. (D.İ.E.) statistics. She also does not mention that she conducts the in-depth interviews in a non-hierarchical and interactive way. On the other hand, Kümbetoğlu (1992) shows the informal income of women and its importance for family survival visible. So there is no doubt that this study has a political agenda to empower women.

4.3.4 Solidarity and Organization Among Home-Based Women Workers

Hattatoğlu (2000) examines the dynamics of solidarity, empowerment and organization between home-based women workers in another squatter area of Istanbul, Avcılar. Her basic research question concerns how getting organized can improve empowerment and solidarity among women.

Hattatoğlu (2000) prefers qualitative methods and uses active participant observation and in-depth interviews. Like Kümbetoğlu (1992), Hattatoğlu (2000) neither mentions that her research is feminist nor does she state that she conducted her field research in a non-hierarchical way. But she emphasizes the active participation during the field studies, which means she used an interactive technique. One cannot reject her work's contribution to the practice of organizing women in the informal sector, which fulfils the criterion of women's empowerment.

4.3.5 Money Makes Us Relatives

In "Money Makes Us Relatives", White (1999) also deals with the same topic from an anthropological point of view. White (1999) tries to answer the question of how gender relations and family ideology affect the petit commodity production in Third World countries generally, and

particularly in Turkey. In order answer this question, White bases her research on women who live in Ümraniye, a squatter area of Istanbul.

White (1999) uses qualitative methods, observation and in-depth interviews, which are typical methods of anthropology. As an anthropologist White also describes her own role and feelings about the field and mentions that she tried to be non-hierarchical in the field study. White's (1999) study has the features of interaction and non-hierarchy. On the other hand, White does not mention that her study is a feminist one. Although the study is important in terms of giving visibility to women and their informal work contribution to the household in the informal sector, one cannot say that her research fulfils all the three criteria.

4.3.6 Employment of Women Labour Force Within the Informal Sector

Eryılmaz-Say (2000) inspects the ways in which women domestic workers are placed within the informal labour market. She carries out her research with 15 women who are informally working in the house-cleaning sector and 15 women who informally employ women as house cleaners. In her work she emphasizes the importance of using a feminist research methodology:

> Women lost their visibility and became the objects of studies in most of the research methodologies created by men. Because of this, use of these feminist methodologies which have been cultivated in order to avoid this situation by women researchers is very important (Eryılmaz-Say, 2000: 44).
>
> Because of this reason, the method of in-depth interview, which can reflect the subjective experiences of women is chosen (Eryılmaz-Say, 2000: 45).

She writes openly that she uses feminist techniques and why this is important. Although her methodological understanding fulfils the three feminist study criteria, her findings and reporting are a bit far from her methodological understanding. In other words there is a gap between her methodological theory and research practice. In her findings and reporting, she uses frequency tables and cross tables for introducing her data, and she uses the original words and phrases or experiences of women very little. Moreover she never talks about her own subjectivity in the study, which could mean non-hierarchy and interaction.

4.3.7 General Evaluation

In most of the research about women in Turkey, authors do not mention any feminist identity in the text. The methodologies of Kümbetoğlu (1992), White (1999), Hattatoğlu (2000) are close to feminist standpoint. But on the other hand, generally the research methodology of studies on women is close to feminist empiricism, although the difference of not emphasizing the authors' feminisms.

The reason for this suggestion is that the empirical view of feminist empiricists can be summarized as follows: Feminist empiricism accepts the positivist paradigm. Feminist empiricists argue that research biases came from the researcher himself, thus they imply that biases are rooted at the very determination of the research issue. Feminist empiricists suggest that in order to avoid biases, researchers must follow the existing scientific research steps more strictly. Scientific knowledge about women is knowledge, which is produced in traditional empiricist ways by feminists. Most studies about women Turkey are conducted according to this ideology; researchers never criticize the traditional ways of conducting a study except using quantitative methods. In other words, the empiricist view is strictly tied to the classical scientific understanding. But there are also researchers who conduct studies completely in the positivist paradigm, such as Yükseker (2003).

A study such as Eryılmaz-Say (2000) shows that although there is an unquestionable goodwill in terms of conducting feminist research, the ideology of classical science still dominates research practices. It is not easy to think about a methodology beyond the boundaries of the positivist paradigm, but it is even harder to practice research by overcoming the traditional methods of classical science. Thus in most cases research methodologies swing between feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint.

4.4 The Experience of This Study

The methodological understanding of this study is feminist standpoint. According to this understanding, there is a need to clear my research positioning. So the next paragraph summarises the research process from the perspective of my subjectivity. Therefore, 'I language' is used, only in this subsection in order to be able to write openly about myself and my subjectivity.

In the beginning of the research process, I chose the topic of the study during my experiences with home-based workers in the feminist movement. As the daughter of a feminist mother, an economist and a person who is deeply interested in sociology, and a feminist coming from a middle class family, I found these women to be an interesting group different from the middle class women consisting the majority of the feminists in Ankara.

Women home-based workers appeared more and more complex and attractive to me during some meetings and workshops in which we worked together and in the course of which I gained some special friends. In this period, I started to reread and rethink feminist theories

on women's work with an effort to formulate statements concerning my obscuration on home-based women workers. This is how I started this study.

The intention of this study is to identify, understand and formulate the conditions surrounding women home-based workers. In order to realise this aim, interviews have been conducted with 20 women. All the women who were interviewed gave me their permission to use their narratives in my scientific studies. Some of them wanted to have psuedo-names in any published material; I respected their wishes without any exception or questioning, because, this research is organised in a way that understands women (the researcher and the participants) as active subjects in the research process.

During the development of theoretical part of this study, I kept in touch with 'Ev Eksenli Çalişan Kadınlar Çalışma Grubu', therefore I continuously got news from the grassroots, and also participated in their regional and national meetings. I also had long conversations with some home-based workers. One of my feet was always in the field during the research process, because in this study the life-experiences of women are taken as the main source of information.

Narratives of women are the basic information source for this study. Participants were found by the snowball technique during February 2004-April 2005. Interviews were conducted in Mamak, Tuzluçayır, Natoyolu, Güventepe, Pamuklar, Çiğdemtepe, Kaletepe, Kayalar, and Şentepe.

The first days in the field passed with getting to know women who come to the community centres. Home-based workers in the community centres became the key people for the snowball technique. In the field all the participants were told about the aim of the study.

In the field, using the reference of other women home-based workers for arranging interviews build up trust and closeness between the researcher and the participants.

In order to paint a more lifelike picture of the participants, this study introduces them in Appendix A.

CHAPTER 5

THE NATURE OF HOME-BASED WORK

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to understand the characteristics of home-based work by analysing the narratives of women home-based workers who have participated in this study. This chapter examines women's stories of internal migration and unequal distribution of resources in the family. Afterwards it analyses the reasons for the concentration of women into home-based work and investigates the effects of home-based work on women.

5.2 Coming to the City

This subsection reveals the interviewed women's stories of migration: how and why the women came to city and how they cope with it.

All the 20 women that have participated in the study live in squatter areas. 12 of them are first-generation internal immigrants, now living in Ankara, though they do not define themselves as 'of Ankara'. The others were born in Ankara, but their families migrated from rural areas near Ankara or other cities such as Yozgat, Sivas, Adıyaman, Tokat, Kayseri and Kars. Almost all families come to Ankara due to economic reasons;

only four women (Pınar, Fadime, Seray and Senem) stated that their reason for coming to Ankara is related to marriage.

The families of the participants are nuclear families. There are only four exceptions: Fadime, Gülahar, Gül and Sevtap. Sevtap, Gül and Gülbahar are good examples for single women living with their parents, since women generally either live in their father's house or in their husband's. Except for the one divorced women Pınar and childless Fadime who lives with her mother-in-law and husband, no alternative living arrangement can be observed in the field.

All the family profiles show that there is a special relationship between home-based work and internal migration in Turkey, as suggested in subsection 3.6.1. These findings of this study confirm the reviewed studies (Çınar et. al 1987; Çınar, 1994; Hattoğlu 2000; Kümbetoğlu, 1992; Lordoğlu, 1990; 1993) as they emphasised the economic hardship that migrant families experienced. Women living in the 'gecekondu' (shanty) areas deal with home-based work and nearly all of them come from another city or village. In other words it would not be an over-interpretation to say that internal migration in Turkey gave rise to a large poorly educated women labour force supply on the outskirts of big cities such as Ankara and Istanbul as can be understood from studies of Kümbetoğlu (1992), White (1994) and Hattaoğlu (2000) and from the narratives of women.

Families migrate to the city because of either their father's or their husband's jobs, and nearly all of them keep in touch with their original place of residence.

> My people usually marry in the family and live close to each other. I find this very wrong. (Senem, 44, married, 2 children)

And they also continue their relations with fellow townsmen and fellow villagers. These findings also support Tolan's (1990) study as reviewed in

3.6.1. This relation also shows that fellow townsmen and fellow villagers, as well as family networks, occupy an important place in the lives of internal immigrants for at least 15 years. Fellow townsmen and fellow villagers help the newcomers to find a place to live, generally renting them their old shanty-houses.

> When we first came to Ankara we rented a shanty-house from our relatives. Then my husband found a job in the public sector. He also did carpentry to order; I did home-based work. When our economic conditions were better, we built a shanty-house of our own near our neighbours. Our children have grown, and now our and our relatives' economic conditions are good. After living for 20 years in a shanty-house, our villagers have founded a cooperative here and we have built those buildings on this hill. Our old shanty-houses are on the skirts of this hill. We rent them to the new comers. (Melek, 50, married, 3 children)

Melek's experience shows that networks of fellow townsmen and villagers work for housing on different levels. Fellow townsmen and family members also help each other in finding jobs. Naturally such support is reciprocated.

> A part of my family is in Istanbul and they are wholesalers. My father first worked in bazaars. Then he expanded his business and opened a shop; now he is retired and has turned it over to my brothers. My big brother now has a textile firm and sells textile products abroad. They backed me up when we opened a shop for myself. During that business, I bought products from my relatives and sold them in the shop. (Senem, 44, married, 2 children)

> My uncle has found this opportunity for a janitor position for us. Actually, this is what he does. We had to pay him a lot of money in order to work here. (Seray, 33, married, 2 children)

These experiences show reciprocity in the support relations and prove that relations between fellow townsmen and fellow villagers cannot be

explained purely in terms of helping the newcomers. If the family or the fellow townsmen support one's job, s/he has to pay for the support in one way or another, and also has to continue to be a knot in the network.

Living close to the fellow townsmen and relatives has its own costs for women, especially when they are newly married. They are subjected to the continuous control of the men's families.

> At first we lived close to my husband's family. They were used to controlling me and meddling in my relationship with my husband. When we were living close to each other I hardy had time to do domestic work and childcare (because of endless guests)[10]. I did home-based work at night. When we had some money, we built a new house and moved a little further away. Now in our fourth house we have managed to change our neighbourhood totally. But they are still very dominant in our life. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

> In the first years of our marriage we were in the same district with all of my husband's relatives. Every evening I had to serve to the guests, and bear their endless gossip. I did not have the right to speak any word to them or about them. After my efforts, which lasted for 24 years, we are now living away from them (Sülün, 55, married, 2 children).

Thus, as economic conditions improve, the first thing women want is to change their home, and the best option is to buy a home away from the husband's relatives. After finding job and saving some money, families move to new districts of the city. These findings are consistent with studies on internal migration in Turkey.

On the other hand, as 6 of the participants reported, surviving in the city became a real economic problem for some families after the economic crises because of the unemployment of both husbands and wives.

[10] The parentheses belong to the author.

> Earning a life has become a real problem after 1994 (Fadime, 32, married).

> After the three economic crises, which occurred after 1994, life became very hard for us. The employer of my husband did not make any increase in wages for 3 years. He tried to find a new job, but all the wages were so low. But prices continued to rise in the market. We have two children. Our expenses continued to grow. I said to myself that I had to do something. It was in those years that I started home-based work (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children).

> I had to close my small draper's shop after the economic crises. Until that time our economic situation was very good. I used to organise parties with my friends. Things got much worse after the 2001 crisis, because in that year my husband had to close his shop, now he is working in the black market (Senem, 44, married, 2 children).

This study shows that the above-mentioned motivations also affect women's choices of work and home-based work, along with many other conditions, such as child and elderly care (Agarwal, 1997; Silver, 2003), the difficulty of finding a job in the city and the difficulty of getting permission form men to work outside. These themes are examined in the following subsections. Another important factor motivating women to do home-based work is the unfair distribution of resources at home.

5.3 Unequal Distribution of Resources in the Family

All the narratives of the participants reveal the unequal or unfair distribution of resources in the family. One should see that the families of nearly all of the home-based workers have economic problems; and under such scarcity, the distribution of resources in the family becomes even more crucial. The exclusion of women from the poor resources of family begins when they are little girls, as mentioned in subsection 5.3.1 'Worthless Daughters', then continues with men's control over their

mutual life, as examined in the subsections 5.3.2 'Control of Economic Resources' and 5.3.3 'Consumption Decisions'.

5.3.1 Worthless Daughters

Families do not invest in their daughters' education, in other words in their human capital. Moreover, this attitude of families directly decreases women's chances of getting a good job outside the home in their adulthood.

> I always yearned for education. That desire I always with me, unsatisfied. I want to do something, to create things. I did express some of my inspirations but could never satisfy any of them completely. I love creativity. (Senem, 44, married, 2 children)

> My family did not allow me to go to school. The school was far away from our home. I wanted to go to school. I had to quit. I regret it. Now I cannot find the courage to continue my education, but I am dreaming of it (Gülbahar, 24, single).

> I have always wanted to get an education and to have a proper job. In my life there has not been any chance even to dream of becoming a lawyer or teacher or any profession. Our dreams fell apart when we were small girls. My mother did not allow her daughters to go to school; she kept us at home in order to help her in domestic work.
> When the teacher came to our village to enrol children in school, my mother locked my elder sister in a room. When my elder sister sees little primary school girls, she still feels sad and wronged. In the past as in the present, my mother has always thought only about her son. She says "I would sacrifice my four daughters for my only son." (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children).

> I was lucky; I went to school up to high school. I wanted to go on with my schooling but my parents did not allow me to. (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

If one reconsiders Human Capital Theory, which is discussed in subsection 2.4.1, s/he can easily see from these findings that women are disadvantaged in the labour market because their human capital is low as compared to men's. At this point, these findings also present an important challenge to Human Capital Theory and to Preference Theory, which is that these theories assume that people freely decide to what extent they will invest in themselves; but experiences of women show that they do not get the chance for this free decision-making.

On the other hand, by using Hartmann's exclusion term (as examined in Chapter 2), exclusion from schooling can be interpreted as the first step of the exclusion of women from organised power; their exclusion form education prevents them from gaining officially defined skills, leads to their exclusion from most of the job opportunities in the market, also delays their economic freedom, delays their chances of getting to know what is going on outside their home, thus subjecting them to the control of others.

5.3.2 Control of Economic Resources

Findings show that in the case of home-based workers' families, economic resources are generally under the control of men. Most of the women express that men control the money in the family. Considering that participants' education levels vary from primary to high school, and their work experiences vary in a range of 1 - 33 years, it is obvious that, neither education nor work experience brings control over income. Although the level of control varies among families, neither of the participants raised it as matter of complaining. On the other hand, only one divorced women openly complained of this situation.

> My husband used to have all the money. I knew nothing about how he spends it. Sometimes he

> gave me some pocket money for the food expenses (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children).

The majority do not complain about the situation; in contrast, all except Ayşe, said that they hide their income or their work from their husbands. Hiding the income is a way of using one's own income according to her own will. These findings are in accordance with studies of Beneria and Roldan (1987) and Kabeer (1997; 2000), which show that the labour process and the degree to which work is independent of male control determine the empowerment effect of wage work. In other words, hiding the knowledge of work from their husbands gives women a possibility of controlling certain resources.

Ayşe's example shows that home-based work does not always release women from the control of the men in the family, if he has a role or has a relation with somebody in the organisation of home-based work.

> I prepared 'lif'[11] for a middleman, who is a relative of my husband, for several years. At those times, I generally did the housework during the daytime and the 'lif' work at night. I gave all I earned to my husband (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children)

In Ayşe's case the middleman happened to be a relative of her husband.

5.3.3 Consumption Decisions

Men's control over economic resources naturally brings about their control over the consumption in the family.

> I always tell what is going to happen, but my husband never listens to me. He spends as he wishes. What can I do, he is the man (Satı, 40, married, 2 children).

> My husband used to leave some money for kitchen expenses. I used to buy every need of children with that money. But most of the time it is not

[11] 'Lif' is a special cleaning towel for scrubbing in bath

> sufficient. In the old days he could earn a living, but since the economic crisis the money for kitchen has not been sufficient (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children).
>
> Sometimes I need money for extra things, for example mending, but generally I cannot tell it to my husband. Because, in the evening he is generally tired and angry, and I cannot tell him that I need money (Seray, 33, married, 2 children).
>
> We decide together what we will buy for our home, but at first my husband takes the as much as he wants for himself. (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)
>
> Sometimes I need money for my own expenses. For example I want to go somewhere and need a bus ticket. But I can never demand it from my father (Sevtap, 28, single).

Consumption decisions are either made by men or collectively. In most of the families who choose to decide together on consumption, the total amount to be consumed is generally determined by men, indicating that the collective decision system works within the boundaries drawn by men.

These findings show that most of the participants have difficulties in using the existing resources in their families. But they have their own needs and also there are the needs of the children. Here it is important to denote that all of the participants have economic problems. Most of them are living below the poverty line. Under such conditions, control over money also becomes very strategic for survival. It is not surprising that this situation affects most of the home-based workers' working decisions.

5.4 Why are Women Concentrated in Home-Based Work?

The first research question of this study is 'why are women concentrated into home-based work?' This section examines women's experiences of working at home in order to understand the reasons for their concentration in such work. It primarily concentrates on how women explain their own reasons for choosing home-based work, and then examines the previous work experiences in order to understand their patterns of participation into the work force.

In contrast to the studies asserting free choice as the only determinant of women's participation in the workforce, such as Hakim (1993; 1995), which are examined in subsection 2.4.1, the experiences of all the participants show that home-based work is compulsory for them rather than being a free choice.

Life experiences of participants show that one of the reasons for women to choose home-based work is the simple fact that they cannot work outside the home. There are three basic barriers to working outside the home: unemployment, childcare and men's permission. And the basic reason for working at home is the need for money and coping with the above-mentioned difficulties.

5.4.1 Unemployment

Unemployment is a general problem in Turkey, but it has some specific implications in the case of home-based work. Some of the participants never had any work experience outside their home. They call themselves housewives. Thus, the part on unemployment is discussed in light of the narratives of those participants who have work experience.

Nine participants (Sülün, Hürrem, Senem, Satı, Fatoş, Gül, Fadime, Nur and Pınar) have experience of work outside the home. They worked as secretaries (Sülün, Nur and Gül), tea-ladies (Satı), small woman entrepreneurs (Fatoş and Senem), cleaners (Fadime) and needlework teachers (Hürrem and Pınar).

Here it is important to denote that the outside work experiences of the participants are all women's work, such as textile and garment factories and cleaning. This result points to the gender-based horizontal segregation in the Turkish labour market, as discussed in Chapter 3.

After denoting the horizontal segregation, one should also look at the reasons why women have lost their jobs. Small entrepreneurs lost their jobs due to economic crises and family relations. Sülün has retired. Others lost their job because of various micro changes that many people in Turkey experienced due to economic crises. One example is Satı, who lost her job because of the shrinking of factories. Nur to give another example, lost her job in the banking crisis of 2001.

> My husband was a worker and I was a housewife. In 1989 he lost his job in the factory in Ankara. Then we moved to İzmir. In İzmir there was a bicycle factory. He allowed me to start to work in İzmir because of economic reasons. I was a tea lady in the factory. After the factory changed hands, the new employers decided to fire some workers. I lost my job. Several weeks after me, my husband also lost his job. Then we return to Ankara. I used to do home-based work during the years in Ankara, because I was unemployed. Now I started to do it again, because I am unemployed (Satı, 40, married, 2 children).

These examples and also women's narratives show that women choose home-based work because after loosing their job outside, they cannot find a new one. These findings support Sullivan's (2001) and Kantor's (2002) studies, which state that home-based work provides women an opportunity to work, from another angle. In their studies Sullivan (2001)

and Kantor (2002) were referring to women who have caring responsibilities and who have difficulties in leaving their homes because of the patriarchal ideology, but at this point this study also contributes to their findings by adding unemployed women as a category that benefits from home-based work because it is their only remaining opportunity to work.

5.4.2 Child Care

Contrary to Hakim's (1993; 1995) argument that labels ascertainment, which defines childcare as a barrier for women's participation in the workforce, is a feminist might[12] seems to be falsified also by the findings of this study. In fact, childcare is perceived by women as an obstacle for leaving the boundaries of their home.

> I quit my job in People's Education Centre when I had my first child (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

Also, at least in the context of Turkey, the traditional mothering role dictates that women have to stay at home personally look after their children. Most of the participants defined a woman's role as looking after her children.

> A woman should cook, wash the dishes, clean the house and look after the children. I think that it would be great if a man also did some of these. But work is divided by our tradition. And domestic work is woman's responsibility. My husband has never ever offered me help in housework. (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children)

> I started to do home-based work after my children had grown up a little (Özlem, 32, married, 2 children).

[12] For more information about the discussion please see subsection 2.4.1

Furthermore, children also easily indicate that they do not sympathize with their mother's home-based working, that they rather prefer that she should take care of them, which makes children a real obstacle.

> How could I work outside home? I have two children. I have to look after them, prepare them for school. I cannot leave them alone at home (Mensure, 36, married, 2 children).

> My little boy used to say 'Mom, stop doing that! I am bored' (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children).

Fatoş is very committed to her work because she needs money, and besides children are an obstacle to her formal or informal employment outside her home.

> I slowed down my home-based work when I was pregnant for my third daughter. But in reality I never stopped doing home-based work. I still do it. I started to work as a cleaning lady when my last daughter was 2 years old. It is much better than home-based work. At least I could earn a regular income, and also earn more. Plus my anxiety about the future was a little lessened. I went for cleaning and left the children to look after each other. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

> In the old days, sometimes I could not prepare dinner because of my unfinished work. My children did not like this situation. They used to say 'Mother, we want a proper dinner.' But in order to supply them with that proper dinner someone has to work (Fatoş, married, 2 children).

On the other hand, Fatoş's narrative also shows that, sometimes childcare can also be used by women as a reason to justify their home-based work. 16 of them say that they earn money to look after their children. And nearly all of them say that they spend the money they earn to contribute to their family. In these narratives, 'family' means food and children's expenses.

> I am working because life is so expensive. My husband's wage is not sufficient to procure our

> necessities. So in order to make a living, I have to contribute to our budget (Özlem, 32, married, 2 children).
>
> I am working at home, because I need that money to look after my two children. I had to supply them food and prepare them for school (Hamiyet, 33, married, 2 children).
>
> I have always worked for my children. I sew stuff for other people in order to buy some milk for my children (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children).
>
> I am working in order to make some contribution the family budget. (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children)

These narratives show that childcare has two effects in becoming a home-based worker. It is definitely an obstacle for leaving the boundaries of the home. And children of course increase the consumption needs of a family, which means women need money to look after their children; and this situation motivates them to work at home, furthermore justifying their home-based work.

5.4.3 Permission

Another factor affecting women's choices of participation in the workforce is permission. Although the literature lists many aspects affecting women's patterns of becoming a home-based worker, there does not seem to be a study which openly denotes the importance of permission.

> My husband permits me to work at home, but he does not allow me to work outside. (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children)

Women know that it is very hard or most of the time impossible to get permission form their husbands to work outside. So home-based work becomes a very attractive alternative for earning money and avoiding the permission problem. The dominant role of permission on women's

participation patterns in home-based work is also a challenge to the studies which try to explain women's participation in the workforce only through their free will, such as Preference Theory (Hakim 1991; 1993; 1995).

> I do not have to ask for my husband's permission to work at home because I remain at home. But I have to get his permission even to go outside the house. My-mother-in-law and my husband's sister also do not sympathise my working, even if it is at home (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children).

> When I started to earn money the relationship between my husband and me improved. At the beginning my husband was completely against my working. But when he saw the money, he changed his attitude. (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

Hürrem's example shows that, in case of home-based work sometimes women can surmount the work prohibition with the help of the benefit of work, which is the money they earn.

> Home-based work does not bring me liberty. I never have any spare time. My husband does not say anything about my work. At the beginning he was against it; this was not his opinion but he was affected by his family. But after we talked we came to an understanding and he accepted my working (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children).

Sevgi's husband was totally against her working, but she ignored his prohibition and worked. At last she managed to persuade her husband. In her case, her husband firstly accepted her home-based work, and then he also accepted her work outside. And Sevgi became a cleaning lady. Hürrem and Sevgi's experiences are positive examples which show that the permission problem can be surmounted. On the other hand, there are also black pictures about the permission problem such as:

> Let's say that I found a job outside and told my father. He would definitely beat me. (Gülbahar, 24, single)

> Once, I really found an opportunity to work in a bakery near us. I begged my father so much. And that morning he gave me permission to work there. But at noon he came home and told me that he would not allow me to go there, because the café he went was very close to the bakery. And he could not allow people to say "Look, Hasan's daughter is working at the bakery." I saw his eyes; and just kept silent (Sevtap, 28, single).

> If a woman works outside, people say her father or her husband cannot earn a living. And men cannot bear to have people talking like that (Merve, 25, single).

Social pressure seems to affect permission. Men also calculate the gossip of other men when deciding about giving permission. In addition, in some cases such as Sevtap's and Gülbahar's, the issue of permission seems to be threshold of violence in the family. One should not act without permission in issues such as work; otherwise one could become a victim of violence. At this point it is important to mention that although permission seems to be a threshold of violence, some experiences show that there is no specific reason needed for becoming a victim of domestic violence. Examining violence in the family is of course a subject for another study.

Here it is important to denote that this study does not claim that other people choose a woman's participation in home-based work as discussed in subsection 2.4.1. These findings show that the choices of women are limited by certain determinants such as childcare and also the by the will of men. Besides the limitations of permission on women's choices of work, there is also another important drive which affects their choices, and that is earning money.

5.4.4 Earning Money

All of the participants declared that they started home-based work in order to earn money. Money is an important factor affecting women's choice of home-based work. This subsection concentrates on this effect. Moreover, the income-generation as a positive aspect of home-based work was also discussed in subsection 5.5.3

> I started home-based work because I was fed up with demanding money from my father. I need to earn money through my own labour. I need money; sometimes even buying a pack of cigarettes is unaffordable for me (Sevtap, 28, single).

From Sevtap's experience, one can easily see that the drive to earn money is very closely related with men's control over economic resources. Sevtap works because she needs money. She needs money because she has no rights to express her ideas and needs in the process of decision-making on consumption. On the other hand, her father does not allow her to work outside, which would mean the possibility of earning a minimum wage. It is obvious that in some cases, prohibiting women's work is closely related to keeping men's monopoly over money at home, and keeping the household dependent on them. This relationship may be important for perpetuating existing power relations within the family, and also for perpetuating women's subordination and oppression. The example of Pınar, which shows that women feel themselves empowered with money, also supports this argument.

> If I do not have any money I feel myself worthless. Money gives you self-confidence. No one respects you if you do not have any money. But if you do, you develop better relations with people around you (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children).

Subsections 5.4.1, 5.4.2, 5.4.3 and 5.4.4 show that unemployment, child care, permission to work and earning money are the significant factors with which women explain their choices of home-based work. The experiences of participants show that these phenomena are important

factors which affect women's choice to become a home-based worker. Women's own explanations about their concentration in home-based work are very important, but in order to have a clear understanding of this concentration it would also be useful to look at their work experiences. The following subsections, 5.4.5 and 5.4.6, examine women's experiences of working outside the home, and of working at home.

5.4.5 Previous Experiences of Work Other Than Home-Based Work

The work experiences of fourteen participants show that home-based workers generally start their work life as home-based workers. Others, who have work experience outside home, started home-based work because they lost or quit their jobs and could not find a new job outside. Under the circumstances of economic pressure they started home-based work.

This subsection analyses work experiences other than home-based work as a separate category, because these experiences could give an idea about the participation patterns of home-based workingwomen in the labour force.

Nine of the participants had worked outside before they started home-based work. Sülün, Hürrem, Pınar, Satı, Gül, Fadime, Nur had been employees. Additionally Senem and Fatoş had become women entrepreneurs from home-based workers. But both of them lost their enterprises and returned to home-based work.

Participants' previous work experiences other than home-based work are in women's jobs such as textile factories, teaching, secretarial work and

cleaning, etc. This finding is also in harmony with the discussion on horizontal segregation in the labour market of Turkey in Chapter 3.

> I worked as a needlework teacher in a village for two years. I quit to look after my first child (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children).
>
> I worked in the People's Education Centres (Halk Eğitim) as a trade master; I quit the job when I had children. When my children grew up a little, I started to home-based work (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children).
>
> I worked as a cleaning lady in the house of a parliamentarian. His wife behaved very badly towards me. I worked there 8-9 hours a day without any break. At last I quit (Fadime, 32, married).
>
> I was working as a secretary in a bank until last year. After the turnover of the bank in the crisis, I lost my job. I heard about home-based work form my friends. I started doing it because I did not want to stay idle and I need money (Name, 27, single).
>
> I worked as a labourer at the post office. I retired in 1995. At that time my son was marrying and I needed money, so I started to do home-based work. Since then, I have been doing 'bakır tel kırma'[13], table and bed covers, and small bags of embroidered canvas at home (Sülün, 55, married, 2 children).

One can easily see that even Sülün, who is retired from the post office, started home-based work because she needs money. She could have been a needlework teacher in a course, as she has course certificates; but she could not find such a vacancy, so she started home-based work. The experiences of Sülün and Name also support the arguments of this study on the effects of unemployment on the patterns of becoming a home-based worker.

[13] An embroidery done by using thin copper wires

Moreover, the narratives show that women are expected to choose 'jobs suitable women' for by their families and by patriarchal ideology as discussed in subsection 2.6. Another factor that reinforces patriarchal ideology is men's power to prohibit work, which was mentioned in subsection 5.4.3. This power is also a manifestation of patriarchal ideology. Therefore one can easily see that patriarchal ideology engenders jobs both in the spheres of market and of family.

At this point it is important to remember that downsizing (which causes many women to loose their jobs), unemployment and informal home-based work itself, which is discussed in subsection 2.2, are elements of capitalism. In light of this argument one can see that women's experiences show how the combined effects of capitalism and patriarchy form their work patterns, thus affecting their lives both in the formal and informal sector.

5.4.6 Experiences of Home-Based Work

This subsection examines women's experiences of home-based work, in order to understand the nature of such work and the concentration of women in it. In this subsection, experiences of the participants are grouped under three main headings, piece-rate work experiences, own-account experiences and experiences in between.

5.4.6.1 Piece-rate Work Experiences

Piece-rate work experiences are grouped according to type work.

Blue Beads Against The Evil Eye

> I painted blue beads for piece-rate for a shop. It was a very hard task. You have to paint one bead

nine times. Also the paints are synthetic, which means you have to breath in so much thinner. The shopkeeper was paying us according to kilograms. One kilogram was 2 YTL. But she was selling one bead for 15 Kuruş. (Hamiyet, 33, married, 2 children)

Knitting Pullovers

I used to knit pullovers for a subcontractor firm that sold the pullovers to foreign countries. There was no middleman. We worked on weekly basis. The representative of the firm gave us strings, and we knit and brought back the pullovers to him. There were many women who also worked for that firm. And there was so much rivalry between us for getting some job. At first I heard that my neighbours were doing piecework for somewhere. I visited them in order to get some knowledge. Most of them did not want to say where they were getting the work form. But there were also some women who helped. That firm was paying regularly. But on the other hand the payments were very low. I have never learned exactly where they sold the pullovers and the real prices of the pullovers. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

I had knit pullovers for a middleman. He was a relative of my husband. I had knit a pullover for 75 Kuruş, or 1 YTL per piece. I quit because I was earning very little money (Fadime, 32, married).

Embroidery on Pullovers

I have been doing embroidery on pullovers for 5 years, not only me but also many women in our district. At first I was working for a middleman, like all of the others. We embroider one pullover for 50 Kuruş. But the price varies from 1 Kuruş to 50 Kuruş according to the amount of the embroidery. And the middlemen used to give big embroideries, which are more expensive, to his relatives. He always gave us small embroideries.

Afterwards, I heard about the cooperative in here several months ago. Some firms are subcontracting the same work to the cooperative, but we are definitely earning more per piece. But the difficulty

> is that the middleman was paying regularly, but we cannot get our money from the cooperative that easily. (Fadime, 32, married)

These experiences are examples for understanding the nature of piece-rate home-based work. And they support the arguments in Chapter 2 that home-based workers are basically producing parts for the production process, not the entire product, as in the case here: one group does the knitting, and the other the embroideries on.

It can be clearly seen that this kind of home-based work is a result of flexible production, which enables employers to cut the production process into small pieces and move some part of or entire the production out of the factories and ateliers to women's homes.

Fadime's experience is also important for denoting the fellow townsmen networks in informal home-based work. This experience also supports the studies (Ilbars, 1990; Tolan, 1990) on networks of fellow townsmen and fellow villagers in the cities in the context of home-based work.

On the other hand, the unhealthy aspects of the home-based work should be mentioned. Such as Hamiyet's beadwork is very harmful to breathing disorders. Embroidery, knitting, sewing and needlework generally cause eye disorders in the long run. Needless to mention that these women work without any health insurance, since it is obvious that their work does not provide any kind of job or health security.

These experiences are in line with the suggestions of this study on the close relation between flexibility, the informalisation process and home-based work.

5.4.6.2 Own-Account Work Experiences

Preparing Dowry

> I prepare dowry on order. Generally the orders come from families in the neighbourhood. The children used to sleep while I was working. I never did any design for the work, the customers used to decide everything. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

Her experience shows that being an own-account worker does not always bring control over work. But of course, in this type of home-based work, the worker actually knows all the production and marketing processes of the goods that she produces.

Knitting 'Lif'(Special Cleaning Towels)

> I have been knitting 'lif' for several years. I learned how to knit it from my friends. Raw material costs 6YTL per piece; and I sell one 'lif' for 10YTL. I sell them a little expensive because they are hand-made. Generally I sell them to our relatives Sometimes I give some of them to a friend to sell in the bazaar. I also sell them to primary school teachers by using the reference of a relative (Sevtap, 28, single).

Sewing

> I learned sewing in training course. I had sewed skirts, trousers, blouses, etc. to order. I earned well at the beginning, but that was twenty years ago. Nowadays ready-made clothes are very cheap. I sew a skirt for 3 or 5 YTL if the order comes from a neighbour. This is nearly only cost of its cloth. (Sülün, 55, married, 2 children)

These experiences show that women who work on their own account are luckier than then the piece-rate workers. Moreover they also control, or at least know about the marketing of their products. Thus they know the exact prices in the market, and the exploitation of their labour is relatively less as compared to the piece-rate home-based workers.

It is necessary to mention that own account workers also work informally, having neither job nor social security. Additionally, in this kind of home-based work it is hard to define an employer to demand insurance and social security.

5.4.6.3 An Experience Between Piece-Rate Work on Own Account Work

As mentioned in the first chapter of this study, home-based work varies among the categories of piece-rate work to small entrepreneurship. Thus there are also experiences which are good examples for this variety. The story of buckle work shows how women can eliminate the middleman and become something between an own-account worker and a small entrepreneur.

Buckle (Clasp) Work

> My friends informed me that somebody was searching for workers to do buckle for him. I went there and he ordered buckles. That was in 1992. In those years, cloth buckle were very fashionable.
>
> Then, I found a wholesaler in Kızılay. And I showed him my work and we made a deal. I have worked for him for 5 years. When I was working for him, I used to go to Kayseri (her place of origin) to buy cloth s. I could find cheaper cloth s in Kayseri from my relatives' wholesaler. In today's money I was earning 50 YTL per day. But I was working very hard. (Hürrem, 49, married, 2 children).

Hürrem find a shop to work for and stop working for the middleman. Her experience helps us to observe how women can surmount middlemen and become own-account workers. Actually, Hürrem's work can be classified in an area between own-account work and women entrepreneurship, because she buys all the raw materials herself, produces by herself and sells by her self, and because her new position in the story is like a subcontractor firm.

5.5 Effects of Home-Based Work

These experiences are analysed according to the positive and negative classifications in the literature. The theoretical part studies the effects of home-based work on women. This subsection tests the relevancies of these studies' suggestions on the positive and negative sides of home-based work in the context of Turkey.

5.5.1 Opportunity to Work

Home-based work is evaluated as an opportunity to work in some studies (Dangler, 1994; Sullivan, 2001; Perrons, 2003). This characteristic of home-based work seems to be its most positive side. The work experiences of women support this argument. Granted, home-based work makes it possible for more women to work (Kantor, 2002). But the conditions of work are an essential part of the evaluation of the positive and negative aspects.

> I do not think that home-based work is an alternative that anyone would choose unless she needed money or had no other choice (Nur, 30, married, 1 child).

> I need pin money, and my father do not allow me do every work. Working at home is the only alternative for me (Merve, 25, single).

Experiences of participants show that women tend to choose home-based work out of necessity, as they cannot obtain permission to work outside or cannot find a job. It would not be wrong to say that home-based work is an opportunity to work for women, but it is not very preferable as compared to work outside.

5.5.2 Flexibility of Work Hours and Location

Studies on the positive aspects of home-based work emphasise the flexibility of work hours and location. Kantor (2002) suggests that home-based work is an attractive alternative since it provides flexibility of work hours and location. Patterson (2003) suggests that women can allocate their time between domestic and home-based work. The flexibility argument is true in the ironic sense that there is no time limit for the work, and that flexibility of location is experienced as imprisonment at home as Hürrem, Hamiyet and Sevgi narrate.

> In home-based work, you cannot decide your working hours. Working hours depend on the magnitude of the work. Nowadays I am working so hard because I am trying to prepare trinkets for the fair. I cannot leave home ad it is such a small place; and everywhere is massed up with beads. (She was also doing some work during the interview[14]) (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

> For making only one blue bead against evil eye, you have to paint the same bead 9 times. Plus you are doing it with synthetic paints. It smells very bad. The smell of thinner... And it is also very unhealthy for children.
> I used to do the beadwork in the living room. I had to work at that place because we had no other place. I generally opened the window, but my children breathe in the thinner. Sometimes I worked there till morning if there was a delivery the next morning. (Hamiyet, 33, married, 2 children)

> I used to work at night, sometimes day passed that I even did not have a sleep for 3 hours. I had to clean the house every day and still it was untidy because the children massed up with waste material of sewing, pieces of clothes and of tread. It was hell. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

[14] Parentheses belong to the author.

The flexibility of home-based work stretches the work hours and makes life harder, contrary to Kantor's (2002) argument. Hamiyet's work hours were out of her control during the beadwork. Sevgi's experience shows that she even did not have time to sleep because of work. On the other hand, Hürrem who is an own-account worker also cannot control her working hours. Their experiences show that both piece-rate and own-account home-based workers cannot control their work hours.

Only Sülün, who was retired from the post office and had been selling her hand-made goods at the bazaar, declared:

> I decide my working hours and the work. I gain some extra money by doing home-based work (Sülün, 55, married, 2 children).

Sülün's experience can be interpreted as follows: if a woman is already economically empowered like Sülün, who has a retirement salary and is an own-account worker, then she is also empowered in home-based work relations. But if a woman really needs the money that she earns from home-based work, than it is nearly impossible for her to arrange her working hours.

Nineteen women have reported that they cannot control their working hours. Seventeen women have also said that they have to neglect their domestic work activities due to the difficulties in getting the work done on time. These experiences challenge the study of Patterson (2003), which states that home-based work is an advantageous alternative for women to combine domestic work and market work.

5.5.3 Income-Generation Aspect

This subsection examines the income-generation as an empowering aspect, which is also examined in the subsection 'Earning Money', as one of the reasons why women choose home-based work. The income-

generation aspect is the last aspect listed, as one of the positive characteristics of informal home-based work in the literature; and it seems really seems to be a positive aspect.

In cases, when women's money become proportionally important in the family income, such as the cases of Hürrem, Sülün, Sevgi and Nur, women seem to participate more in the decision-making processes in the family.

> At home, my husband and I used to make our decisions together. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children).
>
> In our home, generally I make the decisions about spending. (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

At this point it is important to denote that those participants are the ones who are earning nearly as much as their husbands.

Most of the participants declare that they feel themselves empowered when they earn some money, regardless of its amount. This finding support studies (Benerian and Roldan 1987; Estrada 2002; Kabeer 1997; 2000) on economic freedom and empowerment. On the other hand none of the participants declared that they feel themselves empowered through home-based work. This indicates that participants see not work but money as the empowering or the positive aspect of informal home-based work. This situation is not surprising if one looks at the following negative aspects of informal home-based work.

This study criticises optimistic approaches (Kantor 2002; Patterson 2003) due the fact that they already accept the domestic work burden as part of women's roles without and do not question it. This study's findings do not support the optimistic studies (Kantor 2002; Patterson 2003) on the positive aspects of home-based work. The negative aspects of home-based work listed in the literature are also investigated in this study, as follows.

5.5.4 Stress Factors

One of the most influential negative effects of home-based work on women is that it stresses women. All participants say that they suffer from stress caused by home-based work. One of the characteristics of home-based work which stresses the worker is preparing the work on time.

> To finish the work on time puts a lot of stress on me. Imagine you have promised to deliver work on time; I have always kept my promise. Sometimes I have worked till dawn. (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

> Preparing the work on time puts so much stress on me. (Ayşe,38, married, 2 children)

Women's experiences show that difficulties in time allocation of work stresses women. This findings supports this study's critics on studies (Dangler, 1994; Perrrons, 2003) which assume that home-based workers can control their time and work.

Another important stress factor is the problems that occur when the middleman of the firm does not like the work done.

> Sometimes work puts so much stress on me. Because sometimes the firm, which gave us the work does not like our work. In these cases we cannot get any money, besides we have to unweave embroideries and redo the work. If the pullover was damaged during the work, again we cannot get any money (Nur, 30, married, 2 children).

Also the irregularity of the work puts stress on workers:

> When I could not get any work, I was stressed because there was no money. If one compares us, I am definitely more stressed than my husband. He gets rid of his stress outside. Or maybe he just hides his stresses inside. He only felt stressed in

> the first months of his retirement. But now he is o.k. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)
>
> Embroidery on pullovers makes you much more ambitious than you are. You try to get work as much as you can. But when you come home, and see the mountain of pullovers, it stresses you very much. (Nur, 30, married, 2 children)

Irregularity of work also means irregularity of income. And that causes anxiety for people who do this job in order to earn their lives like most of the home-based workers interviewed.

Another important element of stress is also social pressure on women.

> I was so stressed, when I was working as a home-based worker. What put stress on me most was too many guests and their gossip. I wish I never did home-based work. When I started to work outside, the number of guests decreased a bit. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

The factors of stress narrated by the participants can be summarised as: absence of work thus absence of money, too much stress due to being overworked, dual burden (doing both domestic work and home-based work at the same time), difficulties in coping with social relations while working at home. The last factor is also related with the fact that people in the social surroundings do not perceive home-based workingwomen as 'workers'. Thus they come for long visits, and expect good housewifery. This shows that the invisibility of home-based work in the social sphere also causes many occasions that lead to stress.

5.5.5 Dual Burden

Another negative aspect of home-based work is dual burden. Home-based workingwomen never get rid of their domestic work responsibilities. In other words, home-based work does not change the sexual division of domestic work at home.

As home-based work does not change the sexual division of labour at home, consequently it perpetuates the traditional roles in the family. A study (Sullivan, 2003) suggests that home-based work perpetuates traditional family roles. Another author, Estrada (2002), directs our attention to the two-sided effect of home-based work. She suggests that home-based work has two conflicting effects; while the income-generation aspect empowers women, working at home reinforces their traditional roles, as mentioned in Chapter 2.

The perpetuation of family roles occurs in home-based work, as the work does not challenge the patriarchal ideology dictating that women's place is their home. Staying at home obliges women to continue playing their traditional roles.

Contrary to Dangler's (1994)[15] arguments that home-based work partly alleviates women's dual burden, many participants state that no one helps them with domestic work. Nearly all participants agree that they (used to) work after they finished the domestic work.

> I do all the housework during the daytime. Then, I start to do my home-based work. Generally, I work till 2 or 3 o'clock at night (Fadime, 32, married).

Only one of Sevgi's daughters helps her in domestic work, but this is because she has to, as her mother is also a cleaning lady and is not at home during the day.

Moreover, working at home also increases the amount of the domestic work. This finding again challenges studies stating that home-based workers can easily enjoy both domestic and market work, such as Edwards and Field-Hendrey (2002) and Perrons (2003). Since women

[15] For the theoretical discussions about dual burden and home-based work, please see subsection 2.4.2

are working in their homes, waste materials such as waste threads, pieces of cloth, paint etc. fill the house leading to more cleaning work.

> There is a lot of dirt, it makes trouble at home. (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

The case of home-based workers can be summarised as they are doing both market work and domestic work, the latter also being increased with the dirt of market work. This interpretation supports studies such as Kantor (2002) and Silver (2003).

Given all these findings, it would not be so hard to guess that these women do not have much free time.

5.5.6 Free Time

One of the negative aspects of home-based work is that workers do not have sufficient free time. As it has been discussed in Chapter 2, home-based work leaves less free time for the workers (Silver, 2003).

> I have no free time. If I could have an hour free, I would want to solve crossword puzzles (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children).

Only Fadime, who has no children, declared that she has free time. But others clearly state that they do not have free time.

> Throughout my home-based work experience, during the day I had to look after my three children, perform domestic work, and also deal with guests. I did home-based work during the night, most of the time I worked till 5:30 in the morning. Many days I was not able to sleep for even three hours. But I did home-based work with my own will. My own home, my children… I worked in my own home- instead of going out somewhere. I never had free time (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children).

5.5.7 Isolation

Another important negative aspect of home-based work is isolation. Home-based work isolates workers socially (Silver, 2003).

> My relations with the neighbours are so limited because I am always at home and working (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children).

If one remembers that going outside the home is a problem for women, then one can easily see that one of the main socialisation groups of the participants are their neighbours. Thus, limited relations with neighbours mean limited social life. Also, most of the women in the neighbourhood are also home-based workers, thus limited relations with neighbours also mean limited relations other home-based workers.

Further effects of the social isolation of the worker will be discussed with their implications on the structuring of home-based work in the next chapter. But here, it is important to denote that the isolation of home-based worker occurs not only in the social relations sense but also in the spatial sense.

> I definitely prefer working outside. It would be very nice to come home in the evenings and have time with the children. But everybody knows, that when you stay at home, for example on the weekends, you get bored. Your body resists your efforts to move. And then you lose your will to go outside. (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children)

Pınar's experience also indicates that spatial isolation, in other words, being imprisoned at home, can depress home-based workers. Staying at home also depresses women and kills their will to go outside the house; this effect reinforces the social isolation aspect of home-based work, as well.

If one rethinks all the negative aspects of home-based work which are analysed in this chapter, s/he can easily see that, sometimes, home-based work may cause depression, as in the example of Sevgi.

> Home-based work was exhausting. I became depressed more and more, and my depression grew so much that I started to beat the children. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

5.5.8 Control

Last but not least, another negative effect of home-based work is that it makes women objects of their husbands' control (Silver, 2003). This suggestion is not supported by the experiences of home-based workers who work to order and who hide their work from their husbands. Since husbands do not know anything about their wives' work and the money they earn, they cannot control them. Most of the women hide their work or the money they earn from their husbands. Such concealment sets them free to decide how to spend their earnings. These finding are in harmony with the findings of Kantor's (2003) mentioned in Chapter 2. The hiding activity itself is worth examining, and it will be examined in the subsection on 'Deliberate Concealment' in Chapter 6.

On the other hand, if husband or father knows the middleman or the firm, the control relation differs. Ayşe's experience is a very good example for this situation. In her case, the middleman is a relative of her husband. Thus her husband has the link for getting information about the work and the money earned. Not surprisingly Ayşe declares:

> I give what I earn to my husband.
> …. My husband decides how to spend the money (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children).

In this case Ayşe works in isolated conditions, as do many home-based workers. But she cannot benefit form the money she earns. This experience supports Kantor's (2003) argument and studies (Beneria and Roldan, 1987; Kabeer, 1997; 2000) asserting that the empowerment possibility of home-based work increases as the male control over the

production process decreases. Therefore, one can say that home-based work may also become a tool for controlling women's labour and its benefits.

5. 6 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the nature of home-based work in two categories, the reasons for the concentration of women into such work and the effects of home-based work on women, and has a look at the home-based work experiences of women and the effects of home-based work on them in order to reveal a more detailed picture of the phenomenon. This picture will be helpful for analysing the structuring of informal home-based work with the elliptic thinking strategy mentioned in the beginning of this study.

As suggested in Chapter 2, informal home-based work can be interpreted as an area in which women are subjected to the dual exploitation of capitalism and patriarchy. The structuring of informal home-based work shows us how these exploitations are practiced. Women's experiences also shed light on this process in the following Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6

AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURING OF INFORMAL HOME-BASED WORK

Deliberate Concealment and *Devalorisation By Obscuring*

6.1 Introduction: The structuring of informal home-based work

Chapter 6 concentrates on the structuring of home-based work. This study suggests two analytical tools for defining the process, which have been developed from the observations on home-based workers' lives and the relevant literature. These conceptualisations are only two possible suggestions that the literature may inspire, and are formulated according to the review of literature on the informal sector, women's work and home-based work, and are also based on the author's observations in the field during the period of this study.

Observations in the field indicated a large amount of invisibility and also an obvious devalorisation. The literature helps to formulate these observations and to extract a possible conceptualisation.

As mentioned in the very beginning, the main aim of this study is to understand the structuring of informal home-based work in the sphere of relations of capitalism and patriarchy. As suggested in Chapter 2, deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring are used by both

of the structures[16] in order to maintain their existence. Capitalism and patriarchy articulate and construct the structuring of informal home-based work via these mutual mechanisms.

After the examining of the nature of home-based work in Chapter 5, this chapter mainly completes the ellipse suggested in Chapter 1 by analysing the structuring of home-based work. Chapter 6 primarily analyses how deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring are used by both structures, than it concentrates on how these methods reinforce each other in the interaction process of both structures and the structure of informal home-based work.

6.2 Deliberate Concealment

Deliberate concealment means that a structure deliberately renders some of its own parts invisible for the rest. Deliberate concealment is a hiding method used by both capitalism and patriarchy in order to preserve and reinforce their own existences. In this chapter deliberate concealment is examined both through capitalism and patriarchy in accordance with the elliptic thinking strategy that has been suggested at the very beginning of this study. Women's experiences show that capitalist deliberate concealment can be grouped under three levels, as examined in the following subsections. Patriarchal deliberate concealment is dealt with in subsection 6.2.2.

6.2.1 Capitalist Deliberate Concealment

Capitalist deliberate concealment simply refers to the concealment of the production process. As observed in Chapter 2, capitalism deliberately

[16] In this study capitalism and patriarchy are conceptualised as structuring structures in terms of Bourdieu as mentioned in Chapter 1.

conceals some part of its own body from its own institutions. Home-based work is a production system that is also structured by this concealment process.

The data shows that there are three phases of concealment in home-based production, which are the micro, intermediate and macro deliberate concealment phases.

6.2.1.1 Micro Phase of Deliberate Concealment

The micro phase of deliberate concealment simply means the concealment of production at the individual level, or in other words, the concealment of the production process from the eyes of performing workers. As we see in Chapter 5, home-based workingwomen work under isolated conditions. Moreover there is rivalry between them.

> Home-based work did not make any contribution to my relations. The social environment was not good; there was so much gossip. When we were knitting pullovers, solidarity or friendship did not grow between us, because, people were jealous of each other's work. When one showed you or informed you about a work she did this not because she wanted to, but because she had to in the realm of social relations. There was always a competition between you and the others, between everyone. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

As Sevgi and other participants indicate some women tend to hide their work form others. In addition, they also tend to hide their skills from each other.

> I learned 'mekik işi'[17] form my landlady. But it took me very long to persuade her to teach me. She did not want to teach it to me, because she knew that I would take orders for it. But I implored so much that she could not refuse me (Satı, 40, married, 2 children).

[17] A special kind of lacework

This situation certainly prevents them from observing the work other home-based workers perform, even in their own neighbourhood. Thus home-based workingwomen mostly only know what they alone make in the production process and have no idea about the production of other home-based workers: this is the micro phase of the deliberate concealment.

6.2.1.2 Intermediate Phase of Deliberate Concealment

There is also an intermediate phase of deliberate concealment, meaning that home-based workers have no information about the sources of and the destinations of middlemen who bring them materials. Whether they are taking work from a shop or a firm is unknown to the home-based workers, as is just where and at what prices their products are sold. This process is deliberately concealed from home-based workers by middlemen or by firms.

> We used to do lacework for a middleman. None of the home-based workers knew for whom the middleman[18] was working. She used to tell us that she did not know the name and address of her employer; there was a bank account into which she received money for her work. Isn't it unbelievable? (Özlem, 32, married, 2 children)

The intermediate phase of deliberate concealment certainly means the concealment of the production process in the nearest links of the subcontracting chains to informal home-based workers. In other words, home-based workers have no information concerning the nearest link in the sub-contracting chains to which they belong. Firms or middlemen who are one link over the home-based workers in the subcontracting chains, deliberately conceal the chain from the home-based workers in order to maintain their own existence and earnings. Deliberate

[18] A woman in this case.

concealment of work at home automatically brings a decrease in workers wages. Home-based workers always earn lees than the middlemen and the subcontractor firms, although they are the ones doing the actual work.

> I knitted pullovers for a middleman for eight months. I was knitting a pullover for 3 YTL. The middleman trusted me, and she offered me to be her assistant. But I refused her, because I did not want to exploit others' labour. I did not know where the firm was getting work from, or whether the firm was selling the pullovers (Gülbahar, 24, single).

The reason for the intermediate phase deliberate concealment is that when home-based workers learn about the links, they tend to skip that layer in the subcontracting chain.

> Once we were working for a middleman.[19] She was cutting our wages. Than we learned who she was working for. Afterwards we started to take our work directly form the firm. (Gül, 29, single)

> My friends informed me that somebody was searching for workers to do buckles for him. I went there and he ordered buckles. That was in 1992. In those years tissue buckles were very fashionable. I was working for piece-rate and the rate was very low.
> Then I found a wholesaler in Kızılay; I showed him my work and we made a deal. I worked for him for 5 years. When I was working for him, I went to Kayseri (her place of origin) to buy tissues. I could find cheaper tissues in Kayseri. In today's money I was earning 50 YTL per day. But I was working very hard. (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children).

Bypassing the middlemen enabled Hürrem to earn 50 YTL per day, which makes 1500 YTL, meaning an amount 3 minimum wages in total. Moreover Hürrem became an own account worker instead of being a piece-rate worker; and her own account work was very close to the conceptual boundaries of women entrepreneurship. As can be clearly

[19] Here 'we' means Gül and other home-based workers in her neighbourhood. They were all working for the same middleman.

observed from her experience, women can skip a level in the subcontracting chains and definitely raise their status in the subcontracting chains, also increasing their income.

The intermediate phase of deliberate concealment sometimes also works at the organisational level. In the cases of 'collective work-taking' from a firm, again there are no contacts, as was the case in Gül's experience. But even in these cases and also in the cases of middlemen, subcontractor firms do not know the number of exact home-based workers and the total time of production. Thus the home-based part of the production is also concealed from the eyes of the subcontractor firm. No need to mention that it is concealed from the larger subcontractors. Intermediate deliberate concealment creates an environment of undocumented work, which is, as defined by Stark (1987), unprotected work.

In the home-based work, the production process is concealed from the authorities, moreover from the workers themselves and even sometimes from the firm. Thus there is no document or proof defining the home-based production process other than the life experiences of women. At this point it would be useful to remember the methodology of this study as discussed in Chapter 4. In this study women's experiences are taken as the basic source of knowledge. This quality of deliberate concealment shows that no other way would, in fact, help one to unveil it.

6.2.1.3 Macro Phase of Deliberate Concealment

Intermediate deliberate concealment, which hides home-based parts of production from subcontractor firms, accompanies the macro phase of deliberate concealment. The macro phase of deliberate concealment means that the home-based work production process is concealed from the regulatory authorities of the system. No women mentioned having a

written contract with the middlemen or the firms that they work with. This fact shows that the home-based phase of production is completely unrecorded and concealed from the regulatory bodies of the system, as argued in Chapter 2. These findings are consistent with the relevant literature (Boris, 1996; Stark, 1989; The North South Institute, 2000). Informalisation means production without any record.

The system deliberately conceals some part of its production in order to save from the costs of its own institutions. Moreover informalisation, which is the process of the system's deliberate concealment, decreases the costs of labour and also the benefits of work for the worker. Some experiences show that this process occurs not only in case of home-based work but also in every kind of work which are informalised.

> My husband used to be a shopkeeper. He was earning well until 1994. He used to earn more when he worked on daily or weekly wages. But when he demanded monthly wage and social security, wages declined! But social security is very important when you have a family. (Fadime, 32, married)

Fadime's narrative reveals the firms attitude towards social security and recorded production. Employers deliberately divide the labour market into two separate ones which are formal and informal in order to save from labour costs. This finding supports the arguments on informalisation which assert that informalisation adds considerably to profitability (Stark, 1989).

Fadime's experience also shows that informalisation of work has accelerated after 1994, which is not surprising. As discussed in Chapter 3, the acceleration of informal employment increased in the 1990's (Bulutay, 1995; Şenses, 1996; Yentürk, 1997), in an economic environment in which new mechanisms of surplus-production and income-distribution, speculative finance based on hot money, fragile growth and public finance deficits reinforced each other and created

economic instability and a crisis in Turkey (Yeldan, 2001). This finding is consistent with the relevant literature (Bulutay, 1995; Köse and Öncü, 1998; 2000; Şenses, 1996; Yeldan, 1998 a; 1998 b; 2001; Yentürk, 1997).

Macro deliberate concealment or the informalisation process pushes women's work into informal home-based work, as can be observed from Nur's experience:

> I graduated from vocational high school, and I wanted to work for an atelier. But I could not find a proper job at any atelier. Employers either do not provide you social security, or offer you very small wages on daily or weekly basis. I had no chance practice my profession[20]. (Nur, 30, married, 1 child).

Here it is important to denote that deliberate concealment is an important factor in the concentration of women into informal home-based work. Not only does deliberate concealment first create the informal markets in which home-based workers work, it also creates the conditions which push women into those informal markets.

This analysis shows that examining informal home-based work in terms of deliberate concealment also provides an answer to the first research question of this study, which is on the reasons for concentration of women into informal home-based work. At this point it is important to denote that neither the structuring of informal home-based work nor the concentration of women's labour into it can be sufficiently described with capitalist deliberate concealment. In order to have a proper picture of these processes one has to examine the phenomenon of informal home-based work also from the viewpoint of patriarchy. Focusing on patriarchy helps one understand why especially women's labour is used in the structuring of informal home-based work.

[20] Nalan graduated from vocational school and her profession is tailoring.

6.2.2 Patriarchal Deliberate Concealment

After analysing informal home-based work from the market perspective, this subsection examines the issue from the patriarchal point of view as suggested by the elliptic thinking strategy. In order to understand the structuring of informal home-based work, this subsection observes the mechanisms of patriarchy which structure the practices of home-based work.

As discussed in subsection 2.7, patriarchy deliberately conceals women and their work in order to maintain its own existence. The concealment is sometimes physical.

> How can I consider home-based work as a profession! Nobody knows I am doing it. Nobody sees me! I am completely unseen!(Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

> I could not make my in-laws accept that I was doing a job, while I did home-based work; as nobody outside the family saw me doing it. And my in-laws chose to overlook. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

However, the findings of this study indicate that patriarchal deliberate concealment of women's work rather works through the resemblance of home-based work to domestic work and through the roles of mothering and wifehood. This subsection therefore analyses the resemblance between home-based work and domestic work.

In the structuring of home-based work, patriarchal deliberate concealment works through the other concealment practices of patriarchy, such as domestic work. Patriarchal ideology has excluded domestic work from the boundaries of paid work. The resemblance of home-based work to the domestic work in the spatial sense, and in some

cases also in the sense of the work done, alerts patriarchal ideology to a method of concealing home-based work.

Patriarchal ideology deliberately conceals domestic work and excludes it from the definition of paid work in order to maintain the existing gender inequality. Patriarchal deliberate concealment of women's work is also internalised by women. Women themselves do not conceptualise domestic work as work. For example, Name's mother is a housewife, and although Name has three brothers and a sister, she describes her mother as follows:

> My mother has never worked in her life (Name, 27, single).

Although Name's mother worked during all her life at home, Name does not see her efforts as a type of work. By doing this, Name, like many other women, underestimates women's labour and domestic work. This experience also very clearly indicates the presence of internalised patriarchal ideology. Patriarchal concealment of domestic work is also perpetuated by the members of the family:

> I do not see myself as a good mother or a good wife, because no one has appreciated my work either as a mother or as a wife. Although, as compared to my mother, I have struggled so much for my children, and always stood with my husband and always backed him. No one ever appreciates my work (Sevgi,, 40, married, 3 children).

Women's interpretation of life demonstrates the hazardous resemblance between home-based work and domestic work which sentences home-based work to the fate of domestic work, which is invisibility and devalorisation. These findings support Mies' arguments on housewifisation as discussed in subsection 2.7. Mies (1986) suggests that in so far as women are defined as housewives, their work will no longer be defined as wage work.

> Children tend to see you as a housewife model. In home-based work you do not perform anything so

> different from housework, such as knitting pullovers. You also knit pullovers for your children (Özlem, 32, married, 2 children).

The underestimation of women's work also expands and leads to the underestimations of certain kinds of work such as knitting, sewing, cooking, etc., which women usually perform.

Therefore, in some cases of home-based work such as knitting pullovers, sewing clothes, etc., women usually perform what they do as home-based work also for the household. For example, when they knit pullovers they also do it as a part of domestic work for their children and men. Or when they prepare dowry they also do it for their daughters…

Of course one can easily discern the relationship between patriarchal concealment of home-based work over its similarities with domestic work and the roles of women created by the patriarchal ideology.

6.3 Devalorisation by Obscuring

Patriarchy also deliberately conceals women's work in another way, which is concealing women's work under the curtains of motherhood and wifehood. Deliberate concealment of women's labour through mothering and wifehood is very closely related to patriarchal devalorisation by obscuring; therefore this mechanism of concealment and devalorisation of women's labour is examined under the main-heading of devalorisation by obscuring. Also, this following subsection on motherhood and wifehood shows how deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring are interlinked.

6.3.1 Mothering and Wifehood Roles: Patriarchal Devalorisation by Obscuring of Women's Work

This study suggests that informal home-based work is structured through both capitalism and patriarchy as a production method.

Patriarchal sexual division of labour divides work also in the spatial sense. Home and work done at home are in the domain of women and belong to a separate place from the world of paid work, while outside the home belongs to the realm of men (Boris and Prügl, 1996). Patriarchal ideology suggests that the ideal place for women is their home; and it dictates that all labour at home belongs to the definition of womanhood. This situation naturally gives rise to the definition of womanhood over mothering and wifehood roles, since all activities at home are covered by these two roles.

Patriarchal ideology conceals women's work with the mothering and wifehood roles. It also conceals women's work by defining it as complementary, and in addition devaluates it in this manner. Women's images of ideal women show that patriarchal devalorisation by obscuring occurs as an aspect of role definitions rooted in internalised patriarchal ideology. All the participants define ideal women as a woman with children and home.

> The mission of a woman is to look after her children and take care of her house (Nur, 30, married, 1 child).
>
> A woman should not neglect her children and her house (Satı, 40, married, 2 children).

Such definitions show the dominance of motherhood and wifehood in the definition of women in their own eyes.

> An ideal woman should be at her home when her husband returns home from work. She should know his needs and should supply them before he

> declares. She has to back him both in this world and the other one (Merve, 25, single).

As can be seen from Merve's expression, the wifehood role may sometimes not even end with death! Furthermore, these findings show that work done at home is excluded from the definition of work and included in the definition of womanhood as suggested in subsection 2.7. This finding also supports studies such as Boris and Prügl, 1996; and White, 1991.

Informal home-based workers' definition of womanhood through mothering and wifehood conceals women's own individualities and turns them into bodies which are working to serve others. This process can be easily seen if one looks at how women spend their earnings.

> I work to make a contribution to kitchen expenses and to supply the children's needs (Mensure, 36, married, 2 children).

All participants except the single ones declared that they spent their earnings for their children and their families' needs, as examined in 5.4.2. Therefore, patriarchal ideology not only conceals women's work but also obscures their needs.

> My husband's family has never shown empathy to me. It has been hard to bear. But on the other hand if I made my husband break off with his family he would get sick. My work was never seen. I have worked until the morning in order to by some milk to my children. My husband's family interprets this as spending my husband's money for unnecessary things. My husband has always been good to me but he could never manage to defend me against his family. I bore poverty, deprivation and smash at the same time. (Sevgi, 40, married, 3 children)

In all the stories of women, women's needs tend to be seen as families' needs, and men's needs tend to be perceived in an individualistic manner.

Most of the participants reported that they earn money for family needs such as food, the costs of children's schooling, and children's other needs. Only two of them (Nur and Sevtap who are both in their twenties and single and living with their parents) declare that they spend some of the money they earn for their own individual consumption, such as for cigarettes. These findings are in harmony with Van Staveren's (1997) argument that some mothers empower themselves in order to empower others. But in fact, participant mothers in this study work for empowering others. In most of the cases, women's position in the family does not change with home-based work.

Women do not declare that they have the right to spend their money also on themselves and for their own needs and demands. They think that the family, children and husbands come first. It seems like most of the time they are at the end of the list after the bills, that is of course, if they exist on the list at all.

At this point one may argue that poverty also has undeniable effects on the situation of the subordination of women in the list of necessities. But one has to mention the immense effects of internalised patriarchal ideology. Women's subordination in society is reinforced by the patriarchal deliberate concealment of not only women's work but also of women's selves. In this process patriarchy conceals women even from their own eyes.

In this context one can conclude that patriarchal deliberate concealment of women's work plays an important role in the subordination and oppression of women, thus directly contributing to the continuity of the structure. Such a conclusion is perfectly in accordance with the conceptualisation of deliberate concealment in Chapter 2.

The narratives of participants also show another interesting finding: most women define their work as a complement to the family budget.

This finding supports Kümbetoğlu's (1992) study. In this context 'complement' labels both domestic and home-based work, in other words women's work. Such a labelling of women's work is the effect of patriarchal deliberate concealment of women's work via mothering and wifehood roles.

This study also has found that home-based workers do not recognize or define themselves as workers. They rather define themselves as mothers and housewives. This finding is also in harmony with studies on home-based workers in Turkey, such as White, 1991; Kümberoğlu, 1992 and Hattatoğlu, 2000. The labelling of home-based work as complementary also prevents women from developing worker's identities. Patriarchal ideology devalues women's labour by obscuring it by defining it as complementary, and conceals women's quality of being a worker.

In other words, patriarchal ideology devalues women's labour by obscuring it under the mothering and wifehood roles and defining it as complementary to these roles. This finding is in harmony with the studies (Elson, 1995; Mills, 2003) on the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy.

The labelling of women's labour as complementary is the devalorisation of women's work by patriarchy. It occurs as projection of patriarchal deliberate concealment of women's selves by the mothering and wifehood roles. In this process, home-based work articulates to the definition of wifehood.

> A good housewife should also do some income-generating activities at home. (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children)
>
> A housewife should know sewing, knitting and other needlework. Because women know these things. (Ayşe, 38, married, 2 children)

These findings are in harmony with White's (1991) study on home-based workers in Istanbul, which shows that women see home-based work and domestic work as a part of women's identity, and also with study of Boris and Prügl (1996), which shows that in the beginning of the 18th century, home-based work meant the fulfilment of the family roles for Italian women in urban centres.

Patriarchal ideology labels workers through their roles in the family (Elson and Pearson, 1986). Males earn the family wage and they are the head of the household. Women home-based workers earn 'pin money'.

> The responsibilities of a man are to protect and control his home, to father the children, to be interested in the children's problems and in mine. Being a man is not limited to just providing social security. (Hürrem, 49, married, 3 children)

> An ideal woman is good housewife. A good housewife should do housework regularly. Her house must be tidy. And she should look after her children. (Gülbahar, 24, single)

> A woman can demand anything from her man. She can demand money. She can expect him to earn a living and so on. But she cannot expect him to do housework. A woman's duty is to do housework. (Fadime, 32, married)

Although women earn important amounts for the survival of all family members, they still label their income as supplementary for or a contribution to the family budget. Internalised patriarchal ideology alienates women from the value of their own labour, thus ideologically devalorises their labour.

Patriarchal devalorisation by obscuring, which defines women's work as complementary, fortifies subordination and the concealment of women's work both in the market and in the family. This articulation of capitalism and patriarchy over deliberate concealment is examined in the subsection on articulations.

6.3.2 Devalorisation of Skill

Devalorisation by obscuring not only works through women' roles but also works over obscuring of skills. If one looks at the skills required and how they are obtained by informal home-based work, one can clearly see that these are not unskilled jobs.

If one observes table 6.1 below, one can clearly see that most of the jobs are parts of a production process and are not simplified in any sense of skill. They are still being done in the traditional way, which require a lot of skill.

Skill is obscured behind the walls of home. Work being done at home is seen as a hobby activity at home. This is closely related with the patriarchal ideology and production; the economic system definitely takes the advantage of the ideology. As mentioned in the subsection on mothering and wifehood roles, women themselves also do not define their labour as skilled, because they perceive their skills as a part of being a good woman or just being a woman.

Thus we can clearly observe that skill is obscured as production is obscured. Therefore devalorisation is naturally created within obscuring.

Table 6. Skills of Participants

Name	**Experience (years)**	**Skills**	**Skill obtained from**	**Graduated from**
Fadime	13	Knitting pullovers Embroidery over pullovers	Family Family	Primary school
Gül	6	Embroidery over pullovers	Her mother	Primary school
Sülün	10	'Bakır tel kırma' Patchwork Sewing Needle work	Training course	Secondary school
Nur	1	Embroidery over pullovers	Vocational high school	Vocational high school
Özlem	12	Knitting Sewing, painting tissues, lacework	Her mother Training course	Primary school
Satı	14	Embroidery, Canvas Carpet Weaving	Her mother The landlady Training course	Primary school
Fatoş	33	Knitting, sewing, embroidery	Her mother	Secondary School
Gülbahar	4	Embroidery over pullovers Beadwork Sewing bags	Family Friends Friends	Primary school
Sevgi	20	Embroidery with sewing machine Needlework, sewing knitting	Training course Family	Primary school
Sevtap	3	Sewing 'lif'[21] Embroidery Needlework	Friends	Primary school
Ayşe	13	Sewing 'lif' Embroidery	Neighbour Mother	Primary school
Pınar	10	Sewing	Vocational high school	Vocational high school
Hürrem	13	Bijouterie, Clasp	Vocational school	Vocational high school
Senem	26	Lace, needlework, embroider, 'lif'	Mother, who was a tailor	Primary school
Merve	5	Lacework, embroidery	Training course	Secondary school
Hamiyet	8	Beadwork Artificial flowers	Her sister	Primary school
Name	4	Embroider, needle work	Family	Primary school
Seray	13	Knitting, embroidery	Family	Left from 3rd year of primary education
Melek	30	Knitting, lace work	Family	Primary school
Mensure	10	Knitting	Family	Primary school

[21] 'Lif' is a special cleaning towel, used in bath for scrubbing oneself

> I do lacework for curtains for a shop. But none of the women in my neighbourhood can do this job, because they do not know how to sew, and also do not have a sewing machine (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children)

Pınar's example also clearly shows that skill is obtained through training as well as some capital (such as a sewing machine).

Here it is important to denote that home-based workers tend to attend training courses in order to obtain the necessary skills for home-based work and for making money, which proves that those skills are not a natural part of being a woman; instead they are obtained by formal and informal training. In the context of informal home-based work, these findings about the devalorisation of skill also challenge studies such as Breverman, 1974 and Kumar, 1994 which suggest that skills required for jobs will be decreased with capital intensive production which simplifies and homogenises labour; these findings also show how labour is devaluated with deliberate concealment as suggested in subsection 2.7.

6.3.3 Wage Differential Between Performers of Same Work

Devalorisation by obscuring can be clearly seen by simply comparing the wages of informal home-based workers and formal workers. In this table formal wages are taken as the minimum wage, because that is the least amount that a formal worker can receive.

Table 7. Wage Differentials

Work done	Industry	Home-Based Worker's Wage	Minimum wage
Preparing Jewellery Boxes	Manufacturing Sector	1ytl per 100 piece, average income: 20 ytl/week	318YTL/ month
Embroidery on pulovers (to middlemen)	Garments sector	0.5 YTL	318YTL/ month
Embroidery on pulovers To subcontractor firm	Garments sector	0.5 - 1 YTL /piece the market price of the pullover range from 40-140YTL	318YTL/ month
Sewing bags (to subcontractor firm)	Garments sector	1 YTL/piece	318YTL/ month
Lacework on machine for curtains	Textile sector	2YTL/ piece	318YTL/ month
Lacework for curtains handmade	Textile sector	25Kuruş/ 30 cm	318YTL/ month

As can be understood from the table a woman has to prepare 3180 jewellery boxes in one month in order to earn a minimum wage. Under normal conditions she earns 129 YTL a month, which is 1/3 of the minimum wage.

On the other hand, a home-based worker working for a subcontractor firm should do embroidery on 10 pullovers in one day and work 30 days a month to earn 318 YTL per month. Such a performance is at least twice of workers ability. But if she is working for a middleman, than she has do embroidery on 636 pullovers in a month.

If one looks at the handmade lacework for curtains, a home-based worker has to do 382 metres of lace in order to obtain a minimum wage, of course without any social security, retirement benefits and health insurance.

Here it is important to denote that, nearly all the works are irregular which means the income is irregular, thus in reality women have never got the chance to even perform these 'super worker' activities and reach these calculated amounts.

Home-based workers are aware of the wage differential:

> I think our work would be more valuable, if we worked outside home. People belittle home-based workers. Our work is invisible. (Gülbahar, 24, single)

> There is a big difference between my earnings and my husband's wages. This means that we are not paid according to our work. (Nur, 30, married, 1 child)

> If we calculate our earning according to our work hours, it is obvious that we do not receive enough payment for our affords. (Sülün, 55, married, 2 children)

The devalorisation of home-based work shows itself not only in piece-rate work but also in own-account work.

> If you demand enough money for your work, people tend to say that your work is too expensive and then you cannot sell your products. (Sülün, 55, married, 2 children)

These narratives show that participants themselves experience that their work is devaluated in the structuring of home-based work.

6.4 Structuring of Home-Based Work

This subsection examines the structuring of informal home-based work through the articulations of capitalism and patriarchy by methods of deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring. This study conceptualises capitalism and patriarchy as structuring structures in terms of Bourdieu, as defined in Chapter 1, and examines how this applies to home-based work. In other words, how capitalism and

patriarchy sculpt the practices of home-based work and how they maintain their existence in this mutual relationship. This subsection tries to shed some light on the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy in the context of home-based work by using the work and life experiences of women as narrated by themselves and by utilising the analysis that has been performed up to this point. This means that the present subsection observes on more concrete level the structuring of informal home-based work by using the conceptual suggestions of this study, thus completing the elliptic thinking strategy, which has been mentioned in the beginning of this study and has been practiced on abstract level in the theoretical parts.

The articulation of capitalism and patriarchy through deliberate concealment prevents women form creating a workers' identity. This study shows that home-based workers do not recognize or define themselves as workers. They rather define themselves as mothers and housewives. Patriarchal ideology devalues women's labour by defining it as complementary. Patriarchal devalorisation through the obscuring of women's work under the label of complementary, prevents women from developing workers' identities. No need to mention that this mechanism of patriarchy works for sustaining women's subordinated position in the family; on the other hand, it articulates with capitalist micro deliberate concealment. As examined in subsection 6.2.1, micro deliberate concealment conceals the work of home-based workers from each other, thus preventing them from developing workers' identities. The prevention of the consciousness of being a worker in the realm of work definitely reinforces the patriarchal ideology, which renders women's work invisible.

Furthermore, devalorisation by obscuring of women's work through the dominance of the mothering and housewife roles, plus the isolation effect of home-based work (as examined in subsection 5.5.7) is a further step of the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy. This process is a way of

obscuring women's labour and this articulation maintains the obstacles against women's developing identities as workers.

On the other hand, internalised patriarchal ideology, which excludes women's work from the boundaries of paid work, neglects women's workers identity, thus limiting their possible individual or collective demands and the possibilities of bargaining as well as their bargaining power.

The lack of a worker's identity brings along the fact of, standing alone against the subcontracting chains. Being alone against middlemen or firms makes it hard for home-based workers to defend their rights; and it reinforces the exploitative conditions of home-based work, which in turn reinforces the cost-decreasing effects of informalisation.

This situation gives rise to the fact that patriarchal deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring articulate with intermediate deliberate concealment. And this articulation of capitalism and patriarchy creates an environment in which both middlemen and firms can underestimate the value of women's work.

The underestimation of women's work by employers is also linked to the devalorisation by the obscuration of skills used by employers, in order to decrease wages:

> One day a woman came to me and asked if we[22] could sew cardboard labels on parcels. She offered 1YTL daily. I discussed the offer with my friends who did this work before. They told me that this work was very bad for sewing machines, because cardboard got shredded during the process and jammed the machine, burning the machine's motor. I also asked about it to a textile atelier and they confirmed the danger. Then we said no to the

[22] Here 'we' means Gülsüm and her 4 friends who used to go to the bazaar together and sell their handmade goods.

> middleman. Next week, she came with her boss[23]. We told her that we would do this work only if she could guarantee us insurance in case our sewing machines got burned.
>
> You should have seen their response! They shouted at us: "How could you refuse us! Here we are doing you a favour. You cannot get 1YTL per day in any work. We thought that you needed money; but it seems we were wrong!"
> The boss said, "If I were you I would not refuse such a job".
> I said to her: "Do you have a sewing machine?"
> "No."
> "Do you know sewing?"
> "No."
> "Therefore you do not know this job". (Özlem, 32, married, 2 children)

From Özlem's experience, one can see that sewing is in fact an important skill. And also, in order to sew, one has to have a sewing machine. In this case a sewing machine is also capital for production. Therefore in this work both labour and some part of the necessary capital is provided by the home-based workers, and both of these inputs are obscured and devaluated.

As can be clearly observed from Özlem's experience, at the end of the subcontracting chains which are close to home-based workers, the skills required for the work are directly concealed and devaluated in order to decrease wages and even sometimes from depreciation of capital.

Patriarchal ideology defines women's labour as worthless as compared to men; thus their subordination begins when they are little girls, as examined in Chapter 5. This situation also determines women's position in the market and shrinks their possibilities of participation in the workforce. This reinforces women's weak position in the market, along with the effects of poverty.

[23] Please see the subcontracting chains

> We were never paid enough for our efforts. (Sülün, 55, married, 2 children)

> They paid incredibly low wages. But I had to accept the work because I needed even that money. (Merve, 25, single)

> I have been knitting pullovers on piece-rate for a middleman for ten years, like many women in our neighbourhood. We are not paid enough for our efforts. Sometimes I want to rebel against this situation. But if I stop working for one month, I became indignant again; then, I start working again. Maybe I told myself to stop working a thousand times, but every time the middlemen came I took some work. (Mensure, 36, married, 2 children).

Moreover, patriarchal deliberate concealment of home-based work and devalorisation by obscuring of women's work through the motherhood and wifehood roles provides the justification for low wages and informalisation to employers:

> Once I agreed with a shop-owner to prepare lace for curtains, for 2YTL per piece. I prepared the laces and delivered them on time. But when I asked for payment, he offered me 1.5YTL per piece. He said to me "Don't you need money?" Then he offered me cloth instead of money. For a while I took the cloth as payment, because I thought I could use them for another work. But then I was left with lots of cloth and no money. (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children).

Patriarchal deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring of women's work articulate with the weak position of women in the market, and brings with it the idea that women do not work to earn money, because earning money is outside the realm of women and belongs to that of men. This finding also shows that in the context of informal

home-based work, patriarchal ideology labels men as 'family wage earners' and women as 'pin money' earners (Elson and Pearson, 1986).

> Employers think that at least you have a husband. And if he is not blind he could earn a living. (Pınar, 44, divorced, 2 children).

> Shop owners think that women spend their money on nothing useful. They think that we work to buy ourselves new golden necklaces. Therefore our payment time and also the amount is not important for them. (Özlem, 32, married, 2 children)

These findings completely support Mies' (1986) arguments on housewifisation. It is interesting that employers never think of how men spend their wages. In this case, patriarchal ideology justifies not only women's low wages but also not paying them wages at all. Therefore patriarchal devalorisation of women's labour weakens their position in the market. It is obvious that patriarchal deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring definitely reinforce and justify the capitalist devalorisation of women's work.

At this point it is important to remember that the interrelation between capitalism and patriarchy in the structuring of informal home-based work is not one-dimensional but rather a reciprocal link, which can truly be termed as articulation. The term articulation is used in this study in the context that patriarchal deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring weaken women's position in the market, while capitalist devalorisation of women's labour also fortifies women's subordination in the family.

In addition, macro deliberate concealment, which is created within the subcontracting chains, hides the patters of the production, as discussed in subsection 6.2.1.3. Therefore women cannot obtain knowledge of the

market value of their products. Thus they cannot attain any knowledge about the market value of their work. This situation again neglects their worker's identities. The absence of worker's identity provides employers a way to escape organised labour's control over production, which is one of the main reasons for the very existence of the informalisation process, as examined by Castells and Portes (1989).

This articulation, in which on the one hand there is the informal sector based on macro deliberate concealment of the production process, and women with obscured and devaluated work on the other, indicates how informal home-based work is connected to globalisation and post-Fordist production relations.

The combined effects of deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring obviously make women the ideal work force for informal production relations.

Macro deliberate concealment fortifies patriarchal deliberate concealment of women's work, and the circle of articulations of capitalism and patriarchy through mechanisms of deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring restarts from the articulation of micro deliberate concealment and patriarchal devalorisation by obscuring. This circle of mutual reinforcement shows how capitalism and patriarchy structure informal home-based work as a women's labour-intensive production process and provides an answer to the question posed at the beginning of the first page which is how capitalism and patriarchy articulate in the context of informal home-based work.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study has so far realised its aim, which was to formulate an understanding of the structuring of informal home-based work at the plane of interrelations between capitalism and patriarchy. Informal home-based work, which is chiefly an ancient mode of occupation that has gained a modern aspect, has close ties with capitalist relations of production as well as with patriarchy; thus giving rise to the need of rethinking its structure in relation to free market and to traditional gender roles. Considering informal home-based work under the light of capitalism and patriarchy leads to the development of an elliptic strategy of thinking an understanding based on two foci which has been discussed in the first chapter of this study.

In order to develop such an understanding, this study has primarily reviewed the present literature on informal sector of which informal home-based work is a part; then has proceeded to reviewing publications on women's work, as 80-90% of the informally home-based working people are women – a fact indicating the obviously special relationship between use of women's work and informal home-based work. The third group of publications this study dwells on is the literature on home-based work (Chapter 2).

Studies done on informal sector and home-based work in Turkey have been presented as a separate chapter. (Chapter 3)

Interpretations of the above-mentioned groups of publications from the viewpoint of two foci – that are capitalist production relations, and patriarchy- help to suggest possible conceptualisations about the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy through the structuring of informal home-based work. The concepts developed during the study have been **deliberate concealment** and **devalorisation by obscuring**.

There are numerous studies on the concealing aspect of patriarchy and observing life itself donates sufficient evidence to unveil the fact that suppression of women by patriarchy functions by hiding them physically.

Likewise, the global market hides a significant portion –as stated by various researchers- which has shifted from Fordist modes of production to those of subcontracting chains, making concealment possible ever since the 1970's, the change gaining speed during the last two decades. Concealing production frees capital from social and legal obligations, on a large scale, thus devalorising labour since it is hidden and therefore is neither estimated nor appreciated either in the economic, or legal or psychological sense.

Deliberate concealment and **devalorisation by obscuring** are the tools that capitalist production methods of the early 21st century articulate with relics of ancient patriarchy.

Home is not generally accepted or conceptualised as a working place. It is always home no matter, what is produced there. Domestic labour is not considered as 'work' and a woman doing home-based work is seen usually by herself also, as someone dealing with doing similar to

domestic work. She is confined to her home and thus unseen by society physically, so is her labour.

In order to penetrate in to the structuring of informal home-based work, and to test the mentioned theorisations, this study, that has been conducted according to the methodological understanding of the feminist standpoint, has utilised interactive in-depth interviews trying to be as non-hierarchical as possible (Chapter 4). This study used narratives of women as the basic source of information.

The interviewer has strictly refrained from steering the answers of the participants. The chief source of information has been the narratives of the participant women, whose number amounts to 20, as told by themselves.

Women have narrated their social origins how and when they have started doing informal home-based work, the type of work they are doing, the physical and social conditions of conditions of the working place, and the amount they earn and their feeling about their handy-work, as well as how they see themselves, the family, society, men and women.

They usually make a random piece of a product and seldom the whole product itself; have no information about the informal subcontracting chains they are included into and have poor or no idea about the final selling price of the product. Their usual and mutual main aim is to contribute to the family income, especially meet the compulsory expenses of their children. Home-based work has made seldom or no change in their lives as individuals, with the exception of three unmarried young girls. They usually complained about the poor physical and sanitary conditions of homes, which are almost always shanties, as working places.

The chief characteristics of their life stories and the very words they have used in describing their situation support the suggested concepts of this study namely **deliberately concealment** and **devalorisation by obscuring**; thus backing up this study in fulfilling its aim.

The practical situation created by **deliberately concealment** and **devalorisation by obscuring** deprives women of the chance of attaining self-confidence, and obliges them to low wages that certainly do not balance the labour put into production. Women strive but their production is overlooked, underestimated and their social positions hardly improve.

Despite all the disadvantages of informal home-based work, could it be turned into an area of struggle for women?

The picture drown by this study is a black one, but not completely devoid of some definitely hopeful implications: Informal home-based work in spite of its innate concealing and confining effect on women on the one hand, links her home-ridden existence to the capitalist market, thus offers dialectical possibilities. It stiffens and thickens **deliberate concealment** of women and their strong ties to home on the one hand, whereas on the other introduces paid work into their lives which is a circumstance in itself hiding possibilities of getting organised.

The very possibility of organisation[24] would in the long run produce an

[24]Home-based workers of the world, stared to get organised during the 1970's, when organisations such as SEWA - Self Employed Women's Association (for more information on SEWA please see: http://www.sewa.org/) were founded. In the 1990's, WIEGO - Women in Informal Employment: Globalising Organising (for more information on WIEGO please see: http://www.wiego.org/) and HOMENET -International Network for Home-Based Workers (for more information on HOMENET please see: http://www.homenetww.org.uk/) followed. HOMENET has connections in Turkey where home-based workers have been getting organised since the 1990's. The main aim of these organisations are to build networks among individual workers and organised groups as well as the improvement of working conditions.

One of the pioneering Turkish organisations, is Home-Based Working Women Work Group (Ev Eksenli Çalışan Kadınlar Çalışma Grubu) established in November 1999, whose aims are rendering visibility to home-based women workers, contributing to their organisations, and building network between Turkish workers and the global network of HOMENET (For more information on Home-Based Working Women Work Group please see HOMENET 2000; Home-Based Working Women Work Group, n.d.; 2001a; 2001 b; 2002;). The group has been in dialogue with home-based workers in 15 cities, in two of which home-based women workers have established three cooperatives, respectively:

Avcılar Cooperative (Istanbul) was established by eight women in 2001. This is the first home-based workers group to convene for a cooperative and originally came together in 1999. Neighbourhood relations and friendships played an important role in constructing trust among participants. Number of members has increased from 29 in 2003 to 33 in 2004. For more information on Avcılar Cooperative please see: Home-Based Working Women Work Group 2001b; 2002; Oku, Eroğlu & İl 2001)

Kuştepe Cooperative of Home-based Workers (Istanbul) was founded in 2004, following the model of Avcılar Cooperative, as a part of a project by Bilgi University. (For further information please see: Home-Based Working Women Work Group 2001b; 2002; Oku, Eroğlu & İl 2001) show that cooperatives improved solidarity among its members.

Şentepe Kooperative (Ankara) was founded in 2004, in the scope of a project implemented by Şentepe Community centre within the partnership of Human Resource Development Foundation and GTZ (Deutshe Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) and Home-Based Working Women Work Group. The aim is to establish direct relationships between the worker and the demanding firm, removing a few steps of the subcontracting chain.)

In addition to the above there are various groups in different cities. In November 2004 Home-Based Working Women Work Group organised the first National Conference of Home-based Women Workers, an important venture for building networks of information- experience sharing between home-based workers- also rendering visibility in national scope.

inevitable depreciation effect on **deliberate concealment** and **devalorisation by obscuring** of home-based work. Organisation possibilities, at the moment appear to be the only attainable way to enlighten the invisible area of capitalist global system, namely the informal sector. Organisation possibilities seem to be the only way for a possible improvement to redeem the individual worker from her lonely and disarmed position in front of the huge informal subcontracting chain of production. This is why organisation of home-based workers are so critically important; it is the only remedy that might render the **deliberate concealment** and **devalorisation by obscuring**.

This study may be useful for home-based workers in order to develop new methods for rendering visibility, since it offers an explanation of the basic mechanisms in other words structuring of informal home-based work. At this point one may question the role of organisation of home-based workers in the vicious circle of deliberate concealment and devalorisation by obscuring; but this is a subject for further research.

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APPENDIX A

INTRODUCING PARTICIPANTS

Hürrem (Yenimahalle)

She was born in Kayseri in 1956. Her family migrated to Ankara when she was 4 years old. She has finished primary education. She was a very good student and wanted to continue her schooling but her father would not allow her to. In the last decade she finished high school as an external student. She got married to a teacher when she was 18. Then she lived in various cities of Turkey because of her husband's job. They had 3 daughters. The oldest one became a teacher as she had always wished. The second girl is finishing her master's degree and the third is now a university student.

She went to a bijouterie course in community centre. She had worked as a home-based worker in the first years of her marriage, but she quit with the birth of the first baby. She has been doing home-based work since 1992. She makes buckles and bijouterie.

Sülün (Demetevler)

Sülün is 55 years old. She came to Ankara from Yozgat when she was 10. She finished primary education. She is retired from the public sector. She got married with a office boy when she was 18. Her husband is also retired now. They have 2 children. The elder one is 30 and is an air liaison officer, and the other one is now doing his compulsory military service.

She went to a women's entrepreneurial course and had needlework in the vocational high school. She has been doing home-based work for 20 years. She started working at home because the money they earned was not been enough to secure a living after the children started school.

Sülün has been doing patchwork and preparing bedclothes and covers for sofa sets with 'bakır tel kırma' (embroidery with copper wires) and sewing baby troops and preparing dowry.

Sevgi Çıracı (Mamak)

Sevgi is 40 years old. She is the daughter of a peasant family from Sivas. She has two sisters and a brother. Her family came to Ankara when she was 10. She has finished primary education. She wanted to read more and have a decent job in the future. In their family all the resources were used for the little brother, thus her mother and her father did not allow her further schooling. She got married when she was 18, to Haydar. She has three daughters. The eldest one is taking preparatory courses for a good score in the university entrance exam in order to become a teacher or a lawyer. The middle daughter is in high school, and the little one goes to primary school.

She finished a course on embroidery with a sewing machine. She has started home-based work because they need money. She did embroidery by hand and with a sewing machine, needlework with a sewing machine (piko), knit pullovers, embroidered canvas and sewed quilts.

Sevtap (Tuzluçayır)

Sevtap was born in Adıyaman as the fourth child of a Kurdish family in 1977. She has three brothers. She came to Ankara with her family in 1989. Her mother is a housewife and her father is a retired worker. Her brothers are in a European country as illegal workers. She has graduated from primary school. Although she wanted to study so much, her father would not allow her to continue her schooling because she was not a man. But with the permission of her eldest brother living abroad, she is now attending to secondary school as an external student. She has been doing home-based work for three years, doing all the domestic work and looking after her very ill mother. She has been doing embroidery, knitting 'lif's a special Turkish product, a product from wool for scrubbing in baths. She tries to sell them in her environment.

Pınar (Tuzluçayır)

Pınar came to Ankara when she was 20 years old. The reason for her migration was marriage. Now she is 44 years old and divorced. She graduated from vocational high school ten years ago. She lives with her son (11) and daughter (6) who both go to school. She lives with the money she has saved and earns from tailoring. She has also worked as a cleaning lady and nurse but she has to stop working outside because she has to look after her children. Nowadays she is going to a course on

childcare and patient care given by a foundation. She is preparing herself to work outside in the coming years.

Ayşe (Nato Yolu)

Ayşe was born in Ankara. She is 38 years old. She defines her family as "a family that does not want to sent its daughters to school". She is married to an office boy and has two sons who both go to high school. She has been working as a home worker for 13 years. She has been doing embroidery and kniting 'lif' in the neighbourhood. She works because it is not possible to finance a family of four only with an office boy's salary.

Nur (Güventepe)

Nur's family has migrated from Yozgat to Ankara when she was 1 year old. Now she is 30. She graduated from a textile-technical high school. She married to Hasan in 1996. They have a 7-year-old boy. She used to be a secretary at a private bank, but after the secularisation of the bank due to corruption she lost her job and also her social security. When the unemployment came in 2001, she joined her friends who had been working as home-based workers. Her husband used to be a taxi driver, but after the economic crises he became unemployed. As a home-based worker she works on piece-rate basis. Firstly, she and her mother had made jewellery boxes for a middleman. Since 2004 she and her friends embroider with beads on the sweaters and shirts of a subcontractor firm.

Name (Şentepe)

Name is one of the five children of an artisan family from Çamlıdere, a village near Ankara. Her family migrated to city before she was born. Her mother is a housewife. She has social security from her father who has the social security of BAĞ-KUR. Now one married brother and his wife, the middle brother and his son, the little brother, Name and her parents are living all together. Although she has wanted so much to go on with her education, she had to stop after her graduation from primary school.

She used to embroider, to do needle work, to embroider with beads, to sew bags. After working for a middleman for 2 years, she came to the Community centre in Şentepe, and since 2004 she has been actively participating in the establishment of the Şentepe Cooperative of Home-Based Workers.

Fadime (Kayalar)

Fadime was born in 1973, she came to Ankara from her village with her marriage to Ahmet. Ahmet is a clerk in Çıkrıçılar Yokuşu, a historical location near Ankara Castle. Thanks to Ahmet's work they have social security. They live together with Ahmet's mother who is nearly 65 years old. Although they wanted to so much, Ahmet and Fadime could not have a baby.

She has been a home-based worker since she came to Ankara. She used to embroider on order. For a short period of time she worked in a parliamentarian's house as a cleaning lady. But she had to quit because *"the lady of the house was so cruel and oppressed me very badly"*. She has also been getting work from the Şentepe Cooperative and has been sewing bags and embroidering with beads.

Gül (Nato Yolu)

Gül was born in Ankara in 1976. Her family migrated to Ankara from Yozgat many years ago. She is single. Since her father's death, Gül and her mother have been living together with her brother, his wife and their 2 children.

She has been a home-based worker for 6 years. She worked for a middleman several years, then she find a formal job in a project for one year. After the end of the project she start taking work form a subcontractor firm. She does embroidery with beads and needlework.

Gülbahar (Barıştepe)

Gülbahar is 24 years old. She is single and lives with her parents. She graduated from primary school. She wanted go on studying but her parents did not allow her. She attends the community centre, where she tries to learn new things. Her father is retired from BAĞ-KUR, but she has no social security. Her mother is a housewife. She has been a home-based worker for 4 years. She has been knitting pullovers at piece-rate for a middleman.

Özlem (Mamak)

Özlem was born in Ankara 32 years ago. Her husband is an office boy. They have two children. She has been a home-based worker for 12 years. She did different kinds of home-based work, from embroidery to food. She is an active member of a home-based worker's group. They have a stand at the bazaar and every week they sell their products together. She also voluntarily works to get home-based workers organised.

Hamiyet (Tepebaşı)

Hamiyet's family came to Ankara from Kayseri for economic reasons. She was born in Ankara in 1972. She married when she was 18, and she has two sons. One is ten, the other is thirteen years old. Her husband left them for another woman. Now she lives with her children. He visits them regularly and gives her small amounts of money (5-10 YTL per week). She has been a home-based worker for 8 years. She has made artificial flowers until the last 4 years when artificial flowers was so fashionable, and made baby hats and bead work for piece rate. She has also done embroidery to order.

Merve (Saime Kadın)

Merve's family comes from Tokat. She was born in Ankara in 1980. She graduated from secondary school. Her family did not allow her to go to high school. She lives with her parents and her sister. Her mother was a very good student at primary school, but her family did not allow her to continue her education. Her father is retired from EGO, and her mother is a housewife. She has two brothers; one is married and the other is at university. Both sisters are home–based workers. Merve has done embroidery, needlework, and embroidery with a sewing machine.

Mensure (Pamuklar)

Mensure was born in Kars in 1969. Her family migrated to Ankara because of her father's job in 1989. She graduated from primary school. She wanted to go on with her schooling, and her father supported her, but her mother did not give permission, because she had 7 brothers and her mother needed the eldest sister to help her with domestic work. Her

husband is a construction worker. They have two children. Both of them are in school. They have a green card. Her husband did not allow her to use a spiral, so she has been suffering from many gynecological problems. She has been a home-based worker for ten years. She has been knitting pullovers on piece-rate.

Fatoş (Yenimahalle)

Fatoş is 50 years old. She comes form a middle-class family. Her husband was retired from an office. She was a home-based worker for 33 years; she stopped working a year ago. In the 1980's she opened a small shop for selling her work. Then, in the 1990's when her husband retired, he took that shop from her and turned it in to a restaurant. So she continued to work at home. The restaurant went bankrupt after several years and they had to sell the shop. Fatoş knit pullovers, sewed skirts for any age, also knit and sewed baby dresses, embroidered bedroom and living room troops. She believes that "from a peasant to a professor, every man is jealous of his wife's success".

Satı (Mamak)

Satı was born in a village of Tokat 40 years ago. She married Hüseyin who is also from the same village. They both graduated from primary school. She has two children. The youngest is in vocational high school and the eldest is at university. She is proud of them. They come to Ankara in the 1980's because of her husband's job. Between 1981-1989 Satı worked as a home-based worker. She weaved carpets and embroidered to order. In the beginning of the 1990's they migrate to İzmir when her husband found a job at a bicycle factory. During the

years in İzmir she worked in several jobs. Then, in 2001, they returned to Ankara. Since 2001 she has been doing home-based work.

Melek (Mamak)

Melek is in her fifties. She and her husband came to Ankara from Sivas in 1970's. Her husband is retired from the public sector, but he still works at the carpenter shop, which belongs to the family. She graduated from primary school. She has two sons, both of them are working, and a daughter who attends university. They all live together in an apartment. She has been a home-base worker since the first years in Ankara. She prepares table and bed troops with lacework, knits pullovers and socks. She also works to order but before his retirement her husband used to sell her products in his office.

Seray (Kızılay)

Seray came to Ankara form Adıyaman because of her marriage with Zeki 14 years ago. She did not finish primary school. Her husband is a janitor. In her first years in Ankara she did not talk to people very much because of language difficulties. Now she is 33 and has got used to Ankara. She has a daughter and a son; both of them go to school. She has been a home-based worker since coming to Ankara. She knits pullovers for piece-rate to a middleman. She also does embroidery to order.

Senem (Mamak)

Senem was born in 1961. Her family migrated to Istanbul from Sivas in the 1970's. She graduated from primary school. She migrated to Ankara because of her marriage in 1980. She has two children. She used to

embroider, and do needlework at home. She opened a small draper's shop. But she had to close it in the 1994 economic crisis. Her husband used to be an artisan but he went bankrupt in the last economic crisis in 2001; nowadays he works in the black market. She is still working as a home-based worker. Nowadays she knits 'lif'.

Table 8. A Quick Look at the Participants

Name	**Age**	**Place of origin**	**Marriage**
Hürrem	49	Born in Kayseri, when she was 4	Married,3 daughters
Sülün	55	Yozgat, when she was 10	Married, 2 sons
Sevgi	40	Sivas, when she was 10	Married,3 daughters
Sevtap	28	Adıyaman, when she was 12	Single
Pınar	44	Yozgat marriage, when she was 20	Married, 1 son, 1 daughter
Ayşe	38	Born in Ankara	Married, 2 sons
Nur	30	Yozgat, when she was 1	Married, 1 son
Name	27	Born in Ankara	Single
Fadime	32	Migrated when she was 19	Married
Gül	29	Born in Ankara	Single

Name	**Age**	**Place of origin**	**Marriage**
Gülbahar	24	Born in Ankara	Single
Özlem	32	Born in Ankara	Married, 1 son, 1 daughter
Hamiyet	33	Born in Ankara	Married, 2 sons
Merve	25	Born in Ankara	Single
Mensure	36	Kars, migrated when she was 20	Married, 1 son, 1 daughter
Fatoş	50	Born in Ankara	Married,1 daughter
Satı	40	Tokat, migrated, when she was 25	Married, 2 children
Melek	50	Sivas, when she was 19	Married, 2 sons, 1 daughter
Seray	33	Adıyaman, when she was 14	Married, 1 son, 1 daughter
Senem	44	Sivas, when she was 9	Married with 1 son, 1 daughter

APPENDIX B

Reyhan Atasü Topçuoğlu

DERİNLEMESİNE MÜLAKAT YÖNERGESİ

Informal Sector and Home-Based Work in The Period of Globalisation tezi araştırma soruları ve her araştırma sorusuna yönelik derinlemesine mülakat sorularından oluşan derinlemesine mülakat yönergesidir.

Demografik Bilgiler

Doğum yeri:
Kaç senedir Ankara'da yaşıyor:
Yaş:
Eğitim Düzeyi: (Neden daha fazla okumadı ?)
Sosyal güvence:
Kocasının geliri:
Evli değilse babasının hane geliri:
Aylık hane geliri:
Göç:
Hanedeki diğer kişiler:
Bunların yaşı, eğitim durumları, iş ve meslekleri:
Çocuk sayısı:
Çocukların yaşları,eğitim durumları, iş ve meslekleri:
Hanede bakıma muhtaç kişiler kimler ? Neden muhtaç?

I. İŞİN ÖYKÜSÜ: EVDE ÇALIŞMA BİLGİ VE DENEYİMLERİ

Evde çalışma bilgileri:

1. Evde gelir amaçlı neler yapıyorsunuz?
2. Bu tür işler yapmaya ne zaman başladınız?
3. Neden başladınız?
4. Neler yaptınız? Sırasıyla anlatır mısınız ?
5. Bu işlerin var olduğunu kimden haber aldınız?
6. Siz de yapmaya nasıl başladınız?
7. Haftada kaç gün bu işleri yapıyorsunuz?
8. Günde kaç saat bu işleri yapıyorsunuz?
9. Ne zamanlarda bu işleri yapıyorsunuz? Zamanınızı evde çalışma ve diğer ev işleri arasında nasıl kullanırsınız?
10. Bu işleri evin neresinde yapıyorsunuz?
11. Yalnız mı yapıyorsunuz?
12. Ne zaman ne kadar çalışacağınıza dilediğiniz gibi karar verebiliyor musunuz? (Bu kararı neler etkiliyor? / Bunları neler/kimler belirliyor?)

İşin iktisadi biçimi:

13. Genelde yaptığınız işlerde, bir malın tamamını mı yoksa (üretim sürecinin) bir parçasını mı gerçekleştiriyorsunuz?
14. Ürettiğiniz ürünün sizden sonra nereye veya kime gittiğini biliyor musunuz?
15. Ürettiğiniz ürünün nerede satıldığını biliyor musunuz? Oradan da başka bir yere satılıyor mu?
16. Kaça satıldığını biliyor musunuz?
17. Siparişin nereden/kimden geldiğini biliyor musunuz? (İşin sahibinden haberi var mı?)

Aracı-ücret:

18. Aracıyla ilişkileriniz nasıl?
19. Aracı ile nasıl ilişkiye geçtiniz?
20. İş getiren aracı akrabanız mı?
21. Aracının akraba veya yabancı olması alınan ücreti etkiliyor mu? Nasıl?

Ücretlerini nasıl alıyorlar:

22. Parça başı işte ücretinizi nasıl alıyorsunuz?
23. Para konusunda aracı ile nasıl anlaşıyorsunuz?
24. Aracının vaat edip ödemediği oluyor mu? Böyle durumlarda ne yapıyorsunuz? Bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Ücret ve çalışmada bağımlılık:

25. Aracını ya da firmanın size ilk etapta ödeme yapması yerine yeni iş getirmesini mi tercih edersiniz? Daha çok iş mi, önemli yoksa hemen parayı almak mı? İşin devamlılığını mı paranın hemen gelmesini mi tercih edersiniz? Neden?
26. Genelde para yerine iş mi geliyor yoksa para hemen işin ardından geliyor mu?

II. ATAERKİLLİK VE ÇALIŞMA

II. 1. ATAERKİL ÖRÜNTÜLERİN ÇALIŞMAYA ETKİLERİ – ATAERKİL ÖRÜNTÜLERDE ÇALIŞMANIN TANIMLANMASI

İzin:

27. Çalışabilmek için nelerden fedakarlık etmek zorunda kalırdınız?
28. Bu işleri yapmak sizde stres/gerginlik/sinirlilik yapıyor mu? Neden?
29. Çalışmak için izin almanız gerekiyor mu? Kimden, kimlerden? Ne sıkla, nasıl? İzin almak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?
30. Neler için izin almanız gerekli?
31. Kocanızın çalışmanıza karşı tavrı ne?
32. Babanızın (ağabeyinizin) ve evdeki diğer erkeklerin çalışmanıza karşı tavrı ne ?
33. Çalışmanıza karşı, kayınvalideniz (görümceniz v.s.)in tavrı ne?
34. Çalışmanız evde yapmak zorunda olduğunuz işleri değiştirdi mi? Neleri? Nasıl? (Bu soru 'izin' alt başlığının altında neden yer alıyor ?)

Becerinin tanımlanması – Kadınların Kendi Çalışmalarına Yaklaşımları

Beceri edinme:

35. Bu işleri yapmak için gereken becerileri, dikiş dikmeyi, nakış, (ne iş yapıyorsa), nasıl ve nerden , kimden öğrendiniz?

36. Bu iş için mi öğrendiniz? Zor mu?
37. Dışarıya (ev eksenli bu ifadeye gerek yok) yaptığınız işin sizin evde kendiniz ve aileniz için yaptığınız işlerden ne gibi farkları var?
38. Ev eksenli çalışmaya başlamadan önce bu işleri yapmayı biliyor muydunuz?

Kendi çalışmalarına yaklaşımları:

39. Bu işleri yaparken neler hissediyorsunuz? Bu soru hiç açık değil ? Tam olarak ne öğrenmek istiyorsun?
40. Ev eksenli çalışma sizin bir seçim mi yoksa mecburiyet mi? (Neden ev eksenli çalışmayı seçtiniz? Yada neden böyle bir mecburiyetiniz oldu?)
41. Yaptığınız işi seviyor musunuz? Seviyorsanız en çok hangi yönünü? Sevmiyorsanız neden sevmediğinizi anlatır mısınız?
42. Para kazanma amacı dışında da bu tür şeyler yapıyor musunuz?
43. Kendi çalışmanızı nasıl tanımlarsınız? Çalışmanız size ne ifade ediyor?
44. Mesleğiniz nedir? Sizce çalışmanız bir meslek mi?
45. Sizce bir erkeğin görevleri/sorumlulukları ve ondan beklenenler neler?
46. Sizce bir kadının görevleri/sorumlulukları ve ondan beklenenler neler?
47. (erkeklerin çalışması ile kadınların çalışması arasında bir fark var mı? Varsa neler?) Sizin çalışmanızla eşinizin/babanızın çalışması arasında bir fark var mı? (Varsa neler?)
48. Eşinizin/babanızın kazandığı para genelde ne için kullanılıyor, sizin kazandığınız genelde neler için kullanılıyor?
49. Nasıl bir işte çalışmak isterdiniz?
50. İmkan olsa evde mi dışarıda mı çalışmak isterdiniz? Neden?

II. 2. ATAERKİL ÖRÜNTÜLERDE PARA KAZANMAK ÇALIŞMAK VE ETKİLERİ

Kadınlar için para kazanma olgusu:

51.Bu işler size ortalama aylık, haftalık ne kadar getiriyor? Bu miktarı düzenli olarak kazanıyor musunuz ? Kazancınız değişiyor mu ? Neye göre değişiyor ?
52.Eşiniz/Babanız ne kadar kazanıyor?
53. Sizce ücretlerinizin arasında neden bir fark var?
54. Kazandığınız parayı nasıl kullanıyorsunuz? Buna kim karar veriyor? Nasıl?
55. Bu para aile bütçesine katkıda bulunuyor mu?
56.Çalışmanızdan gelen para ailenize ne oranda katkıda bulunuyor?
57.Çalışmanızdan gelen para hangi konularda katkıda bulunuyor?

Çalışma ve para kazanmayla değişim ve özgürleşme:

58. Ev eksenli çalışmak ve para kazanmak hakkında ne düşünüyor ve hissediyorsunuz?Maddi getirinin yanında bu parayı kazanmak size ne getiriyor? (kendine güven, yeni arkadaşlar, v.s.) Bu soruyu ilk hali ile sorarsan pek anlaşılmayacak. Ancak ikinci bölümünü de sorarsan açık olacak.
59. Ev eksenli çalışmaya başladıktan sonra aile yaşantınızda ve ev içi ilişkilerinizde bir değişme oldu mu? Ne oldu? Neden? /Olmadıysa, sizce bu değişime ne engel oldu? Örnekler vermen lazım. Soruları çok genel soruyorsun. Anlaması zor veya senin hiç düşünmediğin bir bağlamda anlayabilir cevaplayıcı.
60. Bu süreçte (sürede) sorumluluklarınız arttı veya azaldı mı?
61. Mahallede ve arkadaşlarla yani etrafınızla olan ilişkilerinizde (Kendi sosyal ilişkilerinizde), para kazanmanızın çalışmanızın ne gibi etkileri oldu? Çocukları para kazandığından sonra farklılaştı mı ? Kocası, evdeki diğer kişiler garklı davranmaya başladı mı ? Komşu ziyaretleriniz artı veya azaldı mı? Görüştüğünüz kişiler yada konuştuğunuz konular değişti mi? İş konuşuyor musunuz?/Bir etkisi olmadıysa, olmasını bekler miydiniz? Sizce neden olmadı?
62. Bu kazancınızın sürekli olacağını bilseniz nerelere yatırım yapmak istersiniz (ya da tasarruf edebilseniz bu tasarrufunuzu nasıl değerlendirmek istersiniz ?)

Çalışma ve stres:

63. Özellikle işin çok olduğu dönemlerde canınız nelere sıkılıyor?
64. İş yokken nelere sıkılıyorsunuz?
65. Çalışmanız sizde stres yapıyor mu?
66. Siz eşinize göre daha mı streslisiniz? Neden?
67. Çalışmanın stresinizi azalttığı oluyor mu?

Yardımlaşma/Dayanışma:

68. Ev işleri için yardıma ihtiyacınız oluyor mu? Çalışırken genelde evde sizin yaptığınız işlere yardım eden oluyor mu?
69. Kimlerden yardım alabiliyorsunuz? Hangi işler için ?
70. Bu yardımın bir karşılığı oluyor mu?
71. Sizin işi sıkıştığında yardım ettiğiniz arkadaşlarınız var mı? Bu durumda karşılık bekler misiniz? Siz işiniz sıkıştığında kimlerden yardım alıyorsunuz?
72. Kayınvalideniz (veya gelin) , görümceniz çalışmanıza nasıl yaklaşıyor?

İdealler:

73. Sizce ideal kadın nasıl bir kadındır? Neler yapar? Nasıl yaşar? Çalışır mı? Ne yapar?
74. Nasıl bir gelininiz olsun isterdiniz?
75. Eşiniz nasıl daha ideal olabilirdi? (Eşinizin bugün beğenmediğiniz özellikleri neler ? Hangi özelliklerinin olmamasını isterdiniz ?)

Tutum:

76. Sizce ev eksenli çalışma kadınları özgürleştiriyor mu?
77. Sizi özgürleştirdi mi? Nasıl? Evde para karşılığı çalışmanızın sizin ayaklarınızın üstünde durabilmenize nasıl bir katkısı oldu? Önceden nasıldınız ? Şimdi nasılsınız ?
78. Sizce dilediğinizce boş zamanınız oluyor mu?
79. Sizce çalışmanızda kocanızın/babanızın etkisi ne?
80. Sizce çalışmanızla beraber kocanızın/babanızın üzerinizdeki etkisi artı (baskısı) veya azaldı mı?
81. Sizin evde hangi konularda kimin sözü geçer?
82. Evde bir karar alınması nasıl olur?
83. Genç kız ise: Alınan kararlarda sizin fikrinizi sorarlar mı ? Para kazandığınızdan beri fikrinizi daha mı çok soruyorlar, yoksa bir değişiklik olmadı mı ? Evli ise: Kocanız kararları kendisi mi alır, sizinle mi ? Peki, kocanızın kendi başına buyruk hareket ettiği hiç mi olmuyor ?
84. Evde ve yaşantınızda bir şeyleri değiştirmek için uğraşıyor musunuz? Neleri? Nasıl?
85. Aile ve evlilik yaşantınızda ne tür değişiklikler olsa kendinizi daha güçlü hissederiniz? Neden?
86. Çocuklarınızla ilgili ideallerininiz/ gelecek beklentileriniz neler? Onlar için hayalleriniz?
87. Beş sene sonra kendinizi hangi durumda (statüde, konumda) görmek istersiniz ?