

# Comparative Analysis of the Situation of Woman Labor Force in Art Sector: Ankara State Opera and Ballet (ASOB)/Turkey and Theatre Ulm/Germany

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This study focuses on the working situation of woman in art sector in terms of comparison between Ankara State Opera and Ballet (ASOB-Turkey) and Theatre Ulm (Germany). Because of the economic crisis, women labor force is affected much worse than the other fields of working life. Although art sector seems like marginal, it has similar problems with other sectors. Besides this, they have extra problems as their hard-working conditions are difficult when compared to other jobs. The reason why we made this study in two different organizations: one in an eastern; one in a western country, is to examine how and how much difference between cultures affect women working life. This study will start with the analysis of discrimination and segregation and then focus on the theories about those concepts via neo-classical and feminist theories. We will try to build a relationship between theories and our cases. Detailed interviews are our key points to enlighten the relationship between theories and institutions. Then, we will mention briefly about the history of ASOB for who will be not familiar with Turkish art history. Consequently, in the light of the relationship between theories and interviews, the conditions of working women in art sector will be investigated in detail and compare.

*Keywords:* discrimination, segregation, human-capital theory, neo-classical theory, feminist economics, woman labor

## Introduction

Man, woman, male, female, masculine, feminine are used in the discussion of sex and gender issues in biology, anthropology, social science, psychology, cross-cultural studies an even management theory. The concept of sex and gender are often used interchangeably in written material and in conversation, as are the adjectives male and masculine, female, and feminine. In order to know what is being discussed, therefore, these terms need to be defined more clearly. Biology divides species according to sex: male or female, and these sex categories are mostly taken for granted. The biological dichotomy lends its structure to one of the current frameworks of gender studies, the 'sex role' theory. According to this, being a man or a woman means enacting a general role function of one's sex. But this theory also uses the words masculine and feminine, asserting that the feminine character in particular is produced by socialization into the female role. According to this approach, women acquire a great deal of sex role learning early in their lives, and this can lead to an attitude of mind that creates difficulties later, during their working lives. (Lipsey et al., 1990; Claes, 1999, p. 431)

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For example, when playing in the house, children learn some roles like cooking, working, repairing etc. These role concepts forge people's mind in young ages and when become adult, they play the same roles in the working environment, people expect to have the same roles or work in similar jobs.

Phenomena mentioning working concepts sometimes intertwine with each other and they mention same concepts such as labor, labor force, work, which sometimes cause some confusion. Working is a concept and process which affect emotions such as identification, prestige, and belonging to a specific environment (Lordođlu & Özkaplan, 2003, p. 3).

All analysis using woman labor must handle the concept of 'working' carefully; this concept has lost its meaning in the frame of capitalist production and has started to be used only for the activities in the market. (Ecevit, 2000, p. 119)

Basically, there are two obstacles to prevent participation of women's in labor force: (1) Discrimination: It is raised by "gender" concept and constituted by men's hindering women professionally; and (2) Segregation: Works are segregated as "men works" and "women works". The type of discrimination, which is our main concern, is "gender" originated. Gender discrimination is to treat differently as two equal people because of their sex (Anker & Hein, 1985, p. 74). "Gender" originated means which roles, duties, circumstances, etc. can be attributed and divided between women and men. Discrimination and segregation which directly affect working women can be understood by analyzing some roles and duties of men and some roles and duties of women. Historically, roles and duties of women would sometimes intertwine, but they are often different from one another. Many factors such as natural, economical, religious, and social factors are the units of these duties. While women were affected by these units in the history, they face different types of discrimination and segregation in modern working life. Discrimination can be made by paying different amounts of money for two sexually different individuals doing the same job, or it can be seen in two equally productive people having different jobs with different salaries (Lordođlu & Özkaplan, 2003, p. 224).

At this point, we come across with four different theories in order to understand how discrimination is made in the labor force market. These theories are categorized as: neo-classical (human capital) theory, feminist economic theory, institutional economics theory, and radical-Marxist economics theory. In this field, institutional and Marxist theories explain why women suffer from discrimination and segregation; however, their assumptions do not correspond to our thesis which will be given in the in-depth interviews. So, we will only use aforementioned first two theories. The reason why we made detailed interviews is to analyze woman labor force in ASOB and Ulm Theatres in terms of human capital theory and feminist economy.

Besides, differences between cultures are significant facts and points that affect working conditions of women. In some cultures, these conditions can include the imprisonment of women in in-house roles while in some cultures, there can be some problems such as pressure on women in working life, humiliation, treating women as if they are a second class individuals, etc..

If it is remembered that intercultural transitivity is intense in terms of men-women point of view in working life, there can be some negative views on women's working in paid employments in both eastern and western cultures. While reasons of this situation can be economical-based on western culture, in eastern culture they can be based on suppressing women. Besides this, there are some sectors in which intercultural differences are not important and view about women's working is more positive when compared with many other sectors. One of these sectors is art sector. Although women in this sector's specific branches may face some problems too, it can be said that the point of view about working women in this sector is relatively more positive.

The first reason of this is the education level of workers in this sector. The second and most important reason is that as people working in this sector are discussed in terms of “dancers” in this article, namely, as they are artists, men-women equality has a more positive occurrence in this sector.

Shortly, in this study, women labor force in the sector of art which is different from other sectors—as talent is significant—will be analyzed. The analysis will be made comparatively in terms of women labor force at an organization of art in an eastern country and an organization of art in a western country. There are two reasons why the study is carried out comparatively: The first is to analyze working conditions, views, etc. of workers belonging to completely different two cultures in details. The second is to examine whether or not ASOB, one of the organizations of art established during the establishment of Republic of Turkey with the aim of westernization, come close to the understanding of “westerner thought”.

### **Discrimination Theories About Woman Labor Force**

#### **Neo-Classical-Human Capital Theory and Discrimination**

Neo-classical theory is based on two points. A market is founded according to supply and demand. So, factors explaining segregation of occupation in sex are divided into two branches which are labor force demand and labor force supply. The factors related with labor force supply focus on women who “prefer” specific occupations. For example, they can prefer working with flexible hours to look after their babies or they may want to have a break to look after their babies; these circumstances are related to gender roles. Employers in the labor force demand market mostly give specific duties to women and men. Besides this, these employers prefer educating men on business or promotion (Anker, 1998, p. 14).

Employees prefer work according to their individual talents (e.g., education and experience) exigent features (e.g., looking after children), various preferences (e.g., nice workplace) and they prefer the job with highest salary. On the other hand, employers look for maximizing their profit as much as possible by maximizing productivity and minimizing their costs. However, because competition and efficient labor force market employers pay employees their marginal efficiency. (Anker, 1998, p. 15)

Neoclassical theory emphasizes work productivity and work supply affecting sex differences like family responsibilities, working hours, profit rates at work. Thus, workers defend that they should be paid by employees for the marginal efficiencies under competitive circumstances. Neo-classical scientists explain why women have less marginal efficiency as they make less contribution and information to labor force market as they have less work experience and they have a lower value in terms of human capital (Anker & Hein, 1986, p. 7).

Human capital theory makes two important investigations about discrimination in labor force market:

- As it is accepted that women’s natural role is motherhood and nursing baby, so their working life is discontinuous. However, there is no significant cause which shows that taking care of a baby is the basic role of a mother except nursing and giving birth;
- Women and men’s way of applying for a job is equal (Anker & Hein, 1985, pp. 73-90).

According to the author’s opinion, the biggest deficiency of neo-classical theory about why women bring less information and experience into the market is that they ignore the reasons why women are excluded from the market. Here, the structure of a society and market, which is a reflection of the society, should be studied. This study focuses on the fact that women’s working lives are determined by social sexist roles in the west and east. Thus, they are often not well-educated. But it is important to mention that women taking qualified

education were far better today in western countries while it is getting better every day in eastern countries. Here, sociological, religious, economical, etc. many factors retain women to be accepted as an individual. Sometimes this is resulted from some family factors such as a mother saying “education is not necessary, you should get married” or a woman believing in the same thing in her life. In addition to this, sometimes families prefer to educate their sons instead of daughters. So, institutional factors must be considered while investigating why women bring less human capital to the market.

Definition of human capital includes the notions of investment decision—similar to physical capital—and productivity and income expectation in future. Investment on individuals’ compulsory education, non-compulsory education, looking for job, and migrating for looking for job is the investment on human capital. The reasons why these investments are made today are accepted to be the process of increasing productivity and income in future. It is accepted that decision of making investment on human capital is highly affected from non-monetary factors (personal choices, expectations, social prejudices, social roles, socializing process of an individual, discrimination etc.. (Lordoğlu & Özkaplan, 2003, p. 226)

Briefly, it can be said that neo-classical theory assumes human are rational. This theory brings a supply-point explanation for segregation and attempts to explain the cause of low wages within the framework of “human capital”.

### **Feminist Economics Theory and Discrimination**

Feminist economics is also not about fundamental differences between women and men economists and therefore does not hold the view that women economists do economics in a way that is different from what men economists do, or even that women economists have a special pipeline to understanding women’s economic situation. (Strober, 1994, p. 144)

As they have different point of view about economics, feminist economists start to criticize neo-classical economists. The basic definition of the theory explains this: It is known that neo-classical theory is also called the orthodox economics. The reason of this name can be understood by looking from imperialist perspective.

... much of the post-Second World War period, mainstream public economics in general and economic policy-making in particular, turned away from the fundamental ideas of political economy articulated by Smith, Mill and the classical economists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (Adam & Dercon, 2009, p. 175)

And also why neo-classical theory is also called the orthodox economics must be revised some features of orthodox economics.

Orthodox economics: It is the name of neo-classical economics as it is expected to have a hegemonic predominance on complete economics education, institutions and politics and all other thoughts. Neo-classical economics has a widespread superiority. Since 1970’s Keynesian economists did not generate solutions to the problems of economics in theory, and as a result of this, arguments have started. Neo-classical theory has gained superiority. (Emiroğlu, 2006, pp. 661-662)

The economics thought advocates supply-sided economics with the opinion of ‘laissez faire-laissez passer’ and produces micro-economics theories with marginal comprehension in static equilibrium. Neo-classical economics, in a narrow point of view, started as a reaction to classical economics that started in 1870 and continued until Keynesian Economics was launched in 1920. After 1970’s Neo-classical economics has continued until today. It generally argues that market economics is based on demand and supply equilibrium; this is a valid thought in modern times. They benefit from the objective value theory’s understanding of market. Marx produced labor-value theory after value theory explained the meaning of value in a nominative way and based on subjective labor and utility instead of time-labor view which constitute marginalism and neo-classical thought. Classical economists deal with whole society and three-class structure on the contrary neo-classical economists who see the economics as formed by the total individuals. In this structure, neo-classical economics claim that economics is structured scientifically by abstracting social and the historical system; they improve

their claims by using mathematics, static analysis and deductive methods. They argued that economics discipline uses engineering science methods such as using mathematics and especially input-output analysis which is developing and being used instead of social sciences methods. The main problem of neo-classical economics is the efficiency of source distribution when total supply and production technology is present. In neo-classic opinion, supply and demand co-exist in free market, main principles of them are the utility in terms of consumer and profit maximization. They investigate the distribution of sources in terms of utility and profit maximization. Neo-classical economics see society as a whole consisting firms and individuals and it separates capitalist from entrepreneur and interest from profit. (Emiroğlu, 2006, pp. 629-630)

The basic assumption of neo-classics is that families want to maximize their rational choices (Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 1998, p. 33).

So, feminist economics is accepted to be one of the heterodox economics which investigates human-capital theory.

From the domestic labor debate to bargaining models of the household, much of the theoretical analysis of the political economy of gender has focused on understanding the sphere of reproduction. In some sense this is understandable. By asserting the social and economic significance of reproduction, feminists have demonstrated both women's economic contributions and a major site of power inequity. (Figart, 1997, p. 2)

“According to neo-classical/human capital theory, many of the factors influencing women's and men's preferences for particular occupations also influence employers' preferences for male or female workers” (Anker, 1997, p. 318).

Discrimination cannot—only be resulted by employers' preferences; it is also caused by customers. And this situation is explained by Becker in details. In addition to these, “What feminist economics is not” can be explained.

Besides, according to this theory, customers make discrimination as they want to have a boss with the same sex as they believe that women protect women, men protect men (Becker, 1971, p. 16).

Feminist economics is not monophonic restricted, rule-maker, and racist, sexist or imperialist. Feminist economics is reconsidering, revising, and examining in order to equalize women's economic position with men. Namely, the discipline of economics is questioned in terms of the components of discrimination, especially discrimination on the basis of sex. (Serdaroğlu, 1997, p. 3)

Difference between gender and sex are constituted by essence of feminist theory. Sex is biological differences between men and women while gender indicates structuring of identification of sex as social and this structuring attributes individuals different roles, different rights, different opportunities depending on their sex. In fact, in terms of social structure “male” identification is more significant than “female” identification; namely, in many fields and status of “male” identification have much more importance. (Peterson & Lewis, 1999, p. 390; Lordoğlu & Özkaplan, 2003, p. 257)

The reason why feminist economics structures an economics though is to include women's perspective in the process. It criticizes neo-classical economics which are also called mainstream of economics. The main problem of feminist economics is the question why women face with discrimination in working environments because of their sex. Men are not capable of doing some works. According to our opinion, same education conditions, same human capital resources, same rights to choose, etc. are determined by sociological, economical, etc. institutions and if women are given the same chances in terms of these issues, they can do everything that men do successfully. Especially, institutional thoughts are obstacles in front of women in the business environment.

“Women do not make free decisions about their human capital, they are formed by gender roles and

prejudices and division of labor in family” (Lordođlu & Özkaplan, 2003, p. 262).

In this division of labor, women are seen to be volunteer workers in the house. In fact, housework requires huge payments. For instance, if a woman works and she makes a payment in order to assign all works to someone, this payment will be included national income. However, effort spent on housework is not accepted to be a national income.

The labor force participation rate is an indicator of the overall level of labor market activity, and its breakdown by sex and age group provides a profile of the distribution of the economically active population within a country. It is calculated by expressing the number of persons in the labor force as a percentage of the working-age population. (Elder & Johnson, 1999, pp. 448-449)

It is the indicator of why feminist economists are opposed to the issue that women’s unpaid housework is not accepted to be national income. Every work needs a labor but that kind of labor is not involved the labor force participation, gender roles seems to be naturalized and women are repressed increasingly in the market.

Discrimination is described by feminist economics as: Interaction of economical, sociological, political and cultural factors in a multi-dimensional way both in working environment and in family in terms of differences in wage level, employment, and occupational situation. (Figart, 1997; Lordođlu & Özkaplan, 2003, p. 256)

Feminist economics claims that unpaid housework must have a payment and should be accepted as a part of national income (Lordođlu & Özkaplan, 2003, pp. 262-263). Women are expected to be mother and wife at first place, second expectation from them is having a paid job (Dominelli & Mclead, 1989, p. 24).

All those circumstances are created by gender roles. Namely, even works can be determined by segregation.

Occupational segregation by sex is extensive in every region, at all economic development levels, under all political systems, and in diverse religious, social and cultural environments. It is one of the most important and enduring aspects of labor markets around the world. (Anker, 1997, p. 315)

Segregation is occupations that are divided into a man job and a woman job. It is called occupational stratification—the term is developed by Bergmann (Lordođlu & Özkaplan, 2003, p. 224). It is divided into two sections:

- Horizontal segregation: Segregation in an occupation group or segregation in one obvious sector. It means that jobs are divided as men work and as women work;
- Vertical segregation: Hierarchical segregation in an institution (Ecevit, 2001, p. 158).

There are barriers in front of women because of this segregation. Women are accepted to be able to make some specific jobs. Jobs like secretariats, teaching, and public service are female works; almost all of the other works are accepted to be male works (Reskin & Roos, 1990, p. 15).

If we look at the results achieved by various laws and institutional machinery introduced in Western Europe to enforce equal payment and equal treatment for men and women in employment, then it has to be admitted that no notable progress has been made over the past ten years. Women’s participation in economic life is still stamped by segregation in a narrow range of jobs and skills and persistence of a two-track labor market. (Vogel-Polsky, 1985, p. 253)

In Turkish Republic (T.R.) history, many developments were achieved by declaration of Republic with genius of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. When Ottoman era women were mostly seen as non-working individuals or they were employed in restricted jobs related to gender roles. After declaration of Republic, many work areas

were opened to woman to employ such as medicine, art, etc..

On the contrary, especially, in the last 50 years, there is a tendency to divide works as manly works and womanly works. One should not forget that this segregation is similar all around the world. Of course, it was similar in the history, but what we mean here is that this discrimination started to be seen and understood much more in recent decades. Actually, the main problem is that, in today's world, women are still seen as second-quality employees and man-dominant ideology defends that they belong to homes or they should only do domestic works.

However, the most interesting empirical contribution of feminist economics to the scientific area is highly ignored by other approaches. This is explained by Bergman as such: "The most obvious example is child-care costs. Many theories completely ignore these costs. Some feminist economists go out and actually find out how much diapers cost" (Bergman, 1996, p. 6).

### Working Woman in Art Sector

#### The Situation of Woman Artists in Terms of Discrimination Theories: ASOB and Theatre Ulm

The main testimonial point which we will handle in this study in order to determine what kind of differences or similarities are there between working women in the art sector and working woman in the other sectors. In order to put forward whether discrimination and segregation exist in both art institutions or not, we have made detailed interviews with both women artists and men artists. Then, we have made a concern with discrimination theories. In these detailed interviews, women were asked questions about working conditions, births, going back to work after to giving birth, etc.. The reason why questions asked to women were more than the questions asked to men was mentioned before. The number of people with whom interviews were made is given in Table 1.

Table 1

#### Interviewees

	ASOB		Theatre Ulm
	The first interview	The second interview	
Women	17	16	6
Men	13	8	4

As can be understood, this study focused only on the ballet department in both institutions. Especially because of the crowded staff of ASOB, it was not possible to investigate the whole institution.

The highest managerial position in the ballet departments is "Ballet Directorate". People who hold this position since Turkish ballet was first established (Dame Ninette Valois) are 13 women and 13 men. So, there is no discrimination in Ballet Directorate, but after the last woman appointed to that position, five men was appointed to the position. And the fact that this process has been a long time is taken into consideration, although there is equality in terms of number, there are some questions in mind. In terms of feminist economics, segregation jobs are divided by woman works, and man works managerial duty causes men much more preference as a political idea. So, although there is a quantitative close, it could not affect quality.

Interviewees were asked some demographic questions including age, marital status, etc.; status at work, education, attending some occupational courses, contests, etc.; harassment, the difficulties of having children.

We want to give brief information about the quantitative differences of both art institutions. ASOB is a

governance institution. So, dancers who do not continue their active dance life are civil servants. Because of that, institutions' ballet staff seems too crowded. But, in fact, dancers who continue their active dance life are about 50-60 in total. Because of this, the focus was mostly on dancers who continue their active dance lives. On the contrary, ASOB is a big ballet company; Theatre Ulm is a small ballet company. After starting with a small group of staff, ASOB is now a huge institution today. Their staffs are civil servants and they are subject to T.R.'s civil servants laws. On the other hand, the occupation of ballet dancer can be hold, namely, "active dance" life can be done at a specific age range (e.g., maximum at 40-45 ages), the rest of the dancers whose active dance life ended still work in ASOB; but they are not working on the stage, their jobs are behind the scene. So, we mostly focused on active dancers, with a few exceptions. Dancers with active dance life are total 10-12; so the number of interviewees is significantly different from each other. On the other hand, while the first one is a state company, the other one is private. We made the first interviews on 2003 and then we repeated interviews on 2012 again (to see if there is a difference between those years in ASOB). In Theatre Ulm we made interviews on 2011. Interviewees' demographic distribution is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

*Demographic Distribution of ASOB and Theatre Ulm*

ASOB	The first interview		The second interview		Theatre ULM	
	Woman	Man	Woman	Man	Woman	Man
Age	24-52	20-48	20-34	26-45		
Marital status						
Single	11	7	4	2	6	3
Married	4	5	12	6	-	1
Divorced	2	1	-	-	-	-
Widow	-	-	-	-	-	-
Widower	-	-	-	-	-	-
Education	Conservatory		Conservatory		Conservatory	Conservatory

Note. "-" means Not Applicable (N/A).

Married women continue this job much harder than single women, and this situation is the same for both institutions. Besides, divorcee in ASOB said that it was difficult for them to explain the difficulties of their job. The reason why this situation cannot change is that a child must start ballet education in six to seven years old. Artists must be at a specific weight for making ballet. This circumstance can be harder for women artists as they give birth. In order to create and perform a good play, their rehearsals can continue until 23:00 p.m., and this situation can be harder for working women in this sector because of their gender roles. As one can guess, evening hours are really important for working women as they spend time with their children.

Generally, artists from both institutions added that their normal working hours vary between six to eight hours in a day. In addition to this, their bodies are very important for performances and evening hours are very important for women as they have to spend some time with children and complete housework.

Artists from both institutions in younger ages think they will have many things to do in the future including having children in older ages. However, because of gender roles, women's main duty is "taking care of their children". A significant issue that should be taken into consideration is that there has been no female top-level manager in both institutions. The reason of this is different in two institutions. In ASOB, women are not appointed to these jobs because of political reasons caused by social sexist roles. In Theatre Ulm, female



dancers are young people and they prefer continuing their active dance life.

There is not a significant difference from thoughts about person to be married between two institutions. The general belief is that if one marries a person working in the same environment, it will have a positive effect on both artistic and private life. But, provided that being respectful to her/his occupation and working hours, it would be right to get married with a non-artist person. Please refer to Table 3 for the figures of how interviewees think about marriage in both institutions.

Table 3

*Children Tables*

ASOB (The first interview & the second interview)		Theatre ULM	
Woman	Man	Woman	Man
10	10	-	-

Table 4 renders the figure of interviewees having children in their active dance life in both institutions. It was understood that women want to be mother either at early ages, at the beginning of their career or after their active dance life is ended. In here, a young woman who has a child in early ages will have much more difficulty in the profession than a woman who has a child in older ages. Because the responsibility of taking care of a child is the responsibility of a woman according to gender roles. Although it is risky both for baby and mother, having children after the end of active dance life seems to be more logical in terms of continuing professional life.

Table 4

*Would You Prefer to Marry a Person Working in the Same Place or in Another Place*

	ASOB (The first interview & The second interview)		Theatre ULM	
	Woman	Man	Woman	Man
Positive/If someone to be artist	10	8	1	-
Adverse/If someone to be artist	5	3	-	-
Positive/If someone else from another occupation	12	8	5	3
Adverse/If someone else from another occupation	6	2	-	-

The biggest problem while deciding to have a baby for a ballet dancer is protecting body shape. As mentioned before, women would rather have a baby either at a young age or after active dance life ends. Neoclassical theory says that except the existence of a pregnancy or giving birth, there is no significant indicator saying that women should take care of their babies one-by-one. There is not any kindergarten in both institutions. Thoughts about whether there should be a kindergarten in an institution or not are similar in both institutions. On the one hand, the responsibility of looking after children is on women's shoulder because of gender roles, on the other hand, women who know that their children will be safe in a place close to their work can concentrate on her work better. However, having a kindergarten in an institution increases cost which is the main reason why most institutions do not have kindergarten.

The question of "Will there be any argument between husband-wife because of late working hours?" is asked similarly in both cultures. As Turkish culture is more patriarchal, sometimes harsh thoughts can be seen. Besides this, even though based on the patriarchal structure of the society defends that women do not have to work at paid jobs is not defended in this institution. Moreover, the thought that women are always late at work

because of their duties resulted from gender roles and thought that employers do not prefer them is not defended in these institutions. Also, the argument of feminist economics says women would rather to work flexible hours work which are very similar the works are done in housework. In Theatre Ulm, men support their wives for work, but they think that house-works are much more suitable for women. So, it is possible to say that the thoughts of men about gender roles do not differ much in different parts of the world.

Similar answers were given to the question of “Will there be any quarrel with husband on the issues such as quitting job?” Answers given to this question show that in neither of these institutions’ ballet departments, people do not expect women to be mother or do housework in the first place.

The questions: “Is having a child accepted an obstacle for the management occupation in your company? Who determines/what criterion that the person to be a director in your company?” were asked. Generally, to be a top-manager is seen an obstacle for social sexist roles by women. Dancers of both institutions have the same idea. But, there is a little difference in opinions; in ASOB, common opinion about it, to be a top-manager is very stressful which is why people do not give much effort about it. In Theatre Ulm, dancers definitely want this duty after their active dance life end.

When both institutions were evaluated in terms of the assumptions of neo-classical economy and feminist economy, male-dominant ideology in terms of human capital defends that women have the least human capital and they spend less effort on their jobs because of the social sexist roles given to them. It can be understood from the above-mentioned issues that women directly suffer from discrimination in terms of being a top-manager. Besides, according to the point of view of feminist theory, jobs are divided into two sections as womanly works and manly works, and management position is seen as men’s work. It is understood that segregation can be seen in both institutions in terms of gender roles. Top-managerial positions are accepted to be men’s work, being a dancer is accepted to be men’s work.

“If you had a duty except from being a dancer, would you like to work as a director?” this question was asked to test the former question and it was understood that women and even men from both institutions want to be a manager after their active dance life ends.

In both institutions, it was seen that dominant idea one that “man is the source of earnings of home” is not accepted by dancers. Yet, women and men are seen as equal and many things in working life are accepted to be normal including traveling.

We will research the questions about being sent to international competitions, recruiting job, harassment during education and at working environment and we will examine if there is any discrimination in aforementioned institutions.

In both institutions, it was understood that there is no discrimination (to some extend) among male and female dancers in terms of being sent to international competitions. The only deficiency here is ASOB that does not support artists financially at all. On the contrary, Theatre Ulm, supports its dancers financially, but not completely. Shortly, there is not any discrimination about being sent to these kinds of competitions, In general, the first thing that is significant in international competitions is talent, and in terms of having this talent, women are more advantageous, so they are sent to international competitions more when compared to men.

However, sometimes there can be discrimination in ASOB. In general, men attended international competitions need to study more but they are chosen more than women. In our opinion, this situation causes to think women have less and insufficient human capital in terms of what neo-classical economics says. According to feminist theory, the job already has many difficulties; women would not rather to work long time

working hours (six to eight hours in a day) because of their gender roles. The interesting point in both institutions is that the number of women dancers is more than men dancers in those kinds of international competitions. According to the authors' opinion, the reason of this is that men dancers are less than women dancers in the dance world.

In terms of attending conservatory, there is no discrimination between male and female dancers neither in ASOB nor in Theatre Ulm. However, as being a dancer is accepted to be girl's work, so fewer boys attend conservatory entrance exams. Because of this, boys may be preferred. During the education in conservatories, it is said that there is no discrimination. Besides this, in terms of employing a job, we can say that there is implicit discrimination. We use the word "implicit" as there is not a real discrimination. In both institutions—generally in this sector—as there is for fewer male dancers, men are preferred to be employed. Otherwise, one should not forget that male dancers are preferred; the restricting factor is the necessity of the company.

Harassment is one of the biggest problems of working life. Especially, women suffer from this problem all over the world. We examined if there is harassment during education and in working environment. It can be said that similar with the other sectors, there is harassment in the art sector. One should never forget that both in ASOB and in Theatre Ulm, people are well-educated. During their education, they learn that their body is their job. So, people in this sector usually have open vision. However, some people told their experiences about this problem. For example, some female dancers from ASOB thought that there was harassment during education and they are still harassed in their professional dance life. Some male dancers severely reject this situation, but some of them say that they did not see or hear about this problem, but admitted that there could be harassed in the institutions they work.

In Theatre Ulm, this situation is not different. For instance, dancers mentioned that there can be harassment both in conservatory and in professional life. One of the dancers gave this example:

There was a manager in the former institution where I worked and he threatened one of my close woman colleague's that she could take the dancing role only if she would sleep with him, besides, he was married. I know this story well, because she told this story directly to me in order to communicate. (Man, dancer, age: 34)

Harassment is one of the biggest problems in working life. And there is no significant finding showing that harassment occurs more in eastern or western countries. Although the art sector seems like more equitable sector than the other sectors, harassment can occur in this sector like other sectors. Yet, these huge problems can occur less due to the nature of the profession.

Generally, many improvements were accomplished by the genius of Mustafa Kemal ATATURK, today, the belief that women should not work is decreasing. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that this situation can actually happen in western countries too. Indeed, it is not related to being an eastern or western country. During centuries women have been pushed back in every step of life and this situation has not completely changed yet. In parallel with the developing economical, sociological etc. conditions, many thoughts about where women have started to change. As mentioned before, people in art sector are well educated and also open-mind brought by to be an artist, both ASOB and Theatre Ulm men have very open mind about women working. They say that women can work and be paid. However, men from both institutions share an idea: Looking after children, doing housework etc. must be done by women. It can be understood that women are affected by gender roles in working environment; so we can say in terms of feminist theory, it was understood that the first role expected from women is social sexist roles. Only one male dancer from Theatre Ulm said that

if he has a child during his active dance life, he can take care of his baby and do housework. So, we can say that male dominant idea is valid here with a few exceptions.

### **ASOB'S Historical Aspect**

Ballet art in Turkey can be divided into two time frames. The first one is Ottoman Empire era and the second one is Turkish Republic (T.R) era.

Before the reforms at 19th century, ballet performances used to be performed only in wedding ceremonies, circumcision feasts, etc. and people attended these ceremonies were the members of court. We can give some examples about how it was seen Ottoman era: Selim III was fond of art very much. He watched a ballet performance in the court of Sultan Hatice which was performed by the daughter of French Consul of Izmir, Mr. De Lodo and he liked the performance very much. He personally wanted to talk to dancers and made compliments (Sevengil, 1959, pp. 3-5).

But, in terms of institutionalization, the first ballet company was founded by Sultan Abdülmecit. The name of the company was “Kızlar Fanfari” (The Ballet Company of Girls). Mrs. Leyla Saz (1850-1936) who was one of the dancers in this company narrated her story:

The girl dancers had same dress which was handled by bay leaf in front of it; they were wearing velvet trousers with silver thread and jacket. They had their hairs cut short. [...] When Sultan came the prima-dancer threw her stick into the air and the band started to play Sultan's march. This company played Scottish, Spanish dancers and the other European dancers among them. (Sevengil, 1959, pp. 60-61)

The main problem in all branches of art—opera, ballet, etc. in Ottoman Era—is that they changed according to Sultans. However, the biggest attempt for developing of those kinds of arts was founding a conservatory which was called Darülbeydi in 1914. This institution was theatre origin. The other institution was Darül Elhan which had music, opera, and dance departments. This institution was the basis of the first art institutions in Turkish Republic but through the World War I, this attempt failed (Ahmet, 1934, pp. 86-87).

There is a significant difference between the opinions of Ottoman era and T.R. is that while in Ottoman Empire, art was seen as a tool of amusement and society was not aware of this art, in Turkey, art is a tool of modernization and big part of society is aware of it. After transformation of Darül Elhan to conservatory, the process of founding Turkish Ballet was started as late as 1948.

Dame Ninette de Valois was born in 1898 in Ireland. Her real name was Edris Stannus. She joined Diaghilev's “Ballet Russes” in 1923. She founded ballet department of London Academy of Music & Dramatic Art in 1926, Vic-Wells Ballet Company (1931), this company was called Sadler's Ballet and then Royal Ballet (1956). She contributed to the institutionalization of Turkish Ballet (Deleon, 1992, p. 8). She was invited to Turkey by Turkish government and visited several schools in Ankara (the capital city of Turkey) and Istanbul. She helped Turkish government invite ballet instructors from United Kingdom (UK) to Turkey. With valuable help of her, Joy Newton, who was one of the sixth founders of Sadler's Wells Ballet Company, and Audrey Knighth, who was one of the graduated of London Academy of Music & Dramatic Art, was invited by her. And they both accepted to direct the first ballet school in Turkey.

So, in 1936 when the first conservatory was opened, it had music, theatre, and opera branches, but it did not have a dance department. Turkish ballet history owes much to Dame Ninette de Valois and her attempts. The first school that was founded when she first came to Turkey was called “Yeşilköy Ballet School” (Yeşilköy Bale Okulu). And the first few dancers graduated from this school in 1956, 1957, 1958 founded the basis of the

ballet department of Directorate of General State of Theatre. In 1969, opera and ballet branches were separated from Directorate of General State of Theatre and started to be called Ankara Directorate General State Opera and Ballet. And after mid-2000's Ankara Directorate General State Opera and Ballet become only a Directorate.

Dame Ninnette de Valois explains how she came to Turkey in a radio program:

I was not planning to come to Turkey and establish a ballet company. Your government supported me. I think so it was planned in a conversation between one of your government members and a guest coming from England. Upon being asked about what can be done for this circumstance, he advised the government member to contact me. I was really interested when I took the letter of invitation. Starting a job like this after war was a relief for me. So, I started to work upon your government's offer. (Deleon, 1992, p. 45)

### Conclusions

Women had serious problems throughout history. These problems cause were economical, sociological, etc.. After women started to take part in working life, they started to have different problems. One of the biggest problems of women in working environment is discrimination and segregation. These two problems cause extra difficulties for women; according to the gender roles attributed to women, they do not have place in working life. So, men are preferred more as workers. There are some specific works that are seen as women works such as secretariats, nurse, baby sitter, etc.; that's what called as segregation.

These problems are explained in different ways through different theories. In this study, we have handled only neo-classical discrimination theory (and human capital discrimination theory) and feminist economics theory. The other theories like institutional theory or radical-Marxist theory are not included in our study as their arguments are not related without case.

Our case focused on a different sector: Art sector. Working women in this sector have more problems because of working conditions than any other sector have. We have studied ASOB theatre and Theatre Ulm which are very important institutions and examined only ballet department in this research. Body is the most important thing in a dancing career and it makes the work harder than most of the other jobs, this is the reason why we choose this sector.

Generally, in other sectors, women have better working conditions. If women and men working in art sector are well-educated they become more open-minded. The biggest problem seen in this sector is "top-level manager" position. Because of their gender roles and as they want to have an active dance life as long as possible, women want to be top-level manager at the end of their active dance life. However, in ASOB women face an extra problem about it. As ASOB is a state institution, males are chosen more for this position because of politic factors. Namely, it can be said that discrimination can be seen in this position, and as being a top-level manager is thought as men work, there is segregation too.

Women dancers want to have children either at the beginning of their professional life or at the end of it. Men think that women need to work at a paid job and there is/will be no problem about the caring for baby after birth; women share the same thought. There is discrimination in attending a job in this sector, attending conservatory, going to international competitions. However, in this sector women have a natural advantage, they are naturally more talented.

Harassment is one of the biggest problems in this sector, although this sector seems like a marginal one, women do not suffer from harassment as much as the women in other sectors. The most significant point to be

remembered is that their body is their work. This is why, men working in this sector have a more positive point of view than men working in other sectors and more open-minded. However, it does not mean that there is no harassment in this sector. Of course, sometimes opposite circumstances can occur too. But, it does not happen as much as people think as it is a marginal sector.

Consequently, when invisible obstacles ignored, working women in the art sector in general and working women in ASOB and Theatre Ulm in particular have better working conditions than women in any other sector. So, a human capital or feminist theories argument about why women are not preferred by employers not valid in this sector.

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