

FLEXIBLE LABOR: A SCHEME FOR WOMEN'S INCLUSION OR EXCLUSION IN TURKEY?

Esra Koten, PhD

Assistant Professor of Sociology, Istanbul Gelisim University/Turkey

Abstract

As the notion of flexible working hours, which frequently is accepted as a criterion associated and identified with the post-industrialized societies, has penetrated and been adopted by the Turkish labor force as well, the issue of women working in densely urban areas being subjected to unsecured labor practices is gaining prevalence. The purpose of this article is to evaluate and document the perception of women who work in the service industry of the above-mentioned societies by their male counterparts who participate in the same sector. To that end, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty white-collar male employees in Turkey. The findings hence obtained suggest that, especially in those businesses where flexible hours and working space is demanded, the women are looked down upon by their male counterparts. The interviewed men perceive and prioritize the primary space and responsibilities of women as those confined to the traditional boundaries of home and family. As a consequence, rather than being accepted as a legitimate player of the work force with flexible hours, women are frequently trapped into their traditional role of a homemaker and whereby are, in effect, even further excluded from the labor force.

Keywords: Women's labor, employment, flexible labor, patriarchy, white-collar, Turkey

Introduction:

As the notion of flexible working hours, which frequently is accepted as a criterion associated and identified with the post-industrialized societies, has penetrated and been adopted by the Turkish labor force as well, the issue of women working in densely urban areas being subjected to unsecured labor practices is gaining prevalence. Within this social structure full of pre-modern and post-modern ups and downs, where the established social patterns of gender, in conjunction with the increased insecure conditions in business life, results in women being subjected to even greater disadvantageous working conditions gradually and progressively. Not only

women are kept as supplementary cheap labor whereby they could easily be disposed of, but also the compensation for their labor is underappreciated and dismal. Contrasted with the male counterparts, women get subjected to a wide range of issues including the subpar initial recruitment, an ill-defined job description, inadequate planning of the daily work routines and even the ambiguity of professional and private life, resulting in various negative experiences at work compared to the male labor force. In addition to the above, women are quite often considered to be inadequate in terms of efficiency by their employers, and the male-dominated presuppositions become the determinants in the valuation of women's labor to a great extent. Unlike the male counterparts where having been married and to have children do give them opportunities of promotion, the same situation creates further avenues for discrimination for women. Getting stuck between the roles of being a model spouse-mother and a working woman, women are quite often forced to compete with the male counterparts while suffering through the ramifications of the socio-cultural expectations and living up to the standards imposed by the society. The government policies aiming at flexibilization of work also pave the way for trivializing women's labor more and more under the pretense of supposedly creating positive conditions for women. The male-dominated capitalist ideology identifies womanhood with motherhood through the male language it uses and regenerates the secondary position of women through discourses and practices under the pretense of betterment, for the maintenance of the current system.

The current socio-cultural structure underpins the core of the law texts regarding the working life. In order to take a closer look at the patriarchal mindset that propagates it, the data of the qualitative research consisting of twenty in-depth interviews performed with male employees will be utilized. The research comprises in-depth interviews conducted with white-collar men working in the service departments of automotive, food, pharmacy and durable goods sectors in Istanbul, Turkey.

The State of Women's Labor in Turkey:

Since the early years of the foundation of the Republic, when modernization projects were first being implemented, Turkey has projected the profile of a country providing relatively good conditions for women. Directing women towards education and the enfranchisement of them have been the leading positive changes in this matter. Industrialization and urbanization also seem to be factors strengthening women's existence in the public space. Today, there is apparently a substantial number of women in cities who are active in the educational and professional life, some of whom take considerable responsibilities in the current governing class. Viewed with a limited and narrow perspective, the effort put forth by the middle and upper

class urban women in order to claim equality rights in terms of gender, might conceivably be even interpreted as frivolous. Social indicators, on the other hand, show that even the upper and middle class educated and goal-oriented urbanized women who are considered to be relatively privileged among all the other ones cannot be immune to the patriarchal cultural atmosphere; on the contrary, some of the factors which seem to be positive at first sight, do in fact reproduce the above-mentioned discrimination of these women. This predominant image of the stereotypical successful, wealthy, and powerful women- upon close inspection- is far from representing the general prevailing truth. Quite the contrary, the so called privileged class of above-mentioned women have to struggle a lot harder than their male counterparts.

The relationship of women with economic sources is a significant determinant of their social status. Within this framework, the status of white-collar middle class educated women who live in cities and work in the service sector in particular are a reliable indicator as to where Turkey is in terms of gender equality. Within this context, it would be beneficial to review some of the statistical data in order to gain a general perspective towards the status of women in business life. According to 2011 data, Turkey has the lowest rate of employment of women among all the OECD countries with 27,8 percent (TurkStat, 2012a: 71), which clearly shows how insufficient the employment of women in Turkey is. The quality of the current limited employment of women, on the other hand, can be inferred from TurkStat's table of "employment by status of workplace". Accordingly, while the total employment of women in 2012 was 7,309,000, this figure for men was 17,512,000, and the only type of business in which more women are employed than men is "working at home" (TurkStat, 2012b: 79). On the other hand, considering the reasons why women are not included in labor force, the biggest reason seems to be "engaging in domestic work", with 61,3 percent (TurkStat, 2012c: 73). Employment rate figures according to marital status, in some sense, highlight the negative impact of "being a housewife" on employment. While the percentage of "married" men employed in cities is 71,8 percent, the corresponding rate drops down to 20,5 percent in "married women" (TurkStat, 2012d: 80). The common accepted social norm in Turkey is that the primary task of a woman is to take care of "home", therefore, to serve the entire household, notably her husband and children. It is obvious that marriage is advantageous for men in terms of the active participation in his paid business life, whereas it culminates in disadvantages for women in this respect; this phenomenon can be observed rather readily at the stage of recruitment for women where being married with children or expecting a child definitely constitutes a detriment. While the accepted social role for men is "the breadwinner" and a male candidate is deemed as one with a higher commitment and motivation for work once he is married and is

with a family, a married status for women is considered to be a liability as they are seen as members of work force who are less reliable to commit to professional life as their predominant role is the “wife/mother”. A woman is seen to be less dedicated to work once she has a family.

Domestic work, constituting one of the major obstacles of women in penetrating the labor force, holds a substantial portion of the paid vacation time. While the working men in Turkey spend only 43,2 minutes of their time a day for domestic work, the working women, on the other hand, spend 4,05 hours of their time doing domestic work (TurkStat, 2012e: 104). The domestic activities such as cooking (94,7 percent), ironing (88,5 percent), laundry (93,8 percent), washing the dishes (93,2 percent), simple sewing (93 percent), tea service in the evenings (89,5 percent), laying and clearing the table (91,2 percent), tidying up and cleaning the house daily (90,9 percent), and the weekly and monthly house cleaning (90,9 percent) are mainly done by women/mothers, whereas men/fathers are seen to do merely the “masculine” tasks such as shopping, repairing, painting and paying the bills (TurkStat, 2012f: 107). As expected, the task of childcare throughout Turkey is undertaken by mothers with the rate of 89,6 percent (TurkStat, 2012g: 108).

Regarding the question of why women are not considered to be appropriate for working outside home, the data is quite revealing as it clearly displays how the patriarchal ideology has been internalized in Turkey: In response to the question, “Why do you think women should not work?”, the leading answer is, “the main task of a woman is child care and doing domestic work” with 58,6 percent, along with responses such as “the working environments are not safe for women”, “it is against our customs and traditions”, “the children of working mothers are aggrieved”, and “working outside home wears women out” (Türkiye’de Aile Yapısı Araştırması, 2011: 284).

As can be inferred from above, the patriarchal cultural structure still remains as the basic determinant of participation of women to the labor market, their survival there and their advancement. As long as the primary social role of women is to be a wife and a mother, working in a paid job is of secondary importance in this respect. The basic motivation for women in getting an education or working in a paid job is quite often not necessarily earning money or sustaining herself and her family, as is the case in the world for males. For a woman, working is not perceived as a *sine qua non* for life. There is so much more social pressure on an unemployed man in comparison with an unemployed woman, since earning money, in contrast to the male world, has not been coded as one of the elements that makes a woman a real woman, which, in this sense, seems to create an advantage for a woman compared to a man; however, the perception that working in a paid

job is not mandatory for women makes the labor market mainly the arena of the male society and results in the exclusion of women from the labor market, causing them forgo the opportunities of security and promotion, and in many cases, even the deprivation of their economic independence.

It is possible to classify and list the primary factors determining the participation of women in labor force as education, marital status, economic resources, settlement area and perception of gender (Kılıç and Öztürk, 2014: 107). Yet, the gendered division of labor is one of the most prominent obstacles getting in the way of women in terms of entering the labor market (İlkkaracan, 1998: 286). In most cases, the women who are not directed by their families towards working outside home and are deprived of the education through which they could acquire the necessary qualifications for qualified jobs, leave their jobs or take a break off their work for reasons such as marriage or child care. For instance, while the participation of urban women in labor force shows an increase in the age group between 12 and 19, it declines at the age of 30s due to marriage and child care, but rises again at the ages of 35-44 and then declines again from the age of 50 and onwards. Half of the women starting to work outside home leave their jobs within five years; hence, unlike men, their marriage and child care get interrupted right in the midst of their career (Köker and Atauz, as cited in İlkkaracan, 1998: 286). Furthermore, as long as the married women keep on working in a paid job outside home, they also carry on undertaking the household responsibilities along with it (DİE, as cited in İlkkaracan, 1998: 286); therefore, they are inevitably exposed to a double-shift practice in most cases. Labor market is a reflection of gender roles in the society. Women working outside home also carry the burden of domestic work on their shoulders (Dedeoğlu, 2004: 258).

As a result, it seems that the survival of women in labor market is dependent on the prerequisite of avoiding anything that could harm their role of being a wife and a mother at home. In Turkey, there seems to be a patriarchal perception that a woman can claim her place in business life only if needed or only after she has given birth to a child and fulfilled her principal responsibilities; such as fulfilling the duties of a spouse and child care. Jill Rubery, Mark Smith and Colette Fagan (1998) argue that “gender divisions relating to working time arise primarily from differences in gender divisions within the household but the extent and form that these gender divisions take in the labor market are moderated or mediated by national working-time regimes” (71). The status of women in the labor market is one of the most important determinants of gender inequality, which, in this sense, requires serious policies aiming at enhancing the employment of women in a concrete way in Turkey; unfortunately, this aspect is quite lagging in Turkey compared to developed countries. This being the case, current legal

regulations seems to achieve just the opposite sadly enough, which perpetuates the patriarchal norms and traps the women even further in their role of the traditional spouse and mother. Directing women towards flexible working schemes -supposedly for the purpose of increasing their share in employment and maintaining their connection with the labor market during their pregnancy and the raising of children is, in effect, nothing but a perpetuation of the current patriarchal understanding. Furthermore it is quite conceivable that such flexible working models result in the loss of a number of achievements of working urban women who have a relatively advantageous position among all the other women due to their economic independence.

Flexibility of Labor:

Flexibility in business life is one of the fundamental principles shaping the “new” societies referred to as post-industrial, post-modern or post-fordist. In the post-industrial social order discussed throughout the world, particularly starting from 1970s, the proportional intensity in the labor market has begun to shift from production of commodity towards the production of service. The characteristics, such as rigidity, determination, commitment to the rules, the mechanical working rhythm, routine conditions, hierarchical and vertical organization structure which are regarded as the characteristics of the way of production in an industrialized society and which are criticized frequently, are replaced by the characteristics, such as flexibility, ambiguity, normlessness, organic/free working rhythm and lateral organization in the post-industrial society. The factory, in a post-industrial society, is no more the primary place of work; instead, it has been to a great extent replaced by more convenient locations, such as agencies, offices, home and virtual platforms. With the information system and technologies becoming the major capital in today's world, the muscle power left its place to the mental power, which has led to the fact that the leading actors of the economic production came to be the white-collar employees rather than the blue collar ones.

Carnoy's study, which is a compilation of the data regarding the part-time, freelance and temporary jobs and the non-standard ways of employment in OECD countries starting from 1983 and onwards, shows that there is often an increase in these types of work. Carnoy states that the transformation taking place in the arrangements of work is experienced in four aspects: First of all, the flexible working system is becoming common and the working time is not limited to 35-40 hours a week. Secondly, there is no job security anymore, and the flexible working order involves being task-oriented and gives no guarantee for employment. The third aspect is that more and more people are spending their total or partial working duration outside the

workplace. Finally, the contract between the employer and the employee has gone beyond the conventional content; now the contracts comprising of standards in the subjects providing an assurance for the employee, such as compensation, education, social security rights and career have fallen behind (Carnoy, as cited in Castells, 2005: 358-61).

Although flexibility, as one of the important characteristics of the post-industrial system, involves a great many sub-contexts such as process, product, professional and organizational flexibilities, it is the term often used within the context of space and time flexibility. The practices increasing flexibility are presented particularly for the white-collar employees as a survival from the old-fashioned, rigid, bureaucratic, robotic, alienating and vertical organizational formations. Whereas, flexible labor results in various disadvantages for employees by bringing along with it the ambiguity in many areas, ranging from the job description to the working time and place. The flexible use of time and place eliminates the distinction between business and private life as well as limiting the areas that are independent from work by keeping them under control. Thus, there are neither definite working hours, nor a certain workplace; in addition, free time becomes the preparation time for work, as a result of which the labor permeates through every space of daily life.

Besides the new professions in which there is labor in the way that the employee him/herself can determine it as a part-time job or during the hours and places s/he finds convenient to work, place and time flexibilities are also seen in the classical office jobs. However, this flexibility occurs in the form of over-time, which means working in different locations and times in addition to the standard locations and time. On the other hand, outside the office, particularly in businesses based on sales in the field, the time and place flexibility are encountered more frequently. In such jobs, the employees are expected to be available for travelling frequently and visiting different cities and countries related to their profession. It is seen that not only in jobs where outside-office work is intense, such as sales, but also in those where there is no need to be outside directly, such as human resources, public relations and marketing, the spatial mobility seems to be even more prevalent. Participating in meetings and seminars organized in different regions may require the employees to work outside the company for a couple of weeks or travel to a given place once a month.

Another important point relevant to the place flexibility is that almost all employees work from home in addition to working at the office. Working from home is often a necessity parallel to the place flexibility, which involves performing the tasks left incomplete throughout the day or are already impossible to be done during the day in accordance with the job description from home via the computer and internet without demanding for

payment in the evenings and at weekends. In some cases, on the other hand, it is also possible that the employee works from home as a “volunteer” for reasons, such as his/her concerns about constant progress and performance that are not based on the direct sanction of the employer.

According to a study classifying the labor force into three within the flexible production as the core and two peripheral groups (Curson, as cited in Harvey, 2003: 171), the core labor force consists of the employees “with full time, permanent status and is central to the long term future of the organization”, whereas the first peripheral group consists of the full time personnel with qualifications that are available in the labor market and the second peripheral group, on the other hand, is composed of part-time employees, temporary workers, fixed term contract staff and trainees who provide a greater flexibility with a lower job security.

Harvey (2003: 171-4) states that the new trend in the labor market is to reduce the number of core employees and lean on a labor force which can be recruited rapidly and dismissed free of charge and the second peripheral group has been on the increase in recent years. Women are being employed precisely within this second peripheral group by abusing the regulations designed and implemented in Turkey and are forced to be subjected to insecure, temporary, part-time and flexible jobs.

Policies and Implementations Designed to Increase the Flexibility in Women's Employment:

Flexible labor, when compared with the conventional rigid systems, may appear to create some advantages for employees; however, it also brings with it a number of disadvantages, such as insecurity, unpaid overtime work and the elimination of the distinction between business and private life. As it may initially appear to enhance the lives of the working women by making it easier, flexible labor does not only mean working temporarily, part-time or from home. The individual business contracts, the pressure imposed on the employees working under the total quality management and performance, the sanctions of the human resources administration which alienate employees and hamper their collective claim for rights, horizontal organization and the ambiguity of job descriptions are some of the undesirable consequences caused by flexible labor. Taking into consideration the ambiguity of the working time and place, among other aspects, a new system producing new negativities for employees is seen to be emerging and being accepted as common practice. While the increased insecurity caused by such circumstances permeates and spreads from the production of commodity to the production of service, the difference between the white-collar employees and blue collar ones increasingly dissolves. Moreover, the career and profit opportunities to be attained only by the white-collar employees playing this

game according to the rules of the new system cannot be valid and available for the majority, which in turn culminates as women being the gender who are affected most negatively in this so-called new game with new rules. In conjunction with the fact that the place and time flexibility is determining the business life, and as the result of both the capability of men to meet the demands of their employers more in working overtime and directing working women towards part-time, temporary and home-based jobs, women become subjected to working in low-paid jobs or are excluded from the labor market.

The service sector, the volume and significance of which has increased with post-industrialization, is of importance in the sense that it is the area where a great number of women are employed in addition to its advancement observed in the last three or four decades. In patriarchal societies not only property, various other economic resources, social, cultural and political institutions, but also women's productive or labor power, reproduction, sexuality and mobility are under the patriarchal control (Bhasin, 2000: 21). Male dominance in all the major areas of social life is also the determinant to a great extent in the areas that also seem to belong to women. It is again men who assess women's labor by controlling the capital and power in their hands and establishing the lines to a great extent.

In summary, it is conceivably the case that the roles of being a wife and a mother that women are labeled with in social life are in conflict with the demands of employers and executives. Within this context, the concept of "role conflict" is established upon separate fields of activity, such as the "breadwinner" for men and "housewife" for women with the conventional social roles of gender and represents the conflict of the requirements regarding family and business (Quinn, 2011: 102). According to Greenhaus and Beutell, "work-family conflict is a specific type of interrole conflict that refers to the perceived incompatibility of role pressures between work and family so that participation in one role makes participation in the other role more difficult" (as cited in Hill et al., 2008: 155). From this perspective, "the ideal worker" theory posits that the breadwinner role is played by an "ideal worker" committed, above all else, to his career (Williams, as cited in Quinn, 2011: 102). Commitment and devotion to work can be the major criteria for employers and become the determinants to a great deal in the employee's career during the stages of both getting a job and a promotion. The role of earning a living for the family, which is attributed to men by the society, and the responsibilities related with it create a restrictive impact on the undesirable behaviors that might be performed by male employees, such as resigning from work, rebelling against the authority or going on a strike, which are all undesired by employers and executives. Thus, men become the "ideal worker", whereas women are excluded from this game.

Within this system in which devotion to work is rewarded, it is seen that men are less willing to work flexibly when compared to women, since the flexible working “preference” will lead to the employer’s perceptions to how much the employee is devoted to his/her work. “Powerful norms dictating complete devotion to work are deeply ingrained, and the structure of many organizations is built around the myth of an ideal worker who can work full-time with no family conflict” (Blair-Loy; Weber; Williams, as cited in Vandello et al., 2013: 304). For this reason, the employees fear that making flexible work agreements could involve a negative message with respect to their commitment to work; therefore, flexibility becomes less preferred or demanded by men (Vandello et al., 2013: 304). In fact, some studies suggest that such concerns are not that unjustified. For instance, Jeffrey R. Cohen and Louise E. Single found that female and male accountants making flexible business agreements tend to resign from work more, while they tend to progress less; Sara A. Rogier and Margaret Y. Padgett, on the other hand, found that the career dedications and advancement potentials of women working under flexible conditions were thought to be less than women on traditional schedules (as cited in Vandello et al., 2013: 304). Separately, according to Jennifer Glass and Kim Weeden, “workers who use flexible scheduling pay an earnings penalty” (as cited in Glauber, 2011: 490). Consequently, in case the flexible working conditions are enabled and left up to the employee's choice, the employee who has preferred flexible work in terms of payment, career and promotion will not face a positive picture. In this case, for instance, so long as the parental leave is a “right” which is not granted to men but women, this leads women to be more disadvantaged in the labor market.

The fact that the legal regulations made for women under the name of “flexibilization of work” are presented to the society as if they were “favors done for women” appears to be the sort of effort aiming at veiling the negativities to be created by the new implementations for women; in other words, the implementations that will affect the status of women in the labor market in a negative way are, on the contrary, presented in such a way that they are positive.

One major cornerstone to the detriment of employees in relation to the labor laws in Turkey in the wake of 24 January decisions and September 12 regulations has been the labor law numbered 4857, which was legislated in 2003. “Under this new labor law, the job security and the working conditions of the workers deteriorated, the flexible forms of labor were arranged, and several acquired rights were annihilated” (Ekici, 2012: 53). Under the 7th, 13th, 14th and 18th articles of this law involving temporary business relationships, part-time working, on-call working and the termination of the contract based on a valid ground, it was aimed that the labor market be made

flexible, deregulated and brought under control in terms of the value of labor force; simultaneously it was also aimed that the exploitation of labor force be deepened in terms of both the working period and the intensity of labor (Akkaya, 2005: 29-35). Law numbered 6111 (The Bag Law), which was put into effect in 2011, contains clauses increasing flexibility in business life for the purpose of covering the shortcomings of the labor law numbered 4857. Under this law, job security of workers was deteriorated, arrangements were made in order to generalize the sub-contracted work and it was aimed to enact some types of flexible work (Ekici, 2012: 53).

As of today, the changes in the 74th article of the Labor Law numbered 4857 were also based on the main perception that the primary role and responsibilities of women were to become a wife and a mother. With the regulations planned for the purpose of granting women the “flexible working rights”, extending the period of maternity leave from 16 to 18 weeks, the compulsory paid leave to be given by the employer to the working woman during her pregnancy period, the liability to give a 6-month-unpaid leave after the maternity leave, allowing the pregnant and breast-feeding mothers to work 7,5 hours a day at most and establishing nurseries for children aged between 0-6 in the workplaces with 150 female employees, women are prompted to motherhood, as the result of which they are less preferred by the employers, and this situation causes them to suffer at the phases of recruitment and promotion.

Although flexibility is advertised and presented to women as good news, it, in effect, paves the way for increased exclusion of women from the labor market. The concept that this approach is based on can also be easily observed from the statements of the Minister of Labor and Social Security, Faruk Çelik: “We shall develop a more flexible model as to how long a mother and her child should spend time together” (“Kadınların beklediği paket ekimde açılıyor!”, 2013). Thus, flexibility is indicated as something associated with womanhood, even motherhood, and is marketed like a practice designed to allow mothers to be able to spend more time with their children. Çelik, with his following statement, also states that the reproduction and the continuation of lineage also have been guaranteed with the legal regulations to be put into effect: “There is this fact about life, which is the need to continue the lineage” (“Neslin devamı lazım”, 2013). As a consequence, it is implied through the regulations to increase flexibility in working life that women will be able to work in paid jobs –though part-time or temporarily– without neglecting their primary tasks, which goes to show that the patriarchal ideology is once more shaping in flesh and bones and trapping women in the roles of being a wife and a mother by declaring them as the inferior genders.

Method:

On one hand, Turkey is, in some sense, in the spotlight of rigid practices unique to the industrial societies in business life, and on the other hand, the country witnesses flexible practices associated with the post-industrial societies under the impact of the increase in the production of service and globalization. The white-collar employees, in this respect, are becoming the leading actors of this new composite order and are being increasingly proletarianized within a system in which the acquisitions of the proletariat within years are also lost, as well. Women, however, are very much influenced by the flexible working conditions and the regulations dictated upon them due to the facts that they are identified “due to their natural features” with the jobs in the service economy increasing proportionally in recent years and that there are endless disputes as to where, in the business-family tension, they will be positioned. The regulations governing the ways of work from home and/or part-time in order to increase the employment of women reproduces the patriarchal judgment that the primary place of a woman is her home and family and results in the perception that women remain as the individuals of secondary importance in business life, which hampers their access to the economic resources.

Of all the paid jobs tailored for women by the patriarchal ideology, the leading ones are those that are based in the service industry. Within this context, the increase in flexibility in the service business lines directly affects the status of women in the labor market. For this reason, in this study, starting from the in-depth interviews on women’s labor conducted with white-collar men working in service jobs, the question of what flexibility brings to women in terms of employment is discussed.

Within the framework of the above question, the objective of this study was to determine how the women working in service sector in several industries where flexible working conditions are implemented are perceived by their male counterparts in the same sectors. In this way, it was aimed to comprehend the cultural infrastructure determining the value attached to women’s labor and the obstacles in their ways in this patriarchal social structure in which employers, employees, rule makers and law-makers are predominantly men.

For this purpose, in 2012 a qualitative research was carried out for three months in İstanbul, which is the most important metropolis and the center of business life in Turkey. In addition to being the city where the effects of globalization and urbanization are observed most conveniently, İstanbul is also the city with the most developed service sector and where the majority of urban, educated women reside. The research consists of in-depth interviews conducted with white-collar male employees working in the leading companies of four sectors performing the production of both

commodity and service, such as automotive, food, pharmaceutical and durable goods. Five of the interviewees work in the automotive sector, two of them work in the white goods sector, eight of them work in the pharmaceutical sector and five of them work in the food sector. Two of the interviewees are HR specialists, one of them is a purchasing specialist, one of them is a supervisor, one of them is a store house supervisor, one of them is a training officer, one of them is a product manager, seven of them work as medical representatives and six of them are in charge of various other positions in sales. The average age is 33, and all twenty people are university graduates, while two of them are postgraduates.

As the research has had no claim for representation, the interviewees were reached through the snowball sampling method, and the semi-structured interview forms consisting of open-ended questions were used. Prior to the one-to-one and face-to-face interviews, necessary information about the research and the assurance regarding the confidentiality of their identities were given to the interviewees. The interviewees were asked for permission to be recorded and all the interviews were recorded. Twenty in-depth interviews lasted forty minutes on the average, and they were designated from 1 to 20. Each interview was decoded literally and the obtained transcriptions were evaluated through the data analysis made available by Atlas.ti software. At the end of the statements obtained from the interviews, the age of the interviewee along with his/her interview number, the sector s/he works for, the position s/he works at and the educational status were sorted within parentheses.

Results: Women Perceived From The Perspective Of White-Collar Men: 1- The Argument of Women “Being Different by Nature”:

During the course of the interviews conducted with white-collar male employees, one of the most frequently encountered statements was the notion that women were “different by nature”. It was observed in the interviewees that the tendency to describe the men-women differences with a naturalist approach was quite prevalent. It was often pointed out that several characteristics of women due to their “nature” also reflected inevitably on their professional lives. The natural differences in question involve undertones of meaning, such as physical weakness, impotency, and biological and hormonal differences. For instance, the argument an interviewee used in explaining why the sector he works for is inappropriate for women, but appropriate only for men is as follows:

This is not something specific only to the Turkish society; it is the same all around the world, as well. From what we see and hear through media, it seems that the male hormones work

differently... (P1, 42, Pharmacy, Medical Representative, University Graduate).

The interviewees pointed out that women were not suitable for working in every sector or position and that it was both a rare recurrence and undesirable to see women working in positions which are considered to be appropriate only for men, such as those where physical strength, technical know-how or production assembly were required.

There are sectors ladies can work at and those that they cannot. Now in our sector, I do not find it right for a lady to work in a position directly related to production, with the status of a chief-in-management, an operating engineer, a production manager or in a different position. The physical features of a lady are not strong enough to overcome the workload at this job. (P4, 25, White Goods, Supervisor, University Graduate)

We have manual workers here. Let me put it this way: Considering women in manual jobs, it is clear that there are things they may be hormonally affected by; as for men- not that much. In terms of strength, men are stronger than women. (P17, 32, Automotive, Customer Representative, University Graduate)

Here, it is seen that the secondary importance attached to women in terms of social aspects has been confirmed by men, while also the existence of a language used for a lower status containing the attitudes like “pity” and “tolerance” is quite obvious. One of the interviewees expresses the disadvantageous status of women in business life with this statement:

Now we have also female colleagues in the sector, for whom, in fact, I feel quite sorry. In other words, to be clear, I am sorry for the fact that they have been raised in this way due to their nature. Men impose a different kind of pressure on them. (P1, 42, Pharmacy, Medical Representative, University Graduate)

Almost all of the interviewees attribute whether or not women are suitable for some of the business lines to a number of qualities considered to be acquired by birth. They try to explain the inequality in business life in terms of hormones, genetic dispositions or physical features, which are thought to distinguish men and women from each other inherently:

I suppose this is something related to the genetic structure of women. I guess it is because women are more curious, more open to communication, more talkative when compared to men and in the work environment, and well... and more ambitious than men. (P9, 35, Food, Private Customer Expert, University Graduate)

It was observed that these great differences “by nature” claimed to exist between men and women were also believed to affect their collaboration in a negative way. Some of the male interviewees stated that in such cases, the

work efficiency would be affected negatively and that they would even prefer to work in an environment consisting only of men if possible:

Should I become a regional manager, I would like to work with male staff only. Because we work in the field. We drive, we rush around... That is, we are in a sort of struggle there. Since women are more emotional creatures, you know, by their nature, I would not want to work with them. (P19, 29, Pharmacy, Medical Representative, University Graduate)

As can be seen, the characteristics ascribed socially to women and men cause womanhood and manhood to be perceived as unchangeable categories in that whereas the patriarchal ideology declares men as strong and women as weak genders, they fictionalize this sort of strength or weakness as something natural, inherent, genetic, physiological, anatomical, hormonal and unchangeable; thus, they establish such codes that put women in the class of secondary significance within the social life as the unquestionable facts. In this sense, it is seen that the white-collar employees have internalized the patriarchal ideology to a large extent.

2- Marriage as an “Obstacle”:

It has also been striking that the primary social roles of women have been regarded as another obstacle getting in the way of the accomplishment to be attained in business life. These roles in the patriarchal social structure are to become a “wife” and a “mother”. Therefore, the place of a woman is primarily not the public space but the private space, which is not the “workplace” but her “home”. Almost all the men interviewed seem to agree on the notion that home must be the priority in a woman's life rather than the work outside; a job can only be a part of a woman's life to the extent that it has proper working hours and does not cause any delays regarding the responsibilities awaiting women at home:

Our company operates in shifts. The shift system causes problems for a lady. I know this, because I had such colleagues. None of them was able to get along in this sector for more than three or four months. Those ladies who worked here before resigned, stating that they could no longer cope with such a tempo and such conditions. (P4, 25, White Goods, Supervisor, University Graduate)

During the interviews, it was seen that even being merely a woman was sufficient to be regarded as someone who was not fit for working life. In particular, the possibility of a marriage or being already married brings with it the bare truth that women are always one step behind men at the recruitment phase. The secondary status of women, the norms dictating that they primarily belong to “home” rather than a workplace and also the fact

that men hold the power in their hands in women's private lives prevent women from determining their own priorities, and planning and managing their own time.

The views of the male interviewees on their wives' career life indicate the relationship of ownership and domination between men and women quite clearly. Considering the interviews, the so called flexible work claimed to have increased the participation of women in business life in particular does not seem to create an advantage for working women. It is often stated that both the flexibility of the working hours and the place flexibilities requiring travel in particular are not suitable for women, since flexible work may bring together phone calls at nights or travels requiring driving and lodging in a hotel, which are believed not to be appropriate for women, particularly "married women". For instance, what is frequently observed in flexible working conditions is that when the business continues even out of the working hours via the devices, such as e-mail or cellphone, this may pose a problem for the husbands of married women:

Ladies get married. And once they are married, their husbands... Look, even if I had a wife, I would object to her making phone calls. Maybe you will call me a conservative person or maybe something else. And why would I object to that? Because I do not find it right. (P17, 32, Automotive, Customer representative, University Graduate)

This relationship of ownership that a man establishes with a woman within the marriage and the belief that the primary responsibility of a woman is for her home, husband and children -if any- bring with them the fact that the labor force of women is considered as less efficient than that of male employees in the eyes of the employers and managers. Whereas disobeying the desired working conditions makes women secondary in the public space, the effort of a woman to obey such circumstances causes her to get stuck between the conflicting roles and to get labeled as someone unsuccessful in any one of these conditions or to struggle with new problems emerging incessantly. Additionally, the jobs that require a woman to work until "late hours" in a closed workplace or rush outside in the streets instead of her home; in other words, the jobs that demand flexibility in the sense of both time and place may create quite challenging circumstances for women. On one hand, the time and places considered to be unfavorable for female employees, and on the other hand, the jobs requiring the use of those times and places blockade women to a great extent.

This is sort of hard work. It seems easy but it is really plodding. For instance, it is the sort of a job a married woman will have hard times with, because, you know, when needed, she has to

work in the hospitals, streets until late hours. (P11, 28, Pharmacy, Medical Representative, Post Graduate)
Men have more chance to travel. Women cannot travel that much due to the fact that they are married with children. (P12, 42, White Goods, Product Manager, University Graduate)

It follows that it is generally not considered right or appropriate for a married woman to work in the streets, hospitals or in different cities. In addition to their marital status, women's motherhood also becomes an extra issue they have to confront in terms of their employment.

3- Motherhood as the primary role:

The identification of womanhood with motherhood is one of the significant determinants of trivializing and putting women in a secondary position, not only in the field of their employment but in any area of their life, as well. Motherhood, similar to “breadwinner” role assigned to men, is also a social role that makes woman “a woman” thereby making her someone incomplete or trivial if she is not a mother. Besides to that women who are mothers will soon be facing with problems such as unpaid domestic labor and double-shift.

The fact that motherhood is usually recognized as not a social role but a natural and inevitable biological fact brings with it the attitude to impose such qualities as compassion, gentleness and tenderness on women. Vasanth Kannabiran, in one of her speeches in a seminar, described how the characteristics associated with motherhood are attributed to all women with this statement of hers:

Rearing of children is supposed to be as natural, as inherent to a woman as giving birth to children... And it is not just in relation to the children we produce; it is assumed that love or motherhood is sitting in me waiting to flow out like a stream to anybody who needs it. We become eternal mothers. So I mother my child, other people's children, my husband, my brothers, my sisters, my father who actually calls me ‘my little mother’! To everyone I become a mother by extension. You are expected to overflow with a motherly feeling towards the entire universe. And this is supposed to be natural! Not work at all. It is something you do as easily as breathing, eating or sleeping (as cited in Bhasin, 2000: 6-7).

As is everywhere where patriarchy is dominant, the case is the same for Turkey. Motherhood is perceived as something so natural and so spontaneous that the effort spent to give birth to children and raise them is usually ignored, even not perceived as an effort. For this reason, the jobs related to motherhood constitute the major part of unpaid domestic labor. The women

who were targeted to allow to take part in the public arena within the framework of modernization projects have acquired various rights in this respect; however, these rights granted for women are largely based on defining women within the borders of family and as “wives and mothers to be educated” (Kadioğlu, 1998: 94). The objective in educating women is to turn them into symbols of modernism worthy of their husbands, and mothers equipped with the qualities to raise their children in accordance with the requirements of the new nation state.

In Turkey, there still seems to be a consensus that, a woman is, first of all, a mother, she owes her worth to motherhood, and she is primarily supposed to fulfill her responsibilities expected of her as a mother. It is not necessary for a woman to get a job, as is the case in the male world; yet, if this is required for the family budget or if she really wants to have a job, then she may work provided that she does not hold up her primary responsibilities at home. “Women are ready suppliers of low-wage labor in developing countries because of the social construction of women as secondary wage earners supplementing men’s wages” (Fussell, 2000: 60). This generalized patriarchal approach was seen to have been approved by the interviewees, as well. It was remarkable to see that the disadvantages experienced in working life by women due to giving birth and childcare were regarded by male interviewees as something usual, ordinary and comprehensible. This possibility of women to have a baby due to their biological capacities emerges as an obstacle for women just at the recruitment phase:

The ages between 28 and 35 are the reproductive ages of a woman. And when I make a job interview with a female candidate, I have to ask her this question: “Are you planning to have a baby within the 3-year-period ahead?” If she has any intention of having a baby soon, well, unfortunately, I don’t prefer her. Consider her maternity leave and breast-feeding period, the period she will have to stay away from the field and sales... (P20, 40, Pharmacy, Regional Manager, University Graduate)

Similarly, many male employees have explained that the executives did not prefer female employees while adding to their arguments that pregnancy and maternity had performance-decreasing effects at work and that when female employees got married and had babies, they were not efficient enough in the workplace:

Well, we have more men here, since the executives think in this way: You employ a lady, she gets married, she gets pregnant, well, you know, she will be pregnant like nine months. She does slipshod work. Then comes the breast-feeding period, and then the baby will grow up, she will be much busier in this period and

will be unable to perform well at work. But this job requires a great deal of performance. (P14, 35, Pharmacy, Medical Representative, University Graduate)

Thus, as Rubery et al. (1998) underlined, “Women are also expected to have domestic responsibilities and thus not to be available for long hours of work or for extra hours at short notice, assumptions which may exclude them from core or male-dominated jobs” (93).

There is male dominance. The employers, well, since women are fecund, will not wish those whom they hire to bear a child soon or to get married. Even if they get married, they would rather not have babies, since this would not suit their chiefs' book. It is the loss of labor, I mean, it is substantially the loss of labor. (P1, 42, Pharmacy, Medical Representative, University Graduate)

Well, first of all, the childbirth takes place. She does not come for about 9 months. What's more, after the childbirth, the task is not complete. It has just started. She has responsibilities, motherhood stuff... While she can concentrate on her work 100 percent or 80 percent under normal conditions, this rate drops down to 40, 50 or 60 percent, I'm sure... For instance, you can make a man work for more hours, as this is just the other way on the part of women. Women have children after a certain age and the responsibilities they undertake are not the same with those of men.... (P10, 44, Automotive, Sales Expert, University Graduate)

4- The problem of “not speaking the same language”:

It was seen that the homo-social group relationships also pose an obstacle to working of men and women under the same roof. The male-to-male communication in the environment where there is no woman may differ obviously from the place and time the women exist in, and the men feel under pressure when they are with women regarding the behaviors, such as using foul speech, rude attitudes and “masculine” manners like fighting, and they have to act in a controlled manner when they are with women. Depending on this, some interviewees prefer only working with male employees in order to be able to act more comfortably, speak as they wish and, in a sense, strengthen their masculinity:

You cannot put two genders in the same place, saying, “men and women are equal”. To me, it must not be so. Using slang language here.... You know, it is the male world, that is, sometimes they use foul language, most of the time... Well, if there happens to be a conversation like that, a conflict or clash between them when there is a lady here, this will surely affect the whole company. The language the employees use should be the

same. (P17, 32, Automotive, Customer Representative, University Graduate)

5- Flexibility: For women?:

Another point that draws the attention is that the unwritten rules restrict the times and places that women can work in as paid employees. The wage labor market is becoming flexible, which brings with it the expansion of the scope of working hours and being ready to work 24/7 in terms of time flexibility; and similarly, working continuously at home, hotels, vacation resorts, in the streets or even while travelling or being present to do that, in terms of place flexibility.

Flexible work is presented in the way that it creates advantages for women as if it meant merely working from home or part-time; whereas, it creates new disadvantages for women owing to the fact that it demands continuous work by leaking into private areas and time zones in various places during longer periods of time, as an efficient tool of the employer to make the employee work more. In this context, the competitive power of women against men weakens; thus, it is again men who take the advantage of flexibility in achieving higher incomes in upper professional positions:

In my field, women cannot earn much but men do. Yet, they have to give too much of themselves... The reason I can earn is that here, I work until 12 am at night and can come here at 4 am. It is not because I work more, but because I can be here whenever a problem occurs. Thanks to that, I earn more. (P17, 32, Automotive, Customer Representative; University Graduate)

Although it may be “tolerated” by their husbands and families to witness women working at a certain time and place, flexibilities may result in new problems. In brief, the labor market supposedly made flexible for women creates new ways of caging women within the private space. For instance, in the interviews, it was seen that according to the interviewees women were more capable of working “indoors”, “in office environments” and within “certain working hours” but the positions which may require travelling and working at night/weekend namely demanding the employee to be flexible in many respects were much more appropriate for male employees. Hence, making the labor force market flexible brings along with it more employment of men and less preferability of women by employers, which cages women in the private space once again. The regulations regarding the maternity leave and encouraging home office or part-time labor also enhance this situation:

This is a job that always requires being ready in the field. You always rush around here and there by car, which is why many people do not work with women. Yet, there are some female

colleagues, but it is mainly the men in this business. (P14, 35, Pharmacy, Medical Representative, University Graduate).

The belief that driving a car, travelling, lodging somewhere outside home, being outdoor in the evening or getting involved in work out of the regular working hours by using devices like phone calls, internet, etc. are not suitable for women, guarantees the business lines in which place and time flexibilities are dominant to become the sort of areas that belong to men.

There is a general assessment as such: If the employee is a woman, she must work indoors. She should get in an enclosed space at 8 am in the morning and return home by 5 pm in the evening. Of course, there are still such sorts of point of views. (P15, 33, Pharmacy, Medical Representative, University Graduate)

In addition to the common point of view as to the fact that it would be appropriate for women to have only indoor-jobs, even a phone call relative to business but out of the working hours could create a problem. An interviewee describes the circumstances under which he may “tolerate” his wife to work as follows:

I don't like the idea of a man calling my wife in the middle of the night. Jealousy... In the line of job? Well, if so, then she will work somewhere that does business between the regular working hours like 8.30-17.30! (P17, 32, Automotive, Customer Representative, University Graduate)

Besides, the same interviewee does not want to work with a woman in his own workplace, since women cannot deal with the business during night hours as men can do if required.

When she was called at 4 am at night, when there was a problem, I was waiting for 8.30 in the morning. This place functions 24/7. I get into my car at 3 am in the morning and come here, solve the problem and then go back home. If there is any woman out there to do the same, I dare her to do so. I already know there is no one... (P17, 32, Automotive, Customer Representative, University Graduate)

As is seen, even the so-called flexible hours presented as a sort of liberation for women are thought to apply more to men rather than women, unless they work part-time or within the regular daytime hours.

Conclusion:

As it is something often underappreciated and definitely unpaid at home, woman's labor, once again gets to be of secondary importance and loses its priority outside the home as well. Predominantly, women are used as supplementary cheap labor and are almost sentenced for low paying jobs

which are not preferred by men; and should they be fortunate enough to land on a relatively desirable job, they are often faced with obstacles such as the “glass ceiling” and/or “double overtime”. Many professions are labeled as “inappropriate for women” and, hence, the prospects are either truncated or eliminated for women from the very outset.

Flexible working environment does not mean “getting a paid job easier” or simply working less. On the contrary, it translates into working outside the visible business hours and locations, and, in this sense and may mean, for both genders, working under more severe conditions and simply working more. This being the case, women, who are already underprivileged under the patriarchal hegemony in securing a paid job in competition with the male counterparts, are further discriminated against and excluded from the work force. In effect, the pretense of encouraging the women to work outside the home under more flexible hours, translates into nothing more than women being forced to work more and in a more family-oriented private environment. As a result, the women are trapped in between their roles as spouse-mother and working woman.

According to the interviews, especially in those jobs where time and location flexibility are demanded, women workers are quite often looked down upon and not preferred when it comes to proper employment. As an extension of their conviction that women are naturally and genetically predisposed to certain imperfections, men tend to believe that women are more suitable for giving birth and raising children and that it is more appropriate for women to find only a limited range of jobs within certain hours and at specific locations. Women, whose primary arena of governance are defined to be their home and families cannot access the economic resources as their efforts are hampered by the male dominated market and the political arena.

Although more flexible conditions make it easier to enter the labor market to a certain extent (Furaker, 1986: 356), increasing the employment of women in this way will bring about the employment of both the working women and the unemployed ones mostly in part-time jobs, which, in turn, will cause women to exist in the labor market temporarily, for a short-term or seasonally and to lag behind men in the career path. Under the current state of affairs, the policies implemented aimed at increasing the flexibility in the business world, in effect, serves as an effective scheme to throw the women back into their entrapment from which they were able to free themselves of, namely the boundaries of the traditional family life. Unless the rights and policies governing the parental leave are implemented equally for men and women, the inequality of genders and the inferior status of women will be perpetuated.

References:

- Akkaya, Yüksel. 2005. “Türkiye’de Kapitalizmin Restorasyon Sürecinde Sosyal Politika ve Çalışma Yasaları,” in Fuat Ercan ve Yüksel Akkaya, eds. *Kapitalizm ve Türkiye II*, pp. 13-41. Ankara: Dipnot.
- Bhasin, Kamla. 2000. *Understanding Gender*. New Delhi: Kali for Women. ISBN: 81-86706-21-6.
- Castells, Manuel. 2005. *Enformasyon Çağı: Ekonomi, Toplum ve Kültür*, Cilt I: Ağ Toplumunun Yükselişi. Trans. Ebru Kılıç. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University. (Original work published 1996).
- Cohen, Jeffrey R. and Louise E. Single. 2001. “An examination of the perceived impact of flexible work arrangements on professional opportunities in public accounting.” *Journal of Business Ethics* 32: 317–28.
- Dedeoğlu, Saniye. 2004. “Sindirella'nın Pazara Yolculuğu: Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rollerini, Aile ve Kadının İşgücüne Katılımı Üzerine Bir Deneme,” in Neşecan Balkan and Sungur Savran, eds. *Neoliberalizmin Tahribatı: Türkiye'de Ekonomi, Toplum ve Cinsiyet*, pp. 254-74. İstanbul: Metis.
- Ekici, Erol. 2012. “Emeğin Kazanılmış Haklarına En Kapsamlı Saldırı.” *Journal of Employer* 2012, March-April: 52-4.
<http://tisk.org.tr/tr/e-dergiler/isveren/2012/mart-nisan/index.html> (accessed February 2014).
- Furaker, Bengt. 1986. “Towards Increasing Labor Market Flexibility.” *Acta Sociologica* 29(4): 349-58. doi: 10.1177/000169938602900406
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/000169938602900406> (accessed May 2014).
- Fussell, Elizabeth. 2000. “Making Labor Flexible: The Recomposition of Tijuana's Maquiladora Female Labor Force.” *Feminist Economics* 6(3): 59-79. doi: 10.1080/135457000750020137
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/135457000750020137>
- Glauber, Rebecca. 2011. “Limited Access: Gender, Occupational Composition, and Flexible Work Scheduling.” *The Sociological Quarterly* 52(3): 472–94. ISSN 0038-0253. Doi:10.1111/j.1533-8525.2011.01215.x
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2011.01215.x> (accessed April 2014).
- Harvey, David. 2003. *Post Modernliğin Durumu*. Trans. Sungur Savran. İstanbul: Metis. (Original work published 1990).
- Hill, E. Jeffrey, Joseph G. Grzywacz, Sarah Allen, Victoria L. Blanchard, Christina Matz-Costa, Sandee Shulkin and Marcie Pitt-Catsouphes. 2008. “Defining and Conceptualizing Workplace Flexibility.” *Community, Work & Family* 11(2): 149-163. doi:10.1080/13668800802024678
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13668800802024678> (accessed June 2014).
- “Kadınların beklediği paket ekimde açılıyor!”. 2013, September 23. Habertürk.

- <http://ekonomi.haberturk.com/is-yasam/haber/880094-kadinlarin-bekledigi-paket-ekimde-aciliyor> (accessed February 17, 2014)
- “Neslin devamı lazım”. 2013, September 23. Hürriyet. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/24766212.asp> (accessed February 17, 2014)
- İlkkaracan, İpek. 1998. “Kentli Kadınlar ve Çalışma Yaşamı,” in Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu, eds. 75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler, pp. 285-302. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı.
- Kadıoğlu, Ayşe. 1998. “Cinselliğin İnkarı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları,” Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu, eds. 75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler, pp. . 89-100. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı.
- Kılıç, Dilek and Selcen Öztürk. 2014. “Türkiye’de Kadınların İşgücüne Katılımı Önündeki Engeller ve Çözüm Yolları: Bir Ampirik Uygulama.” *Amme İdaresi Dergisi* 47(1): 107-30.
- Quinn, Kate. 2011. “Graduate and Professional Students’ Opinions on Work and Family Balance in Academic Careers.” *The Journal of the Professoriate* 5(1): 99-120. ISSN 1556-7699.
http://jotp.icbche.org/2011/5-1_Quinn_p.99.pdf (accessed June 2014).
- Rubery, Jill, Mark Smith and Colette Fagan. 1998. “National Working-Time Regimes and Equal Opportunities.” *Feminist Economics* 4(1): 71-101. doi: 10.1080/135457098338572
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/135457098338572>
- TurkStat. 2012a. “Employment Rate of Women, OECD Countries 2011”. *Women in Statistics*. 71.
<http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/İstatistiklerle-kadın-2012.pdf> (accessed February 2014).
- TurkStat. 2012b. “Employment by Status of Workplace”. *Women in Statistics*. 79.
<http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/İstatistiklerle-kadın-2012.pdf> (accessed February 2014).
- TurkStat. 2012c. “Reasons of not Being in Labor Force, 2012”. *Women in Statistics*. 73.
<http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/İstatistiklerle-kadın-2012.pdf> (accessed February 2014).
- TurkStat. 2012d. “Employment Rate by Marital Status”. *Women in Statistics*. 80.
<http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/İstatistiklerle-kadın-2012.pdf> (accessed February 2014).
- TurkStat. 2012e. “Time Use of Employed, by Sex, 2006”. *Women in Statistics*. 104.
<http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/İstatistiklerle-kadın-2012.pdf> (accessed February 2014).

TurkStat. 2012f. “Households Members who do Houseworks, 2011”. Women in Statistics. 107.

<http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/İstatistiklerle-kadın-2012.pdf>
(accessed February 2014).

TurkStat. 2012g. “Child Care in the Households by Locality, Three Populous Provinces and NUTS Regions, 2011”. Women in Statistics. 108.

<http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/İstatistiklerle-kadın-2012.pdf>
(accessed February 2014).

Türkiye’de Aile Yapısı Araştırması. 2011. Ankara: T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı-Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü. ISBN : 978-605-4628-37-7.

<http://www.cocukhaklariizleme.org/wp-content/uploads/turkiyenin-aile-yapisi-arastirmasi-20111.pdf> (accessed February 2014).

Vandello, Joseph A., Vanessa E. Hettinger, Jennifer K. Bosson, and Jasmine Siddiqi. 2013. “When Equal Isn’t Really Equal: The Masculine Dilemma of Seeking Work Flexibility.” *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2): 303-21. doi: 10.1111/josi.12016

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/josi.12016> (accessed May 2014).