

NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF INFORMAL PAID CHILD CARE IN TURKEY:  
COMMODIFICATION DUE TO INSUFFICIENT WELFARE POLICIES

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF INFORMAL PAID CHILD CARE IN TURKEY: COMMODIFICATION DUE TO INSUFFICIENT WELFARE POLICIES**

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This dissertation analyzes paid child care work in informal sector in Turkey as working middle class mothers' strategy to be able to allocate appropriate time and labor to their domestic responsibilities and obligations of work in the condition that social welfare implications are inadequate. It aims to understand how commodification of child care shape nature of the work and working relation.

Through this study, I contribute to exiting literature by means of shifting central point of child care work from immigrant to local women; giving place to view of middle class; displaying negotiation power of the workers; presenting effect of gendered division of labor in household, structure of labor market, and welfare implementations on dynamics and commodification of child care.

To be able to apprehend particularity of paid child care, I conducted 41 in-depth interviews middle class mothers having children between 0-6 years old, child minders and mediating agency managers.

The field work showed that gender regime of a country defines social welfare implementations. In Turkey when women want to participate into employment, they mostly rely on their female members of family and in case this support is unavailable; they employ child minders from informal labor market. Absence of any formal regulation, private sphere to be a working place and work to be child care cause familial terms to be dominant in the work relation. This leads to reinforcement of devaluation of the work and makes total commodification impossible.

Keywords: Paid Child Care Workers, Informal Employment, Working Middle Class Mothers, Commodification, Social Welfare Implementations

## ÖZ

### TÜRKİYE’DE ÜCRETLİ ENFORMEL ÇOCUK BAKIM İŞİNİN DOĞASI VE DİNAMİKLERİ: YETERSİZ SOSYAL REFAH POLİTİKALARI DOLAYISIYLA METALAŞMA

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Ücretli çocuk bakım emeđinin kendine has özelliklerini kavrayabilmek için 0-6 yaş arasında çocuđu olan orta sınıf anneler, çocuk bakıcıları ve aracı şirketlerin yöneticileri ile toplamda 41 derinlemesine görüşme gerçekleştirilmiştir

Araştırma sonucunda bir ülkenin cinsiyet rejiminin o ülkedeki sosyal refah uygulamalarını nasıl belirlediđi gösterilmiştir. Erken çocukluk bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerinin yetersiz kurumsallaşması ve iş ve aile yaşamının uyumlaştırılmasını hedefleyen uygulamaların eksikliđi, çocuk bakım alternatiflerinin de sınırlarını belirlemektedir. Türkiye’de kadınlar, çalışma hayatına katılmak istediklerinde çođunlukla ailelerinin diđer kadın bireylerine güvenmek zorunda kalmakta ve bu desteđin uygun olmadığı durumlarda da enformel işgücü piyasasından çocuk bakıcısı bulmaktadırlar. Formel herhangi bir düzenlemenin yokluđu, özel alanın işyerine dönüşmesi ve işin çocuk bakımı olması, kurulan iş ilişkisinde aileye ait kavramların baskınlığına sebebiyet vermektedir. Bu durum da hem işin değersizleştirilmesini pekiştirmekte hem de bütüncül bir metalaşmayı imkansızlaştırmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ücretli Çocuk Bakım İşçileri, Enformel İstihdam, Orta Sınıf Çalışan Anneler, Metalaşma, Sosyal Refah Uygulamaları

To mothers, who look for bones of their children for long years

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The social fabric relies on our ability to sustain life, nurture the weak, and respond to the needs of intimates. (Abel and Nelson, 1990:4)

We care people. We care our partners, parents, friends, children, relatives, or even, sometimes, people we don't know. Then what is care? Is it satisfying requirements of people who cannot take care of themselves? Or is it a way of showing our affection? Do we care people due to obligation or because just we feel it so? When we speak of/think about someone caring, our mind automatically matches care and woman because there is a very well settled traditional perception that women are intrinsic care providers. However despite this understanding care contains both affection and compulsion, which are intertwined. At the crossing of love and obligation, women are care workers of our families. They perform care work for elder/disabled/sick people and children, which are not capable of looking after their selves. On the other hand, women also take care of male members of family although they can meet their own needs.

Ranging from physical activities such as cooking, feeding, cleaning, supervising, taking from one place to another, and so on; to activities concerning emotional requirements of others like making them to feel valued and loved, care work is a combination of

many tasks. Similar to all domestic works, it is perceived as natural extension of womanhood (Hochschild, 2000; Hochschild 2002). Yet emotional component embedded in care work is unique aspect distinguishing it from other domestic works that cannot be relieved by means of technological developments (Ecevit, 2012).

Women perform care work in family as unpaid, since it is accepted as natural part of being woman. However there are other women in somebody else's house caring their dependants in return of money. They are paid care workers. They are significant supporters of some women working out of home and having no close female relatives to share the responsibility, but can afford to hire someone else. That is to say even in case women cannot execute care task, they are still responsible from organizing everything related with well being of dependants of family. I think this is the one and only commitment crossing all women no matter their socio-economic background.

This dissertation points to paid child care work in informal sector in Turkey as working middle class mothers' strategy to be able to allocate appropriate time and labor to their domestic responsibilities and obligations of work. It aims to understand reasons behind women's preferences of employing a child minder, and dynamics of the work and working relation. Despite the fact that number of studies on care of elder/sick people is not many in the care work literature, present research addresses only care of children owing to differences of these two issues needing separate studies despite significant similarities.

In this informal area, highest proportion of service receivers and service providers are female. There are three parties in paid child care work that mother as employer, child as care receiver and child minder as employee/care provider. And their association to each other could be imagined as a triangle that every side affecting each other. On the other hand since child care cannot be considered out of familial relations, other

members of a family –especially grandmothers and fathers- also take part in and have influence on this working relation. Furthermore, as a side of paid child care sector, mediating agencies also draws the boarders of the work and how it is perceived.

As it is clear that child care is very important not just only for employment of mothers but also, and maybe more significantly, for well being of children (Beşpınar et. al. 2013). If children are considered as future of a society then enabling them to have qualified care and education appears as the main problem. In this sense providing sufficient child care and education services should be under responsibility of states. Yet, not all around the world this balance have been established so. In some, like Nordic countries, state undertakes most of this responsibility and perceives it as universal right of all children while in others, such as United Kingdom and Canada, leaves it to private market although low-income families are supported financially in case of purchasing these services (Meyers, et. al. 2003). Turkey is considered in the cluster of countries like Italy, Greece, Portugal and Ireland, which mostly rely on informal care (Bettio et. al., 2004).

Poor institutionalized child care and education services mean women to fulfill this duty, which has a direct affect on their participation into labor market. Insufficient arrangements result them to have paid employment at no time, or leave labor market temporarily or permanently, work in atypical jobs, give their child(ren) to private child care centers, or hire another woman’s labor. In Turkey for children smaller than three years of age, finding a child care center is very difficult and existing ones are very expensive. Therefore, most of women who have sufficient economical sources, to be able to continue working, have to find a child minder from informal sector before their children are three years old. Especially if they do not have any female relatives to take care of children, then there are not many alternatives left, other than employing another woman. Despite the fact that in later ages putting children into a child care center is

relatively easier, women may still need child minders after school hours. In other words, in case that no big problem is confronted; relation between mother, child and child minder goes on year in and year out.

Owing to the fact that in Turkey the state ignores paid domestic work and woman's labor, the working relation has been established in the informal labor market. In case of lack of any formal regulation mechanism the sector has formed its own rules during the course of time. Child care to be performed in the informal labor market shapes boundaries of the work and how mothers and child minders associate to each other. In addition to dynamics of the informal labor market, working place to be home and object of care to be child move working relation to a kind of family relation, and affects strategies and negotiation power of both women.

It is for sure the relation between mother and child minder is not established between equals. There is distinction regarding economical, social and cultural resources. Middle class values are decisive in this relation. Child, as a care-receiver, belongs to middle class and mother would like her/him to be raised according to middle class values. This is why while women decide on whom to work with, they take *values safety* into account. Similarly child minders, as well, position themselves according to their closeness to these values. Then paid child care in this study is a working relation formed in middle class household between two women having different opportunities, skills and experiences in life. It is a mirror reflecting gender regime in society, and structure of labor market and applications of welfare regime.

There are two central questions of this study and thus two levels to be focused. The first question is that how does commodification of child care in informal labor market shape nature of the work and dynamics of relations among middle class mothers and

child minders? The second is that what is the relation between social welfare implementations on early child care and education and commodification of care labor?

We have already known that reasons behind middle class mothers' choice of hiring child minders from informal labor market are insufficiency of policies aiming reconciliation of work and domestic responsibilities, and gendered division of labor at home. Reconciliation implementations could be divided into three: regulations targeting working conditions (maternal, paternal, parental leaves; flexible types of working and time reduction), institutionalized care services (for children and/or elder people) and monetary supports (cash transfers, tax allowances, family allowances, social security and tax exemptions) (İlkkaracan 2010, Akgündüz et. al., 2012). The state in Turkey does not take much responsibility with respect to providing formal services or regulating facilities in private market (CEDAW Shadow Report, 2010). Influence of poor welfare implementations on women becomes visible in every stage of organization of child care. Even when they decide on timing of having child, they have to make plans accorded with alternatives of child care and their career path. Moreover, regarding low rate of woman's formal employment, scarcity of decent work opportunities and endeavors to make the labor market more flexible, also, oblige middle class mothers to take their preventions very earlier times of pregnancy. Owing to insufficient welfare arrangements parents – especially mothers- have to develop “individual reconciliation strategy” (Cassirer, et. al. 2007:4) to handle work and domestic responsibilities.

O'Connor (1993:512) mentions that differentiation of welfare regimes from each other is about how much people are independent from “pressures of the labor market” and how much they can access to public services “as citizenship rights”, all of which display “extent of de-commodification”.

In Turkey, regarding all kind of social services, level of de-commodification is low. Especially for children smaller than three years, institutionalized child care services are quite a little. Furthermore due to the fact that quality of these facilities calls into question, most of women 'prefer' their children to be cared for at home. Therefore, primarily they have to rely on female members of their family. Yet in case none of them are available, mothers have to look for help of child minders in informal labor market since paid domestic work is not a regulated area. Large number of less educated lower class women sells their labor as child minders to better-educated middle class working women. Thus, informal labor market is, also, an area where women from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds come together.

That is to say, women are condemned to informal labor market but with different motivations: selling or hiring labor force. For labor power, informal employment means irregular, unsecured, low-paid and unrecognized jobs (ILO, 2012a). Yet, it is a very big pot that high proportion of unskilled and less educated men and women finding a place in. ILO 2012 statistics display that outside agriculture, one half to three-quarters of employment in developing countries is in informal employment. 30 to 40 per cent of informal employment is consisted of informal wage employment. Home-based work and street trading represent 10 to 25 per cent of non-agricultural workforce. And 35-80 per cent of all home-based workers (including self employed and home-workers) are women. In other words, informal labor market reproduces gender-based hierarchies and division of labor and women are confined to particular activities (Dedeoğlu 2008: 24).

To be able to find good child minders, mothers rely on their social networks. In case it does not work, they apply to mediating agencies. Suitable/good child minder is combination of mother's preferences of ethnicity, age, education and experience with child's needs and family resources. Similarly child minders use their networks, and

have different criteria shaped by structure of the sector and their ‘abilities’ and requirements. Priority of these factors changes as age of child, economical resources, size of social networks, and structure of the sector change.

In case of absence of state, there are mediating agencies bringing potential domestic workers and employers together and regulate the area. Despite the fact that they mean accessing many alternatives and presence of a written contract, they cannot intervene the working conditions or working relation. But, the agencies shape child care sector and reproduce existing hierarchies in society. No matter, how child minders and mothers come together they are two strangers in a home that they develop their own strategies to get used to and to define dynamics of their relation.

Lack of a formal regulation and control leads domestic work to be performed in informal labor market. Undefined limits increase possibility of exploitation, while absence of any arrangements regarding occupational safety and health cause many work accidents and occupational illnesses. Lack of social security is closely related with domestic work area to be ignored by the governments. In all labor laws, in Turkey, domestic workers have been ignored as worker. Therefore they have been experiencing serious problems about social security. As a result of the Labor Law No 4857 to legally define part-time work, providing insurance for domestic workers has become matter of law, even if they work in temporary basis. However there had been no strict monitoring of insurance of the workers up to the project called Supporting Registered Employment has started on 2011<sup>1</sup>. Because of the fact that procedure is so difficult and liabilities are heavy, still many of domestic workers work without social insurance and the employers try to find ways of escaping from the responsibility, despite a heavy fine (KEIG, 2014).

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.sabah.com.tr/Ekonomi/2013/11/27/temizlikciye-sigorta-yapmak-sart> (23.09.2014)

On the other hand, with respect to child care, presence and absence of social insurance are considered/legitimized within the scope of particularity of the job both by child minders and middle class mothers. This is also connected to difficulty of defining child care as a work, child minder as a worker and mother as an employer because working place is home and care receiver is child. On the other hand child minding to be considered as a kind of mothering reinforces establishment of a family relation. Furthermore, devaluation of care work performed by women in home as unpaid keep both sides of the relation from reflecting on it as a job. From the other point of view care work is undervalued and considered as a low prestigious job in formal labor market, as well (Cleveland et. al., 2002). Emotional component embedded makes evaluating its value difficult. Especially widespread perception of women as natural care-providers and better at management of emotions compared to men, leads care work to be categorized as a job needing no special skill.

Commodification of child care does not easily bring market logic into the relation between child minder, mother and child. Yet due to existence of money, hiding/turning black eye to market relations is not easy. Emotions are embedded in all tasks executed within the frame of the work. This situation complicates simple employer-employee relation found in other jobs, blurs scope of the duties and becomes source of its low status.

In this research I used in-depth interview within the scope of feminist methodology. Child minders, mothers and mediating agency managers were interviewed with separately prepared questionnaires consisted of semi-structured questions. In total 41 interviews were realized in Ankara, 19 of which was conducted with the workers, the other 19 was with the employers. Three agency managers were interviewed also. The questions asked to middle class mothers were centered on factors determining decision of giving birth and way of care of child; relations with child minders; how paid child

work is perceived; division of labor in household; and balance established between work and domestic responsibilities. Child minders, on the other hand, were interviewed about their understanding and scope of the job they performed; and relation with the employers. To the mediating agency managers, questions concerning structure of paid child care sector were posed. In addition, I had opportunity to observe domestic workers in shuttles carrying them to their working place and back their home. Furthermore, I was also able to participate in a meeting of potential employers and child minders held in an office of a mediating agency.

At the beginning of the research, I applied to my own social network, especially for having contact information of middle class mothers. Then via their references, I could arrange other interviews. Similarly, coming together with mediating agency managers become possible with the help of these mothers. I contacted with child minders in the shuttles and benefitted from their network as well.

To be able to give a picture of social welfare implementations targeting establishing balance between domestic responsibilities and working obligations in Turkey I examined state development plans, laws, law-amending ordinances, statements of prime minister and ministers of the present government, and the reports on the issue.

Although domestic labor literature is broad enough, to a large extent, the researches analyze the issue through immigration of women. There are many inquiries giving detailed view of working conditions of immigrant domestic workers, especially the ones having live-in jobs. Yet the relation between employers and workers is described only from the side of laborer. Furthermore, I think some of them produce an image of poor victims. That is to say the picture drawn about working conditions and experiences of workers is incomplete; because I believe every domestic worker has some amount of negotiation power depending on age, ethnicity/race, experience and

legal situation. Furthermore in many of these studies, dimension of the employers is missing. They are pictured as ‘bad-hearted’ people exploiting the workers and as having an absolute power. Tensions and cooperation rising from changing negotiation powers of different sides of the working relation as key point of the domestic work are ignored.

Studies in Turkey mainly take cleaning workers into focus. The researches examining immigrant cleaning workers, as well, do not consider side of employers and relation established between two actors, and only concentrate on working conditions. Despite presence of some studies addressing local cleaning workers give a very inclusive image about the issue, a comprehensive analysis on paid child care is little, if any.

Furthermore, most of the studies regarding domestic work area focus on inside of household. However outside of the walls there is gender regime forming labor market structure and social welfare implementation, all of which shape negotiation power of the women. Moreover division of labor in house is also absent despite, it determines relation between the employers and workers.

Therefore, through this study, I would like to contribute to exiting literature by means of shifting central point of child care work from immigrant women to local ones; giving place to view of middle class; displaying negotiation power of the workers; presenting effect of gendered division of labor at home, structure of labor market, and welfare implementations on dynamics and commodification of child care.

The present study is consisted of seven chapters. The Chapter Two displays studies conducted on domestic work. In this chapter earlier discussions on domestic work, international migration and gender and race/ethnicity differences, and commodification of care work and market relations come out. The Chapter Three describes child care work as a problem of social welfare to enable reader to have a detailed idea on how

child care responsibility is shared in different societies. In this regard, first place is given to social welfare models revealing care regimes of the countries simultaneously. Secondly, Southern European model is focused in detail to be able to draw a clear picture of welfare regime of Turkey, which is the issue of the third section. Then in the Chapter Four reconciliation policies in Turkey are focused. Yet before going in detail of the implementations, link between child care responsibility and women's employment is explored. Then early child care and education services and working life arrangements take place. The fourth section on the other hand is on condition of domestic workers in informal labor market in Turkey. And the last part is devoted Turkey's future prospects concerning women's child care responsibility and employment.

In the Chapter Five formation of the field study within the scope of feminist methodology is presented. Furthermore the Section Two discusses strong and weak aspect of the research and difficulties encountered during the fieldwork.

The Chapter Six displays findings of the research, which consisted of four parts. In the first part factors influencing middle class mothers' timing of having children, criteria about child minders, factors affecting the workers' preferences, function of the mediating agencies, and first months of working relation are displayed. The second part exhibits impact of commodification of child care work on dynamics of relation between the mothers and child minders, and on emotional component embedded in the work. The third part focuses on impact of other family members such as grandmothers and fathers, and gendered division of labor in house. Subject of the last part is social welfare implementations and child care. In this part, how middle class mothers to handle with insufficient child care facilities is addressed. Moreover, place of social insurance issue in relation between the mothers and child minders is also pointed.

In the Conclusion Chapter, on the other hand, I would like to add an evaluation section to bring out what women and woman's organizations think on share of child care responsibility.

## CHAPTER 2

### CONCEPTUALIZATION OF DOMESTIC WORK IN THE FEMINIST LITERATURE

In the feminist literature, general perception on care giving -as a highly gendered activity mostly performed by women- is criticized<sup>2</sup>. According to this understanding care is thought as one of the features constructs identity of women. Since women are considered as natural care givers (Knijn et. al. 1997), which care of children and elders is perceived as “nurturing quality” of women (Martin, 2000:989), to be a woman automatically evokes care duty or vice versa. Caring is undervalued because of the fact that it is located as “unsophisticated activity of body and emotions” (Vincent, et. al. 2006: 112).

When care work is carried out unpaid it is positioned within the domestic responsibility of women. Unpaid labor is invisible and there are four reasons behind this invisibility that it is perceived as a natural part of women but not as a job; its amount is hidden due to undefined frame of housework; it is performed unpaid; and seized by men (Acar-

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<sup>2</sup> Knijn & Kremer 1997; Martin 2000; Lewis 1997; Davies 1995; Glenn 1992; Abel 2000; Aronson & Neysmith 1996; Zhan & Montgomery 2003, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2002, Himmelweit, 2000, Vincent, et. al. 2006

Savran, 2008: 11-12)<sup>3</sup>. In case it is performed paid, as a job, it brings low-income, low status and bad working conditions (Aronson et. al. 1996). As Topçuoğlu-Atasü (2010) mentions, behind of this devaluation there is gender inequality survived by means of patriarchal ideology which “puts women at home and hides them there; then it hides their labor, makes it invisible and makes it valueless by hiding, and therefore it enables gender inequality goes on” (p. 111, *translated from Turkish*). Especially “ideologies about practice of love, family and child rearing” make this inequality invisible (Uttal et. al. 1999: 759).

In the feminist literature although there are studies focusing only on care work, specifically on child care, the issue is considered within the frame of domestic labor. In this sense paid/unpaid labor and domestic labor debate; influence of emotional labor on working conditions and on workers’ attitudes towards their job; existence and inexistence of mediating agencies and working contracts; international migration and influence of race/ethnicity on child care opportunities and employment of women are the points discussed in varying studies. Despite many different issues focused in the literature, the biggest part is given to works on immigrant domestic workers.

First of all I would like to exhibit how unpaid domestic labor is considered in the feminist literature in 1970s throughout the second wave feminism. By focusing on unpaid domestic labor, feminists tried to transform and value the works shouldered by women (Fraser, 2013:79).

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<sup>3</sup> Acar-Savran (2008) warns us against use of the ‘invisible labor’ conceptualization as it includes paid labor performed at home like child or elder care and home-based production. Yet, to her, although these kinds of jobs are low waged, unsecured and exposed to intense exploitation, still there is a capitalist, wage, relation. Therefore she defines paid labor women spend at their home or in other houses as “waged labor carrying marks of invisible labor” (p. 13).

## 2.1. Earlier Discussions on Domestic Work

Late 1960s and beginning of 1970s witness the unpaid domestic labor discussion in the feminist literature (Acar-Savran, 2009:15).<sup>4</sup> 1960s and 1970s were the time that many women began to participate into labor market as a consequence of women's liberation movement and recognizing that families cannot subsist on only a male's wage (Tuominen 1991, Scott, et. al. 2010.). For the reason that women's domestic responsibilities were obstacle in front of their entrance into the labor market, "inside [of] the household" couldn't be paid no attention any more (Himmelweit, 2000:xvi). Furthermore, domestic labor as a role of womanhood has been seen as source of secondary position of women in the capitalism (Gardiner et. al., 2000)<sup>5</sup>.

In 1970s, care work wasn't discussed separately but located in this unpaid reproductive/domestic labor debate. Unpaid domestic work had been tried to be grasp through a "Marxist conceptual framework" (Gardiner, 2000:80). Under the influence of Marxist economy especially debates on productive/unproductive labor, in other words, how domestic labor is related to the capitalism had the centerpiece in feminist agenda. The main goal was to understand structure of domestic labor and relate it with capitalism and oppression of women (Ecevit, 2011:126) and make the work women perform in the house visible (Himmelweit, 2000a: 102). In this sense, unproductive/productive labor debates, wage demand and family wage discussions had been notable topics came to forward.

Secombe (1974) thought domestic labor as unproductive labor in Marxian terms - because it does not meet two basic criteria: direct relation to capitalism and producing

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<sup>4</sup> Unpaid domestic labor involves domestic works like cleaning, cooking, shopping; care work spend for family members who are in need; and labor put in family business or in agriculture (p.13).

<sup>5</sup> First published in CSE Pamphlet no. 2 in 1975.

surplus value- (p. 11), but its value is seen as hidden in the wage paid by capitalists to male industrial workers. Domestic labor is thought to be performed for “reproduction of *capacity* for work” (p.14) both in terms of daily needs and production and socialization of next generations. From the point of productive/unproductive labor discussion, Oakley (1974) made difference between housework and child care that the former is unproductive, having short-term and repetitive goals while the latter is productive, having single long-term goal (p.166). Similarly Gardiner (1975) mentioned that despite domestic labor doesn't generate surplus, it makes contribution to the capitalism by reducing costs necessary for reproduction of labor power (p. 57). Yet, she criticized Secombe for she ignored gendered division of labor at home.

Wage demand for domestic work, on the other hand, has become significant debate among feminists. It is considered as contribution to awareness of women about importance of their invisible work (Benston 1969, Federici 1975). Especially, according to Mariarosa dalla Costa, it is essential for termination of gender inequality (Hartman, 2006). Like Secombe (1974) dalla Costa also claims that this wage should be taken not from husbands or fathers but from the state and employers. From the other point of view wage for domestic work was criticized for it would function as isolation of women in private sphere and promote the idea of ‘women’s work’ (Breugel, 1976). Molyneux (1979) had a distinctive place that she emphasized historical, political and economic determinants as decisive factor on value of labor power, which housework alone has played a minor part. More importantly she attracted our attention to differences among women with regard to experience of oppressing results of domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, according to her, it is child care mostly beneficial to the capitalism because without well-developed socialization, this burden cannot be reduced. She called for good child care services both in the working place and outside, arrangement of working hours according to working parents’ schedules and reducing

working hours, which are significant suggestions of social policy find their reflection in present day's debates.

Another significant discussion was on family wage given to male workers. During the early industrial revolution while women and children were also in the factories under difficult working conditions. In later times children were sent home and then women. It was discussed, especially in the United Kingdom, within the frame that working women were dividing working class and decreasing value of the labor. Therefore, by means of family wage, both labor value of male workers would have increased and their wife and children would have been supported. According to Barret, et. al. (2000),<sup>6</sup> family wage was not only insufficient for supporting a working class family, but also hid real value of domestic labor performed by women in the household. Similarly Gardiner (2000) underlined that it is not possible to equate domestic labor with wage labor because "the household and the market are analytically distinct" and both need to be searched individually (p. 83). According to Marx, surplus value is extracted from abstract labor of worker that value of his labor is calculated in relation to the worker's and his family's subsistence, mainly commodity consumption. Yet, feminists criticizing Marx, mentioned that he did not realize that use-value produced by domestic labor was also consumed by the workers. In this sense "level of wages and level of subsistence are no longer synonymous" (Gardiner et. al., 2000:27).

In these earlier discussions what we see is that unpaid domestic labor had been explained through the terms of Marxist economy. Most of the Marxist feminist aimed to prove that unpaid domestic work also generates economical value (Gardiner, et. al., 2000). Yet, as Gardiner (2000) suggests domestic labor debate indicated many important points. Household has begun to be considered not only as a unit of

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<sup>6</sup> First published in 1980 in the journal *Capital and Class* Volume 11.

consumption but also production. In addition to commodities purchased, a wage sufficient for a person to survive has included use-values produced by domestic work and by public services. Since domestic labor cannot be exchanged in the market but produce use-value, labor value theory has been found insufficient for the analysis of domestic labor. That is to say, feminist debates made women's invisible labor in the household visible and placed it in the center of the capitalism. Yet, Gardiner also highlights limits of the debate that labor value theory was not suitable for domestic labor analysis, patriarchy -men's advantage from women's domestic labor- was paid no attention and domestic labor was considered as ahistorical, disconnected from socio-cultural context. On the other hand, domestic labor was taken as it was only issue forming experiences of women in capitalism. More importantly, domestic labor was considered as if it only involves housework that while child care was not given importance much, care of elder and disabled people left out of the discussion.

In similar fashion, Mackintosh (2000) criticizes domestic labor debate of 1970s because of the fact that it considered division of labor in the home as for granted (p.123). She claims that domestic does not have to call unpaid work automatically. In the home, there are also reciprocal relations between people. On the other hand, there is no free labor. We can always speak of opportunity cost that means doing things for a purpose not as a leisure activity. Furthermore, domestic labor does not necessarily have to be performed in the home, but gets over its boundaries<sup>7</sup>.

Productive/unproductive labor, wage for housework and family wage debates dominated feminist agenda in 1960s and 1970s. All these discussions led feminist economics to be developed. Women have begun to look inside the household and saw what was hidden there. While women's relation with the capitalism was questioned on

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<sup>7</sup> Work performed in agriculture, in kin or neighborhood network.

the one hand, on the other hand their subordinated position and men's benefit from this subordination have started to be recognized. Despite the fact that patriarchy was not stated in these debates, since curtain concealing inside of household has been opened, gender inequality reproduced in family has become crystal clear.

Beginning from 1980s, particularly in developed countries, as a result of welfare idea of rights has changed to responsibilities; it has gained a new meaning on the basis of working. Therefore women's employment along with men's has been supported. As more and more women have participated into the workforce a care deficit has come into the picture, and especially in Southern European countries –of which welfare regimes are defined as undeveloped- this deficit has been met through immigrant female labor (Toksöz, 2014:13,15). This situation is also true for liberal countries such as United States, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, where care work is handled as market based (Meyers, et. al., 2003). Particularly, middle class women have had to get assistance of full time domestic workers to be able to work as men like they have no familial responsibilities (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000; Hochschild, 2000; Altman, 2012)<sup>8</sup>. Moreover, aging of population has been another problem transferred to women to be solved through help of immigrant workers. Moreover, employing domestic workers to be considered as a sign of status has been further motive (Kaşka, 2007; Anderson, 2002).

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<sup>8</sup> Williams (2005) -according to her research conducted in three different cities; London, Madrid and Stockholm- addresses to the similarities of employers using immigrant labor: full-time employed women mostly having a partner also working full time in similar jobs like accountancy, practice of law, profession of a doctor or having business (p. 17). Likewise Vincent et. al. (2001) highlights both class, ethnicity/race and education differences regarding women who are able to continue working full time after giving birth that are the ones living with their employed partners, having higher level of education and are not 'colored' (p. 635).

Furthermore 1980s were also beginning for women's migration from poor countries to the richer ones has become a trend<sup>9</sup>. There are many reasons behind this international migration movement. The most important incentive is neo-liberal policies generating political and economic inequality between nations (Kittay, 2008:149) Parallel with these policies, debts have increased, international money organizations have forced governments to take measurements to pay their debt instead of making investment on social services (Yeats, 2005) resulting decline of social welfare states<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand poverty and unemployment have been growing by forcing women to work (Williams, 2005) especially for meeting needs regarding health and education and/or care of family members. Extended families to start diminishing have also played a role (Kaşka, 2007) particularly in societies many activities, which are issues of social welfare state, performed at home by women as unpaid.

Parallel to these developments, in feminist literature direction of studies and discussions have shifted to immigrant women working as domestic workers. Next section focuses on how the issue is analyzed in the literature.

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<sup>9</sup> Yet, this is not a new phenomenon. Till 1960s in many areas of Europe, women to work as career of children and as servants in upper and middle class households had been widespread (Williams, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> Buğra (2007), however, claims that social expenditures in GDP has not decreased but been growing particularly in elder care. Yet she admits welfare state has transformed. One of the changes is transformation towards "workfare" state. Thus responsibility of individuals takes place of responsibility of state. And thirdly, "glorifying of charity" approach has become widespread (pp. 146-147). From the another point but in a similar extend, Özkazanç (2007) suggests in the period of withdrawal of welfare state "fighting poverty" is replaced by "fighting crime" and changed towards "fighting terrorism" discourse (p. 15).

## **2.2. International Migration and Domestic Work: Gender and Race/Ethnicity Dynamics**

One thing you can say with certainty about the population of household workers is that they are disproportionately women of color: “lower” kinds of people for a “lower” kind of work. (Ehrenreich, 2002:91)

According OECD 2012 International Migration Outlook, 13 per cent of population in OECD countries is consisted of immigrants in 2010. Despite female immigrants’ flow to OECD countries is average 50 per cent; number of migrants coming from Latin American countries and also from Thailand and Ukraine is much more than men. However it is not a strategy of women only but also of sending countries to get over poverty.<sup>11</sup>

Therefore, international migration subject has always functioned in the background of researches on domestic labor. One of the significant emphases is on role of sending and receiving governments. While Yeats (2005) draws our attention how governments subsidize or “tacitly” allow “international export of female labor” (p. 231); Kittay (2008) suggests that receiving countries benefit from immigrant labor twice more than sending countries, with respect to having cheap work force and not compensating “reproductive costs of that labor” (p. 151). Similarly Williams (2005) comments on care policies, exclusively or not, promoting immigrant women to work. This is a way of protecting representation of “male breadwinner society” assigning care of home and children to women (p.9). Therefore despite the fact that women participate in employment they do not impede their familial responsibilities by means of domestic workers. In addition Altman et. al. (2012) emphasize intentionality of ill-framed care

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<sup>11</sup> Eder (2007) notes foreign currency entering into sending countries has not been used for investment but for consumption. Thus it is not effective for fighting poverty (p. 131).

policies reflecting wish of continuity of the situation. They also address home as a working place making the work invisible while causing the issue to be insufficiently dealt with by authorities (p.295).

Another issue is care deficiency experienced by both sending and receiving countries and how women handled the problem since in both sending and receiving countries women have to find a way to deal with care of their dependants. Way of “care crisis” (Kittay, 2008:148) faced by richer countries to be overcome is defined as “global heart transplant” (Hochschild, 2002:22), which also has turned into a problem for sending countries. When many women go to another country for working, they have to left their children behind. Yet, it does not mean they give up performing motherhood, which Hondagneu-Sotelo (2000) calls as “transnational motherhood”. Sending money and calling regularly (or using SMS or emails) are main tools enable women to keep their communication with their children and control on their household (Parreñas, 2005)<sup>12</sup>. Immigrant women rely on their elder daughters or female relatives to be able to control their household; or in some situations, have to hire another women’s labor which Hochschild names “global care chain” (2000:131) that an older daughter who cares for her siblings while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a migrating nanny who, in turn cares for the child of a family in a rich country<sup>13</sup>. Thus, as Pearson et. al. (2012) claim, “Northern economies frequently support the care workers’ households” (p.151).

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<sup>12</sup> Depending on type of the care work, receiving country, working conditions, and where to work -rural or urban area-frequency and quality of communication change.

<sup>13</sup> Yeats (2004) criticizes Hochschild for applying the concept only to immigrant care workers as they constitute a homogenous category. To her, care and family types, skill differences, and working place (home or an institution) of the workers also should have been considered.

Immigrant female labor has become an important area for race/ethnicity discussions. As clear in the literature racial/ethnic hierarchies embedded in society have been systematically reproduced, leading to legitimization of lower status and wages, and bad working conditions. Drawing distinction among immigrant workers functions as production of a diversified, segregated and stratified labor market (Cheng, 2003:178)<sup>14</sup>. For instance as skin color of women goes from white to dark, boarder between doing cleaning and performing child care blurs. Browne et. al. (2003) suggest white nannies are only required to watch children while Latinas are asked to clean also. There are also ingrained opinions with respect to character of women regarding racial differences. Uttal (1994) addresses to comparison made between Latina and Anglo American and European care providers, which the former is considered as “more maternal and loving” (p. 23). On the other hand hierarchy is not only between Black/colored/Asian women and white/European women. As Williams (2005) displays, in London, Philippians are in the front rank while Africans come at the end of the ‘list’. Among legal immigrant women, Philippians earn the higher wage since they are seen as hardworking, educated and reliable (Toksöz, 2006). That is to say prejudices concerning race/ethnicity of the worker play role in attitudes towards them and define their working conditions.

The differentiation produced among the immigrant workers is also legitimized and reinforced by social policy implementations. A perception is generated by means of discourses and legal arrangements, and it forms a basis for establishing control on the workers, and unfair working conditions. Cheng (2003) in her study on foreign domestic

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<sup>14</sup> While Filipino workers are considered as educated but “aggressive, disobedient, and militant”, Thai and Indonesian workers situated as less educated and intelligent yet “docile, obedient, reserved and loyal” (Cheng, 2003: 177). Moreover, they have different “sexualized images” like Filipinos are coded as “seductive, sensuous, and hyper sexual” whereas Thai and Indonesian as “more conservative, respectful, reserved, and asexual” (p.178).

workers in Taiwan shows how state policies construct an impression affecting not only working conditions but also social life of the workers. In Taiwan the term *wailao* is used for describing immigrant workers came from South and Southeast Asia to work in “dirty, dangerous and unskilled” jobs and the workers are related with crime, prostitution and infectious illnesses and “racial/ethnic conflict” (p. 172). They are considered as savages in need of being civilized; as poor people lack of education, hygiene and health. By means of some adjustments like deportation cost, security fee and foreign labor quota employers are compelled to make sure the immigrant workers will not go out of the frame of the regulations. Especially through woman’s body there is huge control of state and of employers, varying from forcing to take health tests to intervene their sexual life.<sup>15</sup>

In some situations care workers, as well, have preferences regarding whom to work with. According to Uttal et. al.’s (1999) study, care-workers would like to work with women sharing their own ethnic and cultural identity. The reason is to protect themselves from prejudices and to feel in safe. Tuominen (2000), also, in her research, displays that both mothers and care workers prefer to work with the ones carrying similar ethnic and cultural features. (p. 129). Uttal (1994:6) conceptualizes this demand as “racial safety”. Especially to raise children according to her/his family’s cultural and ethnical values becomes important. For instance white parents do not prefer to hire Black women despite possibility of paying less compared to white employees (Mandell, 2003) because, as Anderson (2002) shows, cultural differences create tension between the employers and the workers.

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<sup>15</sup> As Cheng (2003) presents both men and women are not allowed to bring any of their family members, they are not permitted to get married; they are obliged to go to health examination every six months containing pregnancy test for women (being pregnant or giving birth are two of deportation reasons). To the author these regulations “reflect the gendered as well as racial nature of immigration policies” (p. 174).

Legal status of immigrants is also another factor shaping conditions of the job. Undocumented women prefer live-in jobs especially when they come to a country for the first time to be able to solve accommodation problem, and to be protected from the police (Akalın, 2007; Atatimur 2008), and to more easily save money to send their families left behind (Akalın, 2009). Their labor is cheaper and provided for almost 7/24, and it is easier to have full control on, which is the particular reason for some employers to hire them (Altman, et. al. 2012). Williams (2005) names them as “the most vulnerable” workers (p.18).

Many studies focusing working conditions of immigrant child minders and housekeepers underline longer hours and varying work load than agreed (Toksöz, 2006); not to have payment for extra work; to be perceived as a property of employer and treated as a servant (Cheever, 2002); not to be permitted to make friends, use the phone, leave the house alone; to be forced to work “nearly around the clock” during whole week (Zarembka, 2002:146); or to be treated as one of the family which also increases intensity of exploitation (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2002; Pei-Chia, 2002).

In the literature, recently considered issue is how children of immigrant parents are affected from the situation. Although immigrant women try to continue executing their responsibilities as mother they are still blamed for being “bad mother” and feel guilty about their absence when their children grow (Isaksen et. al, 2008; 2008a). That is to say depending on whether an immigrant woman has children or not, on their age, and on kind of communication established between her and children, how she experiences the work will change. One of the rare researchers focusing on these children is Parreñas (2002, 2005). After the government in Philippines in 1995 declared that they were against oversea employment because of broken families and suffering children, and media’s frequent publishing in the same way; she tried to find answer if children are affected negatively as it is claimed when their mothers, or their fathers, or both their

mothers and fathers work far from their country to be able to support their family.<sup>16</sup> Pantea (2012), on the other hand, pays attention to how young people face with “their transition to adulthood and the tensions involved when trying to balance personal requirements and the need to care for others” (p. 241), since some of them have to look after their siblings, and sometimes fathers and/or elder family members.

Despite arrangements like visa programs to attract care workers (Pratt, 1997) domestic work still takes place in the informal labor market. Lack of training and supervision cause bad working conditions, lack of social security, and low wages (Donovan, 1989). However, according to Kaşka (2007) lack of monitoring does not automatically lead to “chaos”, because there are number of informal organizations bringing job seekers and employers together and ‘regulating’ the area (p. 232-233).

### **2.3. Mediating Agencies**

In the literature, there are studies on function of mediating agencies and experiences of immigrant workers with them. They are divided into two: The ones matching people who look for care workers and job; and home-care organizations, which are the employers. The agencies in the first category other than matching potential workers and employers; regulate the sector. Claims about these agencies are various, ranging from announcement of inexistent positions, to misinformation about scope of the work, ignoring contract agreed in the beginning and to imposing new contract prepared by employer; despite laws for protecting immigrant workers (Fudge, 2011). Furthermore they may consolidate existing class and race/ethnic hierarchies. According to Uttal et.

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<sup>16</sup> According to her findings that the more children accept and expect traditional gender roles from their mothers, the more they suffer. Yet, migrant fathers do not create the same effect on children. However in general children are not happy about transnational motherhood owing to their perception that “mothers should nurture their children from up close” (Parreñas, 2005: 333).

al. (1999) they change nature of employer-employee relation, especially to the disadvantage of the workers, because of decreasing negotiation power of care workers. On the other hand, some authors such as Aronson et. al. (1996) and Constable (2002) claim that -in case of inexistence of defined contract- isolated structure of home might increase exploitation. Thus they think the agencies prevent exploitation. Yet, here it is noteworthy to differentiate the ones only mediates from the ones employing workers full time. Home care agencies are the best for matching workers and care/service receivers since care at home is -different from institutional care- mostly invisible that rapport and trust between them is depended on the agency's interpretation of needs and worker resources (Schmid et. al. 1993). Thus, when an agency only mediates, risk of tension between the worker and the employer will increase because, there is not much possibility for care provider and the agency to know each other well.

Other than suitable actors to come together, how emotional component embedded in the work is discussed, as well. Aronson et. al. (1996) mentioned in their research conducted with 30 home-care workers and 2 non-profit home-care agencies that worker's performance doesn't match with their formal job definition. They speak of personalization of work that intensifies the exploitation since it causes job to be perceived as non-work not only by supervisors of care agencies but also by the workers. According to them emotional part remains unpaid and given as a result of "moral compulsion" or because of weak negotiation power (p. 70). Nelson (1990) in a similar vein, criticizes mediating agencies and claims in case there is no third party between employer and child minder, the workers could be the one putting the rules. As she states in her research conducted in US that child minders perceive their job as mothering, naturally having ability of caring children without needing special skills; no matter how they found the job.

Another study addresses connection between ways of finding job and attitudes of care workers is Solari (2006). In her study on former Soviet Union immigrants, she defines two practices: working as professionals and working like “Saints”. As the author mentions Soviet immigrants are selected by U.S. immigrant law through their religious connection; via Jewish Resettlement Services or Russian Orthodox organizations. If people placed job through networks of the Church, they see the care work as a duty performed for God. On the other hand the ones coming through Jewish Resettlement Services approach the job professionally and construct themselves as workers.

Literature on immigrant domestic workers highlights that agencies also reinforce existing racial hierarchies (Anderson, 2002: 108). As Constable (2002) displays working contracts do not always function for the sake of workers. In her research on Filipina workers in Hong Kong what she found is that mediating agencies persuade employers to prepare and give to-dos and not-to-dos list. This list contains rules varying from working schedule to spare time activities, to what to wear, when to sleep, length of hair, make-up, and/or using perfume. To the author these kinds of lists ensure “the worker’s inferior position” (p. 117). On the other hand same agencies give advise the workers to be obedient and polite, to smile all the time, to be ready every call of employers, and never rise their voices, etc.

Another example to sustentation of this hierarchy is Pratt’s (1997) study in Canada on nanny agencies. She mentions Live-in Caregiver program developed by Canadian government to manage need of care workers. As she suggests the program relies on perception Canadians do not give the service (p. 162). Also she underlines hierarchy established between European and Asian workers, which “European nannies are constructed as professionals; Filipinas as servants”, “loving, patient and gentle” but having no capacity of thinking independently (p.163). These prejudices reflect on

working agreements framing scope of the job and wage that Filipinas are expected to work more but earn less compared to Europeans.

As all researches display the agencies make both positive and negative effect on care work. From the positive side in case of inexistence formal regulating mechanisms they become an address that both the employers and employees apply when some problems occur. Yet, since they are mostly established for profit-making, employers –as clients- are ‘guarded and keep’ more than the workers. Furthermore, as above studies display, mediating agencies strengthen present stratification regarding gender and race/ethnicity in society.

Another significant subject discussed in the literature is commodification of care work. As mentioned before, as outcome of transition of welfare state from rights based to employment based, many social services have been transferred to family. O’Connor (1993) highlights that despite increase in women’s employment, yet in “lower level jobs”, women “may be forced into private dependent relationships or into reliance on supplementary social assistance” (p. 512). O’Connor indicates that there is a strict connection between de-commodification -which means dependence from labor market to survive- and equality among different social groups. That is to say, for accessing good quality jobs many factors are influential such as daily working hours and working type, facilities offered for children and other dependant family members, and leaves offered for parents, all of which stand within “intersection of state, market and family” (p. 513). As state does not provide necessary services, family and market fulfill the gap. In case family’s human resources are not adequate, market appears as a significant solution for women. It is for sure this is true largely for middle and upper class women that lower class mothers have to withdraw from labor market in a condition that female members of their families are not available, or have to work home-based without impeding care responsibilities. That is to say, paid care work to be hired from the

market is a middle/upper class' answer to insufficient state facilities (Gökbayrak, 2009). Thus, along with immigrant female labor, commodification of care work is widely explored in the feminist literature.

Tuominen (2003) suggests care “involves sensitivity, being present, and fostering the independence and development of others” (p. 41). Folbre et. al. (2000) mentions image of ideal care -which gives care receiver feeling of “nurtured, recognized and valued as an individual, emotionally supported, empathetically connected, or in shorthand, loved” (p. 129). That is to say because of the fact that care work includes satisfying not only physical but also emotional requirements of (vulnerable and frail) individuals, in other words requires physical and emotional labor to be performed at the same time, commodification is a complicated issue.

#### **2.4. Care Work as a Commodity in the Market**

When deep gestures of exchange enter the market sector and are bought and sold as an aspect of labor power, feelings are commoditized (Hochschild, 1979:569).

In the literature commodification of care work is considered within the frame of two points: effect of commodification on value of the work and on relation between care providers and care/service receivers.

Care work as extended from private to public sphere as a result of industrialization, has become a low prestigious and low waged job (Nelson, 1999). Behind this devaluation, many reasons are identified. Anderson (1990) in her research on surrogate motherhood draws our attention to gendered division of labor in domestic sphere and its reflection into the public area. All activities performed by women in households are naturalized and this naturalization affects their value when they have involved in market. “When

women's labor is treated as a commodity, the women who perform it are degraded" (p.75). Another reason is segmentation in the labor market and child care to be located in secondary labor market, in which low wage, lack of training or education and of specific skills are defining characteristics (Cleveland, et. al., 2002:576). Due to understanding that child care is a natural extension of motherhood and thus does not require any specific skills, training or education; its position in the secondary labor market brings low status. Schmid et. al. (1993), as well, put emphasis on labor market structure and highlights care work provided in the informal labor market as "relatively unregulated, with minimum institutional control" (p. 42).

Another factor underlies devaluation of care work is considering it as non-work. Tuominen (2003) indicates the opposition between family as a place of love, cooperation and personal relations; and market as a place of laws, competition, and contracts. This disparity causes care to be perceived as non-work due to the fact that it is performed by women in family with motivation of love, not of money. The contrast between "rational economic man" and "emotional relational women" makes care is to be understood as "gendered and racialized "natural" feminine activity", not as a work (p.45). Therefore after care work enters into the market, it broke our understanding of work, which is performed for money not for emotions (Tuominen, 2000).

Other than low prestige and low payment, what market brings in care work is that tension between working for money and due to altruistic feelings, which are sign of good care. Fear about money to harm true feelings is mentioned widely (Nelson et. al. 2002:2). Therefore opposition care work to enter the market is voiced. Reason behind this disapproval is not related basically to be against performing care work in return of money. Main concern is penetration of market logic into an activity based on personal relationship. According to Duffy (2011) the reason for some people to refuse to locate care work in the market relation is "masculinized language of market labor" (p.13).

Nelson (1999) also claims fear of commodification as because of idea relating market with “individualism and self-interest”, while care work is thought within the frame of generosity and attentiveness to others (p. 56). For instance Held (2002) suggests private market promoting “individual utility” replaces values like “sensitivity, empathy, responsiveness, and taking responsibility” (p. 31). Himmelweit (2000a) objects to the endeavors placing domestic labor into the category of work. According to her, one of the characteristics of the “dominant notion of work” is that it is to “be separable from the worker” (p. 110). Applying this notion into domestic labor makes interpersonal components invisible. In fact care giving activity cannot be detached from care provider. No matter it is performed paid or unpaid, what is decisive is relation between care provider and receiver. Thus organization of care work in the labor market is still shaped by aspects, such as love, altruism and commitment, which are thought as part of human relations (Uttal et. al. 1999:760).

There are studies emphasizing impossibility of referring personal relationship as a commodity. Folbre (1995) supposes money relation is paradox of care work because “love cannot be bought” (p.75). Pellegrino (1999), as well, in her research on health care service, claims impossibility of commodification; because care is not a consumable entity. This is why she criticizes profit-oriented organizations trying to increase their profit rather than quality of the services. She suggests terms like consumer, provider and commodity inevitably change nature of healing and supporting (p. 255). Similarly Lynch (2007) stresses that love cannot be commodified owing to its nature, which is not transferable to another person in return of money. Despite the fact that, Himmelweit (1999) does not argue commodification is not possible but believes its difficulty due to the fact that relation established between care worker and receiver is long term (p.37).

On the other hand with respect to receiving money in return of care work is positively approached in the literature. While Lynch (2007) claims care to be paid increases quality of the service and equality between care provider and care receiver (p. 566), Nelson (1999) proposes payment might motivate person performing the work. She also adds that rejecting money is a privilege of only some people. According to her, “people with caring feelings may be satisfied with a lower wage (*ceteris paribus*), but the demanding of a high wage does not necessarily indicate a lack of caring feelings” (p. 54). Duffy (2011), as well, underlines that providing unpaid care work requires a financial source to be relied on. Additionally, Claassen (2010) addresses tension between “action” and “motivation” that caring for a person does not necessitate caring about him/her (p. 44). She rejects arguments claiming existence of money relation will destroy genuine feelings due to the fact that she argues these kinds of ideas ignore care means devoting time and energy to person cared for. She does not consider commodification of care as a problem, but underlines how market and informal care function together. She proposes care provided in market might be different from care given by family members, friends or neighbors. Yet, it is a “form of care on its own” (p.54). Held (2002) approaches the issue from the point of women’s employment that earning money enables them to be dependent from their fathers or husbands. As she supposes, the problem is to see the work just through use value and missing “noncommercial” (p.19) or “historical value” (p. 21). Therefore main drawback is evaluating care work within the frame of classical economy’s terms, but failing to comply with what they contribute to development of children, to family in particular and to society in general.

Despite the fact that doing care work in return of money is not found problematic in a theoretical level, from the side of the workers and employers -in case it is performed in private sphere- it requires many strategies to be developed. Nelson (1989) mentions

two attitudes found together in care work: preferring market relation and feeling of dissatisfaction about its existence. Since market represents the impersonal part of the relation, neither employer nor care worker feel satisfied. Impression that working for money is annoying for care workers. On the other hand mothers as employers suffer from guiltiness due to leaving their children with someone hired, and consider child providers to be member of family as a strategy developed for coping with this feeling of guilt (Vincent et. al. 2001). Thus both of them prefer behaving as if not being in a money relation (Vincent, et. al., 2006). A stranger to take care of child in return of money complicates mothers' feelings and attitudes. While they expect child minders to love their children, in case they have begun to take their place, jealousy move mothers to try damaging this connection of love (Constable 2002, Vincent et. al. 2006).

Another important issues focused are labor exploitation and job satisfaction to be experienced together. Relation between care provider and receiver leads performing tasks nonexistent in the job agreement, or resisting changing employer despite offering of new job with better conditions (Himmelweit, 1999). Tuominen (2003) draws our attention to tension between the burden care workers shouldered and their right as employee. The workers pay negative consequence of this tension economically as well as emotionally and mentally. Uttal et. al. (1999) argue emotional component erodes scope of the job agreed on beforehand since it easily enables establishment of fictive kinship relation. Yet, according to Karner (1998), this relation makes both part to feel better within the existence of a professional job basis, while, at the same time, escalates risk of exploitation. Stone (1999) also states that having 'genuine' feelings becomes source of exploitation. Anderson (2002), even, claims that emotions to be hired and sold cause employers to ignore care workers are human beings having real feelings.

Existence of money also acts on how a care worker to associate to care receiver. According to Lynch (2007) dedication of care providers to children is more powerful

compared to elder/disable people. Leaving from a child might become very painful for a child minder. This is why child minders develop strategies to not to attach themselves to children they care for. Margerot Nelson defines this situation as “detached attachment” (1990: 604). While child care providers establish a close relation, they, at the same time, make an effort to not to be too close because of temporary character of the work. This close relation also leads child minder to break the agreement and perform more work without extra payment. Macdonald (1998) mentions the same issue; child care providers attempt very much for managing their emotions to protect themselves from harming effects of bond developed between them and children. Being close to children makes child minders vulnerable. This is “basic market nature of the relationship” (Vincent et. al. 2006:128).

As Özkaplan (2009) supposes different from other labor categories in the market, care work cannot be separated from the person who performs it and there is an emotional connection between care provider and receiver. Himmelweit (1999) adds that a care provider gains knowledge of needs of a care receiver and of how to meet them in this specific relation. “It matters who is doing what for whom” (p. 30). That is to say care work is based on personal relationship which altruism, generosity and cooperation are main components. These are notable terms for making sense of low value of care work and oppositions to its entry into market. Due to the fact that calculating value of emotional labor part is not possible, it has always been invisible (Özkaplan 2009), yet a demanded component of the work (Himmelweit 1999, Stainberg et. al. 1999).

In the literature emotional labor is mostly discussed through jobs performed in the public sphere. Arlie Hochschild (1983), who is coiner of the term, proposes three criteria for jobs containing emotional labor: “personal contact with the public, the production of state of mind in others, and the monitoring of emotional labor by supervisors” (p. 156). According to her, to be able to speak of emotional labor, a work

should contain all of the criteria. Yet some of the researchers following Hochschild state that there is emotional labor in every kind of job. For instance according to Brotheridge et. al. (2002) the reason is that today's economy is "service oriented" and clients are the center of interest. Pugliesi (1999) too supports the opinion that many jobs other than service occupations have an emotional dimension. I think, main problem in the literature on emotional labor is not considering jobs performed in private sphere. On the other hand care work, in the literature, is not discussed within emotional labor debates. Yet, I think, because of the fact that it offers significant clues about care work; I would like to allocate a section to be able to provide a background for fieldwork analysis part.

## **2.5. Care Work as an Extension of Emotions**

[...] in the flight attendance work, smiling is separated from its usual function, which is to express a personal feeling, and attached to another one –expressing a company feeling. (Hochschild, 1983:127)

Arlie Hochschild (1983:7) conceptualizes emotional labor as "management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display." She focused on flight attendants and bill collectors as examples for creating positive or negative impact on customers.

Different from Hochschild's three criteria mentioned before, Stainberg et. al. (1999) add "managing one's own emotions" as criterion for creating specific effects on customers (p. 13). Morris et. al. (1996) put forward indicators of emotional labor: rate of occurrence, close attention to display rules and diversity of emotions to be expressed, which underline degree of arrangement, management or ability to perform (p.989-990). Similarly Grandey (2000) emphasizes frequency of interaction between worker and client.

People manage their feelings according to some principles that Hochschild called as feeling rules which “seem to govern people try or try not to feel in ways “appropriate to the situation””(1979:553). Some authors name them as “learning norms” (Rafaeli, et. al. 1987), others as “emotion norms” (Thoits, 1989), or “beliefs and guiding values” (Ashforth et. al. 1995), “display rules” (Wharton et. al. 1993, Ashforth et al.1993, Morris et. al. 1996, Grandey, 2000, Brotheridge et. al. 2002). Yet, according to Ashforth et. al. (1993), display rules emphasize “publicly expressed” emotions which are different from feeling rules dealing with “what emotions are” (p. 89). Similarly Thoits (1989) differentiates feeling rules and display rules that the former are opinions regarding what is appropriate to the situation while the latter highlight expressed behaviors. There are two ways for regulating feelings and behaviors: Deep acting (emotion work) refers to changing feelings and thoughts to be able to fit to display rules, and surface acting does not require any internal adaptation but adjusting facial and bodily expression of emotions (Hochschild 1979, 1983). Surface acting underlines difference between emotion felt and emotion pretended. She distinguishes emotion work or emotion management from emotional labor that the former is performed in the private sphere and has a use value while the latter accomplished for wage and thus has exchange value. Emotion work is manipulating inner feelings and opinions to be able to show expected reactions. To Hochschild (1979: 561) emotion work contains concealing feelings as well as stimulating them. By means of cognitive, bodily or expressive emotion work, demanded feelings are generated.

There are several mechanisms to learn display rules. Socialization is the one of the first mechanisms enabling people to acquire knowledge of relation between feeling and situation (Rafaeli et. al. 1987). The best example to how socialization finds its reflection in employment is that women are expected to show warm and friendly behaviors more than men. Yet, Rafaeli (1989) claims through feeling rules,

organizations demand both men and women to behave clients in a friendly and warmth manner. That is to say organization's expectations put down differences ascribed to men and women in terms of display of feelings. However, women to perform required emotional expressions would be easier than men owing to the fact that they are socialized in that manner. This socialization is so much successful that gives a feeling of "gender differences in personality, interests, character, appearance, manner, and competence are natural" (Leidner, 1991:155). As a starting point of socialization, family is place for "emotional division labor" (Wharton et. al., 1993:471). Emotion management is naturalized in family as main ability of women than men. In addition to social reproduction of labor force, establishing and preserving social relations are thought as duty of women (Glazer, 1990). Physical and social connection is seen as the central characteristic of being women, while independency and personal achievements are linked to men (Folbre et. al. 2000).

On the other hand, there are mechanisms developed in workplaces enabling employers to control employees' emotions by selecting, training, monitoring and developing scripts (Stainberg et. al. 1999:14, Ashforth et. al. 1995). Scripts may be ranged from a basic guide to how to be in contact with clients like smiling or welcoming, to specific instructions (Leidner, 1999:87). There are also many ways to control workers like direct supervising, posing as client, regular telephone calls, checking quality and quantity of work. Rewards such as pay increase, upgrading, bonus, present and acclaim, and punishments –such as disapproval, giving notice, reduction in status and dismissal- are other mechanisms used for employees to display demanded emotional expressions (Sutton, 1991: 256).

Requirements of job and mechanisms developed are reasons behind "job stress" an employee experience (Pugliesi, 1999:127). Emotional dissonance, exhaustion, and job burnout are terms we confront in the literature concerning this job stress. Emotional

dissonance appears when real feelings “clash with” expected norms (Morris, et. al. 1996: 992). According to Brotheridge et. al. (2002) deep acting may prevent occurrence of dissonance, as a result of internalization of rules. Yet, too much identification with display rules may also cause alienation from “authentic self” at the end (Ashforth et. al. 1993:97). If an employee does not have any control over his/her job performance, makes display rules of work as natural part of him/herself and does not have some “self-monitoring abilities”, then emotional burnout will be high (Wharton, 1999: 168). Hochschild (1983) defines two situations for a worker to experience burnout: Too much identification with job and distinctly separating the self from the work (p. 187). To Grandey (2000) in case a job requires too much management of emotions, it may cause “withdrawal behaviors” (p. 105). Regarding job satisfaction while control on work affects men in positive way, it does not make any difference for women (Pugliesi, 1995). Autonomy in expression of emotions enables job dissonance to decrease and satisfaction to increase (Morris et. al. 1996, Kruml et. al. 2000).

Regarding Hochschild’s definition of emotional labor indicating organizational existence and supervising, care work cannot be included in the category. Although some authors address many service works as containing emotional labor: with respect to care work, I would like to refer to Mumby et. al.’s (1992) concept “bounded emotionality” emphasizing “interrelatedness and mutual understanding”, which indicate feeling rules not as norms defined by organizations but as “meaning-centered frames for experience” (p. 478). Main focus is to be conscious of other people’s feelings, tastes and opinions and answering them. Feeling rules are tool to understand and responding demands. I think bounded emotionality is well suited to care work because it also sounds reciprocity between care providers and care/service receivers. Yet, since in every time and every situation displayed and felt emotions may not be the

same, surface acting as well as deep acting become parts of managing emotions. This holds true for not only care providers but also care/service receivers. Especially in a labor market where number of ‘qualified’ workers is insufficient, and happiness of care receivers are significant, employers may suppress their real feelings. This is why Vincent et. al. (2006) characterizes relation between child minders and employers with “absences and silences” (p. 134) that while mothers do not talk much for escaping from creating any trouble with care providers for the sake of their children; child minders prefer to be silent for not being perceived as if their performance is insufficient and they work for money. Therefore both feeling and display rules present together in this relation that need for deep acting and surface acting depends on situations.

In spite of the fact that a mother as an employer cannot monitor child minder directly due to place of work is home, she may develop many strategies similar to mechanisms used by supervisor in organizations. Giving written instructions of daily activities in detail, calling regularly, visiting unexpectedly or asking someone else to do, setting a (hidden) camera, sounding child minder or asking to child in case s/he is old enough. Type and strictness of control mechanism may make influence on job satisfaction and burnout experienced by child minder. On the other hand the worker’s own family life and responsibilities also may lead to emotional exhaustion encountered in the job.

As the discussions put on view, domestic work has gone through historical phases changing scope of debates from unpaid housework to paid labor of immigrant women; and thus gaining new aspects by means of penetration of market rules into private sphere. Now I would like to move to how the issue is analyzed in Turkey to be able to clearly reveal significance of my study in the literature. Studies in Turkey make important contribution to general literature especially because of paying attention to local domestic workers, in addition to immigrants.

## **2.6. Domestic Work in Feminist Literature in Turkey**

Feminist literature in Turkey on domestic work, to Ecevit (2011), could be started with Kandiyoti's 1982 dated study drawing our attention to relation between middle class women and domestic workers; then in 1997 Zeytinoğlu et. al.'s research on working conditions of domestic laborers followed Kandiyoti (p. 136).

Recent studies could be categorized under two subjects: Researches studying domestic labor through immigrant women, and local women. Although differences regarding research subject, most of them bring working conditions and exploitative aspects of the job.

The first group of studies also displays differences in their own right. Both Ege (2002), Çelik (2005), Akalın (2007, 2009) and Erdem et. al. (2009) in their research address intensified exploitation of labor of immigrant women working live-in jobs because of need of accommodation, especially if they are new comers. Compared to local workers choosing live-out jobs, and immigrants owning their place, live-in immigrant workers are exposed to much more unfair working conditions.

While mentioned studies draw a picture showing weak sides of domestic laborers, Kerough (2003) and Eder (2007) focus on negotiation power of them. Furthermore Kerough underlines how immigrant workers are diversified in-between, reflecting class position of employers. According to her research, mostly Moldovans to be preferred is owing to perception that they are "upright people and good caretakers, cleaner, more literate and more civilized" compared to local women (p. 74). Especially Gagauz women are in the first rank because of the fact that they can speak Turkic language, which speeds up period of learning Turkish. Eder, as well, studies Moldovan immigrants in Istanbul, focuses on 22 women working as child minder and/or cleaning lady. She also conducted research with mediating agencies and officers in police

stations located in Laleli, which is a meeting point of job and worker seekers. She defines position of immigrant female workers as kind of “slavery” because as soon as they come to Turkey, their passport is seized by the agency and delivered to the employer. However, she does not accept they are totally powerless. In social network established after a while, immigrant workers can develop “strategies to fight these economical and social obstacles” (p. 135).

Another research analyzing situation of care workers is conducted by Kaşka (2006). In her study she examines immigrant workers taking care of elder people in Istanbul. Significance of her study is addressing both migration policies in Moldova as a sending country and Turkey as a receiving country; working experiences of Moldovan women including their class, culture, educational level, negotiation power and their relation with their employers, association with people and culture in Turkey; reasons for leaving their job; their social web; positive and negative sides of their legal status; and general judgments in Turkey about foreign women. The study provides good amount of information about migrant policies and how people perceive the issue. Furthermore, she let us to understand service receivers’ side. On the other hand she brings private employment agencies into focus and claims that they function not only as a meeting point for service and job seekers but also as solving problems between employers and employees. Furthermore Kaşka (2007) suggests that silence, invisibility and being out of any formal regulation define the condition of immigrant labor in Turkey. She mentions two reasons: Home is a private sphere, and demand of this kind labor is thought as legitimate. (p. 239).

Another study on ways of finding job belongs to Atatimur (2008). She brings post-Soviet migrant women in Ankara into focus. In addition to reasons such as higher standard of living, geographical proximity, demand for live-in domestics, easy transportation; she highlights significance of existence of relatives and/or friends

migrated before. She addresses different ways of finding job: through mediating agencies, by help of relatives or friends in Turkey and via “making replacement with another domestic worker” (p. 122). An important point she mentions is that some employers prefer live-in workers instead of relatives due to having total control. She also analyzes domestic workers’ opinion about their employers’ motherhood practices, and two attitudes are defined: Perceiving them as “good mothers” by appreciating their long working hours, or “not good” enough owing to not caring for their own children (p. 159). Furthermore, she emphasizes that, compared to the agencies, the employers rely on information they get from the Internet advising about “what to do’s” and “what not to do’s” as well (p. 161). Yet the agencies function as meeting point for immigrant workers to come together with friends, and carrier of “goods, letters and money” (p. 162).

Demirdirek (2007), on the other hand, displays how middle class families make differentiation between local and immigrant domestic workers. Her researches on Moldovan/Gagauz workers shows that reason behind preferring them to local domestics is considering them as “more civilized and European”, as “professionals with some specialized knowledge” (p. 17). Demirdirek, like Kaşka (2006), explores both employer’s and employee’s part and mentions that Gagauz employees complain about being treated as unprofessional not only by employers but also by children they take care for. On the other hand this demand of professionalism—despite it does not work in practice—leads employers to ignore the domestic workers also have child(ren) left behind. Although the employers explain their rationale of choosing a Moldavian employee through unprofessionalism of local domestic workers, the latter to reject live-in jobs and their –relatively- higher wages incline the employers to hire immigrant women’s labor.

Other studies analyze reasons behind the need of immigrant labor, and make class and ethnic/race differences among women visible. Fictional kinship relations are indicated as functioning to hide these differences, while at the same seen as a mechanism of support. The importance of these studies is shedding light on welfare policies. Ünlütürk-Ulutaş (2010) points to common characteristic of countries attracting women from other countries: lack of sufficient public social services. According to her Western middle class family owes its life to immigrant women performing domestic works (p. 287). Furthermore, she addresses maternalist relation between employer and employee as a control mechanism and a support for immigrant worker. Similarly Toksöz et. al. (2011) stress “fictional kinship” generating unfavorable and favorable circumstances as well while immigrant women may become open to exploitation, on the other hand they may have relatively better working conditions (p. 178-179).

Another research focusing on basis of demand for female migrant workers is Gökbayrak’s (2009) research on care workers concerning social welfare regimes. Like Ünlütürk-Ulutaş (2010), she emphasizes poor welfare state implementations behind intense need of migrant labor. She mentions care drain generating exploitation and its level varies in proportion to “quality of women, their legal status in which country they migrated to, their ways of working, and level of stratification of labor market with respect to gender, ethnicity/race” (p. 67, *translated from Turkish*). She also pays attention to welfare regime in Turkey and draws our attention to insufficient social services causing middle or upper class working women to hire paid female labor force. Since immigrant female labor is cheaper and workers accept live-in jobs, they are more desirable compared to local ones.

Akalın (2010) in her research pays attention to live-in immigrant domestic workers in gated communities in Turkey. She points to structure of the houses, leading

“differentiation between up and down”, shapes relation between the worker and family making the woman to feel both as one of the family and nobody (p. 129).

Özbay (2012) addresses the issue from the historical point of view. She draws a line from domestic slaves to foster children used as servants, to immigrant care workers and servants. Despite the fact that all these forms have their own institutionalized structures, they have a common characteristic: being immigrants (p. 120). She addresses another issue by pointing reason behind using domestic servants before and after the establishment of the Turkish Republic: They have become sign of social status for middle and upper-middle class households (p.141).

Researches in the second cluster bring local women into focus and analyze relation between employers and domestic worker on the crossing of class, gender and rural/urban origin while displaying working conditions, as well. Kalaycıoğlu et. al. (2001) investigate relation between female employers and cleaning ladies focusing on socio-economic and cultural differences (including income, educational level and occupational status). They point generous sister/faithful lady relation pattern while Özyeğin (2004) mentions elder sister/younger sister and friend relations. Özyeğin, in her study, not only question relation between employers and domestic workers but also compares domestic workers coming from slum areas and the ones doorkeepers' wives. Her main goal is to understand structure and organization of domestic work in Turkey (p.15). Like Özyeğin, Bora (2005) as well refers to paid domestic work as enabling middle class women to be free from some tasks, and to ignore gendered division of labor in home.

In Bora's and Özyeğin's studies rural/urban, traditional/modern dualisms between two women from different classes become visible. Bora (2005) adds to these dualisms ignorant/educated and regressive/modern. Her research focuses on how class

differences experienced by two groups of women having different social, cultural and economical capitals. Through these differences, Bora also analyzes how these women construct their own subjectivity in relation with each other. According to her, paid domestic work is significant with respect to “standing on a decisive point” for understanding public and private sphere distinction (p. 74).

Another study is on local domestic workers is Suğur et. al's. (2008). The problem with this article is that it considers domestic work as homogenous. However, despite similarities, child care, elder care and cleaning works are different regarding working conditions, negotiation power, and employer-employee relationship. Another point should be mentioned is that the study does not take workers' negotiation power into account and draws a picture that middle class families are all wrong. On the other hand when it speaks of middle class family, gendered division of labor in the household, and reality that it is women who organize all relation with workers is missing. Furthermore, while suggesting need of other people's labor to perform domestic responsibilities, the does not specify reasons behind this kind of requirement.

Furthermore, Kaya (2008) in her research focuses on highly educated professional women's mothering practices. Despite the fact that this study is not directly related with domestic workers, through the parts addressing mothers' relation with child minders she displays difference draw between women doing cleaning and caring for children; how employer-worker relation as based on class distinction is established; and control/monitoring mechanisms, which includes managing child(ren) to be raised according to middle class values and keeping eye on work child minder perform. Moreover, role of other family members, such as grandmothers and fathers, also is brought into focus. Although view of child minders is absent, owing to the fact that gendered division of labor in private sphere and influence of insufficient reconciliation policies frame the study, she both points to what is missing in the literature and tries to

fill this gap. On the other hand, many discussions she gives place provide significant clues for my field study.

The closest study to the aim of my research is Tılıç et. al.'s (2012) analysis on care workers. In their research their main aim is to understand how paid care work sector has changed in the ten years. In this sense private employment agencies are focused and it is claimed that they affect the sector in the direction of formalization of the care work sector, which I found dangerous owing to endeavors for legalizing temporary work relation through private employment agencies. Furthermore, taking care work as a homogenous category and not addressing differences between child care and elder care causes function of the agencies to be misinterpretation.

### **2.7. Conclusion**

In the world of feminist thought, 1960s and 1970s had been period of attempts to make inside of households, and thus, women's unpaid labor visible. Dominated by productive/unproductive labor discussions, women's labor in private sphere was debated within the boundaries of the Marxist analyses of the capitalism. With 1980s, as a consequence of economical liberalization, welfare regimes have transformed to be employment related rather than rights based. While this situation together with women's liberation movements has promoted women's employment, it has generated problem of execution of domestic responsibilities, on the other hand. Moreover, as a result of growing poverty and inequalities between countries have pushed women to migrate to be able to maintain their families. Therefore, a huge field of immigrant domestic labor has been opened in front of feminist researchers.

In this new area, varying from role of receiving and sending countries to care deficit and ways of handling the issue, the working conditions to relation between the

employers and employees, to labor market structure to gender and race/ethnicity discussions many subjects have been analyzed.

As studies make clear, the governments have promoted international migration of women's labor as a way of dealing with crisis with respect to performing domestic responsibilities in case women participate into labor market, and of managing poverty. Middle class women in the *One-Third World*, have to hire other women's labor for their domestic tasks while women in *Two-Thirds World*<sup>17</sup> have to leave their children behind, being obliged to "transnational motherhood".

There are significant amount of studies exploring how race/ethnicity differences finds their reflection in existing hierarchies in societies and thus in working conditions of immigrant women. Furthermore how employers and the workers relate to each other is another dimension, which this ranking has effect on. However, despite the fact that detailed analyses, throughout all these researches what we see is that domestic workers have no or little negotiation power, are even considered as slaves of modern days (Sassen, 2002). Therefore one of the missing pieces is side of employers; their weaknesses and reasons underlie these weaknesses. Power strategies developed by both the employers and workers are ignored. Even as some authors claimed that having a domestic worker is a sign of status; experiences of women between realizing their wishes and pressure of being a good mother, daughter, and/or wife are not taken into consideration.

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<sup>17</sup> Chandra T. Mohanty (2002) warns us against Western/Third World countries dichotomies confining analyses to geographical differences. Although North/South distinction seems to address territorial base it is useful for highlighting differentiation between "pathways of transnational capital" and "marginalized poor of the world" (p. 505). Yet One Third/Two-Third Worlds gives more powerful tool to refer to "continuities as well as discontinuities between the haves and have-nots within the boundaries of nations and between nations and indigenous communities" (p. 506).

My focus in this dissertation is paid child care. Thus, because of the fact that care of a child is at issue, women have to very well rationalize their choice to (go back) work. Finding the best possible child minder and sustaining a good relationship with her for the sake of the child are considered as responsibility of mother, which decreases their negotiation power. Therefore there has always been tensions and cooperation in this relation. Particularly under the strain of market logic embedded within a work, which cannot be thought through only terms of business, how employers and care workers relate to each other is hugely influenced by these dynamics.

Discussions on commodification of care work, on the other hand, give a detailed picture how the structure of the work and the relation has been shaped through penetration of market rules and presence of money. Yet although these studies offer important insights with respect to complicated association between receiving wage and having feelings, owing to locating money and love against one another, most of them fail to display specific frame of the paid care work. Similarly emotional labor debates enable us to understand significance of emotions and how they are constructed, while works performed within boundaries of house in return of money are left outside because only some jobs in service sector have been taken into consideration.

In most of the studies on immigrant domestic workers in Turkey, except several researches, responsibility of social welfare implementations and division of labor in households are not included into the analyses. Furthermore, in those studies welfare policies and unequal share of domestic responsibilities are mentioned, they stay only on theoretical level as an explanation of some women to have support of immigrant women's labor. In spite of significance of this explanatory framework, similar to other researches, they are not covered within the examination of the field. Yet, in many studies negotiation power of the workers is addressed and image of 'miserable laborer' is broken. However, vulnerability of employers is not referred adequate enough, which

is result of not including insufficient welfare implementations and gendered division of labor in house into the analyses. It is significant to mention existence of some studies indicating class difference together with race/ethnicity, and making fictional kinship relations established between women to ignore these distinctions visible.

The most important contribution of studies in Turkey is focusing local women's labor, as well. Through rural/urban, traditional (regressive)/modern, ignorant/educated differentiations social, cultural and economical differences, according to which women locate each other in their working relation, develop strategies and construct their subjectivity, come into scene. Yet, all the aspects are referred on account of cleaning workers. Although they provide a profound insight into private sphere, cleaning work relation is center of the studies. However child care, elder care and cleaning are different from each other with respect to organization of work, how employers and employees associate with each other, and working conditions. Therefore analyzing local women performing paid child care work and view of middle class are two contributions of this dissertation into the literature.

Moreover, researches on local women in Turkey do not consider how welfare policies and gendered division of labor influence middle class women's negotiation power, their relation with the workers, and conditions of the work. Thus, another contribution of my study is taking several aspects into consideration and trying to understand the paid child care as an area standing crossing of all these factors. Connectedly, in this working relation there are more than two actors. In addition to child minder and mother; children –as care receivers- and other members of the family such as fathers and grandmothers also play a considerable role. Therefore, my study considers job relation in paid domestic work as shaped by multi-actors.

Class difference between women becomes more apparent with respect to welfare policies effecting women differently regarding early child care and education services. As a result of privatization of child care services and cut in support programs, lower class women, especially the ones having no relatives to take the responsibility, were very much affected regarding labor market participation, (Tuominen, 1991:460). On the other hand since child care support had been connected to the tax credit system, it is middle and upper income families making use of the support more. Most of lower class women have to work after giving birth and rely on their relatives for care of children because of limited economical sources, “knowledge of how to ‘play the system’”, while middle class women can use maternal and parental leave and benefit from child care services in the private market (Scott, et. al., 2010: 10-11)<sup>18</sup>.

Along with presence of varying actors, social policy implementations draw the frame of working relations and conditions; and how the work is commodified. Regarding child care responsibility and employment of women, structure of welfare regime determines social policy implementations. It shapes and is shaped by gender relations in society, which are source of how labor market and family are organized. Therefore, to be able to exhibit a detailed picture, next chapter focuses on welfare state regimes and their effect on child care work area.

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<sup>18</sup> In their study they use terms of working class women, lower class women and less privileged women interchangeably like it is for managerial and professional women, higher class women and middle class women.

## CHAPTER 3

### CHILD CARE WORK AS A PROBLEM OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Caregiving poses the most acute social policy challenges for the future. (Lewis, 1997:171)

During our life course, in childhood, in case of sickness/disability and in old age, we have been in need of care of other people (Engster, 2005). This is an inevitable reality that all of us (will) experience(d) in different periods of our lives. Thus quality and human resources of care work will always take a significant part in societies' agenda. As it is clear in earlier debates on domestic work in feminist literature, care work to be handled paid or unpaid is the main discussion point that state, market and family are main actors. This is the issue of welfare regime, which addresses composition of "legal, material and organizational sources" between these actors (Moreno, 2002:1). In other words, a welfare regime does not addresses to state activities only but also how market and family have an intertwining function (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Other than paid/unpaid dichotomy, formal/informal care difference also highlights welfare state's role in making out the relation between family ideology, labor market structure and state's capacity of intervention. That is to say care as a matter of welfare has a "multi-dimensional" character (Daly et. al. 2000:285).

In Marshall's (2007) pioneering writing on citizenship and social class, it is possible to track welfare discussion within social citizenship including "educational system and the social services" (p. 30). However at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century as a result of changes in world's economical structure, from "planned society" to "competitive economy", social rights had been separated from the status of citizenship (p.32-33). When we come to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, citizenship had been at war with capitalism since the latter is the "system of inequalities" (p. 34). Yet this war should not mislead us because idea of citizenship has been also produced inequalities that its standards have been developed from "masculine attributes and abilities" (Pateman, 2007: 134).

History of welfare state implementations is reckoned from the end of the Second World War, as a way of renovating destruction of the war on societies. Between 1950 -1970 - called as golden age of capitalism- many countries established these implementations as a norm in the organization of society, which embraced policies regarding wage and taxation, industry, social life; and arrangements for labor market (Akduran, 2012:52). Yet as Buğra et. al. (2006a) suggest social security preventions as a matter of social policy have been come into agenda of authorities beginning from 16<sup>th</sup> century (p. 9). They define the relation between capitalism and welfare state as "two-sided" that while the latter helps the former to sustain by smoothing its affects, on the other hand, it structures capitalism through limiting "its tendencies of commercialization and commodification" (p. 10).

Today, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century -more than 400 years later from the first steps of capitalism, how successful welfare state executes its double function? The common opinion is that it has transformed as the consequences of many changes taking place globally (Mingione 2006, Buğra et. al. 2006, 2006a, Kleinman 2006, Esping-Andersen 2009, Akduran 2012). Increase in women's employment, rise in divorce rates and birth rates out of marriage, and dissolution of nucleus family have damaged welfare regimes

based on family to make up deficiencies (Esping-Andersen, 2009). On the other hand labor market has undergone a transformation that part-time, irregular, insecure and unskilled jobs have taken the place of full time, regular, secure and skilled works (Buğra et. al. 2006a). In addition changes in family and labor market structure, increase in life span, decrease in birth rates and aging of population are other factors enlarging pressure on welfare regimes. Kleinman (2006) mentions that as a result of globalization welfare states in Europe have experienced a downward “convergence” (p.169), generating a care crisis (Daly, et. al. 2000).

Despite this convergence, every welfare regime has its own differentiating structure. Yet it is still possible to speak of different models reflecting on some similarities. In spite of divergent clusters, the focal point is that how care responsibility is shared among state, market and family. As Kremer (2007) emphasizes that every welfare regimes’ “ideals of care” are particular to them, and they are open to change in due course (p. 242)

### **3.1. Welfare Regime Models**

The earliest classification is belonged to Esping-Andersen’s 1990 dated study *The Three World of Capitalism* that he divides countries into three: Conservative, liberal and social democratic. His starting point is decommodification of social rights, which means people to have a socially acceptable standard of living without participating into the market. He suggests that class coalitions lay behind difference between welfare states. In this sense the conservative welfare state is corporatist that some occupational or status groups benefit from the privileges. Austria, France, Germany and Italy take place in this cluster. Religion is very strong to shape society and traditional family is taken as a ground. Only in case that family falls short to provide social services for its

members, state steps in. An individual is under the dominance of state and family. Liberal model, on the other hand, attaches very much importance to market and commodification is its primary aim. Market is the supplier of social services and state solely helps to the poor in the direction of means testing. To Esping-Andersen, this causes “social stigma and dualism” (p.64). USA, Canada and Australia are in this model. Social democratic state takes “universality principle” into account and foster equality among its citizens (p.69). Scandinavian countries represent this model. Esping-Andersen’s social welfare state models are criticized owing to ignoring women and unpaid work performed at home (Orloff 1993, Lewis 1997, Moreno 2002). As Lewis (1997) indicates, worker of Esping-Andersen is “male and his mobilization may actually depend as much on unpaid female household labor as on social welfare policies” (p.162). Furthermore his model to be based on decommodification is criticized that it takes *One Third of Countries* into account and ignores informal institutions as a main provider of welfare facilities in the *Two Third of Countries* (Dedeoğlu et. al., 2012, Dedeoğlu, 2013).

By considering the critics, Esping-Andersen wrote another book for “adopting women’s new roles”. He mentions that as women begin to participate into employment they liberate from their caring role. Yet, he underlines that this is an “incomplete revolution” because there is difference between women regarding their social class. Furthermore, he proposes two ideal types of equilibrium that traditional one addresses men as the breadwinner and women as care taker, while gender equality model implies man and woman as equally participating into the employment. In the latter, care work is in total responsibility of state. Nordic welfare state is the closest to gender equality type. Yet, revolution is incomplete because many countries move between these two equilibriums. In this in-between situation, women both participate into employment and perform care work. There is also stress on the fact that people have fewer children than

they desire, which implies, as well, incompleteness of the revolution. He seems to be very much fertility and employment oriented other than gender equality. In addition, apparently he still does not take gendered division of labor in household into account and considers state's intervention as enough for women to participate into the labor market. Orloff (1993) underlines gender relations that men and women are differently influenced owing to the differentiation between their contribution to paid and unpaid labor (p. 318). Moreover, she draws our attention to paid employment that in case women enter into the labor market if it becomes in the secondary market, then speaking only through working in paid jobs falls short as regards gender equality. Another important point Orloff addresses that domestic responsibilities should be located into decommodification discussions that women to be able to "form and maintain autonomous households" without being a wife, mother or daughter of a man (p. 320).

Despite these criticisms, Esping-Andersen (1990, 2009) draws our attention to welfare state's stratification producing role in society other than diminishing inequalities. He says, "all citizens are endowed with similar rights, irrespective of class or market position" (1990:25). So the basis is equal opportunities not equality (2009:114). Similar to him, Kleinman (2006) points to social policy issue as interventions of state to shape society. It is an instrument used for both social inclusion and exclusion (p. 165).

According to Jensen (1997), answers to questions "who cares, who pays and where care is provided" are great of importance with regard to taking welfare discussion from domination of working (p.187). There are other categorizations, different from Esping-Andersen's, taking care regimes into account that enable us to notice how welfare policies reproduce gender inequality.

While Meyers et. al. (2003) analyze care regimes under two topics - institutions and expenditures, and availability and affordability of early child education and care

(ECEC) services- they divide fourteen industrialized countries according to their care regimes into three: Social democratic, conservative and liberal. With regard to direct ECEC facilities social democratic countries commence these services from the birth and provide them as a universal right. In conservative care regimes public child care is very limited and priority is given to mostly 3-6 years children of working parents and to children in special needs. Child care in liberal countries is mostly market based, especially for children under three. Another support is subsidies, which are limited both in social democratic and conservative countries. However in liberal countries particularly low income families are supported while they pay for private care. The problem about their classification is insufficiently focusing women's unpaid care labor in family

Mahon's (2002) approach, on the other hand, considers gender equality and well being of children at the same time. Furthermore he draws our attention to class differences among women. Thus, he gathers OECD countries in three clusters: neofamilialist model, "third way" design and egalitarian horizons. Neofamilialist model takes neo-liberalism into its agenda and the focus is on women's choice between being "temporary house wife" and participating into the labor force (p.346). Public support for non-parental care is fundamental for third way model that it ignores women's unequal share of child care responsibility at home. Since it sees inequality in the labor market as essential for development; part-time working, temporary working and self-employment, and women's increasing rate in these kinds of jobs are perceived as inevitable. Egalitarian horizons on the other hands aim ensuring gender equality and providing care and education as child right.

Haas (2003), on the other hand, extends his categorization towards Southern Europe and defines four care models: privatized (noninterventionist), family centered, market oriented and valued care. The first model includes Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain.

Male breadwinner model -that man is the breadwinner and woman is the caregiver- is very much powerful. Thus child care work is left to female members of family, not undertaken “collectively” (p. 96). In family centered model despite employment of women is valued more than it is in the first group’s countries, still classical breadwinner model functions. Women are expected to shoulder rearing of their children particularly in the first years, thereby long, job-protected leaves are provided for mothers but in expense of low wage compensation. Market oriented model have strong tradition of women’s care-giving role. Parents are expected to meet their need of child care from the market. The last, valued care model spends much effort to facilitate women’s employment rates and support working parents. Yet regarding share of fathers, the model is not successful<sup>19</sup>. In other words in all models, child care seems to continue to be women’s responsibility.

Bettio et. al. (2004), in their study, divide countries according to their level of dependence on informal care. Authors take leave facilities, financial provisions and public services for children between 0-3 into account while analyzing weight of informal care. As they underline, dependence on informal care leads decrease in women’s employment.

Another classification is made by Engster et. al. (2011) that they put countries into groups according to their family policies including cash and tax supports, leaves in full paid, and public child-care services. Thus three regimes come into prominence: dual-earner, general family support and low family support regimes. Main features of the

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<sup>19</sup> In this group Sweden has a very distinct place that promoting gender equality and health of children have a very long and a prosperous history. Yet, even in Sweden despite offering bountiful leave facilities and thus most of fathers take the responsibility of their children by using the leave, up to this time, speaking of an equal share of child care burden is not possible.

dual-earner regimes are providing medium cash and tax support but high paid parental leave and public child-care services. On the other hand general family support regimes' priority is cash and tax support for families while paid parental leave and child care support is not sufficient enough. The third category implies weak cash and tax benefits, and low paid parental leave and child care facilities. Families should deal with care and education problem on their own through purchasing services from the market. The significant problem with this categorization is not referring to share of children's responsibility in the household and to parental leaves' structure. Therefore other than gender equality, main concern is restricted to how care work is shared between state and market. As Orloff (1993) underlines most of welfare discussions ignores unequal division of labor in family. Borrowing from her that another dimension of decommodification should be taken into account: "Capacity to form and maintain an autonomous household" (p. 319), in addition to decommodification of social rights. This aspect underlies independency of women from men with respect to resources (p. 323). Pateman (2007) highlights that in 20<sup>th</sup> century employment has become the foundation of citizenship, and while men have been defined as worker, women located as economically dependent, forming male breadwinner society.

Despite the fact that most of above categorizations bring significant expansion, they excludes many countries, which follow a different social, cultural and economical development path. This is why as a 'forth' category Southern European model has been discussed. This model mostly includes Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece, while there are some studies considering welfare regime in Turkey within Southern European model (Gough 2006, Buğra et. al. 2006, 2006a, Dedeoğlu et. al., 2012, Dedeoğlu,

2013).<sup>20</sup> Before moving to welfare regime provisions in Turkey I would like to focus the Southern European Welfare Model to be able to put forward similarities and differences.

### **3.2 Southern European Welfare Regime**

The Southern European model is characterized with conservative-corporatist welfare regime (Gough 2006, Buğra 2006). There is no universal social security system, and public employment offers better social protection. Differentiation between people in-need and self-sufficient is made through employment, and this is the criterion for obtaining state's aids (Gough, 2006).

The regime owes its sustainability to women's unpaid labor in family and, generally irregular and insufficient aids provided by volunteer bodies. Charity organizations have a significant function. State, also, gives supports to its citizens that Gough (2006) divides them into three: General aid provides cash transfer to people having income under minimum income, while categorical aid takes specific groups into account such as handicapped, elder people, unemployed etc. The third program, tied aid means cash transfers or support for particular goods and services like dwelling or health services (p. 235). Another significant aspect is that different state institutions administrate subsidies and thus they are uncoordinated, highly fragmented and futile (Ferrera 2006). Especially delivery of one-time grants is under the control of local authorities. On the other hand, need assessment is not strict and amount of supports is small. Most of receivers of aids are handicapped and elder people (Gough 2006: 247).

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<sup>20</sup> In some studies addressing differences among Southern European Countries and claiming need of another model considering features of Mediterranean Countries, which is presented at the end of the section.

Social protection displays a dual structure, in which there are people working in formal sector benefitting relatively generous security and others employed in informal labor market and unemployed people. Gap between high and low protection is great that according to Ferrera (2006) this is the difference of corporatist regimes of South and mainland Europe, where number of well-supported people is more than less-supported ones (p. 204).

Social exclusion becomes harsher for growing population of young people, single-headed families, homeless people and immigrants that they experience problem of unemployment, accommodation, discrimination and racism (Mingione, 2006:281).

Borrowing from Orloff (1993:320) “individual independence” or “self determination” exists little if any, particularly when women’s condition is considered. They are located in the social security system as a group in need of protection due to the idea that women will stay out of labor market and will be depended on male members of their families (Buğra, 2012).

In this regime, family is the most significant institution as a place of socialization and “micro solidarity” (Moreno, 2002:2). While Mingione (2006) mentions family system as a site of most of social services to be handled because of insufficiency of social welfare implementations, he also indicates “weak proletarianization” and low women’s employment rates with high level of self employment and presence of small firms, as a economical characteristic of these countries (p. 272). Family is extended family as different from other countries in North and Central Europe, in which nucleus family is widespread (Trifiletti, 1999; Moreno 2002). This is difference of the Southern European model from the corporatist welfare regimes. Furthermore divergence is also derived from *kinship solidarity model* instead of *male breadwinner model* common in the Central Europe. Although in both models women are positioned as dependants of

men, in the former model social insurance covers also extended family. Furthermore like other domestic responsibilities, child care is also considered to be belonged to women. Yet in the latter model there are support mechanisms for families enabling mothers to handle care while in kinship solidarity model insufficiency of these kinds of mechanisms cause other female family members to shoulder this task (Grütjen, 2008:125).

In spite of the fact that existence of studies using Southern European and Mediterranean interchangeably (Trifiletti, 1999; Moreno, 2002; Bettio et. al., 2006) according to Gal (2010) the former conceptualization excludes some countries such as Turkey, Malta, Cyprus, and Israel particularly regarding influence of religion on organization of society, power of extended family and clientelistic welfare structure. This is why there is need for using Mediterranean welfare regime owing to indicating common attributes of more countries. In a similar vein Buğra (2013), regarding effect of religion and family, claims Egypt to be included into Mediterranean welfare regime.<sup>21</sup>

As it is discussed in the next part Turkey has many characteristic to be placed in the Mediterranean welfare category. Women's unpaid labor in family, low female employment rates, high young unemployment, self-employment, poverty, informal working, single-earner households, very limited state's protection, family and charity based social supports, insufficient health, care and education services, and political clientelism are the facts, in the first instance, come to mind as features of welfare regime in Turkey.

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<sup>21</sup> Yet she gives reference to five Mediterranean countries; Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey and Egypt.

### 3.3. Social Welfare Regime in Turkey

In this part, although the main aim is to give a detailed idea about social policy provisions of Turkey, it will (have to) be also on the view and implementations of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), because of the fact that it has been governing party more than 11 years.

Buğra (2012) defines the AKP government as “socially conservative, economically liberal” (p. 58). Therefore its social policy approach could be defined with this double-sided characteristic. On the one hand charity is seen as remedy to social problems. Yet as Buğra (2008) mentions by reason of many factors<sup>22</sup> urban poverty has gradually grown and came to surface -could not have been hidden or ignored any more (p.204)

The most essential transformation experienced in health system in 2008, through covering all pension systems in a single regime, Social Insurance and Universal Health Insurance. Logic of the new system is based on premium payments depending on individual income level.<sup>23</sup> The ones cannot benefit from any health insurance under certain status have to make income test<sup>24</sup>. Not only medical care but also social

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<sup>22</sup> Rural subventions to disappear; tourism and construction sectors to be encouraged as the expense of fertile lands; urban population to increase owing to economical and forced migration; privatizations and proliferation of subcontract working.

<sup>23</sup> People having 1/3 of minimum wage are exempt from all charges, which is not divergent from the old system's green card application that people living under certain income had been owner of this card and benefited from health services free of charge. This certain income was defined according to 1/3 of minimum wage after the minimum income tax and social insurance premium that a tax payer –married an unemployed spouse and having a child- should pay is subtracted. Every year the card ownership had had been renewed.

<http://mevzuat.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Metin.Aspx?MevzuatKod=7.5.4846&MevzuatIliski=0&sourceXmlSearch=> (23.09.2014)

<sup>24</sup> Children under age 18, students in secondary education under age 20 and ones in higher education younger than 25 years old can benefit from health services for free.

<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/12/20111228-7.htm> (23.09.2014)

protection in general is premium based. This is a very problematic and discriminative application that the ones who do not have a formal job and cannot make any contribution to the social security system are excluded from health and retirement system (Dedeođlu, 2012). Owing to the fact that having social insurance is directly related with formal employment, women fall outside of the system much more than men (Şahin, 2012; Ađartan, 2012). Furthermore women who are out of formal employment are considered as dependent to male members of their family as mother and wife (Dedeođlu, 2012). Dedeođlu (2013:9) conceptualizes welfare regime of Turkey as “veiled Europeanization” resulting from women’ s “dualistic” position, which indicates gap between women’s rights on the paper –via laws and signed international contracts- and treatment of women in reality. Dedeođlu addresses similarity between condition of women in the Middle East and in Turkey. She argues that reforms realized within the process of European Union membership are

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In determination of premiums, a household’s total monthly income is divided into number of family members living together and result is taken as basis for individual payments. 2014 Universal Health Insurance premium amounts are (between 01/07/2014 – 31/12/2014 –) zero for the ones having monthly income less than 378TL; 45,36 TL for having monthly income from 378 TL to 1.134 TL; 136,08 TL for having monthly income from 1.134 TL to 2.268 TL; and 272,16 TL for having income more than 2,268 TL. The ones didn’t make income test although they have to, are subjected to pay 272,16 TL.

Despite the fact that as a result of the insurance system number of people benefitting from health services free expected to decrease, according to Social Security Institution statistics while in 2011 number of green card holders was 8.865.470, after the new health insurance system, number of people of whose premiums paid by the state is 7.948.460. Furthermore, it is said that Social Security Institution (SSI) could only collect 300 million of 8 billion total premium payments of 4,5 billion people, which is interpreted as collapse of universal health insurance system.

<http://www.sgk.com.tr/562-Haber-9-5-milyon-yesil-kart-sahibine-test!.html> (23.09.2014)

[http://www.sgk.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/3d47feb8-3deb-4471-9f2c-a1f15a1b292b/2014\\_05\\_temel\\_gostergeler.pdf?MOD=AJPERES](http://www.sgk.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/3d47feb8-3deb-4471-9f2c-a1f15a1b292b/2014_05_temel_gostergeler.pdf?MOD=AJPERES) (23.09.2014)

[http://www.zaman.com.tr/ekonomi\\_yesil-kartin-yerine-kurulan-genel-saglik-sigortasi-coktu\\_2171482.html](http://www.zaman.com.tr/ekonomi_yesil-kartin-yerine-kurulan-genel-saglik-sigortasi-coktu_2171482.html) (23.09.2014)

“decorative” (p.11). In a similar vein, as Ecevit (2013) indicates how economic and political liberalization exists together with conservatism that while implementations, transformations in some fields like education, employment, health, housing and social security are presented as egalitarian policies; in actual fact some women cannot benefit from their rights (p.4). Özar, et. al. (2013:24) also points to “discriminatory nature of the welfare regime” in Turkey that women are not taken into consideration “without men”, as “others, daughters and wives of men in the family.” (p.25). That is to say most of women are out of formal employment and covered by social security system through their husbands or fathers. According to their study, widowed or divorced women out of social security system are under the high risk of poverty. Furthermore, even half of women covered within the system are far from satisfying essential necessities (p.28).

There are other support mechanisms including cash transfers and different in-kind aids that they are very fragmented, irregular and uncoordinated which does not aim at eliminating income inequalities but turns the need into opportunity of getting political rent. In this sense as Buğra (2008) underlines charity is one of the most important tools of “politicizing poverty” (p. 260). In Turkey, from municipalities to Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations and to non-governmental organizations, many institutions make one-time urgent transfers to fixed-time transfers, and food, cleaning supply and fuel aids. Since these supports are not distributed under a single system, to follow how many people and how much they are in need is not possible<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> Social Aids General Directorate has run a project, called with Integrated Social Support Services, with TUBITAK. The goal of the project is creating a common database. Except some of modules such as Conditional Education and Conditional Health Aid, Accountancy, Universal Health Insurance Income Test, Aid for Widow Women, Foundation Human Resources, and 2022 Elder/Disabled People’s Wage Procedure Modules run, the project has not been completed yet. <http://www.sosyalyardimlar.gov.tr/tr/html/11815/Butunlesik+Sosyal+Yardim+Hizmetleri> (23.09.2014)

Social Support General Directorate<sup>26</sup> operates under the Municipality of Family and Social Policies, whose prosperous society vision crosses “happy individuals and strong families”<sup>27</sup>, which shows how much social policy approach is family based.

However in Turkey’s welfare regime is a not based on familialism as it has been experienced in societies in which male breadwinner model is common. As it is claimed that as a result of changed in social security system there has been break from male breadwinner model (Buğra, et. al., 2013:143) and according to Kılıç (2010: 169) Turkey has been moving between familialism and individualism. This is why it will be better to define welfare regime with family and kinship solidarity model (Grütjen, 2008). In Turkey despite the fact that all domestic responsibilities have been considered as women’s responsibility and women are defined as dependants; because of very little support for families and lack of a general safety net program (Buğra, et. al. 2006), In case of poor subsidies from the state, not only mother but also other female members of extended family have to care for children, elder/sick/handicapped people. As it is in other Mediterranean countries, in Turkey, as well, particularly grandmothers are “indispensible support for young mothers” (Moreno, 2002: 9). However, to the statistics, in Turkey very big proportion of care of children between 0-5 years old is performed by mothers; 89,6 percent and other family members –other than fathers and institutional care- is 6,5 per cent (TURKSTAT, 2012)<sup>28</sup>. This situation explains reason

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<sup>26</sup> The Directorate has the Social Support and Solidarity Incentive Fund which is responsible of deciding priorities of public institutions regarding distribution of supports and proposing and promoting projects and programs for developing and supporting consciousness of solidarity in society <http://www.sosyalyardimlar.gov.tr/tr/11784/SYDTF-Gorevler> (23.09.2014)

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.aile.gov.tr/hakkimizda/vizyonumuz> (23.09.2014)

<sup>28</sup> Share of fathers is 1,5 percent, while institutional care is 2,4 per cent.

<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=13458>

behind lower level of women's employment compared to other Mediterranean countries in which extended family fulfills deficiency of state's welfare provisions.

Family structure in Turkey is consisted of two parent families; 70 per cent, while one parent family households is 7,8 per cent. Despite dissolution of extended families, rate of three-generation households is still 14,4 per cent. Average size of household in Turkey is 3,7 (TURKSTAT, 2012 Family Statistics). Single headed families with dependent children are at the very high risk of poverty that to 2012 data, risk rate is 30,4 per cent while household with two adults and one dependent children the risk decreases to 9,5 per cent. Yet as number of children increases, the risk grows and poverty risk of households with two adults and three or more children reaches 48,1 per cent (TURKSTAT, Sustainable Development Indicators, 2012-2013).

According to TURKSTAT 2013 statistics, in Turkey, proportion of childless two-parents household is 15,8 percent. Moreover, number of households including children between 0-17 years old is 53,2 per cent while one child households is 39,7 per cent and two child is 35,5 per cent. In addition, rate of children more than three and more is significant; 24,8 per cent. When analyzed according to age group, share of children between 0-4 years old is 27,3 per cent and between 5-9 years old is 27,6 per cent. This means more than half of child population is under 10 years old.

To 2009 OECD figures in terms of maternal employment rate with children under 15 years old Turkey has the lowest rate among other countries that the proportion is less than 30 per cent while OECD average is 66,2 per cent. 2007 data shows that in Turkey rate of dual earner two-parent families with child between 0-2 years old is 10,7 per cent while in 73,9 per cent of households only one parent is working, which is the third after Czech Republic and Hungary. OECD average is 45,9 for one parent working and 27,4

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for two parents working. Both for Turkey and for OECD average, as children get older, the rate of dual-earner families increases. As the data display, in case social protection is connected to formal employment, claiming that the most of families in Turkey suffer poverty and deprivation will not be exaggeration<sup>29</sup>. Although the AKP government, on all occasions, emphasizes ‘strong family ideal’, with respect to implementations, it is family institution enabling survival of welfare regime.

To be able to give an exact picture of Turkey, I will display statistics belong Spain, France, Netherlands, Sweden, and average EU28. As it is mentioned above, Turkey and Spain are located in Southern European Welfare Model. Therefore, figures from Spain will enable us to make comparison within the same model. On the other hand existence of France is important because recently in Turkey, it is addressed as an appropriate model for implementations regarding increasing women’s employment, and reconciliation of work, care and household responsibilities<sup>30</sup>. Netherlands, as a Member State in which part-time work makes approximately half of the total employment rate and most of part time-workers are women,<sup>31</sup> is significant to see reflections of this type of working. Also, Sweden takes place since it is considered as the best model in EU. Owing to the fact that Turkey has been in the process of being a part of the European Union and many policies has been implemented by reason of requirements of the

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<sup>29</sup> According to TURKSTAT 2012 Income and Living Conditions Report, 79,2 per cent of population in Turkey is under risk of poverty between 40-70 per cent.

<sup>30</sup>An interview with Fatma Sahin, the Minister of Family and Social Policies <http://ekonomi.milliyet.com.tr/kadin-istihdamina-fransiz-modeli-/ekonomi/ydetay/1770338/default.htm> (22.09.2014)

<sup>31</sup> Part-time work is presented by the Turkish government as a magical formula, which will increase women’s employment, and break ‘rigidity’ of the labor market.

membership, figures on EU average will enable us to see how close Turkey is to the Union.

In this part, I focus on dynamics of the labor market in Turkey and edges of social protection implementations. Although reconciliation policies should also be evaluated within the social welfare discussions, because I would like to pay particular attention to facilities making balance of work and domestic responsibilities possible/difficult to be able to comprehend middle class working mothers' strategies and paid child care field; I allocate a distinct chapter.

### **3.3.1. Labor Market Structure**

Low rate in formal employment, women's inadequate labor force participation, widespread informal working, and long working hours are main characteristic of the labor market in Turkey. According to the statistics, employment rate for age group 15-64 is 53,4 per cent, which is the lowest. Average ratio for EU28 is 68,3 per cent (Table 1).

**Table 1: Employment Figures for Age Group 15-64**

	Total Employment (%)	Part-time Employment as Percentage of the Total Employment (%)	Part-time Employment as Percentage of the Total Employment by sex (%)	
			2013 Men	2013 Women
<b>EU-28</b>	68,3	19,5	8,8	32,1
<b>Turkey*</b>	53,4	12,2	6,8	25,1
<b>Spain</b>	58,2	16,0	7,8	25,6
<b>France</b>	69,5	18,3	6,7	30,8
<b>Netherlands</b>	76,5	50,1	26,4	77,0
<b>Sweden</b>	79,8	25,0	13,0	38,2

Source: Eurostat 2013

\* Despite differences regarding employment statistics according to TURKSTAT rates, Eurostat figures are taken into consideration to be able to make comparison.

As Table 1 shows, in addition to low level of employment, another striking figure is working hours in Turkey, which is the highest. This could be the reason behind low rate of people having second job. Netherlands and Sweden have higher ratios of second job performance that affect of part-time working becomes apparent. As the table reveals that Netherlands owes its high employment rate to part-time working. However, according to Labor Force Survey 2013 figures, in European Union 23 per cent of part-

time workers are underemployed. That is to say, they would like to work more hours. To the Survey, underemployment is the largest in Greece, Cyprus, Spain and Portugal, that 72 per cent, 59 per cent, 57,4 per cent, and 45,9 per cent respectively.

As the Table 1 and the Table 2 show, in all countries women's employment rate is lower than men while they work in part-time basis more than men. Despite the fact that in Turkey employment rate of women is very low, besides, one of forth work part-time. If enormous distinction between men and women with respect to part-time work in EU28 is considered, it is comprehensible that many women do not 'prefer' to work in full time basis. According to Eurostat Reconciliation between Work, Private and Family Life in the European Union 2009 Edition primary reason for men aged 25-49 to work in part-time basis is not to be able to find a full time job (EU average is 43 per cent). However women work part-time because of their responsibility of children or elder people (EU average 42 per cent). Furthermore, as number of children rises, women's employment rates decline in all EU countries. On the other hand, small children make much more negative effect on the women's employment ratio. To EU 28 average, proportion of participation women having children between 0-5 years old into the labor market is 59,7 per cent. This rate grows, as children get older (69,8 per cent of women with children 6 to 11 and 73,5 per cent of women with children 12 to 14).

**Table 2: Employment Figures According to Gender for 20-64 Age Group**

	Employment (%)		Part-Time Employment (%)		Working hours per week (Full time)		
	2013		2013		2013		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
<b>EU-28</b>	74,2	62,5	8,9	32,1	41,5	42,5	40,0
<b>Turkey</b>	75,3	31,8	6,8	25,1	51,7	52,9	48,1
<b>Spain</b>	63,3	53,1	7,8	25,6	41,7	42,7	40,3
<b>France</b>	73,7	65,5	6,7	30,8	40,6	41,6	39,0
<b>Netherlands</b>	81,3	71,6	26,4	77,0	40,8	41,2	39,2
<b>Sweden</b>	82,2	77,2	13,0	38,2	40,8	41,2	40,3

Source: Eurostat, 2013

Concerning working hours women work less than men, yet in Turkey amount women work in a week is 7,8 hours more than even Sweden having second higher working hours for women, among mentioned countries. Furthermore, when care and household burden are taken into consideration, women's low participation into labor force in Turkey is not surprising. To the TURKSTAT 2011 Family Structure Research, more than 88 per cent of household chores such as cooking, ironing, preparation and clearing of the table, washing clothes and dishes are executed by women. Moreover, children are cared for by mothers at 89,6 per cent. Father's share is just 1,5 per cent.

In Turkey it seems labor market structure and social policy have produced and been shaped by informal labor market. Internal and international migrations are other factors widening human resource of the sector. Beginning from 1950s, an internal migration wave has started –and still has continued- from rural towards urban areas by reason of economical difficulties. Interregional development level is determinant in direction of migration, which is influenced by social and economic policies (Öztürk, et. al. 2008). Different from previous migration dynamics, 1980s and after, especially, 1990s saw forced migration from East and South East regions of Turkey –on account of a war between Kurdish and Turkish armed forces. Inexistence of a network offering a relative protection caused these people to migrate to cities in west and to experience economically disadvantaged position and social exclusion very intensively (Ataman et. al. 2006). Internal migration from rural to urban areas lead to “labor force transfer between sectors” that while in 1950s 84,8 per cent was working in agriculture; 8,4 per cent in industry and 6,8 per cent in services (Bahar, et. al., 2010:45), today, according to TURKSTAT 2014 figures services sector has come first (50,3 per cent), agriculture second (22,3 per cent) and industry last (20,1 per cent), when compared to previous years while employment in service sector increases, in agriculture it shows a decrease – except 2009. As İçduygu et. al. (1998) suggest internal migration from urban to rural areas gives rise to an accumulation of relatively cheap and unorganized labor power in cities, especially in informal labor market (p. 44), which brings a huge burden to social welfare budget, yet at the same time frees state from requirements of full-time formal working and maintains people to live a little up or down of poverty line. Another effect of migration from rural to urban is on women that, they have to work as domestic workers in destination cities owing to their low level of education and skill (Erdoğan & Toksöz, 2013).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> It is significant to add that influence of forced migration should be more severe for women who do not

In the situation of expansion of informal labor market and growing, particularly, urban poverty I would like to focus on how state support households and individuals.

### **3.3.2. Social Expenditures in Turkey**

As Table 3 displays in 2010 Turkey's average insurance spending per person was 131 dollar while this was 3094 for OECD average. That is to say investment to human is so weak that even less than 1/10 of Spain's spending. It is the fact that either for all citizens, or specifically young and old people there is a great difference between Turkey and other countries regarding social expenditures.

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speaking Turkish. Furthermore, prejudices about Kurdish people also might prevent women from finding jobs as domestic workers and some of them might have to work in some other jobs having worse conditions in informal sector.

**Table 3: Public Spending I**

	Public Spending per person (US dollar)	Direct gross insurance premiums (per centage of GDP)	Government social spending (per centage of GDP)		Old age social spending (per centage of GDP)	Spending on compulsory school (public and private) per person (US Dollar)
	2010	2010	2011	2012	2009	2007
<b>Turkey</b>	131	1.0	10.7♦	12.8*	5.8	1246
<b>Spain</b>	1623	6.6	26.0	26.3	7.7	7322
<b>France</b>	4297	8.5	32.1	32.1	12.3	8511
<b>Netherlands</b>	2931	9.3	23.7	24.3	4.5	9355
<b>Sweden</b>	2536	5.9*	27.6	28.2	10.2	8530
<b>OECD-Average</b>	3094	8.2	21.7	21.7	7.3	8070

Source: The table is based on OECD Insurance 2010 statistics<sup>33</sup> and OECD Society at Glance 2011<sup>34</sup>

\* 2009 figures, ♦ 2008 figures

To the Table 4 below, one of the striking numbers carrying marks of low employment rates, expansion of informal labor market and declining of fertility rates is number of people in their working age per person of pension age, 9.9. Yet, to 2050 projection this number will decrease to 3.2 persons, as consisted with the trend in OECD countries.

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/finance/insurance/insurancestatistics-oecdonline-database.htm> (23.09.2014)

<sup>34</sup> [http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/soc\\_glance-2011-en](http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/soc_glance-2011-en) (23.09.2014)

**Table 4: Public Spending II**

	Number of people of working age (20-64) per person of pension age (65+)		Public health spending (per centage of GDP)		Public unemployment spending (per centage of GDP)	
	2008	2050	2008	2009	2008	2009
<b>Turkey</b>	9.9	3.2	4.4	5.4	0.1	0.1
<b>Spain</b>	3.7	1.5	6.5	7.0	2.2	3.5
<b>France</b>	3.5	1.9	8.4	9.0	1.3	1.5
<b>Netherlands</b>	4.2	2.1	7.2	7.9	1.0	1.4
<b>Sweden</b>	3.3	2.2	6.8	7.3	0.5	0.7
<b>OECD-Average</b>	4.2	2.1	6.1	6.6	-	-

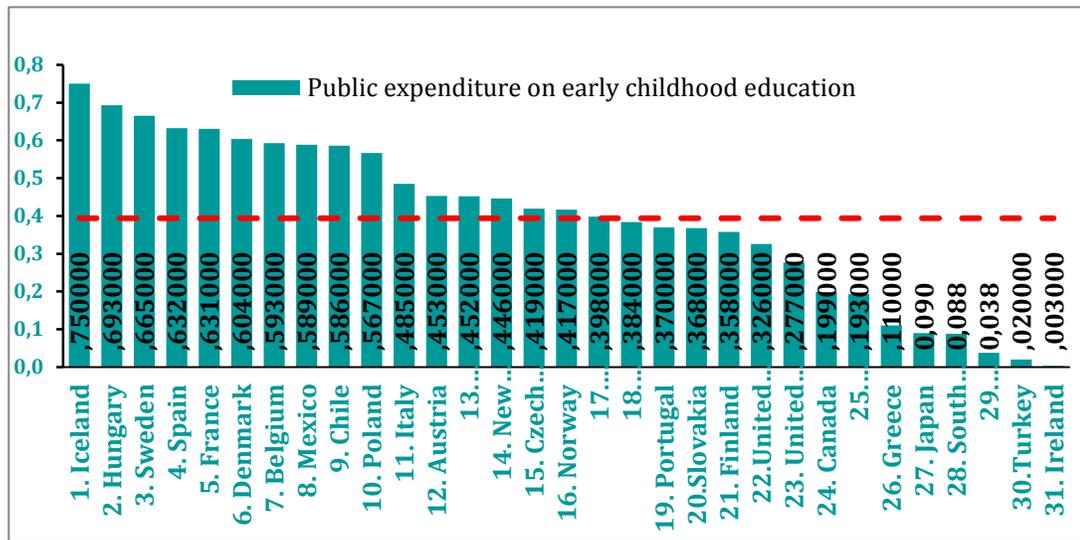
Source: The table is based on OECD Insurance 2010 statistics and OECD Society at Glance 2011 data

When the Table 3 and the Table 4 are considered together, it is apparent that expenditures for health and old age have higher proportions in total public spending that only 1,6 per cent of GDP remains for other expenditures including early care and compulsory education, supports for working and unemployed people, etc.

In the OECD Social Justice Index (2011), which makes calculation according to poverty prevention, access to education, labor market inclusion, and social cohesion and non-discrimination, Turkey ranks last among 31 countries. When focus on access to education, Turkey again is at the end of the list. Particularly early childhood

education plays a significant role within this indicator. As it is clear in the Table 5 Turkey, as a result of very little (0.020 per cent) public expenditure on early childhood education, ranks 30. OECD average is 0,39 per cent, which is almost 19,5 times more than Turkey's spending.

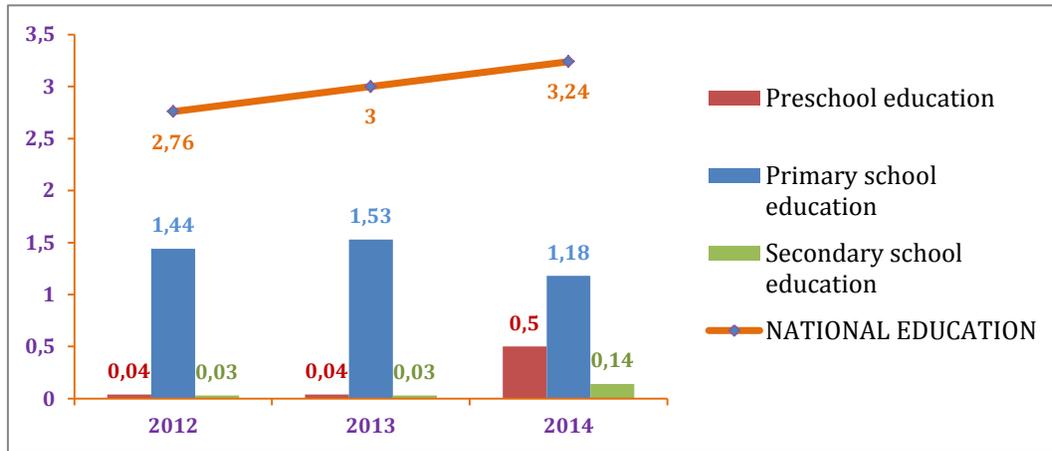
**Table 5: Public Expenditure on Early Childhood Education**



Source: OECD Social Justice Index (2011)

To the Central Budget Law 2012, 2013 and 2014 budgets allocated for The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Family and Social Polices, are detailed according to primary school and preschool and secondary education proportions, and social security and social aids, which are showed in the Figure 6, 7 and 8.

**Table 6: The Budget Allocation Per centage of GDP\***



Source: Rates are calculated according to 2012, 2013 and 2014 General Budget figures<sup>35</sup>

\* 2014 GDP is calculated according to the estimation mentioned by the Ministry of Education.<sup>36</sup>

As the table makes visible, share of education in the GDP is very small. When 2012, 2013 and 2014 proportions are compared what we see is that despite proportion of national education increased in the general budget, shares in the ministry spared for primary and preschool education in 2013 and 2014 are less than 2012 allocation as they are showed in the Table 7. 2014 is appear to be different from other years that, particularly as a result of a new education system defined as 4+4+4 while share of secondary school increases, budget allocated for primary school shows a serious decrease. As a positive change, public expenditure for pre-school education seems to expand. However, how this budget seems to be used for prompting private sector instead

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/12/20111229M1-1.htm> (22.09.2014)

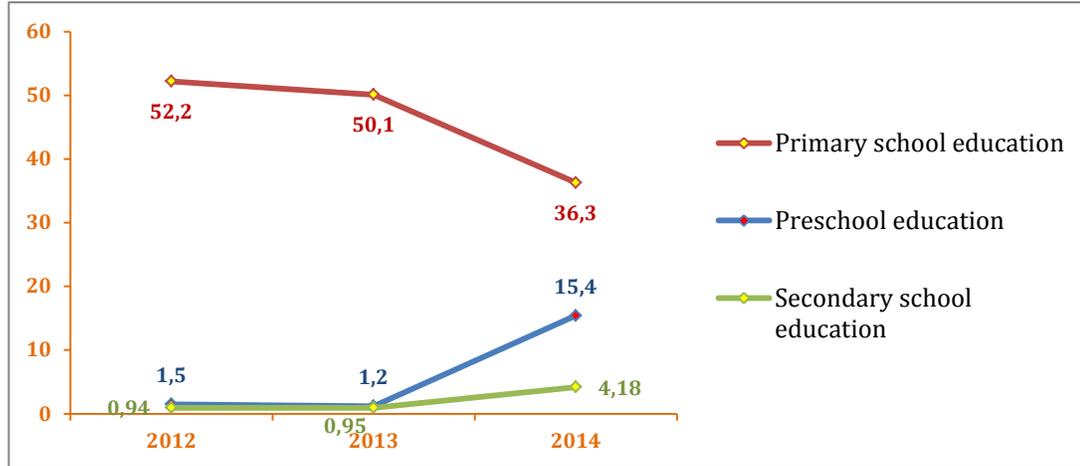
<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/12/20121231M1-1.htm> (22.09.2014)

[http://pbk.tbmm.gov.tr/dokumanlar/2014\\_butce\\_tasarisi\\_ve\\_cetveller.pdf](http://pbk.tbmm.gov.tr/dokumanlar/2014_butce_tasarisi_ve_cetveller.pdf) (22.09.2014)

<sup>36</sup> [http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb\\_iys\\_dosyalar/2013\\_12/25103155\\_butce\\_sunusu\\_2014.pdf](http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2013_12/25103155_butce_sunusu_2014.pdf) (22.09.2014)

of widening public facilities. As a new arrangement for the 2014-2015 year, children who would like to go private kindergartens will be annually given 2 500 TL.<sup>37</sup>

**Table 7: Budget Allocation Per centage of the Ministry of National Education**



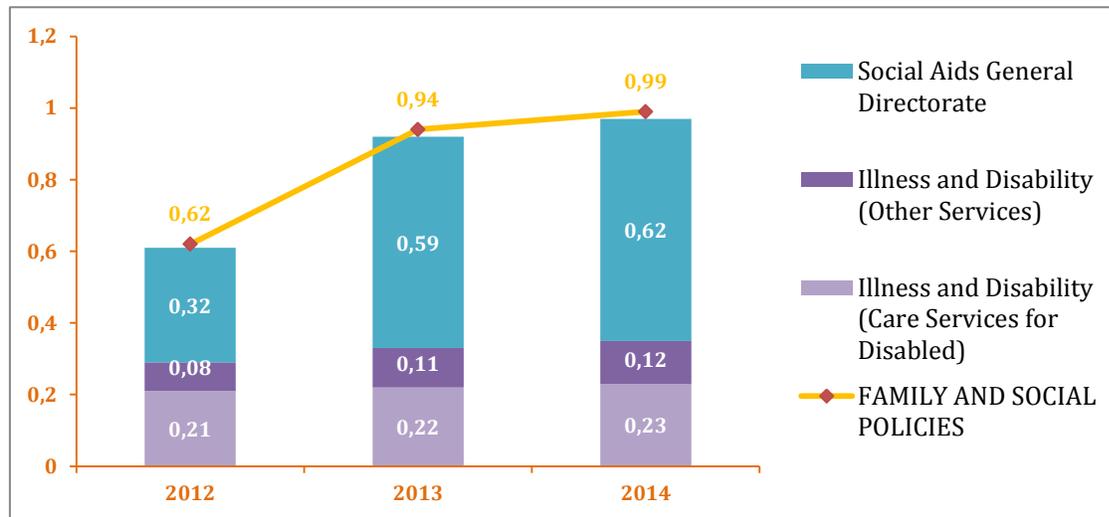
Source: Rates are calculated according to 2012, 2013 and 2014 General Budget figures

The Table 8 displays that social security and aids budget have the biggest share in the Ministry's budget. However compared to the GDP, expenditure used for supporting people is little, if any. It does not make even 1 per cent of the GDP. Social Aids General Directorate and Disabled and Elderly Services General Directorate have the largest part. Yet, in the latter category, the biggest allocation is spared for services for disabled. As consisted with what Buğra (2012) emphasizes that in conservative societies disability is considered as having a real disadvantaged position. Women are not stated that there are Family and Society Services and Child Services instead, which displays family based social policies ignoring women. On the other hand, among responsibilities of the Social Aids General Directorate ingraining culture of mutual and social solidarity, and coordinating and supporting fund drives covering wide-ranging

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/27118101.asp> (22.09.2014)

society are stressed.<sup>38</sup> This is one of the indicators explaining endeavors of the AKP government trying to include voluntarism and charity into formal social policy implementations (Buğra, 2012:64).

**Table 8: Budget Allocation Per centage of the GDP**



Source: Rates are calculated according to 2012, 2013 and 2014 General Budget figures

Furthermore speaking of sufficient services for older people is not possible. In Turkey, recently an aging trend is underlined (Toksöz 2006), that according to the TURKSTAT's estimation in 2050, proportion of elder population will be 19 per cent of population while in the year 2000 it was 5,7 per cent. Yet, regardless of this trend institutionalized care is inadequate. Number of total public and private pension houses is 297, that number of the former is 129 while the latter is 168. Although total capacity is 24194, number of inhabitants is 19596. Amount of people benefitting from the centers for daily care and residential care is 1066.<sup>39</sup> Four reasons could be assumed

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.sosyalyardimlar.gov.tr/tr/11782/SYGM-Gorevler> (22.09.2014)

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.eyh.gov.tr/tr/8448/Turkiyede-YasliLara-Hizmet-Veren-Kuruluslar> (22.09.2014)

behind small amount of service beneficiaries: family structure, quality of services, conditions and procedure of application, and lack information. Regardless of educational or income level, in society elder members are tried to be cared at home as long as it is possible. Family is considered as the main responsible (Tılıç-Rittesberger et. al., 2012; Özar, et. al., 2013). To the Research on Family Structure in Turkey (2006), %89,3 of women and 87,4 of men think that children should care their parents in their old age. In the same research, 55% of people who are under 60 years old think that in their old age they will stay with their children and 17,8 of them benefit from residential care service. On the other hand, regarding conditions of application that includes being 60 and older, ability to meet daily needs, having mental health, being in a social and economical deprivation which is assigned by “Social Examination Report”; and procedure require many documents should be taken from varying institutions, things become difficult for elders and their relatives, which are mostly women. Economical and social deprivation criteria means that the target of the service is poor families, and thus sources concerning both accessing to details of the service and handling bureaucracy will be limited. Moreover, inexistence of a developed system also restricts getting necessary information.

There is also support, monthly paid residential care wage, for disabled people in need of assistance. Three criteria should be fulfilled that certain income level, situation of serious disability (40% and more) and inability to survive without help are approved by a health commission report. This wage is given to person who is responsible from care of him/her<sup>40</sup>. Furthermore, there is another monetary aid given to disabled person older

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<sup>40</sup> According to the Article 7 annexed to the Law 2828, to be able to have this wage disabled person’s income should be less than 2/3 of minimum wage after total income is divided into number of people whom the person owns or is liable to look after.

<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2007/02/20070210-1.htm> (23.09.2014)

than 18 or to his/her parents if s/he is younger than 18; to 65 years old or older deprived people, called wage for needy. To be able to have this wage person has to have 40% or more disability, no social security or income<sup>41</sup>. Additionally in case disabled person is in a condition that cannot be cared near his/her family, then institutional custody is provided. Despite the fact that all these implementations are better than nothing, they are not sufficient enough. First of all not covers all disabled people and force them to prove how serious their situation, similar to obligation of demonstrating level of poverty. Secondly, care wages –although they might be perceived as a progression for ones performed it unpaid- are way of isolating women within the boarder of home and leaving the responsibility to their shoulders.

According to 2012 Social Support Statistics Bulletin published by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, amount of transfers in 2012 was 1,43 per cent of GDP<sup>42</sup>. Transfers to elder and disabled people have 14,8 per cent of total amount of social support and service expenditures including also universal health insurance premiums paid by the state. The Social Support Program is consisted of five titles: Family Supports, Supports for Education, Health Supports, Disabled People’s Needs Support

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Amount of residential care wage is 808,56 TL for period between 01.07.2014-31.12.2014.

<http://www.calismadunyasi.com/evde-bakim-parasi-ne-kadar> (23.09.2014)

In 20,1 percent of households there is at least 1 disabled person.

[http://www.sosyalyardimlar.gov.tr/upload/Node/11873/files/MART\\_istatistik\\_.pdf](http://www.sosyalyardimlar.gov.tr/upload/Node/11873/files/MART_istatistik_.pdf) (23.09.2014)

<sup>41</sup> Amount of 2014 wage for needy is 482,10 TL per month, which is paid by the General Directorate of Foundations.

<http://www.vgm.gov.tr/sayfa.aspx?Id=14> (23.09.2014)

<sup>42</sup> [http://www.sosyalyardimlar.gov.tr/upload/Node/11873/files/SYGM\\_2012.pdf](http://www.sosyalyardimlar.gov.tr/upload/Node/11873/files/SYGM_2012.pdf) (23.09.2014)

and Special-Purpose Supports.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, through 3526 projects capital transfer to families had been realized. Furthermore, beginnings from 2012 widow women have received cash support per two months<sup>44</sup>.

As all these supports are considered together, it is clear that most of them are means-tested and highly insufficient. Main aim seems to keep the poorest 20 per cent above hunger threshold other than providing a program for elimination of poverty. Apart from elder and disabled people in need, there is very little support for children. Also eligibility criteria of the aids are coherent with family based welfare understanding.

When social expenditures and other facilities are taken into account, it becomes clear that care services have been isolated in private sphere. Furthermore, considering strong emphasis on family leaves makes obvious that the AKP government move according to Islam culture/conservatism and neo-liberalism (Ecevit, 2012a: 25, Ecevit, 2013:4).

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<sup>43</sup> Family Supports including food, fuel-oil, accommodation maintenances; Supports for Education involving educational materials, conditional aid for education which is given to families -who cannot send their children to school because of financial difficulties- in case the children continue going to school (payments are invested in the name of mothers and amount is more for girls than boys that for primary education 30 TL for boys, 35 TL for girls, and for secondary education 45 TL for boys and 55 TL for girls in monthly basis), lunch support for poor students in basic education, scholarship for student is higher education (for 2012, number of students benefitting from the scholarship is 22), school book support for primary education, accommodation and subsistence for students out of accessible schools, free transportation of disabled students into their school –within a scope of a project; Health Supports covering treatment support (for 2012 number of beneficiaries is 13), conditional aid for poor families having children between 0-6 years old (30 TL per month in case they regularly take their children to health control); Disabled People’s Needs Support containing any kind of equipment for facilitating their social adaptation; and Special-Purpose Supports composed of temporary kitchen established in poor regions (number of beneficiaries in 2012 is 44.139), supports for people suffering from disasters and ‘terror’.

<sup>44</sup> For 2012, amount of support is 500 TL per two months. According to statistics in 2012 in total 359174 women applied and 244108 of them have it. That is to say almost one-third of applications were rejected by board of trustees of Social Support and Solidarity Foundation. Having a boyfriend is seen as a reason for cut of the support. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/20095309.asp> (23.09.2014)

Similarly Buğra (2012) draw our attention to voluntarism and charity as a part of “formal social policy” (p. 64).

A welfare regime to rely on family reveals how much “personal autonomy” is limited in that society, which is the main determinant of gender equality. O’Connor (1993) conceptualizes personal autonomy as liberation from “involuntary economic dependence on family members and/on involuntary dependence on state agencies” (p. 512). As mentioned before she discusses the term as a substitute to decommodification concept underlining protection from “pressures of the labor market” (p.515). The intensity of this pressure is very much determined family ideology, labor market structure and state as an “active player” (Connell, 1990:510). Women’s domestic responsibilities keep them to be commodified as men do, and thus facilities provided by state make direct effect on level and form of this commodification.

If we separate domestic responsibility into its parts, it becomes clear that the biggest part is occupied by child care tasks. All around the world, one of the widespread stereotypes is to see maternity as women’s natural role, which causes women to exclude from the public sphere with regard to good employment opportunities and participation into the political life (Alwis, 2011). That is to say women with and without children experience it differently that the ones having (small) children pay “child penalty” that they participate into the labor force less than women having no children and they pay “family penalty” that they earn less money compared to non-mothers (Meyers, et. al. 2003). From the other point of view, Jean Gardiner (2011) says, women pay “gender penalty” for care labor, degree of which differs from society to society (p. 59). The Labor Force Survey 2006 data also shows how having children makes a negative effect on women’s employment that rate of women in the labor market (78,3 per cent) decreases after giving birth (to 67,0 per cent). Conversely men’s participation exhibits an increase (82,4 per cent to 90,0 per cent). Therefore,

establishing a balance between domestic responsibilities and working life stands in front of us as an essential problem, which could be taken as a matter of women's human rights (Bakırcı, 2010), since insufficient reconciliation policies prevent women to have just and favorable conditions of work. This matter of balance is translated into social policy as reconciliation arrangements. Therefore main aim of the next chapter is presenting structure of these policies to be able to give full picture of women's position in-between care and household responsibilities and their will to work.

## CHAPTER 4

### RECONCILIATION POLICIES IN TURKEY

Reconciliation underlies the policies regarding to solve “tension” between work and family responsibilities<sup>45</sup>. These policies should “ensure the adequacy of family resources, enhance children’s development, and facilitate parental choice regarding work and care and gender equality and employment opportunities” (Massetot, 2010: 5). According to İlkkaracan (2010) reconciliation policies includes all legal, institutional and social arrangements and supports.

Work and family life reconciliation has become one of the most important issues in EU recently. According to European Foundation for Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 2006 Report, reason for EU to take this issue into its agenda as a priority is changes in the structure of working and family model. Owing to aging of population, women’s increasing participation into the labor market and targets for enlarging employment rates, to harmonize family and working life has become a significant matter to be dealt with.

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<sup>45</sup> In the EU texts and literature on the issue mostly the term family is used to define responsibilities regarding care of children and elder/sick people and other domestic works. This is the nucleus family in which heteronormativity is the norm. Thus for some feminists, family is a category reproducing gender inequalities and is main responsible of women’s secondary position in society.

Reconciliation term to be mentioned officially for the first time was in 1974 Social Action Plan for providing equality between men and women in the workplace. The aim was “to ensure that the family responsibilities of all concerned may be reconciled with their job aspirations” (Massetot 2010: 27). This period was starting point for the directives intending for enabling equal opportunities in the working life that social movements in general but especially women’s movement had made significant impact on submission of these kinds of arrangements (KEIG, 2008). On the other hand increase in women’s labor force rates in 1970s was another notable motive behind the EU to take equal employment opportunities for women more seriously into its agenda (Haas, 2003).

In Turkey, women’s low employment rate has started to be referred by policy makers as a result of the EU candidacy of Turkey in 1999 (Ilkcaracan, 2012). Therefore within the course of EU membership, in terms of equality between men and women, reconciliation issue needed to be attached importance. On the other hand As Bakırcı (2010) states Turkey should do arrangements to reconcile care, household and working responsibilities according to contracts it signed like ILO contracts, and conventions it became a side of, like the CEDAW (The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) and UN Convention on the Right of the Child. Turkey put a signature on the CEDAW in 1985 and by signing this convention Turkey accepted to take all measures for removing unjust treatment of women in all areas of society. In the Convention women’s unequal position is closely related with their child care burden and thus the Article 5 gives shared duty to men and women in terms of upbringing and development of children in condition that their interests should always be taken as priority (Article 16). Moreover, the Article 11 charges State Parties to take appropriate measurements to prevent discrimination against women owing to marriage and motherhood, and to ensure right of working in an effective way. In this sense

establishing and developing child-care facilities for parents to reconcile their care and household responsibilities and working obligations are mentioned in this Article. In the UN Convention on the Right of the Child, especially the Article 18 is significant in the scope of this study that underlies share of childrearing responsibility between parents and gives States Parties duties to promote child care services and facilities for children of working parents<sup>46</sup>. Turkey signed the Convention in 1990 with reservations on the Articles 17, 29, 30<sup>47</sup>. Therefore, Turkey is also under the responsibility of taking necessary measurements about better development of children. Furthermore the Committee recommends State Parties to sign ILO Convention 183 on Maternity Protection for Health, care and education of children of working parents. Besides the Turkish Constitution the Article 10, with additions in 2004 and 2010, says, “Women and men have equal rights. The State is responsible for implementation of this equality. The measurements will be taken cannot be construed as against equality principle.” In addition, on May 25<sup>th</sup> 2010 a Circular Order of Prime Ministry was issued for

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<sup>46</sup> The Article 18 states:

1. States Parties shall use their best efforts to ensure recognition of the principle that both parents have common responsibilities for the upbringing and development of the child. Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child. The best interests of the child will be their basic concern.
2. For the purpose of guaranteeing and promoting the rights set forth in the present Convention, States Parties shall render appropriate assistance to parents and legal guardians in the performance of their child-rearing responsibilities and shall ensure the development of institutions, facilities and services for the care of children.
3. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that children of working parents have the right to benefit from child-care services and facilities for which they are eligible.

<sup>47</sup> Common point of these Articles is their emphasis on education in mother tongue as the child’s right.

increasing employment of women and promoting equal opportunities between men and women<sup>48</sup>. Coherent with this circular, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security run an operational program co-financed by EU started on July 26<sup>th</sup>, 2010 in 43 cities for promoting women's employment that Turkish Employment Agency is the beneficiary institution<sup>49</sup>.

Despite all these contracts, conventions and projects; provisions have continued to be inadequate that in the CEDAW 2010 Shadow Report the government is criticized for not making a comprehensive reform to promote women's participation into the labor force and insufficient number of kindergartens and days care centers. Furthermore, perceiving women as sole responsible from care of children is still strong in government's wing. Likewise Saniye Dedeoğlu criticizes the state in Turkey as spectator that it is not preventive and balancing any more with regard to services and support of social welfare (2009:44).

#### **4.1. Childcare Responsibility and Women's Employment**

Many researches on women's employment in Turkey exhibited significance of child care problem as decisive on women's choice of working. One of these studies was conducted by İlkkaracan (1998) in İstanbul among women, most of who migrated from

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<sup>48</sup> Although main emphasis was given to vocational training in the last article child care service was mentioned, but only within the frame of 4857 Labor Act, that public and private institutions will be monitored and ensured to open crèches and day care centers. However lack of information about how many workplaces carrying out this responsibility exhibits that relation between child-care burden and women's employment still cannot be understood and/or patriarchal family model continues to conserve its power.

<sup>49</sup> The project was completed in 2012. In the reasons of informal working part, women's domestic responsibilities seem to be ignored while low labor force participation is mentioned.

<http://www.kit-up.net/web/kayitdisinendenler.html> (22.09.2014)

other cities in Turkey. 62,8 per cent of women are married and 94,7 per cent have children. Most of women have little education if any. Widespread motive behind leaving work after coming to Istanbul is familial reasons (53,1 per cent) that marriage/giving birth takes the first place (35,2 per cent). On the other hand, 36,8 per cent of married women prefer to work at home while this proportion is 17,1 per cent for single ones. To Ilkcaracan, heavy working conditions and low-income cause low educated and lower class women to prefer to be housewives.

Another study was conducted by KSGM in 1999 on women living in urban areas, who are unemployed but ready for working. According to results of this research, most of unemployed women are married (84,3 per cent). 21,1 per cent of them have one child, 39,4 per cent have two children and 17,1 per cent three children. Another significant data is on preferences of part-time working. According to the research by number of children increases, part-time working is preferred more and more<sup>50</sup>. When cultural codes about working are analyzed what we recognize that 62,4 per cent of women think that men are afraid of failed performance of domestic works and child care, in case women work. Most of women (76,6 per cent) have an opinion that although general tendency of women is working; family pressure, marriage and children prevent them from finding job. Furthermore, this idea is shared by most of the women that educational level does not make a sound difference<sup>51</sup>.

According to the results of the research conducted by, again, KSGM in 2000, while participation of married women into the labor force is 21 per cent, single women's is 42 per cent. As marital status, education level also makes difference that participation of

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<sup>50</sup> While 30,9 percent of women who have no children prefer part-time working; 55,4 percent of women having one child and 64,1 percent of women having two children find part-time job more suitable.

<sup>51</sup> 73,5 percent of women having no certificate, 79,5 percent of primary graduates and 75,8 percent of university graduates.

high school graduated women is 40 per cent, of university graduates is 74 per cent. Another distinctive figure is that while 87 per cent of the ones who never work are married and have children, this proportion is 79 per cent for women who left working. First two reasons behind working women to make a pause are marriage (26 per cent) and having child (17 per cent). Furthermore, proportion of university graduates leave their jobs is greater than low educated women (the former 26 per cent, the latter 24 per cent). Major reason for women who left working after having child is not having a place for their child to be cared (77 per cent). On the other hand for women who gave up idea of working, the first reason is caring and educating children (41 per cent) and sparing time to family and children (22 per cent). Not surprisingly 73 per cent of women working in irregular jobs (working less than 35 hours a week) have children.

As Usen and Delen (2011) displayed in their study that educational level does not create much difference in case child care is at stake. To their data, 25 per cent of highly educated women having children younger than six years old (45 per cent) left their jobs. Reason for 30,4 per cent of them is income received will not be worth of working. To the researchers, this exhibits that when price of child-care is close to income, women do not prefer to work (p. 166). On the other hand women's working life follow a discontinuous pattern that they give break when they got married and have children and go back to work after their responsibility lightens or divorcing. 36,4 per cent of women experience conflict between their working life and familial responsibilities (p. 170). In addition, for 25,1 per cent of women continuing to work would have been possible if sufficient support about child care had been provided, (p. 175).

All these researches and figures indicate that institutionalized early childhood care and education is essential for women to participate into the labor market<sup>52</sup>, but while speaking of care and education the best interest of children should not be overlooked. The UN Committee in the Right of the Child emitted General Comment No. 7 in 2004 that the Article 30 mentions separation between “care” and “education” not as the best interest of children. Instead it suggests “Educare”, which “is sometimes used to signal a shift towards integrated services, and reinforces the recognition of the need for a coordinated, holistic, multi-sectoral approach to early childhood”. Another significant emphasis on data collection that underlies quantitative and qualitative data for following the progress realized with regard to early childhood development, and the State Parties are charged for it (Article 39). Similarly, Ecevit (2010) stresses the significance of using the concept of early childhood care and education instead of preschool education or of just early childhood care to be able to underline care burden and also to start children’s education and care from birth (p. 88-89). In fact even this caution displays situation of these services in Turkey.

#### **4.2. Early Child Care and Education Services in Turkey**

As it becomes clear that institutionalization of child care and education services are significant in terms of two aspects; women’s employment and healthy development of children as a social value, which is -compared to employment issue- less emphasized or mostly ignored (England et. al.,1999). Yet, to Budig et. al. (2001), whole society is “free-rider” of child rearing because when children well cared and become productive

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<sup>52</sup> Here I would like to mention what Yıldız Ecevit (2011) thinks about the issue. Although she does not ignore importance of sufficient early child care and education services, she supposes that low participation of women into the labor market is because of the labor market itself. If the labor market offers suitable jobs, neither having children nor husbands and/or fathers would be obstacle in front of women (p. 130). Then, it is for sure *second shift* will be experienced by many women.

adults, it is the society also benefit from this (p. 221). Folbre et. al. (2000) mention that “anyone who treats another person in a kind and helpful way creates a small benefit that is likely to be passed along” (p. 137). This is why public support is so crucial. Furthermore as England et. al. (1999a) very clearly put forward that when child care responsibility is shared by the society, then both inequality in the working place and home will be diminish and also women will be able to participate into labor market more.

However Turkey has been very far from perceiving children as a “public good” (Folbre, 1994) beginning from very early development of Turkish Republic. In the first years of construction of the nation-state, primary school education was promoted in accordance with the Republic’s “new citizen model” project (Gül-Deretarla, 2008: 272). When pre-primary education was taken into the agenda it was appreciated for protecting children from damages of having a working mother –which was normalized only with need. After women’s employment’s rate decreased, the relation between pre-primary education and its importance for women to participate into labor force was broken (Ecevit, 2012).<sup>53</sup>

Today primary education is still taken as central, and for children between 0-5 years schooling ratio is poor. In the Ministry of National Education (MNE) statistics, there were no details on pre-school education till 2009. Yet after this date, figures only give information about schooling ratio of children between 3-5<sup>54</sup>. For the last four years

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<sup>53</sup> For the detailed reasons behind this break: Ecevit (2012) pages 248-261.

<sup>54</sup> On the other hand before 2011\2012 education period, the data show 3-5 and 4-5 years old children, which do not give opportunity to make approximate calculation for schooling ratio of 3 years old children. Furthermore into the recent statistics net schooling ratio figuring is added. With this data, figures belong to last four years indicate gross ratio. Therefore, comparing years according to net

there is increase in schooling ratio for the mentioned age group, yet it is not sufficient enough. For year 2010/2011 gross ratio for 3-5 years old children is 29,85 per cent and in 2011/2012 this ratio becomes 1,02 per cent more. 2012/2013 period is worse that the increment is 0,06 per cent. As the 2011/2012 data display 5 year-age group has the biggest proportion, which means schooling ratio of 3 years old children is very small<sup>55</sup>. 2012/2013 shows that net schooling ratios is more miserable; 26,63 for 3-5 years old children, 37,36 for 4-5 years old and 39,72 for 5 years old children<sup>56</sup>. As these data also prove that with regard to education of children, mostly 3-5 years olds are taken into consideration and services targeting children between 0-2 years are little if any<sup>57</sup>.

When local dimension is considered, it is apparent that municipalities in Turkey do not carry any responsibility to meet child care need. Although in the 5393 Municipality

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numbers is not possible. [http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/istatistik/meb\\_istatistikleri\\_orgun\\_egitim\\_2012\\_2013.pdf](http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/istatistik/meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2012_2013.pdf) (24.09.2014)

<sup>55</sup> According to the OECD Education Policy Outlook Turkey, 2013 about 12% of 3-4 year-olds and 67% of 5-year-olds are enrolled in pre-primary education. Employment rate of women having at least one child between 3-5 years old is very low (21,4 per cent, while OECD average is 63,3 per cent) [http://www.oecd.org/edu/EDUCATION%20POLICY%20OUTLOOK%20TURKEY\\_EN.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/edu/EDUCATION%20POLICY%20OUTLOOK%20TURKEY_EN.pdf) (24.09.2014)

<sup>56</sup> The difference between gross and net ratio for 5 years of children is very high (the former is 55,35 and the latter is 39,72).

<sup>57</sup> As a result of releasing new regulation on July 26, 2014 education in pre-schools has changed from full day to a dual system as morning and afternoon sessions. We will see how this change will reflect on women and children on coming days yet, it is sure that child care responsibility will be heavier for mothers and their female family members. <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/07/20140726-4.htm#sthash.ENfyMb3c.dpuf> (24.09.2014)

Law Article 14 says, “[...] municipality can open pre-school education institutions”<sup>58</sup>, this statement cancelled by the 2007 dated decision of Constitutional Court<sup>59</sup>.

Private crèches, day-care centers and private child clubs are arranged with 1996-dated Regulation in accordance with Social Services and Child Protection Agency Law Article 9, 34 and 35. This regulation includes services for 0-6 and 7-14 years old children. As a result of change in the Article 21, beginning from July 6<sup>th</sup> 2011 institutions can give service in the night time, at the weekends, official holidays and national and religious festivals<sup>60</sup>. Control of these institutions belongs to Social Services and Child Protection Agency in the Law. Although in 2008 a draft of law was given to the Parliament to gather all institutions under the Ministry of National Education<sup>61</sup>, as a result of abolition of Social Services and Child Protection Agency in 2011<sup>62</sup> crèches and day-care centers pass to the responsibility of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. However still the 1996 dated Regulation is valid<sup>63</sup>. On the other

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<sup>58</sup> <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5215.html> (24.09.2014)

<sup>59</sup> An analysis of this decision shows that the statement includes only kindergartens and crèches schools and because of the fact that these are nationally defined needs, the Ministry of National Education is responsible. Therefore it is against the Constitution’s Article 127. [http://www.turkhukusitesi.com/makale\\_733.htm](http://www.turkhukusitesi.com/makale_733.htm) (24.09.2014)

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/Metin.Aspx?MevzuatKod=7.5.4428&MevzuatIliski=0&sourceXmlSearch=> (24.09.2014)

<sup>61</sup> <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d23/1/1-0496.pdf> (24.09.2014)

<sup>62</sup> <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/06/20110608M1-1.pdf> (24.09.2014)

<sup>63</sup> According to the Regulation every institution should spare 5 percent of their capacity to the children who are in need (children from poor families, from poor and single parent families, orphans, children whose mothers stay in the shelter, children under the protection of the State). <http://www.cocukhizmetleri.gov.tr/tr/10521/Koruyucu-ve-Onleyici-Hizmetler-D-Bsk> (24.09.2014)

hand as well as the Ministry of National Education also opens kindergartens, nursery schools and practice classes. There are also private kindergartens established under the responsibility of the Ministry. They function according to Pre-School Education Regulation<sup>64</sup>. The Ministry of National Education name institutions according to age of children.<sup>65</sup> Thus in Turkey, early childhood education is under the responsibility and authority of two different institutions. To Ecevit (2012) this situation is one of the important obstacles in front of the institutionalization of child care education and care services<sup>66</sup>.

As Ecevit (2010) indicates that in the Civil Servants Law no. 657 gives allowance for establishing crèches in the places where there is a need, yet it is neither obligatory nor advisory. Therefore according to MNE 2013-2014 data number of institutions opened in accordance with this Law is 109<sup>67</sup>. There is no information about the structure of the institutions and under which organization they are opened. In a similar vein, we do not know how many employer having more than 150 female employees opened suitable places for 0-3 years and 3-6 years children in accordance with Law Act. However in Turkey, small and medium sized enterprises are widespread. That is to say supposing

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<sup>64</sup> [http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/25486\\_.html](http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/25486_.html) (24.09.2014)

<sup>65</sup> Therefore kindergartens are for 37-66 months old, nursery schools for 48-66 months old and practice classes are for 37-66 months old children

<http://egitim.milliyet.com.tr/okul-oncesi-egitim-kurumlari-yonetmeligindedegisiklik/okuloncesiegitim/haberdetay/23.07.2012/1570654/default.htm> (24.09.2014)

<sup>66</sup> Ecevit also includes the Ministry of Labor and Social Security that it is responsible from the control of breast-feeding rooms and kindergartens opened in working places.

<sup>67</sup> However there is huge decrease between 2007-2011 that in 2007/2008 education year number of these kinds of institutions were 492, in 2008/2009 it was 322 and in 2009/2010 it decreased to 148 and to 118 in 2011/2012. Surprisingly in 2012/2013 we see that three more institutions opened, and it becomes 121.

that number of the working places liable for providing child care service is small.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, there was no an accessible data on how many enterprises fulfilling the obligation till a motion was proposed by a parliamenter in the Turkish Parliament in 2013. According to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security Ministry, in Turkey there are 9000 public and private working places having more than 150 female workers. Yet, only 300 of them were controlled and it was detected that while in 65 per cent there was no room for breast-feeding; 45 per cent did not have a kindergarten.<sup>69</sup>

TUSIAD's- an employer's NGO- report in the 2005 also displays employers' attitude toward care of children. The report admits the significance of early childhood education with regard to positive relation between humane development and economical growth that "[...] proportion of return of investments into human capital in the pre-school period becomes the highest" (p. 16). Despite significant recommendations like free education for 6 years old children, defining early childhood care and education as for children between 0-8 years old (p. 115), it seems that TUSIAD ascribes responsibility mainly to the state. Although in the Report contribution of employers mentioned according to Law, nothing is proposed about number of female employees with regard to liability of opening breast-feeding rooms and places for child care.

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<sup>68</sup> There is no formal information about number of firms employing more than 150 female workers. Yet according to the KEIG's organizations' application for information acquisition within the Law 4982, quantity of enterprises having more than 100 and 150 female employees is very small in the provinces that an answer received.  
<http://www.keig.org/content/duyurular/Türkiye'de%20kreşlerin%20durumu,%20Haziran%202014.pdf>  
(24.09.2014)

<sup>69</sup> [http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/isyerinde\\_krese\\_yer\\_yok-1145289](http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/isyerinde_krese_yer_yok-1145289) (24.09.2014)

### 4.3. Arrangements in Working Life

Structure of leaves plays significant role in share of child care responsibility. In Turkey, only speaking of a –not well developed- paid maternal leave is possible. It is 16 weeks that four weeks before and four week after birth are obligatory<sup>70</sup>. This is arranged according to Labor Act Article 74 and Civil Servants' Law Article 104/A<sup>71</sup>. However there is difference between workers and civil servants that while the former is subjected to 1/3 of salary loss, the latter have full salary (Bakırcı, 2010). Difference is not limited to salaries but also breast-feeding permission and paternity leave change according to these Laws. In Labor Act no paternity leave is defined for fathers. On the other hand Civil Servants' Law states 10 days paternity leave for fathers after birth in case they ask. Also in the Labor Act breast-feeding permission is 1 year but only 1,5 hours per day. Yet, Civil Servants' Law gives breast-feeding permission as three hours a day during first six months and then it decreases to 1,5 hours a day during last six months<sup>72</sup>. After maternity leave, to the Labor Act, mothers can use unpaid leave for 6 months. Here again, there is no arrangement for fathers. However as a result of Law 6111 that a new arrangement realized in 2011 in the Civil Servant's Law Article 108, both mothers and fathers can use 24 months unpaid leave<sup>73</sup>. On the other side, due to Social Securities Law Article 41/A provides opportunity for maternity loan for women

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<sup>70</sup> At this point, mentioning the article in the Labor Law allowing women to receive their severance pay in case they left job within a year after marriage is significant. This article is evaluated by feminist researchers as an encouragement of traditional gender roles (Ecevit 2012, Dedeđlu, 2012).

<sup>71</sup> There is no arrangement for contracted employees (Bakırcı 2010: 62)

<sup>72</sup> These arrangements in the Civil Servants' Law appear under the title of *causal leave*.

<sup>73</sup> While mothers can use this leave after maternity leave, fathers have right to use beginning from birth. With this addition to the Law the leave seems to acquire category of parental leave although it is very much behind the arrangement in most of the EU member States.

workers who used unpaid leave and who worked in formal jobs maximum 300 days before birth but this loan is only possible for maximum two children and for two years (Bakırcı, 2010).

Contribution for family, birth and child is a support only civil servants receive according to the Civil Servants Law Article 202<sup>74</sup>. On the other hand for the ones working under the Labor Act, minimum living allowance is applied according to No. 265 Income Tax General Notification<sup>75</sup>. Yet amount of these supports are very small that positive effect on women's employment little if any<sup>76</sup>. Furthermore, difference between supports generates inequality between working people (Bakırcı, 2010).

Flexible working is seen another way of reconciliation of family and work life, which includes part-time working, fixed-term working, temporary working through private employment agencies, share of work, tele-working, call labor and home-based working (Filiz, 2011).

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<sup>74</sup> In case that both husband and wife are state employees, then contribution for family and birth is given only to husband (Article 206).

<sup>75</sup> In case that both husband and wife are workers, either can benefit from this allowance, which includes non-working spouses and children under 25. <http://www.gib.gov.tr/index.php?id=1079&uid=TB3rPpCEtsDWbYma&type=teblig> (24.09.2014)

<sup>76</sup> For example while a worker earning minimum salary, having 2 children and a spouse who is not working benefit from 120,49 TL allowance, the one having 2 children and a working spouse will have 104, 42 TL (category spouse requires a legal relationship) and a single employee will get 30,33 TL to 2014 data. <http://www.ivdb.gov.tr/pratik/oranlar/asgarigecimind.htm> (24.09.2014)

On the other hand family contribution is 164,31 TL; contribution for children 38,50 TL for per child between 0-6 years old and 19,25 for per child older 6 years old. <http://memurunyeri.com/memur/goruslerimiz/6393-aile-yardimi-odeneği-ve-yararlanma-usulu.html> (24.09.2014)

Fixed-term working contract take place in the Labor Act but it cannot be arranged one after the other in case there is no solid reason (Article 11). Therefore in terms of care and household obligations it is not defined as a right. However in the 2011 Turkish National Employment Strategy Document, examples from EU Member States are given and fixed-term working is considered as a way of increasing employment rates in the countries in which ‘rigid’ job security exists. Therefore in Turkey fixed-term working is planned to be made widespread<sup>77</sup>.

Temporary work through private employment agencies are not arranged in the Law, but there is Article 7 arranging temporary work relation between a worker who is sent to work for another employer for a temporary time, maximum 6 months. So, this does not also take place as a right within the frame of reconciliation policies. In the Strategy Document, temporary work is defined as “... a significant opportunity for enterprises to meet fluctuations of their production demands.”<sup>78</sup>

Similarly, there is no arrangement in the Labor Act on tele-working but in the National Employment Strategy Document it is stated as considerable with regard to reconciliation of family and working life.

Flexible time model is defined as a notable flexibility with regard to family and working life reconciliation but there is neither an arrangement in the Labor Law nor statement implying about planning of this model in the near future.

Before moving to the findings of my fieldwork analysis, presenting condition of domestic workers in Turkey is important. According to Toksöz (2014) how care work

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<sup>77</sup> For whole document [http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi\\_no=35386](http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=35386) (24.09.2014)

<sup>78</sup> Although in the Document there is emphasis on secure flexibility, all these types of flexible working seem to be thought for meeting needs of enterprises.

is provided and financed are very much related with it is to be registered (p. 15). Because of the fact formal regulation of paid care sector will influence working conditions, value of the work and thus negotiation power, not only, of care workers but of employers; strategies developed by the actors of the employment relation will change. Since in Turkey there is no separation within the legal basis, next part takes the issue as arrangement about domestic workers.

#### **4.4. Domestic Workers in Turkey**

In the previous sections, I tried to display social welfare in Turkey, particularly with respect to reconciliation between work and family responsibilities. As mentioned before, insufficient welfare implementations cause women to stay home and shoulder all domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, having an employment does not mean women to escape from care and household obligations. In addition to poor social services, gendered division of labor at home is another reason women to undertake domestic duties. According to Memiş et al.'s (2012) study using 2006 figures belonged to the TURKSTAT Time Use Survey, in Turkey women put their 87 per cent of labor into unpaid work, men spend 84 per cent of their labor for paid work. In case women have a paid employment, their total working time is 2,5 times more than men's. Marriage and having children make an increasing effect on women's unpaid work, while converse is valid for men. Women spend 2,5 hours for domestic responsibilities that it increases to 3,8 hours after marriage and to 4,9 hours following having child. Yet, 1,1 hour unpaid work decreases to 0,7 hour when men get married and having child make a little effect that it becomes 1 hour. That is to say, women who would like to continue working have to transfer their duties to other women. That is to say domestic work is a female dominated area. This situation, on the other hand, points to

class differences between women. Only the ones holding enough economical capital have opportunity to benefit from other women's labor.

To the ILO Report (2013) globally number of domestic workers is 52.6 million and 83 per cent of them are female, which makes 7,5 per cent of all women's wage employment. Furthermore, migration and child labor are other aspects should be mentioned. Asia and Pacific countries have 41 per cent of all domestic workers. Number of the immigrant workers in Spain, France and Italy is the largest across Europe. Child labor in domestic work, on the other hand, makes 11.3 per cent of children employment all over the world. As mentioned in the report there is an upward trend that share of domestic workers in total employment grows. However despite it's importance, domestic work has been ignored widely. Even the ILO adopted international labor standards for domestic workers in 2011. Although the Convention No. 189 and the Recommendation No. 201 on domestic work are significant steps for improving working conditions of many people, only 14 countries ratified until now<sup>79</sup>. Across the world, no more than 10 per cent of the workers covered by general labor laws to the same extent as other workers; while 47, 8 per cent under subordinate regulations (ILO, 2013). Other than social protection, invisibility, bad working conditions and wages, isolated working places, no access to trade unions, and illegality for migrants, are definitive characteristics of the domestic work area (ACTRAV/ITC-ILO, 2012).

Turkey has been among countries not ratified the Convention. Therefore, in a country that social security system is connected to formal employment, most of domestic workers to be employed in informal labor is not surprising. However, different from

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<sup>79</sup> [http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11300:0::NO::P11300\\_INSTRUMENT\\_ID:2551460](http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11300:0::NO::P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:2551460)  
(24.09.2014)

other jobs, domestic work has been widely ignored in Turkey as well. (IMECE, 2014). According to Erdoğan et. al. (2013) behind this neglect, there is domestic work to be an employment that both sides of the working relation are women (p.9). It is unfortunate that having information on number of domestic workers in Turkey is not possible. To the state figures there are approximately 150.000 workers, yet, Erdoğan et. al. (2013) claim, this data does not reflect real situation in Turkey. However even this quantity is taken as based, to 2012 statistics, only 5709 of the workers are insurance holders.

Informal employment means deprivation of rights and working without employment security<sup>80</sup>. To the informal figures mentioned by the Evid-Sen (Domestic Workers Solidarity Union), in 2012, 51 women lost their life while more than 400 raped or sexually harassed and 3000 were injured<sup>81</sup>.

One of the most important problems in front of domestic workers is being excluded from the Labor Law. They have never been recognized as workers in any of the Labor Laws. Also they left out side of the Occupational Safety and Health Law came into force in 2012. Despite the fact that domestic workers were included into the Social Insurance Law in 1977, to be provided insurance was possible as if the employment had been regular. This condition excluded many workers from the Law. Yet on the other hand as a result of the Labor Law 4857 to arrange part-time work in 2003, domestic workers to have insurance has been a matter of the Law<sup>82</sup>. Although Social

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<sup>80</sup> KEIG (2014) “Ev işçilerinin sorunları ve talepleri neler?” <http://www.keig.org/gundem.aspx?id=96> (24.09.2014)

<sup>81</sup> “Kapı Kapanınca Allah'a Emanetiz” [http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/kapi\\_kapaninca\\_allaha\\_emanetiz-1086384](http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/kapi_kapaninca_allaha_emanetiz-1086384) (24.09.2014)

<sup>82</sup> Yet as consequence of recently released (2014) Law 6552, due to the fact that domestic workers employed less than 10 days a months have been excluded from the Labor Law. That means the ones working more than 10 days will be able to benefit from all rights defined by the Labor Law. This

Insurance and Universal Health Insurance Law No. 5510 in 2008 also excludes domestic workers because of misinterpretation of regular employment; by means of the Law 5754 a new arrangement was realized in the 5510. Therefore the Labor Law and the Health Insurance Law have become relevant with each other.

However as a result of new circular order put into force by Social Security Institution in 2013, the ones working in specific days of a month should pay social insurance premiums for missing days beginning from 2012<sup>83</sup>. Furthermore there is opportunity of optional insurance. Yet, as KEIG (2014) underlines, this type does not cover work accident and occupational illnesses. In addition it results later retirement (İMECE). Moreover it causes women benefitting from health services through their husbands or fathers to lost some of their rights; while the ones working several days a week to be exposed to fiscal burden<sup>84</sup>.

Nevertheless, in spite of this obligation, number of women working without insurance is still high. There are three, mutually related, reasons behind this fact: Administration of the law, structure of the social security system and indefinite limits of the job.

With respect to the application, startup process and monthly dues are very complicated assuming women hiring domestic worker as an employer having his/her firm running

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implementation is opposed by woman organizations because it is discrimination among domestic workers.

<sup>83</sup> Gülay Toksöz (2013) “Ev İscisi Kadınları Sigortalamak” <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/kadin/151622-ev-iscisi-kadinlari-sigortalamak> (24.09.2014)

Dogan Keskin (2013) “Ev İscisi Kadınların Sigortalanması Üzerine” <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/kadin/151309-ev-iscilerinin-sigortalanmasi-uzerine> (24.09.2014)

<sup>84</sup> KEIG (2014) “Ev işçilerinin sorunları ve talepleri neler?” <http://www.keig.org/gundem.aspx?id=96> (24.09.2014)

according to the Labor Law<sup>85</sup>. Furthermore information about necessary steps is not easily accessible, particularly for women using Internet little if any.

Within the frame of the social security system in Turkey, insurance payments are so high that almost make one third of the gross minimum wage. If we take into account the payments ranging from 900 TL to 1200 TL without insurance, care workers to not to have social insurance but to receive all will not be surprising. Similarly in case an employee would like to keep all money, making overpayment for insurance is not desirable many of the mothers, since they have been already sparing for child care just about half of their income. Moreover to the Law 5510 to be able to be qualified for a pension, for women having insurance after 2008, 5400 premiums day-payment is obligatory, while retirement age increased to 61 for the ones to be able to fulfill these requirements till 2035<sup>86</sup>.

Not to be represented by a trade union is further difficulty regarding legal rights of the domestic workers. Despite having right of organizing or participating into trade unions, they have still experience problems. Including misinterpretation of this right by legal authorities and encountering barriers<sup>87</sup>, existing trade unions also do not give enough

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<sup>85</sup> For detailed information <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/25603411.asp> (24.09.2014)

<sup>86</sup> <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5510.pdf> (24.09.2014)

<sup>87</sup> In 2011, EVID-SEN (Domestic Workers Solidarity Union) was closed by Bakirkoy Labor Court by reason of domestic work does not take place in existing line of business. <http://evid-sen.blogspot.com.tr/> (24.09.2014)

On the other hand, as a result of long struggle period, establishment of the IMECE Domestic Workers' Trade Union was approved, and they realized The First Regular Meeting on June 15, 2014. <http://www.evrensel.net/haber/86373/imece-ev-iscileri-sendikasi-kongresini-gerceklestirdi.html> (24.09.2014)

importance to problems peculiar to domestic workers and spend no effort to organize the them (Erdođdu et. al., 2013:36).

From the other point, employers are treated as an owner of a firm making profit that they are expected to fulfill same obligations. Furthermore, in case these are disregarded, employers have to pay very high penalty<sup>88</sup>

Another significant drawback is lack of an occupational standard causing workers to perform varying tasks at the same time. This situation gives rise to labor exploitation and many occupational illnesses owing to overwork. Particularly female live-in immigrants experience the situation excessively that they have to work much more than eight hours a day, face insufficient food and accommodation conditions, subject to high risk of psychological and sexual harassment, have limited privacy and lack social protection. Most of immigrant domestic workers are illegal, which intensifies labor exploitation they are vulnerable to (Erdođdu et. al., 2013).

As it has become clear that social welfare regime neglects domestic work area. Though some provisions, this field is still far from taking place in the formal labor market. Therefore women have to develop their own strategies to deal with difficulties they encounter. That is to say the governments in Turkey seem willing to continue to keep domestic work within the boarder home, as a private issue that both actors are women.

The next part focuses on varying state documents to be able to have an idea on the future projection of Turkish government on women's employment and reconciliation issue.

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<sup>88</sup> 100.000 TL in total for the ones employing a cleaning worker once a day during five years while employers having a worker five days a week have to pay 150.000 TL.

#### **4.5. Future of Women’s Child Care Responsibility and Employment**

The development plans presented by the State Planning Organization –which changed to the Ministry of Development in 2011- have significant place with respect to enabling economical, social and cultural transformation of society in Turkey. The development plans, which are defined as “imperious for public institutions and guide for private sector”<sup>89</sup>, have been implemented through short and medium term plans. All of them have been indicative of gender equality approach of the governments. Since idea of development is very much associated with economical growth, it finds reflection on direct connection between education and employment (Oğuz, 2013: 126).

In all plans, despite the fact that obstacles in front of women’s participation into the labor force are very well defined, no concrete measures or action plans are declared. However, previous development plans seem to be ahead of the recent ones. For instance, in the 5<sup>th</sup> Plan (1985-1989) the Article 668 recognizes the need of institutions for pre-school education for participation of women into working life, yet under the title of social services, aids and social welfare. Appearance of women in the development plans does not have a long history that the first time was in 1990-1994 period, but not as a separate category. It took place under family, woman and children<sup>90</sup>. On the other hand 1999, which was the year Turkey has had status of candidate country for the EU, was the milestone for women’s low participation into the labor market to be defined as a problem (Toksöz, 2012a: 121). The State Planning

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<sup>89</sup> [http://www.odd.org.tr/web\\_2837\\_1/entitalfocus.aspx?primary\\_id=489&target=categorial1&type=32&detail=single](http://www.odd.org.tr/web_2837_1/entitalfocus.aspx?primary_id=489&target=categorial1&type=32&detail=single) (24.09.2014)

<sup>90</sup> While in the article 766 increasing educational level of and occupational trainings opportunities for women are emphasized to enlarge employment in different sectors other than agriculture; the article 767 mentions difficulties that working women experience such as social security, health, occupational training, in addition to child care facilities to be expanded.

<http://www3.kalkinma.gov.tr/DocObjects/View/13741/plan6.pdf> (24.09.2014)

Organization to start to seriously deal with women's employment issue was the 7<sup>th</sup> Plan (1996-2000) (Ecevit, 2011: 23; footnote 6) that gave reference to pregnancy, maternal leave and kindergartens and child care centers in terms of preventing women from leaving working life (p. 40) However in the 8<sup>th</sup> Plan (2001-2005), despite the fact that women's lower participation into the workforce was highlighted, no tangible plans were mentioned, except very general expressions.

The 9<sup>th</sup> Development Plan, involving the period 2007-2013, the Article 234 under the Development of Active Labor Force Policies covered unemployed people, handicapped people, women and young people. The Article emphasized entrepreneurship trainings and job guaranteed training programs. Furthermore the Article 568 says, "...to increase participation of women into labor force and employment, their access to child care and other care services will be facilitated". On the other hand the Article 584 mentioned actions like providing necessary infrastructure, diversification of educational services, consciousness rising in society and promoting early-childhood and parenthood trainings for making pre-school education prevalent. These were very general statements that give little idea on questions of how and by whom. In the Article 621, again, the emphasis was on occupational training facilities for making women's participation into the economical and social life to grow. However, I think, the Article 624 displayed the approach of the government about child care that family was seen as ideal environment for caring and rearing children, despite the fact that promoting women's employment and -for this aim- increasing care services were stressed.

10<sup>th</sup> Development Plan, covering 2014-2018 period, has distinctive place among all development plan, which allocates a separate section about family: "The Program for Protection of Family and Dynamic Structure of Population". The aim of the program is to strengthen weakening family as a result of migration and urbanization, increasing individualialization, deficiencies in family trainings and new communication

technologies. Since in Turkey there is a close link between family and fertility, a projection is made about aging of society. Yet it is significant to remember that according to TURKSTAT 2012 Family Statistic, rate of two-parent families are still high (55,1 per cent). Furthermore, proportion of household with three and more children is 30 per cent, while household with at least one child is 71 per cent. As it was emphasized in the previous development plan, in the 10<sup>th</sup> Plan, as well, social support and services are planned to be provided as family based. One of the other targets of the program is reconciliation of work and family life, mentioned under third component: “Protection of Dynamic Structure of Population”. Good quality, affordable and accessible kindergartens and pre-school education facilities to become prevalent is referred here, which, however, there is no information about implementations. Furthermore, social and economic policies to be designed as complementary and supportive to each other for protection and strengthening of family (Article 252) clearly reveals that responsibility of child care will continue to be handled in family by women. Despite services intending to solve problems of one-parent families are mentioned generally, the focus point is reducing divorce rates through family counseling and mediation. Different from other development plans parental leave is addressed as a model along with ‘secure’ flexible working and kindergarten and child care services. Yet the article 282 states that models supporting family care will be developed. Especially regarding elder people, residential care services to be diversified are defined as a target. Concerning labor market, ‘secure’ flexible working, severance pay to be transferred into individual funds and subcontracting are addresses several times. Although gender equality is referred in labor market, it to be mentioned with flexible working displays that aim is a numerical equality not in rights and quality. Increasing women’s employment rate to 34,9 per cent and reducing informal

employment to 30 per cent till 2018 are targets very much behind European 2020 Strategy<sup>91</sup>.

Within the frame of the short-term implementations of the development plans, annual programs prepared by the National Planning Organization are important. 2013 Annual Plan care responsibilities as an obstacle in front of women's employment came back and residential care and early child care facilities to be developed were intended. On the other hand women to participate into labor market, rigidity of the market as a problem and flexible working opportunities as a solution took place. Different from all previous plans, there was a section called Family and Woman. The main goal was strengthening family's status in society, which was referred within the context of gender equality. It gave impression that in coming years, kindergarten and pre-school education facilities would be developed yet in what way was hidden in the Annual Plan; through encouragement of private sector. On the other hand residential care provisions would be diversified. In the 2014 Annual Program we receive information about implementations whose framework drew by the 10<sup>th</sup> Development Plan. In the Plan generalizing pre-school education, especially in the regions having limited opportunities, is mentioned. As the Program displays the target is still 3-5 years old children. It means care of smaller children has been ignored.

Furthermore, In the 10 th Development Plan parental leave model was addressed (without giving any detail), the 2014 Annual Program only refers maternity and paternity leave and part-time work for mothers and fathers by means of temporary employment that private employment agencies will provide. Another significant policy

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<sup>91</sup> The goal is providing equality between men and women's employment at 75 per cent till 2020. [http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/europe-2020-in-a-nutshell/targets/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/europe-2020-in-a-nutshell/targets/index_en.htm) (24.09.2014)

is on encouragement of marriages and having children, which are discussed under the policy referring constitution of child friendly social and cultural environment.

Process of membership to the EU requires many steps to be taken, one of which is Public Administration Reform for enabling an effective financial management of public institutions. Therefore within this reform, strategic plans have been prepared by the Turkish Employment Agency (ISKUR), beginning from 2006. The recent plan covering 2011-2015 period includes implementations for preventing unemployment, in terms of women's low employment rates. Yet the emphasis is only on lack of vocational education. That is to say the biggest obstacle in front of women's employment, child care burden, has been ignored.

In the EU reports Turkey is criticized of not having a national employment strategy. Therefore the first appearance of the strategy document was in the 9<sup>th</sup> Development Plan, and it included into the 2010 Annual Program. The strategy documents are based on four lines: strengthening relation between education and employment; security and flexibility in the labor market; increasing employment of groups needing special policies; supporting connection between employment and social protection. In the first strategy document, however, fundamental policy lines did not include security in the labor market and increasing women, young people and disadvantaged groups were pointed. In this document released in 2011, labor force market's 'rigidity' and especially high benefit severances were highlighted as the important barriers in front of growing up of flexible working types which were indicated as opportunity for labor force potential of young people and women. Here again, stress was on the labor market, and internal flexibility as a part of reconciliation policies was not voiced. On the other hand women's low employment rate was underlined and number of children and child care responsibility were emphasized as significant factors in decision of married women to work. Therefore under the Politics and Measures Part promoting employers

providing child care service, supplying care support to families, organizing ‘consciousness raising’ activities and making arrangements on leaves for fathers were put into words. However, as it became clear, child care burden was left to be dealt with in the family.

After this Strategy Document, for 2012-2023, Turkish National Employment Strategy Framework was presented to the related parties on February 2012 (Makal, 2012) and received important criticisms. For instance DISK (the Confederation of Progressive Worker Trade Unions) described the Framework Document as “...the most significant attack, in the history of the Republic, towards vested rights of labor”<sup>92</sup>. Moreover the Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences organized the *National Employment Strategy Symposium* to discuss the Framework. In the Symposium Gülay Toksöz (2012) argued that “rigid” structure of the labor force is to be overcome through changing employment security with employment guarantee. She made comparison between the previous Strategy Document and the new Framework. One of the significant differences underlined was that while in the previous one the reality that most of the part-time workers were women was mentioned, in the Framework related paragraph was excluded. On the other hand, as Toksöz stated, in both documents there was no expression on meaning of part-time work that brings less salary compared to full-time work<sup>93</sup>. Moreover, negative sides of part-time work were not referred in the last framework. To Toksöz, despite the fact that obstacles in front of women’s

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<sup>92</sup> Yet the criticisms seem to suggest a homogenous labor force that specific effects of the Strategy Framework on women are ignored, although all around the world and in Turkey most of the workers ‘preferring’ the types of flexible working is women and, in the framework, it is, particularly, proposed for increasing women’s employment.

<sup>93</sup> Despite the stress on how common part-time working is in EU countries, meaning of part-time work is added. Although the ILO Convention No. 175 defines part-time worker as “... an employed person whose normal hours of work are less than those of comparable full-time workers”, normal hours of work changes country to country (Bolle, 1997).

employment were very well defined, measures were far from meeting the needs. For example, relatively concrete proposals about child care were omitted. Family support and promoting employers, the ones offering child care service, were excluded. Instead, a general statement about “making child care prevalent” was put forward. Furthermore, emphasis on maternal leave in the 2011 document was excluded and only unclear promotions were stated for mothers to be able to stay in the labor market. According to Toksöz, as all these exclusions showed, the main aim was to provide flexible working types for women and to enable them to perform all familial responsibilities. That is to say ‘reconciliation’ was left to women.

Despite all the critiques 2014-2023 the National Employment Strategy Document is prepared in a form confirming apprehensions of labor organizations and people studying on labor and employment. In the document, rigidity of the labor market is emphasized and measurements are proposed to make it flexible. With respect to flexible labor market and work force, severance pay, part-time working and temporary work relation are expressed as the key points. Basic motive behind flexibility need is mentioned clearly: sustainable economical growth. Therefore other than work security highlighting guarantee of working in same job, employment guarantee has been taken as basis, meaning working without depending on one employer. That is to say, necessary arrangements to be realized enabling temporary employment through private employment agencies. This is put forward as solution for increasing employment of women and young people.

In the Strategy Document traditional gender roles and care responsibilities are addressed as obstacles in front of women’s participation into the labor force. However, regarding child care other than expanding institutional facilities provided by state, private sector to be promoted is put into agenda. Although some families to be supported concerning accessing child care services, means-testing social welfare

understanding appears to continue. This same approach is found in employment-social protection relation. While it is mentioned that social aids will be rights based; in the same sentence it says, “It will be provided according to pre-defined criteria.

Endeavors of making the labor market more flexible has been discussed and taken serious criticism from women for a long years. Recently in the agenda of employers, woman’s (labor) organizations and the governments, there had been “Woman’s Employment Package” that both employers and woman (labor) organizations mentioned their objection, but from opposite sides. Details has not been declared yet, but information had leaked during preparation period and explanations of some ministers had drawn more or less a clear picture, many of which took place in the 2014 Annual Program and the 2014-2013 National Employment Strategy Document as mentioned above. Maternity leave extension, guarantee of returning to same job, flexible (part-time) working, temporary employment relation through private employment agencies were titles came into prominence. Employers’ opposition was on extra-burden will be left to their shoulders after extension of maternity leave.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand woman (labor) organizations criticized the Package owing to the fact that it was not discussed with them and its main aim was legalizing<sup>95</sup> flexible working which

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<sup>94</sup> After objections were voiced, statements had come from the government’s wing intending to relieve ‘side of bosses’. The first speculations was on maternity leave to be 24 weeks but after oppositions (<http://www.denizlihaber.com/ekonomi/is-dunyasi/denizli-ticaret-odasi-baskani-necdet-ozler-kadin-istihdami-paketi-uyarisi/>,<http://haber.gazetevatan.com/kadin-artik-zor-is-bulur/570087/2/ekonomi>), it has started to be mentioned as 18 weeks. Also, ministers in their explanations about the issue emphasized there would be no additive burden to employers and all expenses would be shouldered by state ([http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem\\_sahin-kadin-istihdam-paketi-aciklandiginda-once-is-dunyasi-tesekkur-edecek\\_2142996.html](http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem_sahin-kadin-istihdam-paketi-aciklandiginda-once-is-dunyasi-tesekkur-edecek_2142996.html))

<sup>95</sup> Actually the labor market in Turkey has been already all set for flexible type of working that to European Labor Force Survey 2012, share of employees with limited duration contract is 12 per cent, which is closer to the EU27 average (13,7 per cent).

was one of strategies of leaving welfare state responsibilities to women. This had become also visible in every statement of the ministers addressing preservation of young population and strong families<sup>96</sup>.

As deduced from the implementations in operation and future plans, Turkey to be classified in the Southern Europe model is because of the fact that social policies are structured as male breadwinner family model based. These policies have not been issue of last ten years. Yet under the governance of the AKP, family discourse has been strengthened. Transforming the Ministry of State, Responsible from Woman and Family into The Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the government removed name of women from the Ministry and gave the biggest sign of its approach placing women in the family, not as individuals.

Turkey is a country, in which most of households have at least one child and children are smaller than 6 years old in one out of three of them. However, institutional early child care and education services are little, if any. With regard to traditional gender roles and insufficient formal services, women's employment rates are low in Turkey. Yet, with respect to increasing women's participation into the labor force, whole discourse developed by government authorities is based on part-time work –as a miracle letting women to care for their children while working at the same time, and entrepreneurship and micro-credit. Women's employment, on the other hand, is considered together with increasing fertility and protection of unity of family. That is to

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[http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics\\_explained/index.php/File:Employees\\_average\\_hours\\_2012.png](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/File:Employees_average_hours_2012.png) (24.09.2014)

<sup>96</sup><http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ekonomi/231039--bakan-celik-kadin-istihdami-paketini-degerlendirdi> (24.09.2014)

<http://www.bianet.org/bianet/toplum/150037-fatma-sahin-hem-istihdam-hem-aile-uyumu> (24.09.2014)

say, in Turkey, family will continue to be main area of debate both for woman's liberation movements and conservative policy implementations.

## CHAPTER 5

### METHODOLOGY

For many feminists, feminist research is feminist theory in action [...] the aim is to understand the world and change it. (Letherby, 2003:62)

My aim through this study has been trying to understand dynamics of paid child care in informal labor market in Turkey, under the effect of early child care and education service facilities and labor market structure; commodification of care work; and how child minders and mothers as employers relate to each other; all of which are in a reciprocal relationship. I chose to realize my study within feminist methodology, because of the fact that it suits my target of enabling ignored to be noticed, and gives tools to put my presence, as a researcher, forward during the study.

Despite significant similarities, differences of child care work from housework very much shapes how the workers and employers locate their selves and each other, conditions of the work and power of negotiation. In Turkey, paid child care has been focused little, if any. On the other hand, middle class women as employers of domestic workers have not been addressed much, as well. Although they have more social, cultural and economical resources compared to domestic workers; their voice has still continued to be unheard. This is why it is remarkable to listen to both child minders and their employers to be able to make share of men and social policies visible.

As Devault (1996) mentions goal of a feminist research is “to find what has been ignored, censored, and suppressed, and to reveal both the diversity of actual women’s lives and the ideological mechanisms that have made so many of those lives invisible” (p. 33). Thus this goal overlaps aim of this study.

Furthermore, another intention of my research is bringing women’s desires and needs regarding early child care and education services forth, and putting a social policy implementation proposal forward. That is to say, like other feminist researchers, I intend for contributing to a social change for gender equality. Therefore as Cook et. al. (1986) underline that feminist research is “not research about women but research for women to be used in transforming their sexist society” (p.13)

### **5.1. Design of the Study**

Despite the fact that many writers do not make differentiation between qualitative and quantitative methods to be able to conduct a feminist research -since they think it is not which tools a researcher uses but how it to be used, (Cook et. al. 1986, Devault 1996)- still most of people suggest that one-to-one interviews are the best.

On the other hand Cook et. al. (1986) suggests “triangulation”, using different methods at the same time –probably operating qualitative and quantitative techniques together (p. 16). Sprague (2005), as well, does not make difference between the techniques concerning how much they are feminist. It is not the methods but the way we apply them is the feminist.

I think for my field research in-depth interview was the best method for collecting data regarding my questions about private life of respondents. I did my research with paid

child minders, mediating agency managers and employers. All research was realized in Ankara, Turkey.

At the beginning I planned to conduct interviews with a child's both mother and child minder, yet after some meeting I realized that –since I had to contact with the workers through their employers- child minders avoided answer my questions on negative aspects of their working relation. Furthermore because of the fact that I was located as friend of mothers, power inequality between the respondents and me deepened. This is why I decided to break off the link between the mothers and child minders.

Because of the fact that I am a middle class woman, accessing contact information of middle class mothers was easier, thanks to my social network. After I started to do interviews with them, they also opened their network for me. Similarly, I access to mediating agency owners via middle class mothers I contacted with. However, since I had to find child minders and mothers separately, organizing meetings with care workers had been very hard at first. Yet, subsequent to my travel with the workers in their shuttle busses, this procedure accelerated.

In total, 41 interviews were realized between February 2013 – January 2014, and their duration varied from 23 minutes to 1hour and 49 minutes.19 of the interviews were with child minders and the other 19 was with middle class working mothers having care provider for their children. Three interviews were conducted with mediating agency managers.

To define class position of interviewees their occupation, educational level, familial sources, social networks, total income entering their household and location of their living place were taken as criteria. As Suğur et. al. (2008) state, one of the characteristic of middle class is both partners to work, which is the reason behind need of employing a domestic worker (p.162).

Middle class mothers I interviewed were between 31-46 years old. 11 of 19 mothers were university graduated, while five women had master degree and two had PhD. One of the mothers was assistant professor. 15 of 19 mothers had one child, and ages of children varied from 15 months to 4 years old. Four women had two children between 6-11 years old. My aim was speaking with women working in different sectors, to be able to display how place of working influence strategies women develop in their relation with child minders. Ten of all mothers were employed in public institutions, while nine were working in private sector. Since occupational areas were diversified, I also has chance to make comparison between and among sectors. All of their partners were working and 9 of them were university graduates, while 7 had master degree. One partner was holding PhD while one was assistant professor. Total income entering their household was varying from 5000 TL to 25000 TL.

Child minders were between 38-57 years old. 11 women out of 19 was primary school graduated, while two were secondary school graduated five had high school diploma. One of the women was college graduated. Duration in child care sector varied from four months to 15 years. Wage range for full time, five days a week, child minding was between 800 – 1300 TL.

I conducted in-depth interview with three mediating agency managers, all of which are women. One of the agencies was in Kızılay while the other was in Ümitköy. Despite the fact one of the women was not active in an agency at the time of meeting, she was handling the job through telephone conversations. Time of performing the job varied from 8 years to 13 years. Other than doing interview with the managers, I had opportunity to participate into meeting of a married couple and a child minder at the mediating agency office in Kızılay.

Furthermore I had chance to travel in shuttles child minders used between their home and place of working. I got on two shuttles; one was working between Çayyolu and Sincan, while the other runs between Yaşamkent and Sincan. Domestic workers were the ones organizing shuttle services. Formally they have been used by public institutions for transportation of civil servants. According to a child minder I met while I was waiting for the shuttle to come, she was one of the first workers who started this 'business'. She had been working as a child minder for 20 years. At the beginning her husband –working in a public institution- arranged his institution's shuttle for her. After a while she offered driver to find 'clients' working in Çayyolu. Then domestic workers, particularly the ones working in Konutkent, Ümitköy, Çayyolu and Yaşamkent, have started to use it extensively.

The shuttles I traveled were 18-24 seated and having more passenger than capacity, especially in the evenings. Child minders, cleaning workers and teachers working in kindergartens used them. While in the mornings they got on same shuttle, depending on hour of leaving work, women might have used different shuttles. Therefore especially rush hours, many women may have traveled without seat. Fee of one-way travel was three Turkish Liras. This was a standard price, valid for all shuttles.

After the introduction to the field, in the next section, I would like to address problems/difficulties encountered during the fieldwork, and develop a kind of dialogue with potential readers, discussing strong and weak sides of the study. On the other hand the following part includes attempt of taking account of my presence as a researcher in this investigation, by keeping mind what Ramazanoğlu et. al. (2002) say that it is not possible to speak of a formulation for feminist reflexivity that every researcher finds her/his way (p.160).

## 5.2. Doing a Feminist Research

As most of the writers indicate, speaking of a unique feminist methodology is not possible (Devault 1996, Ramazanoğlu 2002, Hesse-Biber 2012). However manifesting some principles is viable as Cook et. al. (1986) suggest. According to them reflexivity, consciousness-raising, questioning objectivity norm, being aware of probability of exploitation of respondents, and focusing on making women stronger and changing “patriarchal social institutions through research” (p.5) are main components of a feminist research.

In feminist methodology enabling the ones less visible and hearable to speak for themselves is one of the fundamental motivations. As I mentioned before, with respect to existing literature, area of domestic work is reflected mostly from the point of the workers, and employers are constructed through the workers’ view. Although middle class women have –relatively- various and plentiful tools/opportunities to make their voice to be heard, especially compared to lower class women; when the issue is paid child care this situation acquires a different character.

Haraway (1988, p. 584) draws our attention to “danger of romanticizing and/or appropriating the vision of the less powerful while claiming to see from their position.” I do not claim that this generates a kind of romanticism as Haraway proposes; yet this approach stabilizes positions of the weak and strong. Therefore all of the sides are located as black and white, and area in-between becomes invisible. On the other hand Sprague (2005:191) emphasizes that how we question unfavorable circumstances of our informants carries danger of “mak[ing] their position acceptable”.

That is to say, with respect to paid child care, gender regime of a country determining social welfare implementations, structure of labor market, and division of labor in household, influences power negotiation of the workers and the employers. Thus

during my study I tried to display effect of gender regime of Turkey on relation between child minders and middle class mothers, and on dynamics of child care work.

As one of the important elements of feminist methodology, reflexivity marks visibility of researcher in study “with her all resources and status; located itself against objectivist way of thinking making “researchers’ views and/or politics invisible” (Risman 1993, p. 16). Because of the fact that as feminist methodology ends “hygienic research” mystification (Oakley, 2005). To be able to display my presence in this study, I would like to focus on my relation with the informants.

While doing a research there has always been a risk of establishing a hierarchical connection with informants of study because of the fact that it is researcher who manages frame of investigation. Yet, if rejection of dichotomy between object and subject maintained by positivist methodology is one of the key principles that feminist methodology is based on; the other is formulating a non-exploitative relationship. There is a power inequality however a researcher is not always the most powerful side. Letherby (2003) highlights that victimizing people as just passive informants of the research will ignore their power in some situations coming from their age, level of knowledge and experience, and so on (p. 78, 114-115).

It is significant to say that neither I was the only person having control on the relation nor the women I interviewed. While some of them accepted to be interviewed just by motivation of helping me owing to my student status; some others gave importance to subject of the study. Especially one of the agency managers was eager to answer my questions since she would like to the sector to be known by public.

On the other hand despite the fact that my association with middle class women seemed to be established on a more equal basis; concerning my age, my social status –a married student and having no child, there had been times that this balance was lost. Yet,

according to me, this did not mean that in these kinds of circumstances a hierarchical relationship was at stake. In similar fashion, communication between lower class women and me was far from unequal balance. I tried to develop a kind of friendship with all my informants. It is for sure there is no way to know how much I was successful of giving this feeling but my intention had been forming a good rapport on all occasions. One of the other elements making a research feminist is sharing the knowledge produced and giving respondents an opportunity of reflecting on the study. As Devault (1996) underlines, feminist researchers carry responsibility of “giving something back to participants” empowering them to transform their life (p. 38). I believe my dissertation makes an invisible area visible and offers/defends policy changes. Yet, regarding process of interviews only action I took was informing child minders and mothers about legal obligations about social insurance issue. It is for sure in all sessions of interviews I tried to appreciate child minding as a job, and to lighten mothers’ feeling of guiltiness about transferring care of their children to someone foreigner. However, with respect to sharing results of a study, there is a language barrier if outcomes of a research are presented in a language different from native tongue of the respondents. Medium of my dissertation is English, which automatically excludes the informants who cannot speak English. On the other hand, there is no escape from meaning shifts owing to translating the accounts into another language.

With respect to “minimize or eliminate power differences between the researcher and the researched” (Harding et. al., 2005: 2012), I suppose place of interviews also significant. First of all I should indicate that, for each meeting, I assured women that I could go wherever and whenever they want me to come. With middle class women our meeting spot was mostly cafés or restaurants since they predominantly preferred to come together with me during their lunch breaks. Thus, they could both eat their meal and answer my questions. Frankly, it was also better for me since I was not at ease with

‘stealing’ their time after work, which they can spend for themselves or with their children.

However most of my interviews with child minders were conducted at their home after their working time. I recognized that idea of doing interviews in child minders’ houses was less disturbing for me compared to going to middle class women’s residences. Reasons behind this feeling could be that child minders were more eager to invite me to their home; and being interviewed in their own living place was empowering for them. Differences with respect to economical, social and cultural capital appeared to lose its importance within warm atmosphere of talking accompanied by coffee or tea. I felt like I was visiting an old friend, and attempted the women to feel in the same way. I believe in most cases we could catch that warmth. It is for sure in the first meeting/talking on the phone they were not as relaxed as I was. Insurance issue lied at the back of unease that they had doubts about my identity (maybe a civil servant looking for women working without social insurance). Many times, to be able to persuade them, I showed my student card. Particularly in the shuttles, I experienced this discomfort since nobody knew me.

For instance, Fidan, I met in one of the shuttles, accepted to meet me at her home but at the day of interview she feigned an excuse for coming together in a café nearby. Yet after a while we started to talk, she confessed that she hesitated to have someone stranger in her house. And she insisted to do interview at home saying she liked me very much. I conducted the longest interview and she became the one very much opened her life to me. Furthermore, she referred my study to friends of her working as child minders.

Despite the fact that I believe the most significant element in a feminist research is how the relation established during the fieldwork sustains after leaving the field, this is the

hardest and the weakest part in the studies. It is for sure having a same level of rapport with all respondents is impossible. Like in all kind of relations, in a research, we like some people while we don't some others. This is viable for informants as well. While I had a feeling of continuing to meet with some women and did not sense similar desire, some other women mentioned their wish to see me again. I think the best attitude I can adopt is calling them regularly and meet whenever we have a desire to.

During the interviews with mothers I had difficulty in asking questions on their own and husbands' income, social insurance issue and division of labor in household. Starting through inquiring economical level of women might not be a good introduction to a research. Despite the fact that I explained the reason for asking this question, none of the women answered in a 'happy way'. Thus, addressing this question at the end of the interview would be better.

Social insurance subject became source of discomfort not only for the mothers but also for child minders on account of new legal arrangements. However, since legal obligation and penalty are heavier for the one hiring domestic workers, all of the mothers displayed uneasiness while some of them mentioned it, as well.

Another issue gave feeling of annoyance was on share of housework and child care responsibilities among partners. Many women did not like to be questioned about this division of labor because of the fact that they are the ones have shouldered most of the duties in the household. Since they were not happy about the situation, calling them to reflect on relation with their partners generated a kind of tension. Yet, while some of the women voiced their grievances as if they spoke with a friend, for the others I felt as I forced them to talk about an issue they did not want to share with a stranger. Furthermore, some situations concerned me because of feeling that if I might disrupt

their relation, which was not defined/perceived as troublesome before the interview (Cook et. al., 1986 p.11).

Although my aim is analyzing paid child care work through categories such as gender, class, ethnicity, educational level and age; I think ethnicity dimension is missing since finding child minders and mothers from different ethnicities would have harden the process of fieldwork. Therefore I had to decide on asking questions about their opinions. On the other hand though the aim of the study was not making a comparison between local and immigrant domestic workers, owing to the structure of the sector, I asked some questions to be able to understand the informants approach to the sector.

Other than making sense of paid child care work in the informal labor market, the interviews made significant contributions to my personal history. As a newly married middle class woman planning to have a child in a near future, my opinion about that all care and household responsibilities to be equally shared by partners is essential for a good relation between parents to be continued after birth of a child, and for a woman to sustain her life without feeling of guilt because of pursuing a career, has been gained a stronger ground. Furthermore, not only lives of mothers and fathers go into change but also of other female members, especially of grandmothers. Last but not least, I got very well informed about fragile balance in relation with child minders, and once again I recognized the full worth of child care labor. Since I know as long as I live in Turkey I will be in need of support of child minders; I think/hope I could develop an equal relationship with them. It is not to mention that I know and stand for domestic workers' rights.

Despite all deficiencies and problems about implementation of field study, women I came together opened their life to me. Although, I tried sticking to what they meant while analyzing their accounts within the frame of my research questions; since writing

medium is English, I organized the informants' accounts in the best possible way to let reader to understand what they intended to say. In other words, though I think a study claiming to be written within feminist methodology should let people to speak for themselves, in some situations a writer may have to play role of facilitator. On the other hand, I am aware that even in case a researcher prefers to display her results only through narratives of people, deciding which has the best representation capacity is also a kind of intervention. Furthermore, I believe a writer has to have an authority on the text s(he) works as Haraway (1988) suggests, "positioning implies responsibility of our enabling practices" (p. 587) and "translation is always interpretive, critical, and partial" (p. 590).

In the next chapter, I discuss my fieldwork results. During this part in addition to accounts of women I interviewed, I attempted to make clear myself as a researcher interpreting their narratives, in a communication with existing literature.

## CHAPTER 6

### PAID CHILD CARE IN THE INFORMAL LABOR MARKET IN TURKEY: IN-BETWEEN MONEY AND LOVE

Iris Marion Young (2005) distinguishes homemaking and housework from each other. According to her the former indicates historical and individualizing dimension, while the latter is “anonymous and general”, meanly ahistorical (p. 138). She criticizes feminists degrading values of home, and underlines that “home is the materialization of identity” (p.140) through “preserving the objects and meanings of home” that furnishing and decorating house, preparing foods as expression of taste of family; enabling the children to learn “stories, practices, and celebrations” as a way of maintaining “the particular meanings alive” (p. 142). She also highlights that misinterpretation of homemaking and housework results from difficulty of separating them sharply due to the fact that they operate at the same time. According to Bora (2005) this underlies tension between middle class women and domestic workers, and difference of paid domestic work from any other field of employment (p.73). However despite whole story seems to be based on the unclear boundaries of the activities and their effects on how the employers and the employees associate with each other; particularly regarding child care, gendered division of labor in household and insufficient welfare services are the other pieces completing the picture. As Knijn et. al. (1997) emphasize that care work cannot be paid or unpaid intrinsically but “political

choices, shared cultural beliefs, and gender structures” determine the situation (p.330). In a similar vein, Gökbayrak (2009) and Ünlütürk-Ulutaş (2010) indicate that insufficient social services underlie middle and upper class women to hire immigrant women’s labor. As clearly put forth before, in Turkey institutionalization of care facilities for children between 3-6 years old is poor, and there is little or no public services for the ones under 3 years of age. This situation, then, causes working women to have to require help of other women’s labor especially when there is no other female family member to take care of children. Varying from timing of having child to deciding whom will be responsible of child care, and to organization of all stages of this relation are handled by women. This is a very complex association, in which work/non-work, money, affection, employer-employee, friendship, sisterhood, kinship terms define the relation and shape negotiation power of both sides. That is to say while analyzing domestic work, how decisive inside and outside of home should be considered.

In the First Section timing of having babies, care alternatives, criteria and reasons behind them while deciding on whom to work with, ways of finding a child minder/family, experience first days/months of encountering, role of mediating agencies, and structure of the child care sector are analyzed.

The Second Section addresses meaning of commodification of child care and effect of it on the working relation between mothers and child minders, emotional labor embedded within the frame of the work, characteristics transferred to the work from familial connections, and private sphere as working place.

Role of other family members on working relation and conditions are pointed to in the Third Section, while in the Forth Section social welfare implementations including

leave arrangements, child care and education services and social insurance of domestic workers are brought into focus.

### **6.1. Under the Shadow of Reconciliation Policies**

Significance of reconciliation of work and care and household responsibilities for women is explained in detailed in the previous parts. Gender regime of a country shapes kind, quantity and quality of social services offered, which directly affect balance established between obligations of a work and a household. Turkey, as discussed in the 3. Chapter, is considered in the Southern Europe Social Welfare Model that most of social services are expected to be handled by women unpaid in families and/or to be purchased from the market. Regarding child care responsibilities, the lack of sufficient services leads to women temporally or permanently to leave the labor market, benefitting from labor of other female members of family and/or hiring another women's labor. These possibilities are very much linked to economical, social and cultural capital of women. Despite the fact that type and amount of sources women have mostly defined alternatives, gender equality perception and structure of labor market are decisive as well. Aim of my study is to understand dynamics of paid child care in informal labor market, because it is a meeting area of two women from different socio-economic and cultural background in a private sphere that enables us to make sense of gender regime, labor market structure and social policies in Turkey.

Main actors of the study are middle class mothers, children and child minders. In this relation, children are not only receivers of the care but also their needs and feelings are significant in how mothers and child minders associate with each other. Although child-minding job is formed within these three sides, there are also null subjects. Other family members, especially fathers and grandmothers, are –mostly- invisible yet

influential not only on relation between mothers and child minders, but on conditions of the work.

During this section, questions that I try to answer are: How do middle class mothers arrange timing of having child? Why middle class women prefer child minders? What does make a child minder/a family suitable? What are the ways of finding a child minder/family? How do mothers and child minders experience first days/months of encountering? What kind of selection process the mediating agencies run? What is the structure of the child care sector?

### **6.1.1. Child Minders: A Last Resort?**

In Turkey education is a great determinant on labor market participation. As educational level increases, rate of women in labor force gets higher.<sup>97</sup> If my informants' educational level –minimum university graduates- is taken into account, priority is to be given to working life will not be surprising. Except for three women, all of my middle class informants had child after their 30s.

High level of education means late marriages and giving birth in later years of marriage. Almost all mothers I interviewed allow time before having a child. While for some of them this was for a period for getting used to marriage, many told they took their career into account before taking decision of giving birth. They waited for right

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<sup>97</sup>According to the 2013 TURKSTAT data, 29,5 per cent of primary school graduated women participate into labor market while this rate goes up to 72,2 per cent for university graduates. Yet for men educational level does not make this much effect on labor market participation. In 2013 data, 73,3 per cent of primary school graduates take part in the labor force while it is 86,1 per cent for university graduates.

time to come. For informants having child after their 40s, basic motive was tick-tock of biological clock that otherwise they might have deferred having baby.

In the narratives of middle class women in my study, a rational calculation comes into prominence. Parents wait till most of the conditions become convenient with their expectations about life. Or they try to arrange their lives as suitable for raising children. Ceylan (34) gave birth after she completed her PhD that she defines it as an “interim period”.

[...] The main difference in our decision phase was: If we did not have a child in this period, we thought that it would be very difficult to catch this kind of relaxed period again. Because, vocationally, our plans, careers, career plans, so on; these were point at issue. That was an interim period. I mean I was at an appropriate time for pregnancy and birth. Our kids one and a half years old now and we have been continuing [working] within an unbelievable tempo. We had taken a right decision. We may have not had even the opportunity to make baby. (Assistant professor, her child is 1,5 years old)

Meliha (31), on the other hand took decision of having baby in accordance with both conditions of the work and her career plans.

I was working as an inspector [at a bank] and was traveling continuously. After all it [having a child] was not possible in this way. Secondly, as I got married early I wanted to enjoy life without a kid. Then I began to work in the Turkish treasury. And it was ok. I found a good, constant, job; I found a good job that I can keep my marriage going. After my job has been guaranteed, after I became available for making a baby, when I look to the career route in here I saw this: Here, everybody does master's abroad. [...] Therefore I said I should have done master, first. Master studies were in England, with scholarship. And having a baby after coming back. I mean I planned like this. (She has a master degree, expert in a public institution, her child is 2,5 years old)

On the other hand, some women also told their partners career path shape the decision, as well. Olcay (39), working in a public institution, gave birth after 6 years of marriage owing to the fact that her husband had master studies and he transferred from public to private sector. Meanwhile she also had master degree. Similarly, Banu (41) because of his husband's work –a prosecutor- had to travel so much, she had to take conditions of place of living into consideration while deciding on having a baby.

Having child at later ages is consisted with findings of Kaya (2008) on professional women. Like my informants, mothers in her study decide to give birth by considering their “working conditions, economical wellbeing and positions in the occupational hierarchy” (p. 50). Age, type of jobs, duration of marriage and place of living should also be added into elements determining decision of having a child. It is for sure idea of optimum conditions should be considered as a synthesis of parents’ requirements for themselves and for children. Expectations from life are very much related with resources families have. Therefore as expectations increase and vary, arriving at ‘the best possible situation’ becomes harder.

Furthermore, labor market structure is another factor shaping decision on form and timing of delivering baby. Many informants told that they chose to have caesarean section in case natural birth was also among opportunities, to be able to arrange their husbands’ days off. Particularly if husband is working in private sector in which paid leave is three days, the common strategy is giving birth in such a way to combine weekend to make the leave five days. In addition to form of the delivery, timing is also considered according to husbands’ availability. That is to say, mothers arrange the day of caesarean section calculating their partners’ maximum possible days off. Kaya (2008), as well, refers to similar situation and speaks of women organizing timing of the delivery according to their husbands work schedule (p.59).

Especially the first year of child is very significant, which women take decision of giving birth in accordance with planning of that period. None of the informants think to give their child to crèche as they go back work. Despite the fact that many of the middle class mothers would like to be with their children at least six months of breastfeeding, they try to stay longer. The significant reasons are little or no public child care facilities and doubts about quality of the existing ones in the private sector.

Furthermore, I suppose myths or realities<sup>98</sup> about proper time for breastfeeding cause women to be at home as far as possible. Yet, absence of day nurseries in the working place compels mothers to find their own solutions to breastfeed children during the possible longest time. In the first place - depending public or private institution women work in- tendency is to extend paid leave as much as possible, by means of medical reports or using annual time off. Then relying on grandmothers' or child minders' labor is considered as second choice. While in some situations availability of grandmothers is the main determinant, in others, the first preference becomes child minders no matter grandmothers live nearby or they are available. Despite presence of grandmothers, women to prefer child minders might be due to not causing any problem between one own mother and mother-in-law. Furthermore, difference between their way of upbringing and grandmothers' might also lead them to employ another woman, who will enable them to have full control on treatment of child. Other than different 'styles', tolerance grandmothers show to children another factor underlies preference of hiring child minders, as well.

It is clear in the narratives that most of the decisions about child care are taken within the pregnancy period and large number of mothers experience this proportion of time as stressful. Especially, in case of inexistence of parents, situation could be experienced more difficult. For instance a middle class mother, Canan (38), emphasizes that she lost

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<sup>98</sup> Throughout the world regarding duration of breastfeeding there are significant differences; even among medical authorities. The World Health Organization recommends up to two years of age or beyond (at <http://www.who.int/topics/breastfeeding/en/>) (24.09.2014), while the American Academy of Pediatrics advises minimum 12 months and to continue as long as mother and baby want (at <http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/129/3/e827.full#content-block>) (24.09.2014). On the other hand other kind of worldwide organizations such as La Leche League argues for 2,5-7 years (at <http://www.llturkiye.org/Bilgiler/Emzirme%20ne%20zaman%20sonlandirilmali.html>) (24.09.2014).

In Turkey, the Ministry of Health also recommends women to breastfeed their children during six months only with breast milk and up to two years and more as a supplementary nutrition (at <http://thsk.saglik.gov.tr/ana-cocuk-sagligi/800-anne-sütü-ve-emzirme.html>).

sleep over who would care for her child since she had no alternative other than hiring a child minder. Similarly Keriman (35) had started to think on how to handle child care when she was pregnant.

As I didn't know anything, I wondered if I should send [the baby] to day care center, or what else. Well, [among the alternatives] there was a child minder. Then I wondered if my partner's mother would take care of. I thought about all of these. Then after all, I cared for 10 months. As soon as I started to work, child minder came. (University graduated, specialist in a public institution, her child is 2,5 years old)

On the other hand women who planned to care for their children for a definite period did not experience any problem during pregnancy, till they came face to face with difficulty of looking after a baby. Meliha (31), working in a public institution decided to use one-year unpaid leave. Yet, at the end of first month, she had to find a child minder.

I needed help when [the baby] didn't sleep and when I faced with many problems and even could not manage [...] I had thought that I could look for child minder later that somehow I would have cared for a year. Then, we got it at the end of the month. [...] [the child minder] was like she was from heaven [...] I couldn't sleep at nights, in the mornings I was looking forward to her [the child minder], with swelling eyes. I hadn't slept for three nights, the baby in my arms, I was waiting at the door. I was opening the door like that, [...] and I was going to sleep giving baby to the child minder as soon as she stepped in, I mean if she hadn't be here, my life would have been so difficult. (Master degree, specialist in a public institution, her child is 2,5 years old)

However finding a child minder is not an easy task. Mothers benefit from their social networks and mediating agencies almost on equal basis. As it is clear, in case of little institutionalization women have to rely on their own sources. Although mediating agencies provide some regulation informally, there is no formal organization and monitoring of the sector. This deficiency affects both mothers and child minders.

General tendency of mothers is sending word to acquaintances and applying the firms at the same time, which increase number of alternatives. This is a trend particularly while finding child minders for the first time. In case of needing a worker again, mainly the agencies are preferred.

Furthermore mothers employing child minders through the firms, mention that they find them more reliable since they hold many documents belong to care workers referring their places of living, health conditions, references, etc. Moreover, a contract is another element making the agencies reputable in the eyes of mothers. Presence of an agency might be considered as a kind of assurance, because of existence of a written contract and of a place to be applied in case any kind of problem is faced up. Kaşka (2006), as well, brings forth agencies' function of producing solutions in case problems experienced between domestic workers and employers<sup>99</sup>. In this sense Berfin's (32) concern is unsurprising: "One day for example she [child minder] was late, I wondered if she wouldn't come. Because there is no protocol between us, I cannot do anything in case she doesn't come."

Other than social network and mediating agencies one of the methods is –as it is for child minders- asking to headman (*muhtar*); and the other is taking recommendation from doorkeepers. It is the fact that in case the one recommending a child minder is not from circle of similar socio-economic background, mothers may try legitimizing their 'choice'. Asiye (43) said:

The doorkeeper of my mum [and my dad] is someone they love much. As if he is not a doorkeeper but their neighbor. They, as a family, visit each other. He is the one they love and appreciate. They [doorkeeper's family] suggested [child minder]. She is a distant relative. Their distant relative, acquaintance of them. (University graduated, architect, her child is 2 years old)

Here, the main point is to prove appropriateness of child minder since recommendation does not come from people having similar class background. In other words, Asiye supports her preference of child minder. Another way of displaying how the worker is

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<sup>99</sup> Opening a parenthesis here is necessary that mediating agencies play different role for migrant domestic workers. As Atatimur's (2008) study demonstrates these institutions not only bring the workers and employers together, but also enable them to meet their migrant friends, and communicate with their families. In other words they offer socialization and communication opportunity for migrant workers.

suitable to family is addressing advices coming from the ones possessing resembling social and cultural background.

It is not only for mothers but also for child minders, finding a suitable family is a distressed condition. For many of them, the most common way of finding job seems to be their networks. Circle of acquaintances –varying from relatives to friends and neighbors- is a significant source for care work jobs. Many of these acquaintances had/have worked as child minder. This is a significant detail because before knowing someone else working in this job, many women told that they and, especially, their husbands, had been timid about place of the work, a house. Yet, as soon as they realized child minding has been performed widespread and women -who are considered low skilled- find chance to earn some money and ‘contribute’ to family budget; their opinion has changed to positive. By time goes, depending on their working condition, these women have started to form a good example and source of reference for other women.

Apart from women’s circle, husbands’ network also contributes to the pool. Especially men working in public institutions have more chance to hear mothers looking for someone to care their children. Furthermore headmen (muhtar) –not of their district but of others in which need for child minder is higher- are another alternative for women seeking a family to work for.

There is not a strongly mentioned reason behind preference of finding the job through their network. For some of them it is an accustomed way that they have never thought of applying to an agency. For others, acquaintances appear to be more reliable compared to these firms. Bad reputation of the agencies –stigmatized as places covering prostitution, particularly, because of migrant women- underlies this idea. Gül (46) told that she got afraid of these kinds of agencies. Kevser (46), like Gül, mention

that she felt insecure since she does not know neighborhood well. Likewise, Neriman (38) explained her preference with concern of her security. Because of the fact that place of working is a house, going through an advice of an acquaintance is perceived as more reliable.

A home as a working place brings to the workers' mind issue of honor. Selda (40) said, at the beginning, she was timid about the agencies. Yet, as women from her network have been placed into "proper" families, she threw her unease off. She legitimizes these kinds of concerns with importance of "values should be protected".

You know, you try out, test the family, if they are not suitable to you. Because as much as the person they take into their house, what kind of house you are going is very significant. Because we also have a family, kids to whom we are responsible; we also have honor, well I don't know, the values that we should keep. (High school graduated, working for 3,5 years)

Furthermore, someone familiar to child minding work to refer might also be considered significant by child minders. Because both for them and the employers, two people knowing nothing about each other to come together in a private sphere is annoying.

Way of finding child minder/family is the first step for working relation to start. Yet, both mothers and child minders have many criteria while choosing whom to work with. Additionally the firms run a selection process not only for potential workers but also families. The next section brings forth decision procedure of the mothers, child minders and agencies.

### **6.1.2. First Contact, First Opinions**

Although mothers and the workers have different opinions about features of a child minder there are two common points, which are the heart of the matter: Reliability and love. Both sides could not have thrown uneasiness off as the relation continues, due to the idea that parents put their precious into hands of a stranger. And feeling of love is

believed to be an essential condition cannot be separated from trustworthiness. Yet, love has always been thought together with “like s/he is your own child” feeling. Naime (51), a child minder, highlights how different child care is and love comes above all, despite she mentions the importance of education.

[Child minder] should be wholeheartedly, can give her love to kid. I mean, except for the course [receiving training], you know she should love that child as it is her own. I mean, love come first. If someone does her job happily, I mean not only child [child care] but also other jobs, she will be happy while making the other side happy as well. Well, when this is child [child care], the situation changes of course. It becomes different because this is a child [child care]. (Primary school graduated, working for 4 months)

Similarly Fidan (50) underlines significance of trained child minders, however she emphasizes love between child and his/her minder. Accounts of both Naime (51) and Fidan should be read as summary of other workers I interviewed with.

“This is a child (care)” statement summarizes its difference from other jobs. However this is not only distinction. Child care to be performed in informal labor market within the frame of private sphere should be included for comprehending specificity of this work in Turkey. Therefore education to make this little sense is very much related with distinctiveness of the job. As it will be explained in detail below, less educated women are preferred by middle class mothers. That is to say, child minders to mention education less, appear to be consistent with preferences of employers as well.

While mothers decide a care worker they ask standardized questions, which are related with reliability of a child minder. One of the notable concerns is family structure of intending worker. If her children are studying or working and husband has a job, it is a good start. Yet place of study/job is influential as well. For instance in case children are university student and husband is a civil servant, that candidate’s credibility will increase. On the other hand familial relations are considered as giving clue about happiness of child minder, which finds its reflection in her attitudes towards child. Furthermore, her child(ren)’s age closely interest families because a small child means

possibility of pre-concerted day offs that the worker will ask. This will cause problem, mostly, for mothers since they have to account for taking a day's vacation from work. Keriman (35), a civil servant, admits that, at the beginning, she could not behave 'wise enough' to question child minders' family lives. Thanks to her mother-in-law.

[Replying my question about her family] never crossed my mind. My mother-in-law came. While she was talking, she asked many [questions] for instance. Then, I understood the significance of it. It didn't come to my mind but as she asked "well" I said, "these are significant things". There is violence in some of their family [...] The children [of the child minder] were studying at the METU. Her husband is public servant in another building of our ministry. As I know them, I behaved relaxed. (University graduated, specialist in a public institution, has a 2,5 years old child)

As it is clear here, in addition to children to be university student and husband to work, place of studying and working also make impact on impression about 'quality' of child minders. I assume concern about occupation of children and partner of an employee is only matter of child care work in informal labor market. In other words, the working relation to be established in a private sphere, exempting from all kind of formal regulation, and subject of the work to be a small child make a classical job definition impossible. Thus, need of description of new terms imposes itself. In addition to what children and husband do "family order" is also given significance as Diler's account display. Very much importance to be attached to private life of the workers is a criterion absent in any other jobs.

Diler (45), in her job interview, encountered questions about place of her house, her husband and children. To her, an unemployed partner is not a desired situation for employers.

[The employer] asked few questions like "How many kids did you look after?" "Where do you stay, where does your husband work?" She said, "It is very important for me that your husband is working, that you have a family order". "If he is an unemployed husband, he has problem" she said. Then, "my husband is working at the Hacettepe [University]" I said. Then, "how many children do you have", she said. "How old are the children?" She asked such questions. (High school graduated, working for 7 years)

For child minders, as well, peace in family where she will work carries a similar weight because of the fact that any conflict will find its reflection on relation between child minder and mother as Halime (38) says, “There should be peace in family. She should get along with her partner. That is very important for me [...] because when there is unrest at the family, it reflects badly on me, well. [...] I mean, how my family life is important for them [...]”

An employee to take his/her employer’s family life into account is not a case to be encountered in other jobs no matter they are performed in informal or formal labor market. In other words only if informal working relation is formed in private sphere, family structure gains significance. Yet home-based work is also performed in home and in informal labor market, and neither of sides cares about family structure of one another. Therefore work to be a child care underlies this difference. It is the fact that even a child minder care for a child in her own house, order of her family life will be important; even more important than working in employer’s place.

Accounts of child minders reveals that they do not have many criteria while deciding to whom to work with. In the first instance they attach importance to feel emotionally close to family. Although middle class mothers stated a similar situation, particularly when they could not explain why they chose existing child minder among alternatives, they consider combination of many factors, as mentioned before. However, reply of workers to the question of their criteria for families mostly address relation between them and mothers after beginning to work. In this sense love and respect are underlined features required for an encouraging communication. “Warmth and sympathy” are mentioned, additionally, for “like my home” feeling to be possible, which is one of the essential demands expressed by child minders.

Moreover where child minder lives also decisive because distance means long traveling hours –that the worker may be late or ask to leave earlier than needed- and giving extra money for transportation. The best situation is child minder and family to live within same neighborhood, which is usually possible if she is a gatekeeper’s wife, or a civil servant’s -residing in a quarter provided by public institution where husband works.

As it is clear here, the employers and employees hold unequal positions even before the working relation has been established. Child minders’ preferences mostly centered around conditions of the work while mothers consider many factors varying from character traits to physical appearance, to private life of the workers. In other words child minders are the ones picked out, having not much control on selection process. Yet, this does not mean they do not have any negotiation power. It will be showed below that in some cases many criteria defined by mothers might lose ground.

In my research it was the fact that child’s needs were not included in criteria mentioned while deciding on whom to work with, except by one of the mothers having a sick child requiring a special care. Rather, other kinds of factors regarding employer’s life come out. Integration to rules of household is believed to be critically important. In this sense references of the worker are considerable that mothers rely on advises of families from similar socio-cultural background much, because this strengthens likelihood that child minder will not come into conflict with middle class values. Filiz (38), having two master degrees and working in one of the few universities in Turkey, refers to working experience of the child minder as an “advantage” filling gap coming from her insufficient educational level.

For example, the education of this child minder is not good but she has always worked with people from the METU. Therefore, I can say that she has improved herself, I mean. In terms of knowledge treasure still not enough, but, well, in terms of point of view, she had improved herself. I think this is very important. I enjoy its advantages. She had worked with instructors from the METU, therefore, I found that thing in her, you know we say ethnical origin [...] Approximately my 30 years passed at the METU I can say, you get a culture in here. She has that culture for instance [...]. More or less, she

knows how I will think on an event [...] Even the expectations from the kid is alike. For example, I expect success from my child. In addition to her happiness, I also aim her to be successful. She [child minder] can understand this. I could tell, couldn't I? [...] So, she also needs to rush. I mean, while I am at work, a teacher may come to the house or she may need to take the kid to somewhere. [She is] someone who can understand all these. (Has two children; 11 years old and 3 years old)

This is one of several accounts making emphasis on education. Yet it also underlies insignificance of being educated because of other attributes take place of it. In actual fact, importance of middle class values is highlighted through absence of education. Cultural capital acquired by means of schooling is replaced by experience. While difference between mother and child minder, with respect to access to sources, is obvious on the other hand similarity is highlighted. This is very common attitude I encountered in narratives of middle class mothers.

Even for reliability of a child minder, her previous work history regarding socio-cultural background of employers increase in importance. Ceylan (34) employed a child minder who cared for children of a physician friend of her.

[...] How much can a person trust on somebody she doesn't know, in the beginning? This a little bit concerned us, but we made use of advices and experiences. We began to search for the ones who brought up the children of the people living more or less parallel things with us. [...] And, in a short time we found. A lady -who brought up children of a physician friend of us till they got three years old- had just left the job. We came upon her. We accepted her, gladly. She started to work, thanks to her. [...] Ten months, she was with us. We were very satisfied. (Assistant professor, has a 1,5 years old child)

Another indicator of class difference and, also, individual preference is order of house. This is why a mother might want child minder to understand the rules of the household and obey them, leave her way of life out of the door. A child minder brings her habits and tries to find a middle course to not to feel estranged and establish a good relation with mother. How fast a worker adjust herself to this different way of life, mother will be satisfied. Or from the other point if a child minder finds opportunity to exist as she gets used to do, she will be happier and setting-in period will be shorten.

In the literature on immigrant domestic workers, importance of child to be raised in consistent with her/his family's cultural and ethnical values is addressed. Uttal (1994:6) conceptualizes this demand as "racial safety". Furthermore Anderson (2002) shows cultural differences create tension between the employers and the workers. With respect to my study, translating *racial* to *values* seems possible. Why it is values but not class safety because mothers do not look for workers coming from same social class. Actually this is not possible as far as it is not desirable. However what middle class women aim to find child minders who will not conflict their class values and will represent their family within the best appropriate way.

At least, within the boundaries of my research, speaking of an *ethnical safety* is not possible by reason of no preference was alluded by the informants. However importance attached to accent displays that mothers have a choice; "proper Turkish speaking", which might be interpreted as an ethnical priority. Yet, most of the child minders to be from the middle Anotolia blur issue of ethnic difference. It is the fact that in Turkey ethnicity discussions mainly evokes Kurdish-Turkish distinction. In this sense it might be assumed that child care sector is not within working alternatives for Kurdish women, especially, older than 40 years old because of insufficient knowledge of Turkish language. These women to go out of home and take place in public sphere are harder compared to other women from lower social class. They are lack of skills considered to be necessary for taking place in public life, such as ability to read and write, or having sufficient economical sources<sup>100</sup>. This situation links us to modern/rural (traditional) dichotomy that Özyeğin's and Bora's studies exhibit for

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<sup>100</sup> Older Kurdish women subjected to economical or forced migration mostly live in edge of cities, within poverty. Other than circumstance lacking of material benefits considered to be basic necessities in a society, widespread negative perception of Kurdish problem is also another reason their exclusion from social and economical life.

Turkish case, when neatness and cleanness join to wish for a child minder having a proper accent, mentioned as significant elements while choosing a child minder.

As Bora (2005) underlines that there are two stereotypes of woman: Modern and traditional, which have stayed unchanged from the beginning of Turkish Republic (p.78). Cleanness is one of the criteria emphasized by mothers that, in her study, Bora signifies its function as forming boundary between different classes. Regarding child care it is for sure this still function as sign of class distinction but due to the fact that child minders are located as much more closer to middle class life this modern/traditional dichotomy, found meaning through physical appearance, mostly draws a line between child minders and cleaning workers. In child minders' narrations this difference is told as a positive aspect, and highlights superiority of them. Halime (38) describes child minders as women paying attention to how to dress and to speak. If a care worker does not mind her appearance then the line becomes less distinct between her and a cleaning worker, which is described as negative.

People are changing according to life conditions but there are of course people, ladies who concern more about her clothing, who concern more about her speaking, her diction, who strikes an attitude of the family she goes to work. They, the ladies are self-developed, of course. [...] She was going to child care work but her appearance was indifferent from the ones going cleaning work [...] Now, the ones going for child minding dress more modern. They remember to make up. But the ones going for cleaning, don't take care of their selves. They seem like they get dressed pell-mell. But there are the ones that you cannot criticize. Everybody has been brought up different. In summer time for example, there are ones who come with slippers, with the normal sport slippers. They make themselves apparent. There are also kindergarten teachers, in shuttle, there are assistant teachers. There are the ones cooking in the kindergarten. I mean, all of them are different when you look at. I mean it comes out who goes to where, and how. (Primary school graduated, working for eight years)

Aylin (38), while she reproves neighbors of her employers since they evaluate her only from her appearance, rather how she works; she does not hide feeling of satisfaction in front of these comments. In this contentment, choice of families also plays a significant role.

[...] Well, [the employer] went to aerobic, to the fitness center in the building complex. She came to me, said “we spoke about you there”. “There are ones who know you, who saw you” she said. “What did you speak about me?” I said. “E, they said where did you find [her], what a well-groomed child minder”. “What” I said, “shame on them, while they don't tell about how I care for [child]” I said, “they tell what kind of person I am” I said. They are telling about my appearance. “No, no” she said, “They also told about that” [...] The family as well, first consider my appearance. Because they said, “Well, our previous child minders were old, wearing headscarf.” [...] “Well, they were different” they said, “you are more modern.” This was the primary reason that the family liked me. (High school graduated, working for 2,5 years)

In Turkey, wearing headscarf and being modern are still positioned as opposite to each other. As the narratives make clear that the way child minders look is strongly connected to be modern or traditional, and a modern appearance is related to be in vicinity of middle class values. That is to say, mothers are closely interested in image of their child minders since they are thought as representative of their middle class family.

Dilek (35), working as a specialist in a public institution, emphasizes dissimilarity of her child minder from accustomed ones, not only through her way of dressing but also her habits. It seems the closer child minder gets to internalize middle class values, the more she is appreciated. Moreover, a child minder might function as underlining difference among middle class women.

[The child minder] is also reading book, which I most liked. She is not a university graduate but she reads books about children; she is improving herself by reading books from my library when the child sleeps. She is a well-groomed, modern lady. She doesn't give an impression of an ordinary child minder that my friends have. (Has two children; 6,5 years old and 1,5 years old)

Reason behind importance of way of dressing is that, according to Olcay (39), a child minder is the one influencing first tastes of a child. Since one of the signs of belonging a middle class is how a child looks, a minder's style matters.

Way of dressing, behaviors and speaking/accent are aspects emphasized by mothers, and indicate how they categorize child minders. While way of speaking/accent seems to be mentioned for development of children, it is significant for middle class habits as well. Child to learn a proper Turkish, child minder to use right words in right place is

considered crucial. What Beyhan (34), an architect, tells about way of speaking of a child minder they met, reveals how an accent operates as indication of class difference.

[...] A lady, who would like have to work live-in basis- came to us. We went to her home for the first meeting. I could not understand any words she said. She told many things, but believe me, I could understand nothing. [...] I said, "You did not pay attention to child. What kind of thing you have in your mind?" "Ah... Let me hold her" she responded and started to say "gaby, biby" something like that. I mean even she pronounced baby as gaby, which was the simplest example. Then think on rest of her Turkish. [...] Despite my mother's side is from the middle Anatolia, we have also roots in the East part of Turkey. Yet we can speak a proper Turkish. (University graduated, architect, have 17 months old child)

This narrative is the one displaying how middle class mothers might think about ethnic origin of their employees. For Beyhan her ethnicity seems to be an identity should be as invisible as possible, and to be urbanized/modernized is above all categories. In other words, here again modern/traditional definition finding its reflection on mode of pronunciation replaces issue of ethnicity, while at the same time underlines it.

Different from a cleaning worker, child minder is considered as a representative of the middle class family life. This is why her way of behavior and/or dressing or accent is taken into account. Dolunay (46), an industrial engineer, to note that her employee is like one of her relatives, clearly reveals importance of consistency of a child minder with middle class morals.

[Child minder] looks to be one of our family, when you consider her family structure, her outfit, accent. As if she is one of my cousins or, I don't know, like my sister. I mean the lady is like one of our close relatives. She is not very different from us. For example, her meals are delicious. She keeps a good table, fitting our taste. (University graduated, industrial engineer, have a three years old child)

If we consider Young's (2005) distinction between housework and homemaking, Dolunay's account functions as one of the examples displaying that in child minding this differentiation is blurred. On the one hand this is because in child care housework and homemaking are mainly expected at the same time. Furthermore, separating cleaning from care activities is not applicable due to the fact that child minders –even the ones hired only care for children- wash and iron clothes of child, and clean places

he/she messed up or passed through. On the other hand Young's differentiation works well for –in general sense- division established between cleaning and care workers. In this sense child minders are positioned as homemakers of middle class families in opposition to cleaning ladies as house workers.

Another example to why values safety is useful instead of class safety is acknowledgement of mothers about finding a “consummate” child minder is not viable. While on the one hand structure of the sector generates this awareness, on the other hand women know that demanding a –not heavy- cleaning will be resisted if child minder is ‘qualified’.

Most of mothers do not have any expectation about high level of education. They point to difference of child care that certificates do not mean much. Similarly Gülay, agency manager, draws attention to families employing women owing to their degree on child development. According to her, these kinds of families make a mistake since “this work isn't about books.” On the other hand, many times low level of education come into prominence if the mother requires cleaning of house. Both narratives of the child minders and the mothers display that if the former does also cleaning, either mother does not need any other worker for cleaning or hire someone once in 15 days/ a month. Most of high school graduates are only expected to care for child. In such cases, a cleaning lady is employed for once/twice a week. These findings are consistent with what agency owner Leyla told about the sector.

Actually, most of the child minders in our country are self-trained, they are primary school graduates. [...] As a consultant, if a child minder's level of education has reached to child development graduate, you have to differentiate her from the others. [...] 85% of the families looking for a child minder require daily housework, ironing and cooking to be performed in addition to child minding. 15% of them ask even more. They also want full cleaning addition to minding [...] When a family calls me for a child minder, the question I always ask is this: Is there a cleaning staff coming your house periodically? If yes, how frequently? This is mostly once a week, or biweekly. [...] 30% of them have 2 or 3 days a week, while 5% every day. Thus, actually this shapes the way you work. If there is a cleaning staff coming every day, it means you should find someone have a high school diploma or is

graduated from the department of child development. Because the family's concern is to find someone who can help the child spend quality time.

From the other point of view, child minders are required to obey the rules of mother and her house. This is why some women, like Burcu (38), prefer to work with low educated women. With respect to values safety, education is replaced by self-development, which is the mostly required owing to the fact that representation of middle class family to be attainable. An educated child minder carries potential of conflicting order of house and mother.

It is important that she knows my habits, order of my house and behaves accordingly. For example, at all events, you are employing her. I don't want her to object my rules. So, if she is a university graduated, you can not expect all these. (Has master degree, entrepreneur, has a 16 months child)

Age and weight are other attributes given importance. Age is referred because to keep up with child, the worker should be young-enough. It is sure there are other factors determining to be active such as character of child minder, but after some age expecting her to take a strong line is not realistic. Moreover, age is pointed out since it reveals having energy for doing cleaning. Weight, in a similar vein, is taken into consideration. Fatness is considered as a problem due to limiting child minder's movements and preventing her to be active enough. The workers who "do not want to move" may be even harmful for healthy development of children as Beyhan's child's doctor tells them that their daughter's muscles has developed less than it should have been. That is to say age and weight are noteworthy indicating success of child minder.

Gülay, agency manager, differentiates age groups that she defines 20-25 years old child minders as *play sister*. Families, according to her, prefer women who are between 35-45 years old for their children smaller than 1 year old, by reason of importance attached to motherhood instinct. While *play sisters* are young and dynamic enough to be able to run after children, the others are good for babies.

On the other hand age group is also shows how experienced child minder is. For some mothers if they and child minders are the close age, their way of child care might be similar; which is significant for mothers to not to experience any conflict, or to be able to establish a good communication. “Being like friend,” explains the dialogue that some mothers looking for. Sometimes maturity could be demanded compared to “absentminded” younger women. Levelheadedness is related often with being a mother, which is also connected to liking to care for children. In point of fact, degree of education becomes unimportant once more since “although primary school graduated, they know what is what”. As it is clearly grasped from Dolunay’s narrative below, mothers calculate every point in detail to be able to find a worker, who will meet their demands as much as possible. Here issue of doing cleaning appears again, and age comes into prominence since it is thought, “the older child minder is, the smaller work she handles”.

I did not want her to be too young. I did not want her to be single or a young girl. I thought that she would have boyfriends, and would talk on the phone at home or she’d marry and leave. Her husband may not allow her to work, she would leave in 1-2 years [...] we also wanted her to help with the household chores. It is true that young girls feel offended with these type of works. That’s why I did not prefer them much. I did not want her to be too old since she had to continuously deal with child. (University graduated, industrial engineer, have a three years old child)

Semiha’s account on the other hand casts light on another issue that, according to her, young women prefer “more social jobs” rather than working in a house. She addresses narrowness of the alternatives concerning age of child minders, which is consistent with age average of my informants. Range of their age varies from 38 to 57, while the average is 44.

As some narratives show although mothers mention that they do not have any preference regarding women wearing headscarf, religious practices, are taken into consideration due to good of children. Time spend in the practices could be perceived by mothers as stolen from care time. “As far as I know a namaz takes 10 minutes or so.

This woman goes to bathroom and stays there for half an hour. She goes to the room to pray, it takes half an hour. Meanwhile my mother has to take care of the child” (Beyhan). Furthermore religious practices to be executed regularly also underlines difference between life styles. On the other hand, Leyla, mediating agency owner, told that while some families do not want to employ Alewi women; some others do not prefer to work with women wearing headscarf. Furthermore, she highlights that these preferences changes from neighborhood to neighborhood.

I do not know the whole country, but in our city [Ankara], neighborhoods also represent the profile of the families. So what does this mean? If a family is calling me from Çukurambar, by 70% they will want a woman wearing headscarf, or they will say okay. But if they are calling from Ümitköy or Çayyolu than by 70%, they will not want a woman wearing headscarf. They will definitely want a woman without scarf. Especially they will not prefer the ones performing namaz. Because for the people living within that neighborhood namaz means a time frame that something could bad happen to child in absence of child minder. But, again, for Çukurambar [...] most people say, “Don’t send an Alewi woman”. Unfortunately, these kinds of things have made me upset. [...] I have always come across this distinction regarding the ones wearing headscarf or not and Alewi women.

What Leyla specified regarding reservation of families about religious practices corresponds to my findings. However according to observation I conducted in the shuttle busses carrying women working in Çayyolu, almost 80 per cent of women were wearing headscarves. I argue since other features considered as fundamental for wellbeing of children that mothers look for, such as mercy and conscience, affection and reliability may be linked to religiosity; and thus women with headscarves may be thought to represent all of them. Therefore, even differences between life styles might be ignored.

Behind emphasis on mercifulness, consciousness and reliability, I believe, there are ‘bad nanny/child minder stories circulating among mothers and child minders. Both of them have to deal with stories about ‘ill-disposed’ child minders. From the side of mothers they have to be sure that child minder is trustworthy. This confidence could be developed during the course of the time, yet till that time comes, mothers should find

ways of controlling them. The stories circulate in networks of women and cause women to locate themselves and the other under the light of these stories. In the narratives, women support their ideas about care work through these stories despite the fact that they are not sure about reality of them. One of these narratives is on significance of cleanness of a child minder, as Keriman (35) told. According to her, the more a workers is clean, the more a child will be cared well.

It is because if she is clean by herself, she will behave the child in that way. 'Cause you know that I heard from some friends that some of them do not change the diaper for the whole day. And change it only when mother is about to come. Besides, they throw the untouched ones away for mother to think she used them. People are weird. (University graduated, specialist in a public institution, her child is 2,5 years old)

Furthermore stories about maltreatment of children is another subject making mercifulness is the most essential quality for mothers. Semiha while mentioning her criteria about a child minder, she underlines what is important for her: “to not to yell at or beat the child.” She says, “my child to be safe and sound, has a guard near are enough for me.” On the other hand, although Aylin, a child minder, states that she does not believe the workers to harm child they care for, and indicates she has never came across a bad minder, tells what she heard from her employer: A worker pricking child’s hand with a sewing needle. Therefore mothers to prefer women wearing headscarves is not confusing that they may suppose ‘fear of god’ will prevent them to behave like child minders in the stories.

From the side of the minders, stories especially on employers behaving in an opposite way of considering the workers as one of the family are widespread. Not offering or keeping food is told as common characteristic of a ‘bad’ employer. As it becomes apparent from the narratives, the first condition for child minders to feel as one of the family is to be able to eat like they are in their own house. Moreover, as it is clear in the stories, how much workers feel relaxed while eating is the main aspect distinguishing

good and evil employers, and lucky and unlucky child minders. Halime (38) believes she is one of the lucky workers.

[...] the things I heard so heavy that it is said there are families giving no breakfast or they ask the workers to do their breakfast before coming work. It is rumored that they don't buy anything for breakfast in weekdays, only on weekends just for themselves. [...] I know friends of mine carrying their own bread for lunch. This is why I find myself lucky. (Primary school graduated, working for eight years)

Another significant element in these stories is honor. Tales on "nasty proposition", on which working place is to be home is very influential, might cause women to fear and act with deliberation. Kerime told that how she had felt afraid in the first months of working. "My sister-in-law's brother's wife tells. I don't know whether it is true or not but she has always told us that, she heard of "inappropriate" propositions as well. I was scared a lot at the beginning; I started the job, without courage."

Therefore, women may not accept to work in a family having a father working from home. This will both keep them to behave as if they are in their house and make them to feel at ease owing to being with a man in a private sphere. Furthermore, the situation might complicate their decision of working in the eyes of child minders' male family members and acquaintances.

To sum up, decision of whom to work with is taken not easily, owing to the fact that issue is child care. Place of working to be private sphere causes both child minders and mothers develop many criteria that finding them in any other sector will be hard, if not impossible. Among varying demands, reliability and love come out. Both sides of the working relation expect from each other trustfulness. Furthermore, a child minder to love child she cares for is considered essential. Yet, especially from the point of the workers, there should be a warm relation between them and families. Although employers do not describe themselves in need of a rapport connection as much child

minders do, they also know a good link established between workers and employers is better for the sake of children and for a content atmosphere in household.

Another significant criterion is family structure of workers and employers. In this sense age and educational level of children, and husband's occupation become decisive while mothers decide whom to employ. From the point of child minders, a family they prefer working in should be consisted of a working husband, and there should be a peaceful relation between couples.

As the narratives made clear, while requirements of children join to middle class values mothers' preferences for child minders cluster around being mother/having experience, age, accent, weight and appearance. Educational level is stressed as well, yet it is not considered as curial. Particularly way of dressing, behaviors and speaking/accent are perceived as important not basically for development of children but them to be raised according to middle class standards.

The reason that women have these many criteria is closely related with insufficient social welfare implementations and gendered division of labor at home. First of all since women are considered as one and only responsible from domestic works, they have to think on and find the best child minder, and organize whole relation. Within the absence of a formal regulation and control they are the ones have to be sure about safety and healthy development of children while they have been raised by child minders. Moreover, insufficient institutionalized child care services cause mothers to develop their own solution to problem of care of the children till they start to school. Yet, going to school does not mean issue of care comes to end. As it will be displayed in detail later, owing to the fact that opening and closing hours of kindergartens and working hours have not been arranged consistent with needs of parents, in most situations mothers have to continue their relation with child minders or develop other

solutions. In other words, working middle class women have to take long years of care issue while deciding on whom to work with.

Similarly, absence of any formal regulation and control let child minders to worry about their safety and working atmosphere; while at the same time enable many of them to find chance to work despite low level of education. Although they do not have as many specifications as middle class mothers take into account, working without any institutional protection and arrangement in a private sphere make them to rely on their senses and advises coming from their references, and to be very careful about personal features of the employer. This is why they mostly prefer their own networks rather than mediating agencies.

Most of my respondents to found job/employer via their social network<sup>101</sup> is also because of lack of formal regulation mechanisms. Despite mediating agencies fulfill a function in the domestic work sector; they cannot replace the institutional arrangements. This is why they have been located as supplementary to kinship/friends network. However this situation acquires a little bit a different character if immigrant workers are at issue. Mediating agencies are motive force of live-in domestic work sector. Yet still they are one of the main actors of paid child care in informal labor market. The next section displays how the sector is shaped by and seen from the window of mediating agencies.

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<sup>101</sup> Nine out of 19 mothers found child minders through their acquaintances, 7 mothers applied to mediating agencies. Child minders on the other hand seems to mostly preferred their network that only three of them made an application to the agencies.

### 6.1.3. Role of Mediating Agencies

Legal mediating agencies or, with its common use, consultancy firms, in Turkey, have private employment agency status and work under the responsibility of Turkish Employment Agency (ISKUR). They provide workers for cleaning, child care, and care for elder/unable people, and match intending employers and employees. Differences of these firms from acquaintance network are possibility of alternatives, presence of a written contract and supervising<sup>102</sup>.

The agencies that I interviewed seemed to work professionally. What professionalism means in this sector is that to try to understand demands/preferences of both employers and employees, and to offer the best match. Bringing two people together in a house is not an easy mission, since they come from different economic, social and cultural backgrounds as Gülay, owner of an agency in Kızılay, points to. “It is hard to get people of education and the ones having low level of culture together” summarizes how the agencies reflect on the sector and the workers. There are different methods used for achieving this mission, but, without doubt, experience very much matters.

While a woman to work as a child minder comes to a firm there is a pre-selection phase, which is a combination of asking certain questions and relying on agency managers’ judge of a character. In this sense Leyla very much relies on her 12 years accumulation.

Of course I asked the known questions. She was really competent technically. She was also experienced, had references, but something was missing. Recognizing is relevant to my experience. I mean the 12-year of experience showed me that the lady sitting down in front of me had a serious problem and I should be careful about her.

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<sup>102</sup> However, it should be emphasized that they only mediate and do not force employers to provide a social insurance for the workers. As it will be discussed in detail in the next sections, in the contract, presence of an article stating necessity of social insurance mostly remains as a matter of form. Therefore while speaking of working conditions, it should be recalled that private employment agencies promote informal employment.

According to mediating agency managers I spoke to, while deciding to whom to work with, they evaluate as if they look for a child minder. They say they do not take every application. There are many criteria they consider varying from personal care to family structure, to affection felt for children. Account of the owner of an agency in Kızılay, Gülay, makes clear that manager women position themselves firstly as mother, which is considered as an essential condition in the sector. Before all else, they assess applicants according to their preference as if they look for a child minder.

Since I am a mother, I evaluate the workers as I employ them in my home. In case they suit my criteria, in case I say yes that I can have them as helping hand owing to the fact that my children are very young then it means that person is good for me. Criteria we have here vary from how she looks at to her behaviors; how she speaks to how she dress and how clean she is, all of which are details for us. When she has a seat in front of us, we look over her. From nail care to cleanness of her hair, her body. If she smells or not, cleanness of her dresses, all of which are signs of cleanness of body and are very important. Besides, a person shows herself with her lady-like behaviors. We evaluate all these in the first instance.

Emphasis on cleanness of a child minder shows that agency managers' choices are coherent with what mothers look for. In addition to physical appearance, a proper Turkish accent is a significant criterion for employers, as it is stated in detail above accounts. Leyla also referred to the same things: looking presentable and having a good elocution. She added that she referred the ones having a way of speaking that too much accentual to cleaning work. Here again, child minders to not to come into conflict with middle class values become apparent. They are considered as representatives of the employer's life styles.

Gülay, as well, emphasizes way the workers speak, and she connects this canon with self-development. Although she refers education as a criterion she mentions that they, as the agency, do not consider women who were "*too slummier.*" Slummier here is used to signify social status of women, and to underline contrast between workers' and families' life styles. On the other hand, way of dressing is also important that

application of women wearing “skimpy clothes” is not taken into consideration. “Families looking for a worker who fits them, consequently.”

It is the fact that child minders and cleaning workers are perceived and evaluated differently by every actor in the sector. The difference finds its reflection on cleanness, physical appearance, ‘ladylike’ attitudes, and mode of pronunciation.

Furthermore, “bullheadedness” is a quality, which is not welcomed by the mediating agencies. “Being respectful and getting along with” mother are crucial. The firms do not want to work with employees, who are “dominant more than owner of the house”. This is why Gülay advises the workers to “do whatever mother or father ask” child minders to do about children. She warns them to not “suggest anything wrong or right”, because “this is the family’s own decision.”

Affection felt for a child is considered essential as the agency manager, Hale, in Ümitköy indicates, “I do not refer the ones coming for cleaning but then saying, “at least I care for a child.” You cannot say, “at least” if child is at stake.” Although there is no formal standardization, some principles seem to be agreed on in the sector by all sides of working relation through circulation of information among social networks.

If a candidate passes the phase, her CV is required. Then a file is opened; and proof of residence, copy of identity card, record of conviction, health report and references are put in. Furthermore her preferences with respect to doing cleaning, age group she would like to work with, location of workplace, presence of mothers and grandmother(s) in house are added in the file. References are called and their trueness is checked while also some information about the applicant is taken.

Usually a week is allowed for both of employers and employees to see if they could work together, which is called as a “time to live”. If these seven days passes without problem, a contract is made that care worker, employer and the firm are the sides of. In

return of the service, employer should pay to the firm an amount as a monthly wage of the worker, and if is not satisfied about the worker within three months, firm is obliged to send new candidates. This is a significant period because both mothers and child minders experience first months distressfully. After this one week, if everything is okay a contract is signed among mothers, child minder and the agency.

In the contract, working days and hours, wage, amount and time of pay rise, day offs and responsibilities of employee are clearly specified. Duration of the contract, depending on firm, changes between three months to a year. Yet the expiration of it does not mean end of communication, as Hale underlines.

[...] As it is with families, I keep being a friend with the employees. That's what matters; the job does not mean everything. I do not have a rule like it is done. Of course I support them in every issue. I do whatever I can do to help them in every issue.

This is why, for instance, even after five years a mother might call the firm and ask for advices about pay rise, and/or problem she experiences with her worker. Here an agency owner to associate job she does with family and friend relations, indicates structure of the sector. As owners of the firms I interviewed told me that it is very common to take a call in the middle of the night, or it is not unusual to put a care worker up in their home when she was beaten by her husband and cannot go back.

While the firms refer many criteria about the workers, not much about families. Yet, they mention a blacklist consisted of the ones who change workers ever so often within three months period of probation. Furthermore, families escaping payment in return of the service agencies offered and treating the workers badly are put into the list. Moreover, peace in family is considered significant owing to the fact that a stressful atmosphere will women to quit job in a very short time and cause the agencies to provide a new worker free of charge. In the sector the agencies warn each other against these kinds of families. In other words, they establish a kind of a control mechanism.

As it is clear once again, circulation of information is dense, fast and, has power of defining the boundaries of the field.

What Leyla confesses about men calling for care workers that the situation indicates how much the sector is female dominated and how traditional gender roles and motherhood are reproduced. She says, “A gentleman to call and tell me he would like to employ a child minder starts our relation from a negative point. And I ask, in an appropriate manner, where is your wife?” There are three reasons behind this attitude. One is “the sector to be opened to abuses” because working place is home, and secondly it reflects that man is the dominant in the family and on mother’s life. This is worth to mention because these kinds of families tire the minders and cause them to leave the job, which means an extra burden for the agencies. Thirdly care work is to be “grounded on motherhood, maternal instincts.” According to Leyla, fathers cannot know everything about their child, which is related with their “nature”.

Motherhood is also referred as a factor of distinction between local and immigrant domestic workers. As the managers I met suggest that reason behind families to employ immigrant workers, called in the sector as foreigners, is because of the fact that local ones do not accept to work live-in. Gülay remarks that she would rather have “Turkish women” because of finding them much more motherly. Her opinion rests on the fact that immigrant women do not have maternal feelings since they could leave their kids behind and manage to live without seeing them for three years, for instance. However Turkish women cannot do, even their children are 25 years old, which is a sign of powerful motherly feelings.

Leyla, on the other hand, draws attention to their value judgment and morality. Despite she appreciates how they work in the weekdays; she mentions ‘darkness’ of weekends.

“There are the ones selling their body, or becoming blind drunk.” Since reputation is important in the sector, she does not work with immigrant women.

Another point highlights traditional gender roles understanding is the managers’ insistence on women as the best mediators in the sector. Agencies established by men are accused of considering this business as commerce, which is because of the fact that “men are not mothers.” Gülay, though, admits that the work is commercial; she thinks it should be performed by the ones having “that feeling”. “The sector”, she says, needs “lady’s mentality and opinions”. Leyla, furthermore, concluded this widespread impression via emphasizing that both the employers and employees are women. This is why the female managers comprehend their requests and find solutions to their problems better than men can do.

To sum up, function of mediating agencies is only bringing potential worker and employers together, and then withdrawing. However this does not mean they completely disappear in the relation. Despite the contract signed between workers, employers and the agencies is temporary, of which duration changes between three months to a year, an informal connection survive between them and families, and the workers.

Although the managers I interviewed seem to stay a similar distance to both sides, they are closer to employee seekers. When they decide to which application to accept, they make an evaluation as if they look for a child minder. The managers locate themselves as mothers, above all. In accordance with middle class women, they attach importance to physical appearance of the workers varying from cleanness to way of dressing. In this sense they judge cleaning workers and child minders differently, that this distinction is centered not only around physical appearance, but also ladylike’ attitudes, and mode of pronunciation.

Contrary to criteria detailed about the employees, there is not a kind of list for families except the ones do not meet financial obligations of the contract. The agencies try to avoid the situations will cause them to frequently send new workers.

When the sector is taken into account as a whole, female domination becomes obvious. Despite the fact that finding a women to support another women and providing employment for some other is liberating from one point, since it replicates traditional gender roles and isolate women in particular definitions centering on motherhood, it is restrictive.

All the accounts reveal that paid child care swings between to be a work and non-work. From the one side it has a money relation, a written contract, boundaries and principles settled on, particular control mechanisms, wide human resources while on the other hand it is considered as needing no skills other than being woman and having motherhood instinct. Child care, like other domestic works, is to be performed in house unpaid by female members of families make influence on complication about the job.

As mentioned before, there is a week period defined for employers and workers to see how much they fit together. On the other hand three months probation period also shows despite some principles and good amount of references, working relation between child minders and middle class mothers are one and unique. This is why Initial months are experienced as 'adjustment' time, and are described as difficult. The coming part focuses on this adaptation term from the side of the employers and employees.

#### **6.1.4. Stranger in the House**

It is no matter in which way women find child minders, they are perceived as strangers in house. It is obvious that two individuals unknown to each other to be together -at least five days a week- is not as easy circumstance to deal with.

From the side of the workers, they start to spend their 8-9 hours in a house, which does not belong to them. At the beginning they are neither guests, nor the owner. Until getting used to the dwellers and order of the house, uneasiness has become the dominant feeling. During the course of the time, movement is from being a foreigner to the owner of the house; yet this is a never-completed process that child minders move in-between. While Selda (40) talks about her very first days, difficulty of working in a house becomes very clear.

Mother had left and I needed to feed the child. Imagine how difficult it was for me to get used to. I couldn't even open the door of the fridge. I'm at someone else's place, but I can't touch their stuff. I felt bad; I asked myself "What am I doing?" "Where am I?" "How will I do that? How am I going to open the door of the fridge every minute, how can I enter their room?" (High school graduated, working for 3,5 years)

Similarly Fidan's account proves that no matter child minders to find the job via help of an acquaintance, beginnings have always passed hard. "For 4 months, I suffered a lot. 4 months... Even though I found the job via an acquaintance."

Despite the fact that presence of mediating agencies seems to be considered as more reliable compared to finding via network because of procedure the agencies applied such as getting copy of identity card, declaration of residence etc., mothers develop different strategies to be sure that their children are cared well. Changing from giving specific instructions to telephone calls, to direct supervising; mothers control child minders. This is reflection of work relation to be established in private sphere, in the informal labor market, free from any legal arrangement. The state in Turkey compel women develop their own solutions in very stage of child care issue.

One of the strategies is employing care worker in the period of pregnancy or a week or two weeks before going back to work. Being together in the last months of pregnancy enable mother and child minder to know each other better, and rules of house to be clearly defined/comprehended. Kaya (2008) defines the situation as direct monitoring. Yet her emphasis is mostly on aspects of women's professional life passing to her relation with child minders. According to my research, on the other hand, while one of the motivations is telling order of household, another is to be sure of reliability of the workers. Although spending seven to fifteen days is not perceived sufficient enough, still becomes an opportunity to see if the child minder is appropriate one for the child. Furthermore child to be get used to absence of mother, she leaves 1-2 hours and come back. This is a practice also for mother. Aylin (38) told that even at the outside they were together with mother.

Like for example with friends they'll get to a cafe pass, enjoy the day there, I was also going with them. Like at the beginnings she didn't leave alone, stayed with me. She would go, if only she returned in one hour. Indeed the first 15 days were said as the trial period of course I didn't know that too. [...]It is a difficult thing for them, as well. Now I say that it was also hard for me but also hard for them, owing to leaving their kids. (High school graduated, working for 2,5 years)

Presence of other family members in close neighborhood becomes very important especially at the beginning. Dilek (35) told how she got used to leaving her child at home with a child minder.

You remain wrapped up in home. What's he doing, has he got used to, is he crying, you wonder... At first I used to call a few times like has he slept, eaten, cried after me. But I didn't feel things like let's put a camera at the house, or my parents to go for control. At the adjustment period my parent stayed with her anyway, so we got to know her personality also. (University graduated, specialist in a public institution, has two children at 6,5 and 1,5 years old)

Yet, not all women have chance to stay with the worker in the first days, and to know her. For instance Sinem (34) thought to ask child minder to give copy of her identity card. She would like to have something belong to the woman. She compared the situation to seizing immigrant women's passports. Yet she could not take any action

because she did not want to hurt feelings of child minder. However, she put other solutions into practice.

[...] You take in your place a complete stranger, and I stayed at home to let them get used to each other. End of a week I walked away you know. But I don't know the woman, what is she, what not. I only have her phone [number], that's it. So I asked my mom, she lives nearby. My mom visited often. I asked the doorman to keep an ear at the door. I asked the next-door even, since her husband someday remains home. With our living rooms side by side [...] We thought of the camera, we mentioned the camera to each child minder [...] this one also said like you know but not necessary. (Has university degree, administrative staff in a public institution, has a 15 months child)

Although Sinem could not plant a camera, many mothers prefer it to be sure their children are okay with child minder. Presence or absence of video cameras might be matter of trust or doubt. In some situations they are demanded by child minder to not to be able to be accused of doing something to child, in some others, perceived as a sign of mistrust. Nursel (41), child minder, is one of them interpreting inexistence of a video camera as a sign of confidence.

No cameras [...] The mother did not call even once, the baby born she left to me and gone. If I'd call, would be scared if something has happened. Nope you hear from some child minders that families call everyday, saying, controlling. Mine none; they trust me so much you see. (Primary school graduated, working for 2 years)

On the other hand, not getting disturbed by presence of a camera might be mentioned as child minders' self-confidence, like Nilgün (43) did; although they are aware that aim of planting camera is controlling.

[...] They said things like we miss the kid so much, we want to look at times, just to see when he sleeps, when wakes up. Since I was confident with myself did not take any offence I mean I did not do anything, was quite relaxed about it. Like do however you like. I mean after all they want to control me as well, but they also have protected me, trusted highly. I think so, so they were saying, like "don't get us wrong this has nothing to do with you..." (Primary school graduated, working for 2 years)

Having a camera in house is not a situation that mothers glory in. This is why they need to bring another explanation in addition to monitoring child minders. For instance Nalan (34) indicates efficacy of a camera for the worker.

Actually it is not like for spying upon them. When they came, our TV is downstairs, as he sleeps upstairs we can turn on and see [the kid] from the TV. This is the use indeed. For instance when

working in the kitchen, if she does not hear him waking up can see from there, or in case of a problem. I mean it's useful for the woman to follow while doing her things, especially when he is sick. I don't think they perceive it as we spy them. (Has a master degree, Project Assistant in an International Organization has a 20 months child)

Regular calls are also another way of being informed about child and saying 'I am here', especially in the first months.

As mentioned before family structure of child minder is given particular importance by families. Similarly visiting the worker's home is another way of getting information about her personality and other family members in case they have to leave their child in child minder's house. Selda told that after coming to see her house and family life, the employer gave up thinking to plant a camera.

Almost all kind of mechanisms to monitor child minder and her work are legitimate in the sector, which exhibits power of motherhood ideology. Share of state with poor institutionalization of care services and allow them to be stay in informal labor market, of employers resisting opening kindergartens in working places, and of men not sharing domestic responsibilities become invisible. Not only mothers but also other members of family and even neighbors take part in this picture, and play state's role of controlling.

Despite no request coming from mother about keeping an eye on child minder, some neighbors might watch the worker and her relation to child, and inform mother. Therefore, neighborhood may function as a kind of control mechanism. This also gives a clue about how much our society is interventionist and considers community as a big family. Therefore it is not an unusual a neighbor that you do not know to come and talk about your child and the child minder. Yet when children and their care by a foreigner woman –at least at the beginning- are at issue, then these kinds of interventions are welcomed by mothers, and also by the workers in case comments are positive. On the other hand, for mothers this might also operate as a kind of relief from guiltiness felt because of leaving their children to the hands of a child minder and going back work.

Asiye (43) states positive reactions of her neighbor about the child minder she employed.

[...] Since the neighbors take the kids to stroll around at daytime, everybody sees each other of course. Mothers, fathers, you know grandmothers of other kids, those who don't know us [...] You know when we come across they say such things "ah, your woman is so good, loves the kid so much, gives so much care, such a good woman" they say. (University graduated, architect, have two years old child)

Similar to what Bora (2005) found, in all narratives there is emphasis on trust in relation between child minder and family. Almost all child minders have key of the houses they work in, which is not only perceived as a sign of trust, but also of warmth. Yet most importantly, children's life to be put into their hands is considered as the fundamental indicator of reliability of child minders.

As mentioned above, what Sinem said, "you have a totally stranger women in your house" and Selda mentioned, "I am in someone else's house", summarize the situation at the beginning of encountering. To overcome this 'period of being stranger' women have to develop their own strategies due to unavailability of alternatives offered by the state.

As mentioned before, child care has its own distinctiveness distinguishing it from classical definition of work. Child care to be left to performed in private sphere in informal labor market; the relation to be established between women coming from different economical, social and cultural background; the family ideology to be powerful; the receiver of care to be a child; together with existence of money generate specificity of this issue.

In the next section this particular situation is described. How poor child care and education facilities and gendered division of labor in home affect complicated relation between money and feelings is illustrated.

## 6.2. In the Middle of A Family Story: Commodification of Child Care Work

Bora (2005) indicates that it is the paid domestic work that market relations have started to penetrate into our intimate area. However, according to her, relation forms have stayed unchanged beginning from times that middle and upper class women have let their tasks to be done by foster children, nannies, and so on (p. 80). Yet it is clear that when the subject is child care, penetration of market relations gains another dimension different from cleaning work. Varying from pay bargaining to working hours, to scope of the work, and to quitting; everything acquires a separate character. The accounts of child minders such as “like your own child, you will show what is right and what is wrong” (Kevser), “child [care] is different [...] Of course you consider it as a work because you receive money but you shouldn’t think it as a work” (Naime), “I perceive it [child] not as a work but as entrusted to my safekeeping” (Neriman) display this complex relation. Considering child care as work and motherhood together, complicates how the labor is perceived. In the accounts of child minders, the emphasis is on “this is not just a job”.

On the other hand it is not possible to speak of a basic employer-employee relation between mothers and child minders that considering and defining the relation through kinship terms is very common. This is not only result from the work itself and working place, but also family discourse enfold us: “We are a big family”. This viewpoint is applied as a state policy<sup>103</sup>, but embraced by sport community<sup>104</sup> to business world<sup>105</sup>,

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<sup>103</sup> <http://siyaset.milliyet.com.tr/basbakan-erdogan--biz-bir-aileyiz--kirginliklar-olmasi-dogal/siyaset/siyasetdetay/16.05.2008/545122/default.htm> (24/09/2014)

<sup>104</sup> <http://www.fenerbahce.org/detay.asp?ContentID=37470> (24/09/2014)

<sup>105</sup> <http://www.tobb.org.tr/Sayfalar/Detay.php?rid=1760&lst=MansetListesi> (24/09/2014)

by academia<sup>106</sup> to local authorities<sup>107</sup>. As it was discussed in the Chapter Three, social life is organized according to ‘strong family’ idea. Therefore I argue that other than its inherent qualities, which marketization is not entirely possible, “we are a big family” understanding underlies family-like relation in paid child care. Contrast between family and market relations –love, cooperation and personal relations versus laws, competition and contract (Tuominen 2003: 45)-draw the frame of child care work while blurs it at the same time. From very beginning of job agreement to end -and even after- of it, mothers and child minders speak of/ behave through family concepts.

In this section I would like to understand that what child care to be paid/commodified means for mothers, child minders and work relation; how emotional component embedded influence frame of the work; features transferred to paid care work from familial relations and their impacts; influence of job to be performed in private sphere.

### **6.2.1. To Be “Like One of the Family”**

Neither wage received nor working conditions, for the workers, it is the first and foremost, even more significant than love felt for child is feeling like one of the family. Child minders’ desire to establish a family like relation influences their expectations from their employers. Eating together, chatting accompanied by a cup of coffee; spending time with mother as if she is a friend; meanly “to be treated as a human being” is located against “as a worker, nothing more” attitude. Below, Naime (51)

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<sup>106</sup> [http://www.siyasalbirikim.com.tr/haber.php?haber\\_id=20777](http://www.siyasalbirikim.com.tr/haber.php?haber_id=20777) (24/09/2014)

<sup>107</sup> <http://www.buski.gov.tr/HaberDetay.aspx?PID=357>,  
<http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/931882-77-milyon-buyuk-bir-aileyiz> (24/09/2014)

compares her previous and present employers and her comparison gives idea about what a child minder expect from their employers and from the work. In some situations, receiving money seems to function as a barrier in front of establishing an equal relation with mothers.

Let alone sitting together eating something [...] It's like, you know you tell a person something, you tell something [...] I mean she's direct like that a worker will do her work, will do whatever I say because I pay her. But you become a family there, you live in their house. [...] For instance, her friends too. She has only one friend, she didn't have anyone else visiting, so this friend was coming. So I went, made and brought them Nescafe. They did not say, "pick a Nescafe for yourself if you like and sit with us." All right perhaps they chat between the two whatever but "if you like pick a Nescafe for yourself or like chocolate. I put there you can also pick one". I mean she doesn't say. These are [recent employers] closer me, I suppose. More like my house [...] I open the fridge if there is something I eat, if not I munch. (Primary school graduated, working for 4 months)

As underlined before, to be able to eat in the employer's house is the best example to closeness of relation between the mother and child minder. Furthermore, not refraining from opening fridge's door is one of the signs how much child minder adopts to home and family.

Another indicator of "being one of the family" is whether child minder's pictures are in the family's album, or not. This is interpreted as a proof level of appreciation\love felt by family and child for the minder. Relation with pictures is noteworthy because almost all of the workers I interviewed showed photographs of child they care for, as if they are their (grand)children. In addition to keep child's pictures via mobile phone, some informants told that they place them and their own children's side by side at their home. Similarly, it is not unusual that a child minder to carry the child's picture in her wallet, together with her family members'. Even there are the ones telling that they satisfy their desire for having a daughter/son. Selda (40) saying that her picture is put into family album seemed very pleased about the situation.

They placed my and my family pictures in their private album [...] I'm not from the family but [...] she shows care. I love her so much. No different from my sister Nilay. Her husband is like my brother, I feel like bundling him up. Meeting in the summer-house my god a hug such a hug in that heat all

sticky and gooey... I am not care giving [to the kid] but it's like my brother left me his kid that I dealing with her. [...] Every year on [the kid's] birthday album they put my picture like a gesture, I get very happy. In their private albums like an aunt uncle elder brother sister. you know like that I get happy. (High school graduated, working for 3,5 years)

As it is clear here, child minders consider not only children but also mothers and fathers as from their own family. This understanding is appeared to lighten effect of money, which explains why the workers are eager to establish a kinship relation. On the other hand almost all accounts reveal that class difference reflect on how the workers position their employers. None of the child minders think themselves as belonged to the mothers' family, but their own. This is why they place their employers as if they are *their* daughter/son, sister/brother, or one of a close relative. The same is true for the mothers. When they speak of familial concepts, these are their family not the child minders'. In other words despite the facts that the aim is mentioning closeness of the relationship; distinction and distance have been always there.

Furthermore while parents/mothers would like to consider child minder as a part of their families, this cannot be total integration. There has always been a line defined through difference between family and work relations, despite the fact that these two cannot easily be separated from each other. Apparently, compared to child minders, mothers are less eager to establish a family-like relationship. The reason of this reservation is mentioned as risk of exploitation and of crossing line, as Beyhan (34) expressed.

[...] I don't find it so right, getting very close, but I've just learned this within the course of time. When you get too close expectations and slacking increase. I don't know what kind of thing is that but I think I need to apply at home what you do at work [...] She loves [the kid] so much, we have accepted her as family, also. [...] My mom's judge colleagues would visit, my mom would make the table, [the child minder] would sit and say like come on everyone sit. I mean such presumptuous situations multiply if you don't put a distance. Image me doing the same with my directors at work. It's like me going there crossing my legs and ordering them to bring tea. (University graduated, architect, have 17 months old child)

Kaya (2008) refers in her study that professional women try to establish a professional relation with child minders via continuously reminding their own position and the other's. Despite most of my informants do not want to be perceived as employer contrary to what Kaya claims, as level of professionalism increases need of drawing a frame grows. Ceylan (34), an assistant professor in a university where she is among the founding members, is very clear about significance of differentiating missions.

[...] Sometimes when she stays overnight it feels like she's a family member but it's good not to confuse the missions too much. I mean as a rule of governing others, one has to distinguish those missions. Fatherly relations with the father, friendly relations with friends, employer employee relations with the employee, and so on. (Assistant professor, her child is 1,5 years old)

This is a complicated relation that while on the one hand a need for “knowing missions” is mentioned; on the other hand child minders are considered as representative of family. Thus their reputation is thought as significant in the face of other people. Owing to the same reason, in case of a problem experienced between child minder and a neighbor, mothers might feel responsible from solving the problem and/or standing up for the worker. Filiz (38) told how she broke up with her neighbor because of her worker.

About when the kid turned 11 months, she found a phone in the garden, took, put it in her pocket [...] The neighbors formally complained, I mean we fell out with my neighbor. I talked to my child minder “if you have not taken that phone tell me that you have not. I'll back you up” I said. She said not, she was working for me 15 months. Now when she told me she had not taken it, I told my neighbor how come you come up with such accusations you know. Afterwards we had a fight, we still are in the same situation, I moved from the place eventually. (Has two master degrees, head chief in a public institution, has 3 and 11 years children)

Yet, we should not be mistaken that child minders are entirely fond of forming a family relation. In most of the narratives, feeling like one of the family and necessity of a distance are almost equally expressed. “Keeping one's place” is ensured mainly through controlling depth of heart-to-heart talk, and form of addressing. Child minders and mothers may talk about even their familial problems, however there is a line: Not telling in detail. In case mother does not talk, not asking “like a nosy parker” is another

way of holding the line. That is to say, neither mothers nor child minders welcome being “over familiar”.

‘Like a one of the family’ account, in fact, carries many ‘risks’ causing similar results for mothers and child minders. One and foremost consequence is rules/frame of the work to be bended. The most common problem defined by child minders is to be left no choice but shoulder domestic works –from cleaning to ironing, to cooking- despite they are not defined within the scope of the service.

Suğur et. al. (2008) mentioned similar finding that two-third of child minders perform domestic works other than child care and approximately half of them are unhappy about the situation since it was not agreed on at the beginning. This is a consequence of working relation to be established in the informal labor market. Presence of contract is significant yet they do not prevent exploitation as claimed by Aronson et. al. (1996) and Constable (2002), at least in Turkish case. In spite of the fact that a contract defines responsibilities of both sides, bending of pre-agreed rules has always been possible owing to absence of a formal regulation. It is for sure the sector has its own code of practices formed in the course of time through fast circulation of information among workers’ and employers’ networks. On range of the wages, features of workers/employers, tasks could be performed with or without being placed in the frame of exploitation; there is an agreement in the field. Yet, this is not a kind of consensus that parts of the working relation come together and agreed on. Inexistence of state cause private interests, obligations, and inequality between sources to meet and lead the area. Therefore a continuous tension between the workers and employers occur.

On the other hand, as a consequence of insufficient institutionalized care facilities, workplace is to be home makes difficult to intervention of state. Within the closed

doors, every relation has its own dynamics and balances. Yet, home as a workplace also underlies feeling “like one of the family” and unarticulated tasks to be done.

Duties not put into words to be performed is regarded as “parsimony” that employers, other than “hiring a cleaning lady”, “pin all responsibility on” child minders. Here lies a portrait of a mean employer trying to transfer all her responsibilities to another woman without paying for it. Yet, key issue at this point is mother to be expected to undertake all domestic duties. In case she is not the one who will execute all these, she has to be the one organizes things to be done properly. Even for middle class household, hiring both a child minder and a cleaning lady together is not affordable at all, since they are women who are supposed to pay all these expenses. She is the one has to reckon positive and negative aspects to prove that the choice is economically rational. This has to be demonstrated not only to husband but also to all society. Although total income of a household is higher than average level, domestic work to be performed in return of money has been always considered as much, compared to be carried out unpaid. That is to say, while analyzing relation between mothers and child minders, taking gender regime of that society into account is essential. Otherwise, making mistake through victimizing the workers and demonizing their employers will be inevitable.

In spite of the fact that child minders have to fulfill pre-agreed task, they cannot easily quit the job owing to close connection between her and child, and fear of unemployment. If child minder is ‘novice’ in the business, level of fear might be higher.

On the other hand, bending frame of pre-discussed work is not only matter of mothers. Child minders, also, use the similar strategies. However since child’s wellbeing has

priority on the side of mothers, the situation is taken as it comes. Meliha (31) told how her child minder did not execute some tasks by using child as an excuse.

[...] We were expecting no cleaning, since [...] we had a cleaning lady in a weekly basis but I was expecting her to help in cooking. On those kinds of issues... I mean even we had agreed on, no cooking was done. I mean she always says, "This is a difficult kid that I can't do work. I can't work when she's crying". I mean she strikes us in the heart [...] Always using this, she avoided all work actually. (She has a master degree, expert in a public institution, her child is 2,5 years old)

Although mothers recognize the strategy child minders use, neither to terminate their employment nor to warn them is simple. Risk of not finding a good child minder, and/or probability of child to be subjected to maltreatment cause mothers to take no move. Nur (34), though, not happy about the employee, does not attempt to let her go and find someone else.

Another one comes for cleaning [...] My child minder is a little too argues eyed lady. Slowly she retreated from these tasks. Besides when the kid started to move around I also did not ask of her [...] She got the job by saying that she'd do cleaning too [...] Well I didn't tell her much because getting angry at me she could get hard on the kid, frankly for this reason too I did not intervene [...] My boy was accustomed to her. I cannot find other I mean with reference of a familiar person. How would the new one be like? Well the only important thing she takes good care of the kid. She continues that I said even if she doesn't do house work. (Has PhD degree, academician, has a 19 months old child)

"How will newcomer be" question is a shared fear keeping both child minder and mother from changing family/employee. Furthermore, as Sinem mentions both child minder and mother needs each other. This 'needy circumstance' might function against mothers that they will be more tolerable after getting used to the child minders. Relying them more and more might cause increase of likelihood of lies, especially centering on not pre-concerted day offs and/or coming late/leaving earlier.

On the other hand, even in case it is agreed on by both sides that only task is to care "thoroughly", child minders do some other domestic works willingly. It seems this is a 'natural' consequences of working at home as a woman, since house refers to some familial responsibilities that a woman has to manage. Doing extra work is explained through "in the interest of humanity", "cannot spend time doing nothing", "giving a

hand”. Furthermore, the mothers react in a similar vein: “...you are like my mother that I don’t feel any suspicion” (Naime’s employer). Zeynep, child minder, that sometimes she prepares sandwiches at her own home, brings them with her and put into the employers’ bag since she “feels pity for” them because they leave the house without having breakfast. In return what the employers says, “We got used to so much that we don’t know what to do without you.” She adds, “I am like their mother.”

Other than dealing with parents, child care is not only feeding, spending time with and supervising a child, but also includes cleaning his/her clothes and ironing them, keeping clean the places child goes through, and tidying up his/her mess. All mothers seem to give priority to care of child, modest cleaning is expected in case child minder finds time. However to Leyla, agency manager, despite it is said that child comes first, as soon as mothers be sure about their children are cared well, then demands about house emerge. Gülay also draws attention to the same situation and she explains it with “Turkish family structure”, in which because of financial issues “Turkish families would like to kill two birds with one stone.” What Gülay describes is very significant that, as mentioned before, most of middle class women cannot employ cleaning worker five days a week. Furthermore, gendered division of labor at home is also decisive on working women to ask child minders to perform modest cleaning. On the other hand, a woman to employ two workers to carry out all task belonged to private sphere does not welcomed in widespread society. They might be perceived as the ones who do not execute their womanhood roles, as Bora (2005) shows in her study on domestic workers. Therefore by asking child minder to do some cleaning, working mothers may try to relief from stigmatization of bad mother, and doing some of domestic responsibilities simultaneously.

However if a care worker really gives what a child needs, there will be no time for other tasks. Because of the fact that to be present by its own has not been evaluated

within child care duties (Buding, et. al., 2004), both mothers and child minders consider that while children sleep, there is free time to perform some housework, which is thought as sign of satisfaction of the worker at the same time.<sup>108</sup> In addition, relation between child minder and family based on love and respect makes many pre-agreed responsibilities to be shouldered easily. Child minder Kevser said she did not understand the workers declaring, “Am I obliged to do?” some cleaning.

Despite child minders are expected to do cleaning, both they and mothers differentiate them from cleaning workers, as mentioned above. Boundary between child minder and cleaning lady is not only about kind of the work performed, but is a way of distinction regarding their cultural level. Filiz (38) compares women who “clean windows” to ones caring for children.

[...] The profile of the woman who cleans the windows is different [...] After all cleaning lady doesn't serve [care for child]. Why I say not serve? The women who come for cleaning are really uneducated I mean. I think it's not like this abroad. For me she can do cleaning too [...] This minder couldn't, I mean wouldn't clean windows even if I'd pay her a full extra wage, you understand? (Has two master degrees, head chief in a public institution, has 3 and 11 years children)

This differentiation could be read through Duffy's division (2012) between nurturant and non-nurturant works corresponding to spiritual and menial work distinction. According to her, physical works are left to women in color, while emotional responsibilities handled by middle class women. Altman et. al. (2012) too emphasizes similar division between “women's work” and “women's role”, which the former is passed to other women who are from different ethnic origin. With respect to child care within boundaries of my study<sup>109</sup> modern/rural distinction is expressive for some of

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<sup>108</sup> Not only mothers and the workers think in this way, but governments' social policy implications also have been planned according to ignorance of availability and supervising, which are not included into the measure of allocation of time use in child care (Buding, et. al., 2004: 61).

<sup>109</sup> I assume that in child care performed by immigrant workers, ethnic origin makes much sense for upbringing of children according to 'white' middle class values.

mothers, while on the other hand reliability may come first and foremost, in some situations.

In case days of a cleaning lady coincide with child minder's, the latter (has) to undertake(s) role of lady of house displays how women's work and women's role differentiation experienced. Yet this situation is not always desired, while for some it is the moment they get closest to be owner of the house. For instance Beyhan (34) was annoyed by the way her child minder behaved towards cleaning worker, and had to change the days she came.

Our cleaner was coming the days the child minder was, every Thursday [...] But we realized that [...] the minder has started establishing some 'I'm superior thing' over our cleaner. Yet we change our minder but not our cleaner. [...] [The child minder] was ceaselessly warning her. You know we told her [child minder] to help her when the baby sleeps. She [cleaning worker] tells you what to do we said. She [child minder] does none but lock herself in a room. We work with our cleaner for many years, me, my mom, grandmamma, I mean almost all the relatives. She [cleaning worker] tells us everything bit by bit. She [child minder] even required some tasks a few times. Like "tidy these parts of these rooms, the ironing of kids' clothes should be this way". Yet ironing is her task, at least ironing of the kid's stuff. In this case, we started to get the cleaner in the weekends. (University graduated, architect, have 17 months old child)

On the other hand, for some mothers, child minder might monitor performance of the cleaning worker. Günay told that she gives list of task and asks child minder to "keep an eye on." However, demand of monitoring might cause negative reactions coming from cleaning worker, as Fidan (50) experienced.

[The employer] asked me to tell [the cleaning lady] things to do. And I did. And she said, "there is no need you to tell." "Let Mrs. Duygu to inform me. She knows my telephone number. Even if she is not satisfied with my job, she could tell herself." [...] Then [the employer] asked me to tell, I said, "It is none of my business. You tell her [the cleaning lady]." [...] "You tell, you are the lady of the home. What if she rejects?" "No, she cannot", she replied. "You are the one responsible from this house, after us." [...] "She [the cleaning lady] has to do." I said, "Anyway, you tell her" and dropped the subject. (High school graduated, working for 2 years)

The accounts reveal that differentiation between child minders and cleaning workers cause a kind of competition. This is about tension between doing cleaning work and caring for a child, in other words between women's work and women's role. Most of

child minders locate themselves closer to the employers, other than to cleaning workers, despite coming from a similar social, cultural and economic background. This could be associated with occupational hierarchy in society that cleaning work is considered at the bottom level. However, doing cleaning in private sphere results in an additional devaluation of the job. While one of the reasons is underestimation of performing domestic tasks in home, another is cleaning women to be excluded from the Labor's Law. Therefore the ones working in public sphere doing cleaning in the formal labor market are counted as worker, and have a higher status than women in private domain carrying out similar duties.

Although and also because of cleaning is performed in home, most of women do not want to come face to face or spend much time with cleaning workers, as Bora (2005) displays in her study. The employers desire things to be done by means of magical hands. Therefore presence of a child minder enables mothers to have minimum contact with cleaning workers. Furthermore asking care workers to monitor/relate to cleaning ladies enable mothers to control her house indirectly, which allow them to stay close to "women's role".

Diler (45), child minder, talks about her difference from a cleaning worker through mentioning that how she feels sorry for her, and supports idea of her "superiority" via gifts that employers give her in special days or brings from abroad.

[...] I feel pity for and sad about [the cleaning lady] [...] She says she cannot care for a child, puts it bluntly. [...] "I cannot take responsibility [of child]. Its responsibility is too heavy" she says. [...] They, as a family, think of me superior to the cleaning lady. [...] They voice and also express it with their behaviors. They value me because I care for their children. For instance, they give me presents other than my wage, in the New Year, in [religious] feasts. [...] They bring presents from the places they visit. For instance, when they go abroad, or to their homeland. (High school graduated, working for 7 years)

Giving and receiving present is another measure of 'family-like- relation, but it is beyond buying materials, and/or extra payments. Finding solutions for any kind of

problems –ranging from familial to public issues-, supporting women economically and/or psychologically might be perceived as more valuable. Furthermore these presents and/or supports are regarded as compensation for low wage or pay rise. In Kerime’s account, how her current employer behaved in case she was in a hard situation refers to both her kindness and Kerime’s trustfulness.

[...] Something happened between us; my husband kicked us out of the car. When it happened I told [to the employer] we have a money issue. When I arrived crying... Also I didn’t have money for taxi. [But] I had to take a taxi. I got its money from Ms. Melek. When I came back and gave the money she didn’t take it back. She said it is from me and she paid two-month salary earlier since I needed money. When I said, she brought it in the same evening. She was such an understanding person. But in the first workplace if I had told such a problem, she might have not behave in the same way, I mean. But this one [the employer] trusted and gave the money that she didn’t think I would run away. (Primary school graduated, working for 2 years)

In some situations not only mothers but also other family members also may provide a help depending on their profession. For instance, as Nimet (47) told that her employer’s husband, who is physician, makes services in hospital easier in case of illness.

[...] I don’t talk with men, if he [the employer’s husband] talks, it is because he helps with things such as illness. Thanks to him. But I don’t talk about everyday matters for no reason I mean [...] I had an illness, he guided me about it. We went to hospital together, he took me to the hospital. There was also [my] child’s control. He helped my blood to be taken. And he himself brought all results, my values and so on. He helped for all of them, thanks to him. (Secondary school graduated, working for 2 years)

Similarly, according to Beyhan’s narrative, her mother, who is judge, offered her service about legal issues.

We solved many problems of the first child minder. There were, maybe, 3-5 cases on her. Accusations were on her. It goes like to get swindled by the lawyer. Her educational level is not enough, she can’t perceive. My mother helped a lot about that issue. I mean she worked for five months, we dealt with five issues in five months I can say. Furthermore since she said she didn’t know Ankara, my mother even dealt with the social security issues by going [to the necessary places] [...] She was a sulky woman, we made her smile as well. (University graduated, architect, have 17 months old child)

Amount and form of presents/support change according to economical condition of child minder. These vary from giving extra money and/or foods to buying clothes for the child minder and her child(ren). In most situations child minders expect to receive

present or other kinds of supports, which are considered within frame of nature of child care work. Yet there should be a good form to give present and/money, and this depends on how well the employer and the employee know each other. While some child minders may take it offensive if used clothes or money is offered to them, the others might easily ask for. That is to say, strategies developed are 'relation sensitive'. Yet, main motivation is staying far from giving offense. For instance Kevser (46) appreciates the way her employer offer extra money.

[...] Sometimes for example she overpays my salary. For example I mean without hurting or humiliating me. For example since I have a son about starting the school [she said] "Ms. Kevser it is from me". It was the same when my son was about to going for the military service. She pays attention to such details in Ramadan and in similar days. She does very well I mean. But she tries to make it without hurting, humiliating me. (High school graduated, working for 4 years)

Like Kevser's employer, Ceylan (34) told that she tried to be careful while giving something to her child minder, or when she did shopping for her own child.

I mean, there was a small child in the first one. The point at issue was a little child I mean. Since the child [of the child minder] was at nursery age. Well here it is a mother psychology. She may compare life standards [...] It is for sure I hadn't done shopping for my daughter like showing off because of thinking that she might feel sorry. I put them to the car after buying. When the child minder left, I was bringing them from the car. It was certain that she had recognized when I put the new things on [the child]. Yet I hadn't wanted to show off. When there was a need [...] I had given small things to her child by finding an appropriate way. Well, not as a gift but I had always chosen things to meet [her] needs. (Assistant professor, her child is 1,5 years old)

On the other hand, some child minders might perceive offers of used clothes as insult. Nur talked about her reservation about giving goods that she is "scared that she [child minder] might snap at" her.

It is the fact that employers in their relation with child minders make an effort to not to hurt them. One of these employers, Olcay (39), explained how she ate her heart out while deciding on giving money or presents.

I sometimes give money, well [...] even giving that is... Poor woman is worldly-wise. I want to give present yet she is doing a little bit, well, but on the other hand I gibe because I think that she doesn't take it for herself but for her child. In fact I don't mean to hurt her. I don't want her to be hurt but I do

sometimes [give presents]. (Has master degree, specialist in a public institution. has a 4 years old child)

Child minders also give presents and/or make little surprises both to mothers and children. Yet buying gifts sometimes could be hard since children wear “branded goods”. Furthermore child minders might be a source for family to access healthy food as Nur told that her worker sells organic eggs and bread.

Özyeğin (2004), quoting from Mauss, suggests that gifting unreciprocated establishes or confirms superiority (p. 178). However while child care is the issue, exchanging presents enables the workers to feel like one of the family, and employers to guarantee better care for children. That is to say, this process cannot be defined totally as unreciprocated. However, I suggest this practice does not take place between the equals. As it is clear what Zehra told that her employer gave her a “pocket money” reveals that the employers are the ones having more economical and social power. Or as Dilek, middle class mother, told that once her child minder asked for money as a loan and she gave, but did not want her to pay back. Similarly, Beyhan’s emphasis on low educational level of her child minder in front of her mother’s status as a judge, and almost all mothers to behave carefully to not to hurt their workers’ feelings clearly show that they are aware the difference between the them and the child minders. On the other hand as the accounts display child minders are, as well, conscious of unequal positions yet not unhappy about it that they expect this power to be brought into play; needless to say that as long as the employers have not behaved authoritarian. In other words inequality between them and the employers should not be reminded because of that fact that the situation harm “one of the family” feeling.

In some situations, Leyla –agency manager, reports that child minders to ask a piece of good in home, clothes belong to children or mothers causes problems in their working relation. She defines this position as ‘begging’ and says that she warns families to let

her know the cases that their workers beg for anything, or ask for extra money. That is to say, exchanging gifts has their own rules. While the workers expect their employers to do/give something additional to wages as a sign of trust and quality of work they perform, and as a natural consequences of unequal class position; they are not welcomed in case they ask. The employers behave according to this expectation as a result of social, cultural and economic difference between them and their employees, and as a way of telling their appreciation for their children to be cared well. Wage, in return of child care work, has never been perceived as enough by both of the sides.

In this working relation, everybody is aware of difference of sources. Yet child minders require the mothers to put in action them, at the same time they do not want this imbalance to be reminded. Similarly, women as employers hope that the employees know the dissimilarity/their place in the relation but they do not wish to evoke this reality.

Family-like relationship starts from the very beginning and continuous till the end, even after. While child minders try to be considerate, they expect a similar attitude in case family terminates work relation. Informing “with a thud” is considered unacceptable mostly because of not having sufficient time to be prepared for last goodbye. How relation is ended very much affects communication to sustain. This is especially important for child minders to be stay in contact with the child. Immediate announcement of ending is considered as intolerable owing to scratch gilding on “we are a family” statement, as it is clear in Aylin’s (38) account.

[...] I feel like something was unfair, I mean they told me all of a sudden, “It is over, you will resign.” I mean, this could be told beforehand. I attached to the kid. I loved him very much. These were neglected. The family behaved selfishly, and broke my heart indeed. [...] Employee will see home as her family, but employer will also perceive her employee as a family. I mean this is reciprocal. They will see you from one of the family. I thought them as one of my family, yet they had not felt the same way. They had always considered me as a worker, which is the key point of working in a house. You will be like a family. (College graduated, working for 2,5 years)

Özyeğin, defines intimacy between employer and workers as strategic, which is developed for protecting conflicting interests. She claims that intimacy contains refusal of differences (p. 180). I have a reservation about this remark while I take child care into consideration. It is true both sides of the working relation develop some strategies to forget children are cared for in return of money, rather than masking inequality. Furthermore, warmth between the workers and the employers enable the former to escape from feeling of being stranger in somebody else's house, while for the latter this sympathy ensures good care and lightens feeling of guilt. Moreover, as my study reveals, they are the child minders who are more eager to establish a family like relation than their employers. Suğur et. al. (2008:176) indicates the same issue and claims that by means of giving presents, extra money and/or supporting the workers in various ways middle class families try to show that they are the employers. Yet, the authors ignore these kinds of supports/presents are significant for satisfaction of child minders and mothers. Furthermore from the one hand the mothers would like to employ the ones who have more capacity of representing middle class values, on the other hand expect them to be aware of their status.

In the domestic work literature this intimacy is defined as fictive kinship relation, which function as mechanism of exploitation and support at the same time (Karner, 1998, Uttal et. al. 1999, Ünlütürk-Ulutaş 2010, Toksöz et. al. 2011). Yet, since most of the studies focus on cleaning workers, fictive kinship signifies a relation that employer play the role of mother/elder sister and the worker daughter/younger sister (Kalaycıoğlu 2001, Özyeğin 2004, Bora 2005). However in paid child care opposite of the situation is at stake. As it is deduced from the narratives, child minders feel and behave as if their employers are their daughters or sisters. Mothers, also, feel in the same way. As it is clear in some accounts they expect child minders to be friend of them, or even care for them. Therefore maternalism does not fit working relation in

paid child care. Despite some differences between my findings and what Özyeğin (2004) argues, term patronage she used to define how child minders and their employers relate to each other is appear to be the best, lending money or devoting one's professional abilities/opportunities to the worker, in addition to giving presents (p. 175).

Paid domestic work is a work that both sides of the working relation experience as if it is a non-work. However, while child care and cleaning work is compared, it seems market rules have different meaning. Despite similarities between them such as describing the relation through kinship terms, child care cannot be thought separated from “we are a big family” discourse. In every stages of this relation, both employers and workers speak of/ behave through family concepts. Demand for feeling “one of the family” is so strong for child minders. Also, they behave/feel like as if child cared for is their own (grand)child. Furthermore, there is a similar feeling developed towards mothers and fathers. Parents, as well, see child minders as part of their families, but they are not as motivated as the workers. On the other hand, child minders mention need of a distance in relationship. As all sides are aware that “being over familiar” carries risk of rules/frame of the work to be bended.

Despite problems, terminating working relation is not that easy. Since child minders establish a strong tie with children, in the name of not disappointing them, they continue to work. Mothers, as well, take their children's feelings into account, while also may not want to restart the process of finding a worker from the beginning.

Between mothers and child minders, many complications might be experienced. However, one of them is something of the kind that becomes both source of feeling of satisfaction and guilt: how a child addresses child minder.

### 6.2.2. Child Minders and Children

In Turkey, using ‘we language’ is very common while mentioning what child do. Sentences like ‘we (child) are (is) going to kindergarten today; we (child) did not eat our (his/her) meal yesterday” are very usual, almost utilized naturally. Child minders prefer the same language, as well. Another connected situation is that how child calls care worker. In most cases, especially initial stages of speaking, children call their minder as mother. This becomes very problematic both for mothers and child minders. From the one side it is a clear sign that child loves care worker, yet on the other side it uncovers guiltiness of preferring to work rather than caring for their own children. Despite the fact that mothers try to rationalize the situation through an explanation that it is natural because child spend whole day with child minder, still they state it is significant kid to know who is who.

Constanble (2002) and Vincent et. al. (2006), as well, point confusing feelings that mothers experience while their children love child minder. As deduced from the narratives, we should add to this argument that not only mothers but also child minders are faced with ambiguous feelings. They move between happiness of being loved by child and unease of jealousy of mother. They are annoyed, also, because it carries a potential of damaging their relation with mothers, despite they like to be called as mother. Kevser (46) emphasizes this kind of risk.

One or twice [the kid] said mom, but we did not make it public. We tried not to let [the kid] [say mom]. [...] I don't think it is right because I feel sorry for mother. At least she should know motherhood. I mean, at all events, however [the child minder] is pure minded, she [mother] might get sad in case the child calls his/her minder as mom. (High school graduated, working for 4 years)

Similarly, Halime told that how her employer tried her son to call her as aunt. Despite the fact that she experienced hard times, she said she understood reasons of mothers. Zehra (38), also, encountered a same situation. And in spite of the fact that she

mentioned her disturbance, it seemed she liked to be called as mother on the other hand.

As a matter of fact when the child spoke for the first time, he called me mama in the first place before calling his mother as mama. [...] [His mother] was upset. She was the one who taught him my name. Everyday when she comes home from work, she says, "My son, her name is Zehra, Zehra." She was upset. How come she won't be. Even now although the child knows my name, he looks at me right in the eyes like this and says, "Zehra, you're mama, right? You're mama." He calls me mama. I say, "I'm not your mama", he says, "You are mama". (Primary school graduated, working for 3 years)

Macdonald (1998) in her study focuses on how mothers and care providers agree on "mother-work" (p.27). She speaks of an ideal relationship, which is "to magnify mother's significance in the home and to minimize the nanny's" (p. 35). She names "manufacturing-motherhood" to underline effort made by both mothers and child care providers to maintain bigger place to the former in children's lives. According to the author this endeavor has nothing to do with good care but attends to ideology indicating mothers as real care-takers of children.

Moreover child minders, too, might be jealous of some moments that they cannot share with child. Aylin (38) talked about how she would like to be with child she cared for when she took bath.

In fact I don't give a bath to Eylem at all, because according to the mother the happiest moment of the baby is the moment of bathing. And the mother and father always give a bath together [...] I told them like "let me also give a bath, let me do it, and so on". Well I made a joke like that, saying "let me taste that pleasure as well, always you are enjoying it." (High school graduated, working for 2,5 years)

Despite she said she made a joke, her wish to "taste that pleasure" indicates bond established between her and child she cared for, and the reality that the kid is not her own. These kinds of moments may make them to remember that what they do is a job. Furthermore, it reveals nature of paid child care.

What Uttal (1996) defines concerning employed women's motherhood perception in relation to child minders is worthy of attention to grasp position of the middle class mothers in my study. She refers to three types of child care: Custodial, surrogate and

coordinated. While custodial care signifies mothers as the primary care giver, and child minder as supervisor, surrogate implies care provider as meeting all needs of child as much as mother. Coordinated care emphasizes shared responsibility of mothers and care providers regarding best interest of child. I assume that all these categories are present together in relation between the mothers and the workers I met, while depending on cases one of them might be dominant. In Turkey motherhood ideology is too much widespread that no matter in which class, most of women consider themselves as the main responsible of upbringing of children. Therefore, custodial care is common that mothers would like child minders to care children in a way they define. This is why some of them do not prefer leave the kids to care of grandmothers or would like to employ women who will not come into conflict with middle class values. On the other hand, although the mothers describe special moments, which they do not want to pass to the minder, mostly expect them to meet all needs of a child, even take care of daily tasks of house. That is to say child minders are thought as substitute for “lady of home”. I suggest coordinated care is very much related with educational level, years of experience of the workers and mother’s age. In case the minders have low level of education mothers do not prefer to ask for advise. Yet, experience or ‘self-improvement’ could take place of education. In these kinds of situations mothers try to maintain a coordinated care via visiting pediatrician together with child minder, reading similar books on child rearing, and giving ear to her recommendations. Although this last category is not as dominant as the other two, causes the workers to establish more powerful bonds with the children.

Close connection between child minders and children, leads the former to develop some strategies. Nelson (1990) emphasizes detached attachment as a way of escaping heavy emotional consequences of leaving child cared for. However, in my study, the child minders prefer to ignore “transitory nature” (Himmelweit 1999: 35) of the work,

instead of developing strategies to protect themselves, As narratives display child minders plan to preserve the relation with child and his/her family. Mothers, also, think in the same way and propose it as a solution in case child minder states her worry. Here we see relation between market and informal care labor that Claassen (2010) and, similarly, Vincent et. al. (2006) underline.

In many narratives child minders express how they suffered after or with an idea of leaving from child. Sometimes mothers ignore this strong tie between care worker and child. Anderson (2002) claims that employers forget their workers are human beings having real feelings. This is a risky position, which victimizes care providers while demonizing the employers. According to my findings, the mothers just have difficulty of accepting that their children love another women as mush as they love them. Furthermore feeling of guilt grounded on traditional gender roles companying with mothers should not be ignored.

Paid care work is consisted not only of meeting physical needs of children but also of giving affection, which neither child minders nor mothers can think any moment of caring apart from emotions. Furthermore, kind of link between them also becomes source of negative or positive feelings. Therefore, both the workers and employers have to deal with emotional aspects embedded in the work.

### **6.2.3. Emotional Labor in Paid Child Care**

While Hochschild (1983) rates labor performed at home as an emotion management not as emotional work, she emphasizes wages and exchange value. Moreover as Uttal et. al. (1999) claims emotional component in care giving work is different from emotional labor conceptualized by Hochschild who focuses organizational expression of emotions, no matter they are really felt or pretended. Therefore she misses paid

informal work performed in house. Yet other people study on emotional labor after Hochschild have wider scope indicating in many jobs we can see emotional dimension (Brotheridge et. al. 2002, Morris et. al. 1996). As conceptualized by Leidner (1999) care work could be thought in interactive service-work jobs. According to her, emotional labor is significant component because there is no well-defined line between “the worker, the work process, and the product or outcome” (p.83). That is to say not only workers but also service receivers are part of the work, which has already become clear in the previous chapters.

In spite of the fact that different authors name differently I will use *feeling rules* term as Hochschild (1979) defines to explain rules guiding people to find ‘right’ feelings fitting circumstances. On the other hand Thoits’s (1989) contribution is significant because of distinguishing feeling rules from display rules, which the latter points out conveyed manners. As mentioned in the Second Chapter deep acting and surface acting are two strategies developed for being able to show appropriate behaviors. As it is obvious in the narratives, child minders use both methods to be capable of meeting requirements of mothers and establishing a good communication with them.

Emotional dissonance as discussed in the emotional labor literature is widely experienced by child minders. It is grounded in conflictual relationship with mothers. As the workers cannot do anything about problematic situation and ‘prefer’ to conceal real feelings, job burnout increases. Diler (45) mentioned that she lost weight because of the way mother behaved.

Not this, but my previous job was so offensive. I mean, can you believe it? I was going to the job with tears in my eyes. Going from the 100. Yıl to the Çukurambar was making me to feel like homesick. It was so repressive that I lost weight at that time. [...] She was asking, “Did you clean?” Ah, I was swearing. I was saying, “Don’t you believe it [...] Cross my heart, I cleaned”. [...] I was touching to the door and she was cleaning the door. I was holding the cupboard and she was cleaning it. [...] (After a dispute) “Enough is enough”, I said, “Ain’t I slave here?!” (High school graduated, working for 7 years)

Yet, even in case of insults, resigning from the work is not an easy decision because leaving the job means living child behind. This is why many child-minders not finding it in their hearts to go. Three ideas/feelings appear to be important regarding keeping the workers from giving up: Love felt for child, not demanding to let him/her down and question marks about structure of a new family. What Seyide and Diler mention displays how significant child's feeling is. Seyide (57) illuminates the situation as "failing child", as "infidelity".

[...] During child minding, resisting a little bit is necessary. Since at this time you become attached not only to the parents but also to the child. Considering child's feelings is a must. Yet you are in a condition to straddle both your self and the parents, because when you let the child down; you are betraying him/her. [...] Well if you are not in an unbearable condition and you have to consider the child. Because it is a different thing. (Primary school graduated, working for 7 years)

Paid child care is "a different thing". In all jobs, there are times that workers would like to terminate the employment relation because of bad working conditions. And they might not be able to do owing to financial difficulties and/or difficulty of finding another job. Yet in child care, main motivation is feelings of children. It is for sure, as stated before, finding a new family and experiencing all problems all over again are other reasons underlying decision of continuing working. However, motherhood ideology reappears here. Equating good motherhood with faithfulness and patience prevent child minders to think they will disappoint children if they quit work. This is not only about how they internalize this idea, but also the others. Women leaving their babies are demonized easily.<sup>110</sup> Not many questions causes behind or father's role. This view finds its reflection on paid child care that child minders push themselves to stay as long as possible. Otherwise their womanhood and motherhood might be doubted.

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<sup>110</sup> [http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem\\_canavar-anne-2-aylik-bebegini-olume-terk-etti\\_2154772.html](http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem_canavar-anne-2-aylik-bebegini-olume-terk-etti_2154772.html)  
(24.09.2014)

From the other point, situation of mothers is also taken into account by the workers. Diler (45), in her account, told how she could not put her employer on the spot despite the fact that she would like to do.

[...] I was so attached that in order not to abandon the child. Her mom was a teacher. You know I swallowed the poison to not to abandon the child. The schools were off, I left the job at the end of July. [...] She said, "See you, again", I said "I will think on and let you know." In fact I had decided not to call till the last day. I would like to leave her in a difficult situation. I swore that she would not find a child minder and be left destitute. I hold a grudge against her but could not do, you know? I called after 15 days and told her to find another women. Since I thought it would not be a way humanly. (High school graduated, working for 7 years)

In a circumstance that institutionalized early child care facilities are inadequate, establishing balance between work and family life is on shoulders of women and there are no widespread arrangements to lighten their responsibilities, and gendered division of labor at home might turn into a power for child minders that both they and the employers are very well aware. However, motherhood ideology and attachment to child cared for, most of the times, keep them to use this power.

In addition to institutionalized facilities and presence of child care alternatives; depending on presence or absence of relatives available in case of need, mothers' power of negotiation changes. Olcay (39), who had stayed for a while in a city other than her husband and other family members lived, stated that how she had had to endure difficulties resulting from her child minder.

She was 6-7 years younger than me. She was like "Olcay, bring this. Give that". She had behaved in the manner of this [giving orders] [...] while I was asking for something like "Nalan, if it does not put you out, could you bring some wet tissue?" But to her, I was the one who had to go and take it. I was changing diapers at that moment. [...] She was a crazy one. She thought the house belonged to her. Yet, I was such desperate that I said "okay" because I didn't know what to do in case she quitted. (Has master degree, specialist in a public institution. has a 4 years old child)

As it is clear that mothers also apply deep acting and surface acting in relation with child minders, with respect to emotion work term used by Hochschild. Here "absences and silences" highlighted by Vincent et. al. (2006) very well defines the relation between the workers and the employers, and strategies applied for management of

feelings. Canan, middle class mother, told that they have never experienced any discussion with her worker since she does not reflect her feelings on her: “I grumbles in the house, as I always do.” Similarly Meliha said she tried not to criticize the child minder since she took criticisms as offense.

Other than using “absences and silences” to not to experience any dispute with care workers, dealing with their problems also result in emotional burn out. Mothers have to manage their feelings despite the fact that issue is to their disadvantage. Filiz (38) admits that she is kind of a person who thinks on making things easier for the child minder while at the same time gets tensed.

[...] She made me feel as if I have to find a way for her. [...] There are people that she has to care for. They may get sick. And I become like “my goodness! What if they get sick today or next week”? I mean I have shouldered responsibility of her, as well. This is why I got stressed very much. Her family problems reflect on me, for sure. I mean health issues, her children’s exams, and their illnesses. (Has two master degrees, head chief in a public institution, has 3 and 11 years children)

Here again what becomes visible is, also, insufficiency of early child care and education services. Mother’s fear of temporary or permanent unavailability of child minders is because of nonexistence of alternatives to be replaced them.

Another reason causing mothers to tire out is feeling of necessity to convince child minders about decisions they give about children. Nalan (34) told how she got exhausted owing to satisfy both her mother and care giver.

I was the one complying with the wishes in order to not to break their heart, because my mother was also there. They were doing together. I remember what my mother said, “See, she also think in the same way although you say the opposite.” [...] I mean not only my mother, but another person was waiting to be persuaded. It was very exhausting for me. (Has a master degree, Project Assistant in an International Organization has a 20 months child)

As a sign of good performance and reliability having control on work maximizes job satisfaction for the child minders that the less they have control, the more emotional burnout they will experience. As it becomes evident in Özyeğin’s (2004) study autonomy is very essential that includes determining speed, standard and frame of the

tasks. “Doing work like owner of the house” statement reveals this desire and way of identifying with their employers and the house (p. 157). This situation appears in my study as reliability issue and being one of the family feeling. At this point Tolich’s (1993 p. 378) distinction between regulated and autonomous emotion managements describes the situation obviously. Governing feelings are not considered as a problem for child minders in case they can perform independent from mothers’ demands. The workers to be able to behave of their own accord is depended on how much they closely represent middle class values of family. Furthermore, educational level and/or child minding experience may also provide autonomy.

From the similar point, for mothers, as well, raising children in their own way is significant. This is why they would like to employ child minders even if they have close relatives ready to take child care responsibility, and/or prefer to work women who are in similar age group. Mothers do not want their motherhood to be ‘questioned’, as child minders do not want their experience in child care to be doubted. Thus, seeking for autonomy is true for the both sides of the working relation.

Emotion management and burnout have been widely experienced by mothers and child minders. A working relation to be formed in a private sphere is behind difficulties and ways developed for solving them. Moreover facilities provided by state, and division of labor at home, other family members influence mothers’ negotiation power, and thus the workers’. As the narratives display emotional labor in child care work is so intense, not only for child minders but also working middle class women. Özkaplan (2009) claims that emotional part in care work is always visible. This might be true if it is performed in the formal labor market with standardized rules and definitions of tasks. However, as an informal employment it has its own dynamics, sometimes, unique to individual relations although the sector has developed set of unwritten principles. Furthermore, in Turkey even if the Labor Law covers domestic workers, and standards

are defined, I assume that emotional labor will continue to be apparent owing to deficiency of institutionalization of care services. This is, also, a consequence society in Turkey structured as family based. Furthermore, as mentioned before, care work does not only mean meeting physical needs of care receiver. Affection has always been significant part of the work, which nothing can replace it.

In case of absence of sufficient facilities, other family members have become very significant in mothers' lives with respect to issues about care of children. They shape many things varying from decision and timing having child(ren) to child care alternatives; to how they relate to care workers. Therefore, the next part focuses on roles of grandmothers and fathers in a situation that they take or do not take part in executing domestic works.

### **6.3. Grandmothers, Fathers and Share of Household Responsibilities**

In Turkey grandmothers are significant supporters compared to partners. No matter mothers ask for their help or not, knowing their presence gives a kind of feeling of safe and secure. However in this section I would like to focus on negative effect of them on the mothers and child minders.

Presence of women who prefer to employ a child minder despite availability of grandmother(s) is worth to consider. One of the reasons is difference between mothers' and grandmothers' styles of child raising. In this sense child minders are thought as the best solution to be sure of how child will be brought up, because they are expected to apply rules defined by mothers. What Rabia (34) told reveals how the situation might be annoying, and how child minders are believed to be a solution to tenderness between grandmothers and mothers.

[...][To the grandmas] you cannot say anything. It is not possible to say such things: “Do it that way or the other”, so on. Because they claim that they already think about their grandchild better than I do. But it is not the same with the child minder. This is my child so I want things to be done in the way that I want. (University graduated, instructor, have 3 years old child)

On the other hand, as it is put forward before, asking for modest cleaning is widespread among mothers. Thus, employing child minders enable them to transfer many domestic responsibilities to another women. This is a preferred situation because having a one worker costs less, and image of woman performing neither child care nor other tasks gains ground in case of presence of two people in house, no matter which one is waged.

Yet presence of grandmothers ready for child care, might cause difficulty that during pregnancy period, women sometimes have to prepare their husbands for the idea that child minder will take care of child.

Furthermore “competition” between grandmothers might be reason for mother to not to choose one of them but employing a child minder. Yet having a minder does not always mean the conflict to be disappeared. They might still continue to discuss about the best way of bringing up child, also in front of child minder. In these kinds of situations she has to play role of a mediator. Therefore, instead of mothers child minders handle with the rivalry.

Furthermore existence of grandmothers also might present problem for child minders that in the sector a special definition is developed: *grandmother syndrome*. Intensity of this syndrome might even cause the workers to quit the job. Grandmothers might interfere in issues varying from way of holding or washing child to what she eats and how she performs cleaning. In similar situations, mothers have to be the one will serve as a go-between.

Gül (46), the child-minder, left the job two days after we decided to meet for interview. She was very angry and felt to be wronged because although she worked very hard –

with her words “like a slave”- grandmother had insulted her. According to Gül, her relation with mother worsened after arrival of grandmother.

When I first got the job, we used to get along well with her mother. I mean her behavior towards me was good, she was appreciating and liked the meals that I cooked and kept saying, “God bless you.” But when her mother came, she did not keep the same behavior like before. Normally, she would call and ask me “sister how are you?” [...] ask my the children. But when her mother came, she started giving a ring her mother, didn't even ask how I was [...] and always pointed out that her mother had always supported her in any case. I told her, “speak to your mother once, since she causes discontent” [...] “and that we cannot work like that” [...] she said in return that there is nothing to do, since in the end she is her mother. (Primary school graduated, working for 4 years)

Here is the fact that, wish to be one of the family might be very strong that child minders may not want anybody to interrupt. On the other hand grandmothers may feel like they are excluded from upbringing of their grandchild. This could be the reason underlies their behavior as if they are the owner of the house and their intervention about child minder's performance.

Similarly, Keriman (35) claimed her employer's mother-in-law forced her to perform tasks, which are not responsibility of her. Yet, despite this unpleasant situation Keriman did not insist on complaining about the grandmother.

[...] When [the employer's] mother-in-law came, she spoke too much. Even though I changed child's diaper, she wanted me to double check in ten minutes. She wanted to put me to work all the time [...] I couldn't do anything when she forced me although they were not responsibility. [...] As if I had to do all the work without losing any detail, she was asking “Don't you have any scruples?” “I cannot reluctant to do.” [...] I told [the employer] two times. In both times, even though she warned her mother in law, I didn't want to bother her anymore. (University graduated, specialist in a public institution, her child is 2,5 years old)

This narrative displays that for the sake of peace in family, child minders may ‘choose’ not to mention problems they experience. Yet, not only for the workers but also for mothers almost every stage has undergone difficulty. Beginning from decision of giving birth to determining to who will care of child, women fall on hard times. They have to play role of mediator between their own demands and society's widespread perception about child care, between their own and husbands' family; husbands and

child minders; and even between grandmothers and child minders. Similarly, the workers should position themselves according to structure of balance in family. In other words, they are also expected to lighten tension the mothers feel, or at least to not to cause any other strain.

When the discounts are taken into account, it might seem that troublesome situations are only because of tense relation among mothers, child minders and grandmothers. Yet, in addition to insufficiency of early child care and education services, gendered division of labor is also main responsible from difficult occurrences. Narratives of the mothers put on view an indisputable reality that balance between work and care and household responsibilities is possible only if partners share them on equal basis. Otherwise women put very much effort to keeping that balance, which causes difficult situations in work, in relationship with partner and child, and for women themselves.

Regarding child care and other domestic responsibilities, most of partners take very little role. The accounts reveal that having child does not make a big difference in men's life. It is for sure that their work performance is affected in a negative way and time spared for themselves falls; yet compared to mothers it is just a drop in the ocean. Women are very well aware that if men take much more responsibility at home, their burden will get lighter. However, they are very hopeless about transformation of division of labor. Banu (41) supported her despair by mentioning her husband's ethnicity, which shows coherence with widespread belief about "men from the East part of Turkey" is traditional.<sup>111</sup>

Since I am unable to sleep, and feel tired, I go to work tired. Of course my performance decreases. I mean I don't feel strong but I try to do my tasks at school. I cannot spare time [for myself]. Our father [the husband] likes to spend his time outside on his own. If he supports at least a bit then we may handle [care of children] better together. But he is fond of his freedom, let's say. [...] My husband

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<sup>111</sup> <http://www.uludagsozluk.com/k/kürt-erkeği/> (24.09.2014)

doesn't help me with the housework. The responsibility of the children and the household is on me [...] My husband is a classical Eastern man, he is from Kars. [I raise such issues generally but] there is nothing changed. I mean it never changes. (University graduated, instructor, has two children at 10 years old and 26 months old)

Another common way of behaving of men in Turkey is considering their support as sufficient enough. However, as Canan, said, this is not reality. On the other hand despite the fact that women aware their husband's contribution is not satisfying, they may prefer to explain their heavy burden through how much their children are excessively fond of them. This functions as a mechanism of keeping family unity. As Canan (38) told especially weekends have been more exhausting compared to weekdays.

[Regarding sharing of housework, was there anything he took responsibility of?] If you ask him, the answer is yes. But if you ask me, no he didn't. I still think that he indeed doesn't do anything and for instance if he hears that, he would have overreacted. Cause he says that he actually does [...] What does he do most of the time that, if I'm burned out, he irons children's trousers and bed sheets. If I'm too desperate. The kids are fond of me a lot [...] Since both of them are fond of me, for instance Dilek, she even would like me to get her dress. [...] Since I cannot have a rest at the weekend, that when I'm tired I get anxious, I take half day off and have a rest at home in week days. Sometimes I try hard to meet friends but I do it in the end. I try to get organized to see them. I try not to break with my social life. [Saturday] if I leave for 2-3 hours then on Sunday the whole day, the children are under my responsibility. (University graduated, senior chief in a public Institution, has two children at 11 years and three years old)

Canan works in a public institution, in case she had worked in private sector she would not have been able to take a half-day off and to rest, which might have meant bigger problems in her relation. That is to say, where women work carries a weight in protection of family unity, as well.

Since I call mothers to question their relation with their partners, along with explaining problems, they have tendency to talk about how husbands have changed in a positive way after they had child. For instance Dilek (35) seems very unhappy about her life to be limited while nothing changes for her husband. Yet she thought he has become more mature. This is noteworthy that she compares personal development with

responsibilities. It is appear to be one of the strategies women apply for ignoring inequality at home.

[Having a child] has not made much effect on [my husband]. I mean he can go on his daily life. He has not have to sacrifice anything, but I do. I mean he still does sports. He can start again. I don't know. For instance he says he has a class in the evening and he can go. Yet this is not the case with me. If I will go somewhere or do something, I always have to organize care of my children beforehand. There is nothing extremely different in his life. This is limiting me but has made a little effect on my husband's psychology. I mean this made him more responsible. I don't know. I think after having child, he is more mature now. he has started to question himself. (University graduated, specialist in a public institution, has two children at 6,5 and 1,5 years old)

Except for some examples that share of task is almost equal, women telling their partners take responsibility indicates that men play with children when mothers cleaning house or preparing dinner. As Kaya (2008) show in her study, women wish their husbands to spend much time with children for the sake of the latter, not for themselves. In other words, mothers do not hope much 'help' from their partners. However men even do not meet these limited expectations. What Olcay (39) told very well displays how hard a woman to be married and to have child.

I want him [my husband] to play games with his child and to share his time [...] Because the father is going to work early in the morning and my son doesn't see his father. We are going to the kindergarten together. I come back, I'm the first person who is together with him all the time. We eat together and play games, then his father comes and stays with us two hours or so. Afterwards he watches TV or I don't know he falls asleep most of the time. Sometimes when my husband put Mehmet to sleep, I tell him "you fall a sleep again". I got tired of saying "wake up" to him and "sleep" to the other. Mehmet doesn't sleep, his father doesn't wake up [...] I wash the dishes at that time for instance, tidy up the table. I mean I don't lie down and have a rest. I hang out the laundry. Because there is always something left from the evening. I tidy up the dishes, and so on. (Has master degree, specialist in a public institution. has a 4 years old child)

As Buding et. al. (2004) display, parenting activities shows difference that while fathers mostly participate in "fun activities" with children when mother is also there, mothers spend much more time with children alone (p.61). Furthermore Bittman et. al.'s (2004) make more detailed analysis and define four categories: developmental, high contact, travel and communication, and low-intensity child care. The first one includes all face-to-face activities targeting linguistic, cognitive and social capacity of

children like reading, listening to him/her, talking, helping to learn etc. (p. 137). The second category involves physical care like giving food, bathing, putting on clothes, hugging et cetera. Travel means taking children for some activities and waiting for them, while communication implies talking with related people about child. And the last category, as Buding et. al (2004) mentions also, points parents to exist near child to monitor and to make environment available for feeling of safe. With regard to time use by mothers and fathers, they say mothers spend four times more in high contact activities than fathers. Similarly travel and communication activities performed by mothers are nearly four times more. Although in other activities the gap is not this much big, still mothers spend much more time compared to fathers.<sup>112</sup>

According to my findings, if women cannot change attitudes of their partners, they let go at the end. While Olcay expects very little things from her husband, in front of his indifference she gave up finally. “We had discussions about the issue. Yet, I don’t care any more.” This resignation could be seen in narratives of many women interviewed, different from what Kaya (2008) found. Professional women in her study push their husbands to spend time with their children. Despite the fact that we don’t have any idea about how successful they become, their higher positions in their jobs might lead them to be more insistent compared to middle class mothers I met.

Semiha, on the other hand, emphasizes on difference between care and household responsibilities while explaining reason behind her decision to take everything as it

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<sup>112</sup> Bittman et. al. (2004) refer activities performed by care-givers for themselves and for care receiver together, like cooking, which are not counted as part of care work but of domestic work. This is important because, according to them, it shows people are not aware labor they spent for caring. They, too, emphasize significance of parents’ availability for children like a fire-fighter on duty in case there is no fire (p. 75) and mention these kinds of ‘activities’ as “hidden care” (p. 86). On the other hand, Ironmonger (2004) tries to locate unpaid care work into the macro-economy and says in case secondary activities are also considered in care work in Australia, the time spent would be in 1997 “...equivalent to almost two-thirds (63 percent) of the entire labor time...” spend for “market economy” (p. 106).

comes. Despite she draws attention to how men and women's natures are different from each other that she thinks men are inherently selfish; there is a truth when she says, "if the issue was cleaning I would do nothing, but a woman cannot sacrifice her child". She tells she was about to divorce, especially owing to the fact that her mothers had to deal with everything about the child and house. It is the fact that, women could perceive going work as an opportunity to escape from all the burdens of household. Semiha states that she can find time to drink coffee only when she is at work.

In these kinds of circumstances, women have to discover other strategies to rationalize unequal share of domestic responsibilities. One of them is considering workload of men as Günay (34) does.

Actually, he is so busy, too, indeed he tries to help. I mean he doesn't completely refuse this. But he is so busy, as well. [...] He has more academic staff that is why we cannot achieve this equality. Maybe this is happening involuntarily, he also tries to help in his own way but... (Physician, has two children at three and six years old)

There is a common perception among men if they earn much more than women, which is the situation –apart from one- among my informants. Men consider their financial contribution is fundamental for the budget of household and their wives' as subsidiary, which let them to legitimize their part in domestic responsibilities. This situation is apparent in Meliha's (31) account.

My husband is so busy. [...] He trades. He deals with people. He has a very stressful job. I came by his working place once or twice and saw with my own eyes. This is why I try to tolerate him. Secondly, he comes home late, later than me. And in return of this, he brings much more money compared to me. His financial contribution is more than mine. (Has a master degree, specialist in a public institution, has a child 2,5 years old)

If men does not share domestic task before having child, it does not change after. And if the situation is opposite then child care responsibilities could be –almost- equally shouldered according to accounts of the mothers.

On the other hand, in case women find time for individual activities feeling of guilt does not leave them. Especially preferring to work instead of care for child is the main source of this feeling. This is a good example showing how middle class women internalize traditional gender roles, as well. Beyhan (34) considers sparing time for herself as unfair, because of the fact that she works and be far from her child during whole day.

[...] I can't say I never have nervous breakdowns about this issue. I could not really figure out yet if I am responsible for this or not. I mean, I want to go to the hairdresser, etc. occasionally, but I feel like it would be better if I spent the time with my child instead of going hairdresser. I can spare time to this, I want to have the pedicure and tell it to my husband, inform him beforehand. I tell him I would the appointment for the weekend and ask if that is proper for him or not; and if he says it is okay, I would go. But believe me, I would like to turn back home as quick as possible. Yes, it is hard to spend time with the child but I feel like it would be better if I am around. If I hadn't been working, if I had been with her the whole day, I would have spent more time for myself. However, as I am already not with her the whole day; I feel like it would be unfair if I spend time for myself instead of having time with her. (University graduated, architect, as a 17 months old child)

Here it should be remembered that Beyhan's mother is a judge and convinced her to work –mentioning a woman should have a job- while Beyhan wants to be with her child longer. Due to this kind of a family structure and support, she still to feel uneasy shows power of motherhood ideology in Turkey.

Likewise, Meliha (31) mentioned that for four years she had not gone watching movies despite she liked so much.

[...] Well, though of course I had the ability. [...] I could ask to [the child minder] but I already have this feeling of guilt. I work, and hardly come back home around 7:00-7:30 pm. I can see the child three hours in a day in total. Thus I cannot go to the cinema in the evenings for the sake of my own pleasure by expense of leaving the child alone at home. Hence, social life equals to zero. I used to love cinema and theater. (Has a master degree, specialist in a public institution, has a 2,5 years old child)

Partners to take little responsibility also strengthen mothers' feeling of guilt. Dolunay told that she would like to go back home as soon as possible since she did not rely on her husband's ability to care for child.

Opposite of widespread understanding that child care is duty of women; men should also bear an equal responsibility. As the narratives put the situation clearly, partners' no or little support causes mothers to experience emotional burnout and feeling of guiltiness.

In the next section I focus on welfare provisions to show, in addition to inside of home, facilities provided by state is significant on equal basis with regard to women to establish balance between their domestic tasks and obligations of work.

In recent years, especially in EU as a result of women's increasing labor force participation, aging of working population and low fertility rates; establishing balance between familial and work obligations has become significant problem to be solved. On the other hand, despite the fact that women's labor force participation rises it is still under men's rate. As we see above, child care and housework are considered as women's responsibility at global level and these burdens keep women –other than men- out of the market. Particularly care problem of small children takes the first place among reasons preventing mothers to work or forcing them to 'choose' part-time and/or temporary jobs. Thus, all countries –more or less- give shape to reconciliation policies varying from perceiving the family as sole and only place for child care to running public mechanisms to handle it collectively. How much welfare state will be involved in this issue is affected by society's approach towards working mothers since care ideals are "...part of a gender culture" (Kremer, 2007: 173) and also labor market structure should be taken into consideration. Furthermore as Bettio et. al. (2004) attract our attention that varying care systems are formed by "... a complex array of historical, cultural, social and economic factors" (p. 106). Even in the countries that take reconciliation issue from the point of gender equality still child care continue to exist as mother's problem and fathers are not encouraged and willing to take the responsibility in equal basis.

Countries like Turkey, in which life is organized family and, thus, traditional gender roles based, cause women to find ways of handling services not provided by state. Labor market is also decisive on strategies women applied. From the point of child minders, care work to be performed in the informal labor market result in staying out of social security system. Furthermore complicated relation between market and child care work cause the situation sustains. Therefore, the following part aims to display how women deal with insufficient care facilities, and arrangements in the labor market.

#### **6.4. Social Welfare Implementations and Child Care**

In Turkey, recently, increasing women's participation into the labor force has been very much discussed and taken place in almost all documents about economical development as mentioned in the Chapter IV. Women's employment, child care and rigidity of the labor market are the issues have been discussed mostly together. In this sense what is proposed for women is to work part-time while also executing care responsibilities. Tele-work is proposed as a new opportunity that according to woman's organizations this is a way of confining women into home and compelling them to low prestigious, low waged and unsecured jobs<sup>113</sup>.

In the government's statements part-time work take place widely.<sup>114</sup> Especially in the absence of institutionalized child care services especially for age group of 0-3 and sufficient parental leave; part-time work has enabled many women to cope with work and family together, however in the expense of low wages, low job security, non-wage

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<sup>113</sup> <http://sosyalistfeministkolektif.org/35-haberler/haberler/731-akp-nin-kad-n-istihdam-paketi-kime-muejde.html> (24.09.2014)

<sup>114</sup> <http://m.akparti.org.tr/site/video/37691/anneler-icin-yari-zamanli-calisma-sistemi> (24.09.2014)

[http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/dogum\\_paketi\\_geliyor-1155627](http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/dogum_paketi_geliyor-1155627) (24.09.2014)

benefits, lack of social protection, weak career advancement and training (ILO, GB.312/POL/4, 2011). Thus it is not that much possible to speak of choice of preferring low-paid part time jobs, but of not having any other choice. Although some claims regarding generation of a “new man”, it is still women who lessen their working hours to spend more time to child care (Vincent et. al., 2004:581, Windebank, 1999). Gregory et. al. (2008) call our attention that part time work creates inequality also between women working in full time jobs and the ones working part-time. They indicate that most of part-time jobs are low-paid jobs and, to panel data from UK, plenty of women working in part-time jobs are qualified for and/or have worked in better jobs before. As Waren (2010) suggests that across Europe men earn more than women and the wage gap changes from country to country. According to data of year 2000, the Netherland have the biggest gap and then the UK, Luxembourg, Germany, Ireland and Austria come respectively. In these countries what is common is that part-time working is widespread among women.

After this brief introduction, I would like to bring how women experience reconciliation policies in Turkey and what kind of strategies they develop regarding child care responsibility. Paid and unpaid leaves, child care and education services are subsections including applications in the European Union; accounts of women on their exposure to implementations in Turkey, and on their strategies and needs. Examples from the Member Countries enable us to compare Turkey to other nations, and give an elaborate picture on the different reconciliation policies.

On the other hand in the last section, I discuss social insurance issue because of the fact that it reveals how child minders and middle class mothers experience informal labor market structure through paid child care, which is considered as work and non-work at the same time.

#### 6.4.1. Leave Arrangements and Working Mothers

According to the ILO 2014 data on maternity leave, in the global scale 58 per cent of the 185 countries provide 14 weeks leave minimum and 45 per cent make two third of the previous salary. Not only worldwide but also among EU countries there is difference with regard to duration of the leaves and amount of payment. On the other hand long maternal leaves do not mean fully paid time off. For example in UK only 12 weeks is full paid and in Italy 15,8 weeks on in Finland 12,1 weeks (total duration is 17,5 weeks). In this sense Belgium has the highest full paid maternity leave, which is 40,5 weeks. Eligibility criteria, also, differs country to country<sup>115</sup>.

In case paid leaves are insufficient, mothers have to develop their own solutions to be able to spend enough time with their children. In Turkey, according to my informants, 16 weeks maternity leave is not sufficient enough. Almost all the middle class mothers think that -at least- six months is essential for them and their children to pull themselves together. These six months seem to be considered along with minimum breastfeeding duration. Filiz (38) told that she stayed with her child almost six months.

I mean, you cannot leave the child and go back to work till the age of six months and 15 days, because you still breastfeed. Because you start supplementary nutrition after the 6th month. [...] It is quite hard to go back to work before the child gets into the order of supplementary nutrition, I mean, you've got to be back at work after six months and 15 days. Now, [maternal leave] four months, I had off-days around 30 days. I have almost completed to six months, I mean, via adding the religious holidays came coincidentally. But I have received a health-report for 20 days in order to make it six months and 15 days in the second child. In the first child, as I had an unpaid leave, I had the chance to go back to work when I felt ready. I guess it should be 6 months and 15 days. (Has two master degrees, head chief in a public institution, has 3 and 11 years children)

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<sup>115</sup> For instance in Belgium, mothers to be able to have maternity leave need to have minimum 241 working days before the birth, while for Norway, Hungary, Portugal, Luxemburg and Bulgaria the minimum requirement is 6 months. In Finland and Malta residence is the only criteria (OECD, 2007).

A longer period of leave perceived as questionable because of the fact that it is thought to harm relation between mother and child, if the former stays at home, isolated. Dilek (35) told that how she needed taking a breath.

The mother is running out of patience after a while. She loses her nerves due to being with the child continuously. For instance, I was as such too. Mother wants to go out and has a break as well but the social thing... You know like "you had an enough time, you had been with her/him, etc." There is nothing as such, indeed. Mother is supposed to go out and recover so that her relation with the child becomes better. At some point, there has to be a break. (University graduated, specialist in a public institution, has 6,5 and 1,5 years old children)

Yet presence of mothers would like to stay with their children till they are of 2 years old, should not be slipped over. However the expectation is full compensation. According to Günay reason for mothers to start working is economical obligations.

Günay draws our attention to a significant reality that when it is not unpaid, even most of women will not be able to use parental leave. In other words, unpaid leaves are far from enabling gender equality while it is very much depended on class position of women at the same time. The difference between opinions about adequacy of duration of being with children also shows lack of alternatives with respect to care services. In other words, in addition to institutionalization of child care, services should be diversified.

To be able to spend adequate time with their children, women find some solutions, which vary depending on working in public or private institutions, structure of working place, their position and their responsibilities in work, income level of their household, presence of grandmothers, place husbands work, and division of labor at home.

Despite the fact that maternity leave period is standard both in the Labor Law and the Civil Servant's Law, working in a public institution enables women to extend the duration more easily compared to the ones working in private institutions. One of tactics is keeping previous annual leaves to be able to use them in bulk after birth,

while the other is taking medical reports. Yet, as Canan said, “To keep mind busy with the ways of getting a medical-report, extending it, is not good to trouble a woman who has just given birth.” It is the fact that women ‘get busy’ about child care even in the period of pregnancy. Or they do timing of having baby according to existing alternatives and opportunities. All the available possibilities are based on idea that men do not equally share care responsibility, child care and education services are little, and the state does not support parents. Therefore, they had to produce solutions from their restricted sources.

Extending maternity leave is a strategy possible only in state institutions since in private firms, workers even cannot use their annual leave as consecutive. This is a claim relying on my observations among my friends having jobs in private sector and the informants’ remarks. The ones I spoke to, had chance to benefit from their unspent vacation. Olcay (39) highlights difference between working in public and private sector.

I continued to work till the last 3 weeks [maternal leave]. You can use the leave before two months in case of illness or something similar. Then you have 8 weeks only, 2 months I mean. You have to leave the child. Then, everyone has to apply to other ways like medical-report, day-offs. Unpaid leave are quite hard in private sector. Only quite institutionalized companies might offer unpaid leave but not all of them. [Paid paternal leave] should be must, especially for then ones in private sector. Women in the public sector may somehow manage with medical reports and so on. (Has master degree, specialist in a public institution, has a four years old child)

Another strategy is benefitting from breast feeding leave not as three hours for the first six months then as an hour and half during second part; but as adding an almost a 45 days extra onto paid leave. This is not defined through the Law, yet it appears as an internal implementation.

Internal flexibility also might be used as coming and leaving earlier that women benefit for taking their children from kindergarten, or carrying out other domestic responsibilities. Emine (54), a child minder, told that her employer could take her child

from the kindergarten and come home earlier, as a result of flexibility in working place. The situation was to be child minder's advantage that she, as well, could leave the work before the usual time.

Her mother used to come late before, but the working hours are more flexible now. The mother comes at 5:30 pm [...] They go early in the mornings, and come back at 5:30pm. Before, the shift ended at 6:00 pm. Oh no, sorry, she gets off the work at 5pm, she goes to get the other [child] from the kindergarten. So she can arrive home around 5.30pm. Before, it was around 6:30-7:00 pm. (Child minder for 15 years).

If breastfeeding duration is not added onto maternal leave, women use it in two ways: Coming later and leaving earlier, or coming on time and leaving earlier. As stated above the duration is subjected to the Labor Law and Civil Servants' Law. Yet, additionally, being a trade-union member might change the duration.

Using unpaid leave seems widespread among women I spoke with. Yet, especially mothers working in private sector, which does not allow them to arrange things, to be with their children longer as in public sector, have to take leave as unpaid in case their economical situation let them. Banu told that she could not benefit from unpaid leave in her first birth.

Monique Kremer (2007) attracts our attention to educational dimension of the leave arrangements that generates inequality not only between men and women but also among women. Mainly women who have high or middle level of education use parental leave more than lower educated ones. The latter prefers to withdraw from working life rather than using leave or working part time. On the other hand, living with a partner having a similar life standard also influences women to take unpaid leave. In this sense middle class women have better chance to go back their full time work compared to lower class (Crompton et al. 2010).

In a similar vein Vincent et. al. (2001) address to intra-class dynamics that women in the "routine white-collar occupations" try different jobs to be able to find best solution

for handling care of their children, while “professional women”, going back to work after maternity leave, continue their career (p. 355). Furthermore, even among middle class women financial difficulties could be reason for going back work earlier than they wish. Dilek told that she only could use four months leave for her first child owing to the fact that they had been paying home loan.

On the other hand, mothers to not to take unpaid leave although they can afford is not a rare situation that as Rabia’s (35) account displays.

[...] Many people said me as such “ Oh! Do not go back work, these days will not be back. Take unpaid leave.” Actually, financially, I could take it. Besides, I was already giving much of my earnings to the child minder but still I wanted to get away from home. (University graduated, instructor, has a three years old child)

As stated before, rationality of having child minder is evaluated according to financial burden reflecting on family budget. Since women are considered as main responsible from child care, their wage becomes fundamental element of calculation. In the eye of society, if most of money a woman earns will be spent for employing a child minder than leaving job to care for child is more rational. Positive influence of working on women has been ignored and only the ones having no choice other than work and the ones earning much more than paid for child care have been found as socially acceptable.

From the other view, men to temporarily or permanently leave job to look after child is neither thinkable nor appreciated in Turkey. How many paid days to be separated for men to be used for child care is closely connected to gender regime of countries. Duration of the paid paternity leave varies between two days to 90 days across the world (ILO, 2014). In Turkey, as mentioned in the Chapter IV while civil servant fathers have right to use 10 days leave, for the ones working under the Labor Law no paternity leave is defined. However, in some places using a three days leave might become possible as an initiative of manager/owner. Some of my informants said they

arranged their cesarean by considering their partners' leave. For instance Rabia had operation on Monday not to waste her husband leave. Similarly Olcay (39), was leaving different city from her husband, decided not only time but also way of delivery of baby.

[...] Actually I wanted to get also natural birth but my husband and I were apart and he came for the delivery and had to stay longer because of this. So we had to arrange things according to him because he was at the private sector. For example I wanted to wait till Thursday but since he came, we had to have the operation on Tuesday. I wanted to wait until Thursday for possibility of natural birth but then I agreed. I said Tuesday was ok, we also thought about him. Since he was here, we didn't want him to come back again. (Has master degree, specialist in a public institution, has a four years old child)

Like paternity leaves, parental leave arrangements differ in eligibility, duration, payment rate, transferability, and flexibility. Duration of parental leave is not specified by the ILO Recommendations (ILO, 2014). Leave could be family based or individual that the former means leave can be shared between parents while the latter is not transferable<sup>116</sup>. To the OECD (2007) figures nearly half of the countries provide paternal leave as transferable. Flexibility of parental leave with regard to children's age limit, number of segments and part-time rate also show variation.<sup>117</sup>

Yet, to the figures in the Eurostat 2009 Edition that rate of fathers using parental leave is not satisfying that in EU 15 countries 83,6 per cent of men have neither taken nor thinking of taking the parental leave, while only 4,4 per cent of them took just for one of their children. Reason behind is lack of awareness about the existence of this kind of right (31,2 per cent), not being able to afford (18,3 per cent), situation that wife/partner does not work (13,6 per cent), an opinion that parental leave is more for women (13,5

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<sup>116</sup> For example in Belgium total parental leave is individual and 26 weeks that 2,4 of is fully paid. In Denmark it is 36 months and family based, 17,16 of the leave is fully paid. In France 40,2 per cent of 36 months family-based leave which is fully paid.

<sup>117</sup> For example in Austria 6 months-leave (each parent uses 3 months) could be divided into two and second part can be used after child's 2nd birthday till he/she reaches 7 years of age. Or in Denmark 8-13 weeks could be used till the child's 9th birthday.

per cent) and receiving help of another family member for child care (6,3 per cent). On the other hand 38,4 per cent of fathers demand financial compensation while 30,0 per cent want better job guarantees for being encouraged to take the leave. Need of better information and a more open-minded attitude from the colleagues and superiors come next (26,9 per cent and 22,8 per cent respectively). To be sure, number of fathers using the leave changes country to country but according to the 2009 Edition, all women who are eligible for parental leave take it. Fathers use the leave very much less compared to mothers. Although, for instance, in Nordic countries like Denmark and Sweden fathers takes parental leave more than other countries the rate is still not high and also duration is very short that in Denmark while 16 per cent of fathers use the leave, the duration is only 5,7 weeks; while mothers use 22,6 week-leave. Similarly in Sweden fathers take 28 days leave while mothers use 109 days on average. As the figures reveal, one of the most significant reason behind men to not to use leave is to be unpaid. Although according to mentioned figures most of men are not aware of such kind of opportunity, claiming that it is just a matter of insufficient informing will miss its connection with common understanding about child care to be responsibility of women. As my research shows in addition to knowing all facilities, women learn how to play rules of working place. In other words in case men hold themselves equally responsible for caring for child, they would have probably known all possibilities available.

In Turkey, as stated before, there is two years unpaid leave is defined only for civil servants. Regarding my questions about their opinions the best child care and education services, none of middle class respondents mentioned fathers to use paid leave. This might be read as an example to internalization of traditional gender roles and hopelessness about transformation of patriarchal understanding. When I referred to non-transferable paternal leave, even despite women thought that it should be implemented, they were desperate about their husbands and/or general perception of

society. Olcay (39) was sure that her husband would not have cared for their child even a day.

[...] I am thinking my husband. I don't suppose he can be with the child for two months. He was used to say, "you work, and I will care for child". But I don't think so. He cannot deal with even a whole day. Namely, those kinds of people are not many in our society. (Has master degree, specialist in a public institution, has a four years old child)

Perception regarding inability of men in looking after children taken so natural that, in case a paid parental leave was arranged to make men to take responsibility, women might not have 'prefer' to leave the children to their fathers. Günay (34) believes that she would do better everything about child compared to her partner. "I, oneself, prefer to use [the leave] [...] This is because I can carry out basic needs of child better than my husband can do. Besides, a child needs her mother more than her father."

As it is appeared in Günay's account, idea of doing better requires to be legitimized via another widespread belief: Children need their mother more. However other women who thought men to be able to care children are the ones having partners sharing some care and household tasks, or the ones knowing these kinds of men around. Filiz (38) supposes that her husband take responsibility of children, but after breastfeeding period. "For six months and 15 days, without mother, [care of children] is not possible, yet a man can look after a child. As I told, [my husband] can take care of my son in case I am away for a week."

Rabia (35), although thinks men should be included into care work, she addresses the society's understanding that sees women as the primary care providers. "A father continues his life and a mother leaves everything behind, except her child. This is not a correct approach, yet how much it [fathers to use leave] could be realized, [not sure]."

Canan (38), in a similar vein, refers to hopelessness with respect to men to take any responsibility, and underlines existence of men around her " can look after children as good as mothers." She calls women to look beyond their husbands. On the other hand

Ceylan (38) draws attention to problems experienced between mother and father in the period of first months, which even lead to divorces. Therefore, according to her, parents should use the leaves together. “This [child care] is not a thing that single person can handle.”

Maternal and/or unpaid leave does not always mean staying totally out of work. There are women who had to do some job from home and/or to go to office sometime, which is very much about kind of the work, mother’s position, supervisor, and colleagues. For instance Dolunay (46) had to do so much work, more than she expected. Yet, as she mentioned, it was because of absence of another person who could handle the tasks.

After I put the baby to sleep, I was working via computer. [...] There was nobody could do the job I did here. I told them that I could monitor from home in case of need. [...] It was much more than I expected, however. [...] I could not object since there was nobody could do the same job in the firm. In case I said no, here [the firm] would be in difficulty. (University graduated, industrial engineer, has a three years old child)

Problems are not limited to duration, flexibility or amount of financial compensation of leaves. After returning back, women may experience distress about relation with their supervisor and/or colleagues, about obligations of the job and child care. Asiye’s (43) manager, for instance, declared that women having children should not be accepted to public institutions.

[The director of the department] said, “as far as I am concerned, women with children should not employed in the public institutions.” The reason is that I do not accept to work an hour more. You have to work more. He expected me to show a performance apart from the Law 657 [Civil Servants’ Law]. Yet I have a child. I have to take her [from the school]. I mean, he does not have a legal right to ask. It says [in the Law] a civil servant cannot forced to work overtime. [...] For instance, he claims that I avoid duties out of Ankara, by using my child as an excuse. Yet, there is no such a thing. I went to every assignment in other cities. [...] I have never neglected any of my duties using my child as an excuse. However, he uses it as a reason of pressure. Since I am woman with a child.(University graduated, architect, has a two years old child)

Similar reaction had come from deputy of general director in a public institution Meliha (31) works. This approach had caused a good female worker to be rejected, and a male one to be employed.

[...] In everybody's mind, there is a question about what to do with a missing staff member. Our team is all women. Consider that the deputy of general director, director of the department, all experts are women. Except two, all of us are married and have children. The deputy of the general director said, "When employing a personnel, I will prefer men". She voiced this, I know. This is why we missed a very good female staff recently. Just owing to the fact that she wanted a male personnel. Later, she regretted. The directors also say, "Enough" to this many women, because it is hard to deal with their problems. (University graduated, specialist in a public institution, has 2,5 years old child)

Another negative effect on job might be losing position or promotion. These kinds of situations are also relevant to structure of workplace. Similar conditions, in addition, cause women to go back work earlier than they plan. Meliha, who lost her seniority owing to using unpaid leave, mentions that department directors giving birth have to go back job as earlier as possible to not to lose their position.

Crompton (2000) points to similar situation and addresses doctors and bankers, and compares professional and managerial works in connection with "care-friendly" working environment and conditions affecting career plan (p. 170). As a professional work, medicine, enable both men and women to plan their future life. In contrast banking as a managerial work is open to changes and knowing the career path is not much possible. Being doctor gives more possibility to have more children than being banker while at the same time being women in these jobs means having fewer children compared to men. Here Crompton highlights caring is not gendered but "gender-coded" indicating that it is not essential to masculinity or femininity, yet if men primarily take this responsibility, their career will follow the same route (p. 174).

She should be right when she claims caring is gender-coded because hostility towards women giving birth is reflection of poor arrangements in labor market and too little early child care and education services<sup>118</sup>. Therefore, anger of other workers is

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<sup>118</sup> It is for sure there is gender regime behind. If men had been considered as the one responsible from child care then they will experience the same difficulties. Yet, they would have been the "second sex". However, in case both men and women share the responsibility in equal basis, then there will be implications diminishing problems workers having children.

predictable. If services were sufficient then women might have come back work earlier instead of trying to extend their leaves. Furthermore, discrimination against women in working place would be lighten if men also were encouraged to use longer paid leaves. Similarly internal flexibility would let parents to share child care responsibility, and reconcile their work and family obligations better and without pinning their duties on other workers. It is for sure, labor market in the Capitalism functions on principle of increasing amount of surplus, which is possible through decreasing production expenditures. Thus, mostly less people work than it is needed. In other words, in case a female worker gives birth, this turns other workers to do much more duties to handle.<sup>119</sup>

How a woman-friendly working place creates difference in mothers' lives is seen in Nalan's (34) account. She works in an international organization and her job responsibilities could be executed in everywhere having the Internet connection and computer, which is very influential in her relatively easy position in addition to structure of working place.

[...] I gave birth at the best place ever, because even working you may think on pregnancy. Structure of our working place is very much supportive about women and having children. If I worked in private sector, in which my husband's sister had to quit the job, I might have experienced such a thing. Here, conversely, there is a support. Plus, in case we have difficult times, we have opportunity to work from home, for instance. They tolerate these kinds of things. Working conditions are good, therefore. If wages were not sufficient, I would prefer here. (Has a master degree, Project Assistant in an International Organization has a 20 months child)

Colleagues may be part of the problem or the solution. Depending on the requirements of job, a woman to give birth means for others more working load and the least liked parts to be shouldered largely. On the other hand co-workers might be very supportive

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<sup>119</sup> I am aware that in Turkey most of enterprises are small or middle scale. And labor market is very much informal employment based while subcontracting is widespread. In front of this picture expecting especially from small firms to employ more workers is not realistic. On the other hand solution cannot be employing people through temporary working contracts, which is frequently mentioned by the government particularly when maternal leave is at issue, because it is a way towards a precarious working life.

during maternal and breast feeding leaves, and at the time that child is sick. Günay (34), as a physician, claims about assistant doctors' dissatisfaction regarding increasing number of turn of duties because of staff on-leave. "They do not get pleased about the situation, and sometimes they make you to sense it."

A similar condition has been experienced where Semiha (38) works. It is a public institution in which there are many travels to other provinces. Therefore, single workers are unhappy about undertaking tasks cannot be performed by the staff having children.

There [working place] people do not get pleased when you are pregnant because they have an opinion that you cannot leave from Ankara for supervision. Yet, our main job is not in Ankara. [...] Therefore other people have an impression that task you should do fall on them. [...] Thus, despite the fact that we work in Ankara in a very high tempo, we attract their attention. Thanks god, since number of women is not many that we escape their anger. (University graduated, supervisor in a public institution, has a 1,5 years old child)

Different from Semiha and Günay, colleagues of Canan supported her during the period after birth and she could go back to same position in the job.

I hesitated about using leave especially [for second child] because of the job. [...] I appreciate people covered up. I mean, I could go back to my recent department at the end of the 8th month. [...] I was in a ongoing communication with a colleague. I wished nobody to be employed instead of me. I appreciate her that she managed the situation. She handled my duties as well. She said. "I will execute the tasks till Canan come back to work." (University graduated, Senior Chief in a Public Institution, has 3 and 11 years old children)

Similarly, Olcay's friends and department director showed tolerance even in time of pregnancy. This is why she defines herself "very lucky", which proves that where women work affects their level of dealing with difficult situations with respect to care and household duties.

The accounts make clear that labor market structure and social welfare implementations play a significant role how women to experience before and during pregnancy and after going back to work. Not only for the first years of children, but for much more longer, working mothers are subjected to anger, or have support of their colleagues. As it is in organization of child care, state leaves women alone with

problems encountered in the working place. On the other hand all the difficulties experienced in job also shape negotiation power of mothers in front of child minders.

Insufficiency of early child care and education services cause middle class working mothers to employ child minders. This is a common way to deal with care of children till they are 2-3 years of age. Then another task mothers have to handle is finding a good kindergarten. The next section focuses on school 'preferences' of mothers.

#### **6.4.2. Early Child Care and Education Services**

It's already become very clear during this study that well-developed early child care services are so significant on women's participation into the labor market and gender equality. As we realized so far that women with children, compared to women who have no child, are less likely to be employed. Furthermore, number of women having children in part-time and flexible work is more than women without children. On the other hand the higher public spending is associated with both higher female employment rates and lower child poverty while high investment in work-family policies are also linked to higher fertility rates (ILO, 2011).

Schooling of children varies among countries that to OECD family Database 2008 figures enrollment OECD average of rate of children smaller than 3 years old into the formal child care is 30 per cent while Denmark has the highest rate (more than 60 per cent) and Netherland comes next (more than 50 per cent). 3 to 5 years of age enrollment rates are increasing in all OECD countries that average becomes 77,3 per cent, while in some countries it reaches to 100 per cent and most countries to more than 80 per cent. In Turkey, to the Ministry of National Education 2013-2014 figures net schooling ratio for children between 3-5 years is 27,21 per cent that net schooling rate is the highest, 42,54 per cent.

When formal child care is not sufficient, its place is filled by informal care alternatives. Especially for children between 0-2 years old informal care is widespread. In terms of informal care EU average is 23,6 per cent while Greece has the highest rate with 52,5 per cent and Netherlands comes second with 51,9 per cent. Lowest rate is in Iceland (2,2 per cent) and then Norway comes with 4,3 per cent.

Despite the informants of my study employ child minders, most of them find child minders as inadequate for development of children after certain age. On the other hand some of them would like to send their children to kindergarten as later as it is possible, by reason that they have long years to pass in school. Yet, from the other side, concern behind sending children to school is also about working lives of mothers. Since children in kindergarten have a bad health record, mothers have to take a day off and care for their children, which generate a problem for their job. For instance Dolunay (46) told that she did not plan to send her child to kindergarten.

My daughter is too thin. When she gets sick dosage of the medicines is less than what is needed because of the fact that dosage should be given according to her weight. Thus she has become sick very frequently when she begins to kindergarten. This is why I don't plan sending her to school.[...] Perhaps when she becomes 4,5-5 years old, I may try to find a half-day activity such as gymnastics, ballet that she can be with other children. I may send her those kinds of places with her aunt [child minder]. Yet I do not want a full-time kindergarten. In case I send away the aunt [child minder] there will be nobody to take care of her [the child] when she gets sick. (Univesity graduated, industrial engineer, has a three years old child)

Decision of starting to school is very much formed by services provided by the state. In case parents are not supported by diversified alternatives, they have to find their own solutions, which have not been always for good of children or parents. Günay stated that she had to send her daughter to kindergarten despite the fact that she did not want to do.

I am planning to send my son to kindergarten when he is around 4 years old. I let my daughter to start kindergarten when she was three years old because my son was born and handling both of them was very difficult. I want my son to become older. I think three years of age is a little bit early. Duration

they spend at school is very long. They will study during their whole life that I want to delay it a little bit more. (Physician, has 6 and 3,5 years old children)

Similar to Günay, most of the mothers think till child is at 2-2,5 years old, he/she should spend time at home. Another rationale behind reluctance to sending school is structure of care given. There are places for care of babies but they are not considered as good. Mothers think a baby needs a close attention that services in those kinds of are based on only meeting fundamental needs such as feeding and changing diapers. Another reason mothers would like to keep their children at home is insufficiency of state control.

Therefore, not only quantity but also quality of early child care and education services are regarded as a problem. Physical condition of kindergartens, number and skill of teachers, and monitoring are issues uttered. The mothers I interviewed believe that responsible authority should be state. In this sense they have reservations about the state implementations in Turkey. According to Meliha “the state is so inefficient and weak”, while Nalan (34) compared Turkey to England, and addressed family based social services in the former.

There should be state support and control [on kindergartens]. In the working places, there should be a legal sanction. Sending to a school is not possible till 2-2,5 years of age. In England, care service is obligatory for some period. Yet here, family system is strong. It is not an individual structure. This is not negative yet state should not rely on it. A budget should be reserved [for early child care services]. (Has master degree, project assistant in an international organization, has a 20 months old child)

Regarding child minders, lack of training and control are also mentioned. Importance of child care courses is underlined and, other than private firms, The Work and Employment Agency (ISKUR) is mentioned as a mediating organization. This reveals the need of supervision and inadequacy of private employment agencies. Olcay (39) refers that if schools for small children have been monitored enough by state, parents can leave children willingly.

The doctors advise sending children to kindergarten. Yet there is no in Turkey. Sate can contribute to the ones having insufficient financial source. [...] Relying on child minder is very hard. When it is institutional [it is more reliable]. [Taking a leave for] 24 months is difficult. Paid part should be increased. I wished to be with my child. The one who would like to, should be able to stay [with their children]. A woman may not want [to stay at home], as well. Duration of the [maternal] leave should be expanded. (Has master degree, specialist in a public institution, has a four years old child)

Doubts about child minder also may cause mothers to send their children to earlier than planned. As Semiha (38) told sometimes other than physical and mental development, safety of children becomes main determinant.

[...] You don't trust, even is she is an acquaintance because she may not endure the child's caprices as you do. She may shout, I don't know; she may hurt [the child's feelings]. Besides, he [the child] gets bored in the house whole day with child minder. In kindergarten, he may play with other children; do social activities. At least he will not be alone. (University graduated, supervisor in a public institution, has a 1,5 years old child)

The women are also unhappy about lack of child care services in their working places. Existing discrimination is mentioned in Nalan's narrative, for instance. "[Child care] should be free of charge for mothers and fathers in their working places."

There are many criteria to be considered while deciding on kindergarten: Quality, its location, opening and closing hours, and fee. Keriman said that after too much searching, she decided to send her child to closest kindergarten, saying, "The closest is the best".

On the other hand cost of child care is also significant for women to continue or leave working after having child. To OECD Family Database 2008, child care cost is 13 per cent of average family income to OECD average. In Norway this is 8 per cent and in Belgium 4 per cent.

In the sector fees of most of kindergartens changes between 500 TL to 1200 TL, and compared to wages of child minders they are cheaper. Yet for many cases, due to closing hours, parents need child minder to continue work part-time. Mothers do not want to end their relation with child minders. Furthermore children's need of

socialization is solved through sending them to kindergarten on part-time basis or letting him/her to be with peer group in close neighborhood. Despite children are in the school half of the days, some families do not make a reduction in child minders' wages but they are asked to do some cleaning. In other words, boundaries of the work changes from child care towards cleaning.

Regarding socialization of child with other children, home day care might be one of the alternatives, which is not widespread in Turkey. It is presented as a model for "generalizing early child education out of center through trained mothers" "as a way of struggling with poverty and empowering of lower-income women" by a woman's foundation KEDV and supported by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Ministry of National Education. Some of my informants evaluated this model as suitable for lower income districts. Burcu (38) underlined that it is not a model suitable for her neighborhood.

It is not a thing could be in this surrounding. For instance in Nalan's [child minder] apartment, in her neighborhood network, they perform is as an old way of organization. One look after child, while other mothers handle things outside. I don't think this could be around here, owing to cultural difference. (Has master degree, entrepreneur, has a 16 months child)

Class difference becomes more apparent when place of the care is child minder's house. According to Vincent et. al.'s (2006) research, middle class parents are conscious about difference between their way of living and child minders' that arrangement of their surrounding, their food preferences and eating habits, and place they give to television in education of children are the points signifies the distinction (p. 119). This is why most of my informant visited the workers' home. If one of the reasons is to see their family life another is to be sure if the place is appropriate for their child to spend night in case parents need.

It is clear that there are many criteria women take into consideration while deciding on the best possible alternatives existing early child education centers. In Turkey, owing to

poor services, families do not have many opportunities. In most situations, quality of the kindergartens changes depending on fees. Absence of standardization leads women to approach options more deliberately. Starting from finding a good place to sent children, to dealing with the problems experienced there, and arranging after-school times are also considered as obligation of mothers. This is why they continue to need support of child minders even children come to school age.

As it is apparent that child minders have a very significant place in middle class mothers' lives. On the other hand they fill the area that state does not take into consideration. In Turkey if middle class women can work after having a baby thanks to female family members and child minders. Despite this significance, almost all of child minders work without social insurance. There are many reasons behind and strategies to legitimize the situation, which is grounded on devaluation of child care.

### **6.4.3 Working without Social Insurance**

As mentioned before, paid child care in the informal labor market means working out of social security system. Despite legal liability, and strict controls of last year<sup>120</sup> most of the domestic workers have not been provided social insurance.

Child care to be thought as a natural extension of womanhood underlies low status as a work and resistance of authorities to make any arrangements about the area. Lack of any formal standardization and child care to be performed in home unpaid cause evaluation of child care as non-work not only by the employers but also the employees.

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<sup>120</sup> Especially in three provinces, Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir, in total 15 million TL administrative fine was exacted from 3 thousand houses. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/3-bin-eve-temizlikci-kadin-ekonomi/ydetay/1862758/default.htm> (24.09.2014)

Aylin (38) stated, “I already have performed this job to add value to my leisure time.” Even Aylin is high school graduated her perception center around child care to be a spare time activity, and money earned is underestimated. Similar understanding could be found in the employers’ accounts. Beyhan (34) claims that if child minders have sufficient education and respect arriving and leaving hours; providing insurance would be reasonable. Yet,

[...] it is not like that. I mean they spend time at home. Caring for a child is a job requiring great responsibility but, how can I tell... It is more like to do nothing. They would like to come late and leave early. We don’t care but if they work in another job they will not have this kind of right. In case being late, she will be dismissed. I mean everything is reciprocal. (University graduated, architect, has a 17 months child)

In Beyhan’s account shows another explanation of ignoring rights of child minders as workers. Owing to the fact that working place is home, in which all domestic duties have been performed unpaid by female members of family, establishing a working relation becomes difficult.

In case the employers would like to provide insurance, then other problems emerge. One of them is age limit. Because women to get retired they need 7100 days premium payment, which is unattainable. Child minders mostly start working when they are around 40 years old and to be entitled a pension they have to work approximately 30 years consecutively. Therefore it is not surprising that they think asking for assurance is unreasonable unless there is an early commencement.

Arife said, “I had not worked till this time. What is the point of having insurance?” The employers also commented that their child minders did not want to be insured, despite they offered. Filiz told that her worker emphasized that it did not bring any advantage. In addition to age limit, premium payments are high. While the mothers do not want to pay extra money, the workers do not accept cut from their wage since in most situations

cost of assurance is shared by both of the sides. Nur told that her employee did not have any desire to resign from some part of the wage.

In case child minders benefitting from health assurance through their husbands or sons, they perceive demanding insurance as unnecessary, and also it functions in detriment of them as Sinem (34) reported about her worker.

[...] After the thing [obligation of insurance], I said to her [child minder], you know, “I’m going to make you insured, based on the minimum wage. Either you will earn the minimum wage or you will sign a paper”. She didn’t open up to sign a paper because, you know, insurance is cruelty. I mean, she already doesn’t have money. What everyone gets as a salary is evident. Besides, they don’t want to be insured. For example, she has been covered under her son’s insurance. That’s why she didn’t want to be insured. It will reduce her salary and she is already on her son’s insurance. “What’s the point if I’m insured at my age”, she said rightly. The woman is 50 years old. (Has university degree, administrative staff in a public institution, has a 15 months child)

Another noteworthy attitude about providing insurance is considering it as an extra or as a kind of reward given as a result of kindness of employer, not as a part of an employment. The workers, as well, adopt similar perspective that in case their employers are “good people”, they consider asking for insurance as impolite. Asiye (43) told that they did not want child minder to experience any grievance.

First time we talked about, she [child minder] wanted to get insurance. She said ‘no matter I pay or not I want to have insurance.’ [...] Yet, we could not. We could not find a place [a firm] to make her insurance. Then, we did not want her to be treated unjustly since she was a very good person. After this law has been enacted, we proposed her to be get insurance, [...] proposed to share the economical burden. She said she needed money and could not accept the offer. She did not want us to insure her. I mean, she didn’t want. She gave up the idea. (University graduated, architect, has a two years old child)

Kerime (41), on the other hand, did not insist on their employers to provide insurance owing to the fact that she did not want to cause any trouble at home.

[...] I also once asked them if they were going to make my insurance but they didn’t. She was going to talk to her husband, you know, he works in hospital. I was wondering if he was going to make it as if I work in hospital. I don’t know how he would make my insurance. I didn’t ask it again. I’ve let it drop because I don’t want to disturb their family setting. I mean, I was saying that if it happens, it happens but unless it happens, what can I do. It is up to fate. Frankly, I didn’t care so much because my husband’s insurance. (Primary school graduated, works as a child minder for two years)

Paid child care to be performed in private sphere transforms social insurance from being part of worker's right to sign of kindness. Because of the fact that child care is considered as non-work, insistence on insurance might be unwelcomed. Here Kerime's account addresses both to this kind of perception and feeling easiness owing to benefitting from insurance of a male member of family. As highlighted before age criterion in social security system also underlies reluctance of women to ask their employers to provide insurance. To know/think entitling a pension is almost impossible causes child minders to stay under limited social protection supplied by their husbands/sons.

In a similar vein, Nalan (34) refers to "goodwill". In her argument, as well, insurance appears as a way of showing kindness of the employers. In other words, its connection to worker's right has been broken again.

We haven't talked to them actually, but they [child minders] also would rather get higher salary than having insurance. I mean, I know for that is the case around me. I know there are people who pay [the premium] to woman as salary in a gesture of goodwill. (Has master degree, project assistant in an international organization, has a 20 months old child)

Not providing insurance is legitimized by similar arguments. Giving a wage above market's standard, buying presents in birthdays and/or in specific days, or supporting in kind are mentioned excuses put forwarded. Beyhan (34) asserts monetary benefit the child minder obtained as a result of her legal problems to be solved, as a compensation for offering social insurance.

We haven't talked it (insurance). We haven't thought to get her insured either. But our child minder had had lots of juridical problems. My mother followed up them, wrote petition etc. and this woman got somehow her old age pension again that she had lost before. And also she had money from her unpaid years. She received more than ten thousand liras, I suppose. [...] Anyhow, when she got her old aged pension and so on, she attempted to make less work. She lapsed into a different psychology. I suppose receiving both old age pension and insurance cause a problem. That's why she already didn't want to such thing [insurance] at all. (University graduated, architect, has a 17 months child)

As the narratives display, social insurance is not considered as a part of the working rights. The most significant reason is confusion regarding nature of care work, which

prevents the employers to provide insurance while the employees to demand as their right. Child care to be handled at home by female members of family as unpaid underlies this ignorance. On the other hand complexity of the procedure, amount of premiums and structure of social security system in Turkey contribute child care work to be isolated in the informal labor market.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

Paid child care is an area bringing many actors and issues together. I would like to understand this field because it reveals gender regime of a society, social welfare implementations, structure of labor market, commodification of emotions and encountering of women from different economical, social and cultural background.

In the domestic work literature in Turkey, despite number of studies, the ones capturing rich composition of the child care realm is not many. Furthermore, across the world care work has been mostly discussed through international migration. This is why I attempt to apprehend peculiarity of paid child care performed by local women in informal labor market.

I started research with two questions in my mind: Impact of commodification of child care on nature of the work and dynamics of relations between middle class mothers and child minders; and connection between early child care and education facilities and commodification of the care labor.

As my field research showed that level of sufficiency of welfare implementations determines, first of all, women's timing of having baby. In Turkey this results in women to plan everything beginning from earlier years of marriage. It is for sure most of working middle class women get married after finishing university, meanly, later compared to average marriage age. Then depending on kind of job they work, sector,

career path, place of living, availability of relatives, and possible child care alternatives they decide on when to give birth. Besides the partners' jobs and career could be influential on the decision.

It is obvious that especially first three years, most of mothers would like their children to be cared for at home. In addition to inadequacy of early child care services, and questions about quality of existing ones women ask for support of female family members, especially of grandmothers, or employ child minders from informal labor market. While in some situations unavailability of relatives underlie choice of finding care worker, in others mothers' wish to raise children according to their own rules make child minders' labor preferable.

There are two common ways used by both sides of the working relation: Social network and mediating agencies. Though headmen (*muhtar*), husbands working in public institutions, and doorkeepers could be three of the sources; social network and the agencies have been widely applied. While mothers like better both ways to be able to increase amount of alternatives, the workers prefer to find families through acquaintances. Last 10-15 years Turkey has been destination country for international migration especially from closer lands. Immigrants have been mostly employed as live-in domestic workers. Mediating agencies are very influential in this area. However there are many stories circulating about the ones considered as coming for engaging prostitution, via mediating agencies. Thus the bad reputation of the job, and working place to be home cause child minders to be sure about reliability of families. Furthermore, similar negative opinion about the agencies leads them to stick to their own network.

Despite the fact that heart of paid child care is love and reliability, there are many other criteria determining whom to work with. Mothers take several elements into account:

Child minder's family structure and relations in family, her age, experience, education, accent, weight and appearance. Family structure and family relations signify reliability of the worker; while age and weight imply her capability of executing many duties without any problems.

Education is significant, as well, because it is related with expectations about performing modest cleaning. In the sector lower level of education means domestic works to be carried out in addition to child care. On the other hand less educated child minders to obey mothers' rules about way of upbringing and orders of the house is considered more likely. Higher educational level is thought to carry more risk of resistance and conflicts.

Different from cleaning workers, child minders are considered as representative of the family and thus they are expected to dress and speak consistent with middle class values. Regarding access to social, cultural and economical capital differentiation between the mothers and child minders is obvious, but what is mostly emphasized is similarity rather than difference. What mothers look for is middle class values safety that a noteworthy reason underlies this request. Since women are main responsible of socialization of children in accordance with their class norms, in case of absence of mothers, child minders have to take over this task. This is why mothers yearn for the best child minder fitting the family.

That is to say child care work means for middle class women to calculate many different issues at the same time. From the very beginning mothers experience a very complicated decision process. It is for sure affection, warmth and reliability are the most important elements they need a child minder should have. Yet, on the other hand they evaluate the workers with respect to their capability of sustaining the family's life standard. A proper accent, way of dressing and self-development are valuable as

bearers of middle class values. However having low level of education is desirable for a relation without a conflict on life styles. At the same time it is better them to be strong and young enough to run after child and do some cleaning but while at the same time to be older enough to have a maturity and experience, and guarantee to work as long as need continues. Yet they should not be much older as keeping them away from doing cleaning. It is for sure experience is so much important that a child minder to be a mother is required, but children's age should be older enough, needing no care of their mothers. Then older workers are better in case they are young enough to be like a friend to mothers and to have similar approach to child care. Regarding child minder with headscarves, while mothers address difference between their and the workers' life styles as a source of a problem, they still might prefer them since religious person is thought to have conscience, which is found crucial in child care work.

The reason behind women to reflect on all these different criteria, some of which are not achievable at the same time, gender regime of country shaping social welfare implementations and unequal share of household and care responsibilities. As mentioned before womanhood is defined in family and related with domestic works, which are carried out unpaid. Devaluation of these tasks in private sphere is at the basis of devaluation of the work when it is performed paid. Owing to the fact that women are considered as mothers, inherently; child care work, both informal and informal labor market is placed as low skilled. Particularly in informal labor market its boundaries are unclear. Therefore child minders are positioned as cheap labor power dealing with everything about a household. Insufficient early child care education facilities, especially for children between 0-2 years old, and gendered division of labor force mothers to reflect not only on needs of children but also of family at the same time. In this sense cheap labor of child care workers is the best supporter of working middle class women. In accordance with rules of neo-liberal economy, states withdraw from

care work as well. Devaluation and invisibility are required for care work labor to become cheap, letting some women to participate into employment transferring their domestic responsibilities to other women.

As narratives display nearly all middle class mothers decide on timing of having baby according to how to handle the first years. Generally they would like to be at home from 6 months, at least, to a year. Significance attached to breastfeeding and difficulty of feeding children while working since very little number of working places have a breastfeeding rooms- play a great role in this request. Furthermore, gender regime in Turkey reproduces the idea that the best care is the one given at home especially before children reach three years of age. This notion is also consistent with inappropriateness of early child care and education services provided not only by the state but also by the private market. In other words, kindergartens for children between 0-2 years old might not be thought as a profitable business Furthermore, only firms having female workers more than 150 to be obliged to provide kindergarten service, and very limited number of child care facilities in public institutions is important motive behind middle class mothers to be with their children as long as possible.

On the other hand in case women go back work earlier than expected, they have to organize all care issue, while struggling embedded feeling of guilt due to doing back work instead of looking after their children. In a society dominated by patriarchal ideology, women to transfer their motherhood responsibility to another women, who is out of close family circle, has been continually reminded. As men do not share child care responsibility, they are almost absent in the process of finding suitable child minders or schools. Then it is not surprising mothers search out a child minder having many different attributes, to be able to be sure needs of children and household met in the best way, releasing from the feeling of guilt.

From the other point features such as physical appearance/way of dressing, accent, and behaviors to carry a great value is because of the fact that mothers are responsible from socialization of children according to values of family's social class. In case absence of mothers, child minders take over this mission and thus, how they position/present themselves in society become important. Otherwise middle class women may encounter risk of performing a faulty motherhood. To be able to escape from this risk, middle class mothers in Turkey try to organize a "coordinated care", in a share responsibility with child minders even they have to be out of home 'full-time' in weekdays. Since "coordinated care" is closely related with educational level and years of experience and age, mothers attempt to catch the best possible combination.

Child minders, on the other hand, do not have selection criteria as many as mothers. Reliability of family is appeared to be the most important. Almost all of them emphasize honor as the first priority. The work is to be performed in home and thus out of any kind of monitoring/regulation cause some stories to spread among the workers quickly and to be very influential. In this sense network of the child minders seem to be more powerful compared to mothers because of the fact that the workers mostly travel together and have opportunity to share their experiences. Narratives on child minders and employers about 'inappropriate proposals' and black-hearted behaviors to shape criteria about whom to work with is very much connected to lack of state's regulation and monitoring. Unavailability of any kind of formal mechanism to bring standardization of definition of tasks, of wages and of working relation causes to a formless area. Yet function of informally defined and adopted principles of the field should not be ignored. While on the one hand these rules display search for formal regulations, on the other hand might resistance of authorities to regulate the area.

The mediating agencies, as well, reproduce gender, class and ethnical hierarchies through placing value for modern over rural, cultured over uncultured, local over

immigrant, and motherhood ideology. Despite claiming protecting rights of both sides of the working relation, since this is a business, they stand closer to families. The job is mostly carried out by women, which is considered as essential on account of the fact that both the workers and employers are female. Yet, being woman is not ample for success in the sector. Motherhood seems to be absolutely necessary, enabling the managers to understand needs of families. It is the fact that they evaluate candidates as if they will employ a child minder, and preferences appear to be consistent with what middle class mothers look for. The mediating agencies increase number of alternatives and presence of a written contract make mostly the families, but also the workers to feel in safe. Because the biggest fear of mothers is child minder to quit job without informing before, while the workers need to receive their wages regularly and as much as it is agreed on.

Despite the fact that paid child care is a business; it still functions within family-like structure, which is consequences of being performed in informal labor market. This is why they define parents and child minders as friend and/or sister, and relation with employers continues even after expiration of the contact. In case of lack of a formal regulations, agencies function well in the period of matching families and domestic workers and during the first months -because even many criteria are met, two strangers from different socio-economic background to live together is not easy. However, afterwards, even relation between agency managers and child minders and families continues, inside of households is out of any intervention.

Lack of a formal regulation lets mothers to take some measurements to be sure of reliability of child minders, since they have to leave their children into someone else's hands no matter the workers are found via their network or mediating agencies. Employing care workers in some period of pregnancy, or before a week or two weeks before going back to work are certain strategies mothers develop. This introduction

period, also enable the workers to learn rules/order of the house. Presence of other family members gains importance particularly while mothers do not have sufficient time to spend with child minders. In this sense either grandmothers stay with the workers for some time, or they monitor by visiting them without giving advance notice. Moreover calling regularly, planting video cameras or asking neighbors to give ear to sounds coming from house are others ways mothers benefit to keep an eye on child minders.

The first months are also hard for the workers staying in someone else's house in five days a week. Their main requirement is to feel like they are at their home. This is very much depended on the attitude of the employers. If they behave as if the child minder is one of the family, adjustment period shortens while satisfaction grows.

Not only child minders but also mothers experience difficulty about considering their relation with child minders as employee-employer relationship. The workers to state their arrival and leaving hours, even, might be perceived as "demanding", which also unwelcomed owing to the fact that it irritates the mothers since make them to "feel like an employer". However although they do not want to locate themselves into that position, they "try to not to lose formality" at the same time.

Especially, in Turkey, within the condition of lack of any formal regulations targeting the paid child care work; ambiguity surrounding frame of the work, increases the tension. Both child minders and mothers refrain from considering their connection with each other as employee and employer. Hence, they are inclined to think and behave via family terms. While mothers need them owing to releasing from guiltiness of leaving their child to another women in return of money; child minders for neglecting that they care for children for money.

In care work differentiating emotional and physical labors is not easy. Therefore, speaking of commodification of emotions only through receiving money causes us to miss complication of the issue. In case care work is considered only within the frame of “can love be bought?” question then it includes risk of contributing devaluation of the labor. Depriving significance of money and exalting emotions lead to *devaluation via glorifying*. This is why both mothers and child minders tend to choose think/ behave through family terms. Capitalist market relations based on masculine values attempt to measure everything. When emotional labor cannot be calculated, and then loses value. Lack of exchange value throws it out of capitalist economy. In addition, care work to be performed at home by women and showing affection to other people to be thought as natural part of womanhood contribute neglect market relations between the service providers and receivers. This is significant reason behind tendency of perceiving child care as non-work. On the other hand, receiving sufficient wage expands satisfaction of the worker, which reflects to the children in positive way. In other words, “individual utility” to be taken as opposed to values appreciated for a good care, will bring undermining of workers’ rights. While claiming that money destroys real sentiments makes contribution to devaluation of care work via glorifying emotions, it ignores satisfaction of child minders and its positive effect on children.

One of other significant consequences of child care to be regarded as non-work is lack of social insurance to be widespread. It is for sure the work to be performed in the labor market is the main determinant. Yet, despite legal obligation of providing insurance and strict control of the government in recent years, still most of the women to work informally is because of devaluation of the work being defined with motherhood requiring no skills. Additionally, difficulty of legal process, heavy liabilities, and eligibility criteria for retirement to be unattainable for child minders starting work after their 40s, are also influential on most of the employees and employers to neglect its

necessity. It is for sure that mothers are employers and child minders are workers, and child minding is a job. However it has differences from the most of works in classical sense. First of all money is not one and unique point of relation between the employers and the employees. They behave and think within the frame of fictive kinship relation. Money, alone, cannot guarantee satisfaction from the job or better care for children. The employers support their workers in various ways, and expectation of the child minders is in this way. Exchanging presents allow the workers to feel like one of the family, and the mothers to escape from alienation of being an employer in their own house. Yet, it is apparent that the mothers, compared to child minders, are more powerful concerning economical, social and cultural capitals. Therefore there is a thin line between supporting the workers and patronizing them. This is why most of the mothers try to be careful especially while giving extra money and/or other materials. The workers, as well, hope the employers to support them without hurting their feelings. Furthermore thinking child minding through kinship terms makes social insurance issue to be perceived as a way of kindness or an extra burden other than worker's right.

On the other hand there has always been risk of exploitation due to fictive kinship relation and emotional component in the work, since it is not measurable entity. In the child care sector bending pre-agreed framework is common. Yet, what concluded from the narratives is that willingly and unwillingly performed tasks should be distinguished from each other. Working place to be home results child minders to perform some cleaning although it is not required.

That is to say, different from many other jobs, in child care work, neither heavy working conditions nor lack of social insurance; devaluation of the work performed, rude attitudes, insulting, and/or not feeling like at home/one of the family come into

prominence as the reasons for quitting the job. The workers complain about employers giving orders and making them to feel like a slave or a maid.

Despite inequality between mothers and child minders, both of the actors have their own negotiation power. Depending on qualities of the worker and how much child gets used to her, mothers try to be far from any conflict. While they are afraid of problems to reflect on children in a negative sense, also child minders to quit the job without notice put mothers on difficult situation especially there is no relative to help. In a similar vein love felt for child and difficulty of adjusting herself to new family keep child minders to raise an objection or terminate working relation in spite of many problems. That is to say both mothers and the workers make an effort to manage their emotions to be able to not to encounter any undesirable situation. In other words “absences and silences” summarize relation between them.

Another difference of child care from classical working relation is place of other family members. For mothers, child minder’s husband and children is very significant while deciding on whom to work with. For the child minders on the other hand, presence of other relatives in home carries an important weight while they select family. Especially grandmothers might have been considered as source of difficulties for child minders that even there is a special definition to tell relation between them and the workers: *grandmother syndrome*. Moreover how partners of the employers work is also significant for child minders. The partners to spend time more than the mothers might keep child minders from accepting to work.

Partners have also another role since they increase or lighten burden undertaken by mothers. Division of labor inside household very much shapes how women experience child care and obligations of paid work. As the accounts reveal, in Turkey, even among middle class men, share of domestic responsibilities is little, if any. This inequality is

experienced by women in a very negative way, particularly in the earlier years of having child. While fathers continue to spend time for their social lives, mothers can barely deal with activities other than child care. Internalization of traditional gender roles causes women to limit their expectation from the partners. Although they push them to take some responsibility, resistance is so powerful that leads mother to give up and accept the existing situation at some point, to be able to keep family unity.

In addition to unequal share of care and household obligations, insufficient reconciliation policies make things difficult for mothers and lead them to find their own way to handle care responsibilities, in case facilities offered by the state is not sufficient. In Turkey duration of maternal leave is not enough to meet needs of women and children. The mothers expect it to be, at least, six months. However, as a result of four months maternal leave, mothers have to make some arrangements to stay longer with their children. Variety of them are depended on working in public or private institutions, structure of working place, their position and their responsibilities in work, income level of their household, presence of other family members, place husbands work, and division of labor at home. Through adding unused annual leaves, breastfeeding hours, and using reports women try to extend paid time off to a year.

Mothers, from pregnancy period to –perhaps- end of their life, are considered as main responsible from the children. Most of the informants think kids should stay at home till becoming three years old. Yet after this age, for their development kindergartens are considered essential. Finding a best possible school is also duty of mothers. A child to start school, however, does not mean working relation with child minders to come to its end. Especially in the period of getting used to school, child minders continue to work in part-time basis. Yet, some mothers keep the workers full time, and expect them to do cleaning when children are at school. Furthermore, since time spent with child decreases, child care has transformed to cleaning work. That is to say, despite

differences between child minding and cleaning, transition from one to another is possible. However their status is not 'degraded' from care provider to cleaning 'woman'. In spite of the fact that middle class women and cleaning workers relate each other through kinship terms, as well; child minder has been mostly considered closer to the family. Differentiation between them is linked to distinction between "women's work" and "women's role". Child care belongs to "women's role" while cleaning to "women's work". Middle class mothers, temporarily, transfer their "role" to child minders. This is why differentiating cleaning workers from child minders is essential. Cleaning is located at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. Yet, performing cleaning work in informal labor market means much more devaluation of the job. There is gender segregation depending on where it is carried out. While it is in formal labor market men work as well, in informal labor market it is a female area. That is to say there is change from worker to cleaning woman (or just to 'woman'). Although both women have similar economical, social and cultural resources, child minders are self-developed woman in the eye of the employers. They know how to speak, how to dress, and how to behave, in opposition to cleaning workers. The employers position child minders a representative of family, and thus middle class values. Child minders are 'lady of the house' in absence of the middle class women. This position is internalized by child minders, which sometimes generates strain between them and cleaning workers. It is also tension between 'modern' and 'rural'. Difference of modern from rural is defined through physical appearance and accent highlighting superiority of child minders from cleaning workers, rather than difference of middle class women from lower class child minders.

Paid child care in informal labor market brings different women from different social classes in private sphere. This is a significant sector enabling some women to participate into labor market, while some other to continue working.

Although having child is glorified by most part of society in Turkey, when care of children is at issue then men and state stand back. Women have to organize everything. This is why child care, like other domestic works, has been discussed as if it is only a problem of women. The issue has been analyzed within the frame of demonized employers and victimized workers. Changing negotiation power depending on gendered division of labor, insufficient early child care education facilities and structure of labor market have been ignored. In other words, share of state and men have been forgotten.

Paid child care in informal labor market allows many women, considered as having no skills, to work and earn money. There are women performing child care work for almost 15-20 years. And there are much more women have started to work in last five years. Yet, only few of them will have chance to qualify for pension while most of them work out of social security system. On the other hand child care has not been recognized as a work even by child minders. Money has been also thought as contribution to family income. As a female work, it is devalued causing its low status to sustain and state to take no notice of it to be performed in the informal labor market.

Some women, on the other hand, if they have enough economical capital, employ child minders to be able to continue working. Child care to be transferred another women does not mean that they escape from responsibility. Mothers have to calculate every detail about child care, which is almost a never-ending process. Division of labor in household, care facilities and labor market structure determine timing, and sometimes even form of, the delivery. After having baby, it is mostly woman who have to arrange her life according to needs of child especially in the first two years. Reconciliation between work and domestic responsibilities has always been matter of women.

This study had two goals. While the first one was to understand commodification of child care in informal market shaping nature of the work and dynamics of relations among middle class mothers and child minders, and connection between early child care and education services and commodification of care labor in Turkey; the second aim was to present women's demands and propose social policy implementations regarding early child care and education.

Throughout the European Union, there is no standardization with regard to scale and qualities of early child care services; duration, eligibility criteria and forms of the leaves and the allowances; and labor market structure. In some countries while both men and women are perceived as responsible from the familial obligations, in some others women are still thought to be primary caregivers and establishing balance between family and working life is expected from them. As the distance from the traditional gender roles gets greater, reconciliation policies become closer to meet the needs of children and women.

Women in this study clearly defined their requirements regarding child care. Feminists, for a long time, have told ways for establishing gender equality. What I would like to do now is considering these demands together and proposing social policy implementations.

Then what kind of reconciliation policy will be the best for gender equality perspective? As examples from many countries show that according to how sufficient paid parental leave and public early child care and education services are, possibility of women to participate into the labor market become higher. Moreover, in addition to the services; maternal and parental leaves facilities, direct or indirect cash transfers, arrangements on working hours and/or internal flexibility applications are tools for

establishing balance between work and domestic obligations. Yet these tools to enable gender equality, how they are applied is significant.

Women need some time both for themselves and for their children, after giving birth. However, duration is so important that it should be neither too long to return job and nor too short to meet needs of mothers and children. As my informants put forward, 24 weeks maternal leave is essential. Furthermore, full financial reimbursement and guarantee of the same job after going back job should be provided.

Recently, in Turkey, flexible working is presented as a way of increasing women's employment. However flexibility enables women participate into labor force without ceasing their responsibility at home. Opposite of how it is presented as a good opportunity for women it means unsafe working conditions, less money and ambiguous future. They are expected to have "at least three children" while shouldering their care responsibility alone, and have to work atypical jobs to be able to stay in the labor market and raise their children at the same.

Yet, to establish gender equality paid parental leave is so significant that through necessary arrangements it encourages fathers to share child care burden. Here again financial compensation and assurance of going back to the same position are important criteria fathers to use the leave.

As analyzed in detail before, leave provisions are significant part of reconciliation policies, that in EU level, provisions relating mothers are much more developed than provisions relating fathers. On the other hand parental leave can be used by both mothers and fathers, and it carries potential of challenging gender stereotypes. As we see from different country's examples and in different care models, when the leave is not arranged according to requirements of the parents, it turns to a useless facility that only women having sufficient financial resources can benefit. Therefore as the

narratives display, full paid parental leave is also significant for mothers from different social classes to use the parental leave in case they need to. Offering high enough financial compensation, enabling flexible usage, arranging as non-transferable and encouraging men for taking share of child care burden are fundamentals for fathers to equally take part in caring of children.

In Turkey, in addition to poor leave facilities; there are difference between arrangements in the Labor Law and Civil Servants Law regarding unpaid parental leave and breastfeeding durations, as well. This unfair situation should be ended and all working women and men should be enabled to benefit same improved opportunities.

As underlined before, in Turkey institutionalization of the child care and education services is inadequate. State does not provide accessible and good quality kindergartens or day care centers. Families have to handle care/education problem, mostly through purchasing service from the private market. It is for sure this is only a privilege of little number of families. Many have to ask for unpaid, invisible labor of female members of family.

Feminists have declared for a long time that there should be many different kindergarten models, varying from local ones to kindergartens in working places, permitting parents to send their children according to their needs. These kindergartens should be free of charge, open for 7/24 basis, and have a standard quality.

Quality of the child care services is very significant that services should be given in child's mother tongue, physical conditions should be consistent with age level of children, and they should be safe places. Moreover content of the education material should be prepared for empowering gender equality. As women in my study told that there is a deep worry about safety of the kindergartens owing to poor monitoring of the state. For a reliable supervising commission, including state's social workers, related

professionals and non-governmental organizations, should be formed. All of the personnel working in kindergartens, on the other hand, should have been taken gender equality training, and the environment should be mix-gendered.

According to the Law, public institutions may have open kindergartens if number of worker's children between 0-6 years old is 50. Yet as stated before, as a result of 2008-dates regulation these institutions cannot have financial support from the central budget, which caused number of these kinds of kindergartens to be closed. Thus, state aid should be provided again. For the situations that number of worker's children is less than 50, institutions should enable parents to benefit from other kindergartens.

With respect to private firms' legal obligation for opening kindergarten, there is gender discrimination as highlighted before. Furthermore, it ignores the reality that in Turkey mainly small and middle scale enterprises are widespread. That is to say providing places for child care to be liability only for the firms having more than 150 female workers displays significance attached to gender equality. To be able to cease this inequality, total number of workers should be taken into account, and as it is for civil servants, in case number of employees' children between 0-6 is at least 50, firms should be obliged to open kindergartens. In other circumstances they have to financially support the workers to benefit from other child care facilities.

As the narratives proved that relation between mother and child minders continues even children start to school, because of inconsistency of opening and closing hours with working hours and difficulty of taking a day of in case of sickness. Therefore, working hours should be arranged according to opening and closing hours of the kindergartens while at the same time after school facilities should be free, accessible and varied.

The most importantly without considering occupational situation of the parents, as child's right, all children should be provided kindergartens.

In child care what is significant is diversifying alternatives. While some of the parents would like children to be cared for at schools, some may prefer home. That is to say parents to be financially supported for having services in accordance with their needs, is responsibility of state. This aid could be in a way of direct cash transfers and tax allowances.

In Turkey, as mentioned many times, insufficiency of care facilities causes some women to employ other women as child minders. Working relation to be established in the informal labor market influences negotiation power of the both sides. Yet, there are many child minders working in the sector for 15-20 years without any social protection. And there are more women entering to the market. Therefore not only for child care but also for all domestic work area, state should do formal arrangements to be able to set this unfair situation.

As domestic workers' organizations emphasize ILO Contract no. 189, "Decent Work for Domestic Workers", should be signed immediately. And domestic workers should be covered by the Labor's Law. However owing to the fact that working place is home, there will be a need of a special regulation considering privacy of private sphere.

As stated before, social insurance process is difficult and liabilities are heavy. In the existing system women as employers have been punished. Besides, most of domestic workers work irregular basis. Thus women require a simple and applicable insurance system. Furthermore, insurance premium support for working places employing women should extent to houses.

As a result of lack of particular definitions of tasks, domestic work is very much open to exploitation. Thus, services should be classified and clearly defined.

Domestic workers have been frequently subjected to occupational illnesses and work accidents. Therefore arrangements for employers to take necessary measurements in households should be realized.

Another significant problem is lack of data about domestic workers. The TURKSTAT should start researches to give exact picture of the domestic work area.

As it is widely known, across the world and in Turkey as well, immigrant women work live-in as domestic workers. Thus all legal arrangements should also include them.

Institutionalization of early child care and education, regulating labor market according to parents needs and supporting them financially are only one part for providing gender equality in child care. Yet, in addition to leave arrangements encouraging men to take responsibility, there is need for a structural change. Gendered division of labor should be challenged by state by means of variety of implementations. One of the good starts might be settling gender equality idea into all stages of education in Turkey to future generations to internalize this understanding. And another step might be disseminating through mainstream media the reality that men also can perform domestic works.

As fathers share care of their children and other household chores, domestic work will not be considered as natural extension of women, any more. Yet this is a long and difficult way that cooperation between neo-liberal market and patriarchal ideology is so strong that keeps society from transforming in the way of gender equality. Yet I believe “feminist analyses and activism” will be successful in the end.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A.**

#### **IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTION FORM – EMPLOYERS**

1. How old are you?
2. What is your educational level?
3. Where do you work?
4. What is your occupation?
5. What is your position at work?
6. Where does your partner's/spouse's work? What is his occupation?
7. What is your monthly income?
8. How many people lives in your household?
9. What is your monthly total household income?
10. Is there a specific reason for your preference for living in this district?
11. How many children do you have?
12. How did you decide to have a child? How did you set the timing?
13. How old were you when you gave a birth to your first child (and if any, the other children)?
14. Was there a specific reason for deciding on that time?

15. Has there been anything that you are attentive to or put in a position of secondary importance in comparison with pre-pregnancy?
16. How did you prepare yourself for (child)birth and beyond (sports, getting information and so on)?
17. What did you do to arrange your life after pregnancy?
18. Did you bother when you think about child care while you were pregnant?
19. Have you asked for advice from your partner, mother, friends, other relatives or your manager/boss while making decisions about your child's care?
20. Have you had difficulty in making these decisions? Why?
21. What were the alternatives for your child's care?
22. Have you got help from networks of friends and relatives?
23. Is there anybody, in this network, that you do not want her help?
24. How old was your child when you decided to hire a child minder and why did you decide that?
25. What are your criteria for choosing a child minder?
26. Considering your criteria, are there any characteristics that you never leave your child together with someone having them?
27. How did you find your child minder?
28. How did you feel when you left your child together with the child minder for the first time?
29. Have you ever replaced your child minder? How many times? Why?
30. Could you describe your relationship with your child minder?

31. How is your child's relationship with the child minder?
32. What kinds of tasks do you expect from your child minder? Have been your expectations met?
33. What are the child minder's expectations, according to you?
34. Did you make an agreement about the working conditions before your child minder started to work? How? Are you satisfied? Do you think your child minder is satisfied?
35. Have you done any changes or flexibilities in the agreement that you made at the beginning?
36. Have you experienced any incompatibility between your feelings and your way of behavior in your relationship with the child minder? In which situations? How did you cope with this?
37. How does the child minder call you and your child? Are you content with this?
38. How do you call your child minder? Are you content with this? Is your child minder content with this?
39. How does your husband get on with the child minder? How do they call each other?
40. How much do you pay for a month? What does this salary include (travel expense)? How did you decide that amount?
41. Do you sometimes give some gifts or money in addition to this salary?
42. Have you ever helped to your child minder or her family members in any matters?
43. Would you prefer your child minder to be older or younger than you? Why?
44. Do you have any criteria about her ethnicity or level of education?

45. When you compare local and immigrant child minders, which one do you prefer? Why?
46. Do you think your child minder is qualified enough for supporting development of your child? Why?
47. What kinds of reactions did you get from your workplace when you said you were pregnant?
48. Did you use maternity leave? How did you use it?
49. Did you use unpaid leave after your maternity leave? How many months?
50. Has your spouse ever used allowance?
51. (On the condition that she has more than a child) Could you name any differences/changes if you consider nurture of your other children and the last one?
52. Did you have any problems about your job during your maternity leave? How were the attitudes of your boss/manager and your colleagues? Did you have to work from home during this period?
53. Did you have any problems at work with your colleagues or your boss/manager after returning to work from maternity leave?
54. Has having a child had any positive or negative effects on your position at work?
55. Which responsibilities has your husband take over regarding housework and child care during you use leave and after? Have you been satisfied about this share?
56. Has having a baby affected your husband? How?
57. Has it made any negative or positive effects on your relationship with your husband?

58. How much time does your husband spare time for housework? And you?
59. What kinds of responsibilities regarding child care do your husband take over?
60. Do you have time for yourself? How long? What do you do?
61. How do you spend your weekends?
62. What kind of activities do you do with your child on weekdays and at weekends?
63. To your opinion, how do child care services should be in Turkey?
64. Are you happy about the duration of maternity leave?
65. During the last year, there have been some statements and discussions about the duration of maternity leave, nursery payment, and so on. Do you hear about that? What do you think?
66. Are (were) you contented with breast-feeding leave?
67. What do you think about paid and nontransferable parental leave?
68. What is the meaning/importance of working life?
69. What is the meaning/importance of your family and working life?
70. What do you think about child minder to look after your child in her own house?
71. What do you think about several children to be cared for in child minder's house?

## **APPENDIX B.**

### **IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTION FORM – CHILD MINDER**

1. How old are you?
2. What is your educational level?
3. What is your monthly income?
4. How many people live in your household? Is there any other employed family member?
5. What is your total monthly household income?
6. When did you start this job?
7. Why did you prefer this job?
8. What is the order of the child you care now?
9. How did you find the first job as a child minder?
10. How did you find the other child minding jobs later? What is your preference?
11. Could you describe a typical day in your job?
12. What kinds of responsibilities do you have? (Do you have any other responsibilities except child care?)
13. What kinds of criteria do you have while deciding for whom you will work with?
14. Do (did) you talk and make any agreement about working rules while starting to work? Have you made agreement for this job?
15. Are you contented with this agreement?

16. Have you ever faced any situations in which rules of the work has been bended?  
What do you think about this?
17. Have you ever quit the job? Why?
18. How was the reaction of your employer while you were leaving? Did she give you any gift?
19. Have you in contact with your previous employer? How? Why?
20. How is your relationship with your employer?
21. How do you get on with your employer's spouse?
22. How is your relationship with the child you care for?
23. Has your employer ever controlled your work? How?
24. Is there anything that you have difficulty in doing? What are the tasks of child care that you do not like to perform?
25. Have you felt same towards all children you cared for? How did this feeling affect your job?
26. How do you call your employer? How do you call the child yor care for? How do they call you?
27. Why did you quit your previous job? How did it finish? How did you feel?
28. How did you decide for the amount of your wage?
29. Do you have social insurance? Why was/wasn't it provided?
30. Does your employer give you some gifts or extra money in addition to your wage?  
In which situations? Do you get some money for travel expenses?
31. Have they helped you or a member of your family for any matter?

32. Do they buy you a gift for Mother's Day? Is this important for you?
33. Have you ever experienced any incompatibility between your feelings and your way of behavior in your relationship with the employer? In which situations? How did you cope with this?
34. What should be the characteristics of a child minder, do you think?
35. Do you think child minding is a work?
  36. Do you prefer care for child at your home or in employer's house? Why?

## **APPENDIX C.**

### **IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTION FORM – AGENCY**

1. How long have you been working in this field?
2. What is the reason for starting to this kind of a job?
3. How long has been your firm in this sector?
4. How many child minders do you have?
5. In which fields there is need for personnel most?
6. Do you have a preference between immigrant and local women? Why?
7. Do your clients have a preference like that? Why?
8. Do you work with immigrant women?
9. Do you have specific criteria about child minders?
10. What are the commons features of women applying for working as child minder?
11. Could you tell anything about the age, educational level, area of residence and place of birth of the people who look for child minder?
12. How many child minders have you provided in a year? Is there any rise/decrease in comparison to the other years? What may be the reason for this?
13. How many of them were immigrants and how many of them were local women?
14. How is the procedure for placement of the child minders? How do you match child minders with the employers?
15. Do you provide any training?

16. Is there any contract signed between you and/or sides of child care? What are your conditions?
17. Has there been any disagreement between the families and child minders? How do you behave in these situations?
18. Have you received any claims? On which issues?
19. What are the required traits of a good care worker?
20. What are the required traits of a good child minder?
21. To what kinds of issues you pays attention while you accept child minders?
22. What are the reasons of child minders to quit the job or to be dismissed?
23. What do you think about development of emotional ties between child minder and child -and even employer-? What are the good and bad aspects of the situation?
24. With what kinds of people you don't want to establish a working relation?

**APPENDIX D.**

**DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE - MIDDLE CLASS MOTHERS**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Partner's Education</b>	<b>Partner's Occupation</b>	<b>Total Income (TL)</b>	<b>Place of Living</b>	<b>Age of Child(ren)</b>	<b>Worker has Social insurance</b>
<b>Asiye</b>	43	University Graduated	Architect	Master Degree	Engineer	12000	METU Çamlık	2 years old	Yes
<b>Banu</b>	41	University Graduated	Instructor	University Graduated	Prosecutor	7000	Balgat	10 years old and 26 months old	No
<b>Berfin</b>	32	University Graduated	Landscape Architect	University Graduated	Graphic Designer	8000	Kavaklıdere	20 months old	No
<b>Beyhan</b>	34	University Graduated	Architect	University Graduated	Engineer	13000	Konutkent	17 months old	No
<b>Burcu</b>	38	Master Degree	Entrepreneur	Master Degree	Technician	10000	Kavaklıdere	16 months old	Yes
<b>Canan</b>	38	University Graduated	Senior Chief in a Public Institution	University Graduated	Chief in a Public Institution	7000	Cebeci	3 years old	No
<b>Ceylan</b>	34	Assistant Professor	Academician	Assistant Professor	Academician	8000-15000	Konutkent	1,5 years old	No

<b>Dilek</b>	35	University Graduated	Specialist in a Public Institution	University Graduated	Specialist in a Public Institution	8000	Oran	6,5 years old and 1,5 years old	Yes
<b>Dolunay</b>	46	University Graduated	Industrial Engineer	University Graduated	Engineer	7000	Bahçelievler	3 years old	No
<b>Filiz</b>	38	2 Master Degrees	Head Chief in a Public Institution	Master Degree	Engineer	9000	Çayyolu	11 years old and 3 years old	No
<b>Günay</b>	34	PhD	Physician	PhD	Academician	10000	Dikmen	6 years old and 3 years old	No
<b>Keriman</b>	35	University Graduated	Specialist in a Public Institution	University Graduated	Archeologist	5000	Ayrancı	2,5 years old	No
<b>Meliha</b>	31	Master Degree	Specialist in a Public Institution	University Graduated	Engineer	25000	Çayyolu	2,5 years old	No
<b>Nalan</b>	34	Master Degree	Project Assistant in an International Organization	Master Degree	Marketing Expert		METU Çamlık	20 months old	No
<b>Nur</b>	34	PhD	Academician	University Graduated	Head Graphic Designer	10500	Çiğdem	19 months old	No
<b>Olca</b>	39	Master Degree	Specialist in a Public Institution	Master Degree	Engineer	20000	100. Yıl	4 years old	No
<b>Rabia</b>	35	University Graduated	Instructor	University Graduated	Engineer	10000	Konutkent	3 years old	No

<b>Semiha</b>	38	University Graduated	Supervisor in a Public Institution	Master Degree	Supervisor in a Public Institution	8200	Esat	1,5 years old	No
<b>Sinem</b>	34	University Graduated	Administrative Staff in a Public Institution	Master Degree	Engineer	7000	Ayrancı	15 months old	No

**APPENDIX E.**

**DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE – CHILD MINDERS**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Years of Working</b>	<b>Place of Living</b>	<b>Social Insurance</b>	<b>Wage (TL) 2012-2013</b>	<b>Way of Finding Working Place</b>
<b>Arife</b>	48	College Graduated	3	Keçiören	No	1300	First via social network, then via mediating agency
<b>Aylin</b>	38	High school graduated	2,5	Elvankent	No	1500 (6 days a week)	Via social network
<b>Diler</b>	45	High school graduated	7	100. Yıl	No	1200	Via social network
<b>Emine</b>	54	Primary school graduated	15	Keçiören	No	1150	Via social network
<b>Fidan</b>	50	High school graduated	2	Elvankent	Retired	1100	Via social network
<b>Gül</b>	46	Primary school graduated	4	Sincan	No	1150	Via social network
<b>Hacer</b>	43	Primary school graduated	5 months	Mamak	No	250 (part-time)	Via social network
<b>Halime</b>	38	Primary school graduated	8	Sincan	No	1200	Via mediating agency

<b>Kerime</b>	41	Primary school graduated	2	Mamak	No	1200	With help of her husband
<b>Kevser</b>	46	High school graduated	4	100. YIL	No	850	Via headman ( <i>muhtar</i> )
<b>Merve</b>	43	Secondary school graduated	6	Etimesgut	No	1200	Via social network
<b>Naime</b>	51	Primary school graduated	4 months	Keçiören	Yes (paid by her)	900	Via social network
<b>Neriman</b>	38	Primary school graduated	3	Natoyolu	No	1000	Via social network
<b>Nilgun</b>	43	Primary school graduated	2,5	Keçiören	Yes	1000	First via social network, then via mediating agency
<b>Nimet</b>	47	Secondary school graduated	2	Sincan	No	1000	Via social network
<b>Nursel</b>	41	Primary school graduated	2	Elvankent	Yes (paid by her)	1200	Via social network
<b>Selda</b>	40	High school graduated	3,5	Keçiören	Yes (paid by her)	1300	Via social network
<b>Seyide</b>	57	Primary school graduated	7	Keçiören	Retired	1200	Via social network
<b>Zehra</b>	38	Primary school graduated	3	Natoyolu	Yes	1000	Via mediating agency

**APPENDIX F.**  
**CURRICULUM VITAE**

**PERSONAL INFORMATION**

Surname, Name: Soyseçkin, İdil Safiye

Nationality: Turkish (TC)

Date and Place of Birth: 1 January 1980 , Ankara

email: idil.soyseckin@gmail.com

**EDUCATION**

<b>Degree</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>Year of Graduation</b>
MS	METU Media and Cultural Studies	2006
BS	METU Sociology	2002
High School	50. Yıl High School, Ankara	1992

## WORK EXPERIENCE

2013- Present	Kastamonu University	Research Assistant
2013- Present	Woman Labor and Employment Initiative	Advisor
February 2013-July 2013	UNDP	Project Assistant
2008-2011	Woman Education and Employment Association	Project Assistant
2005-2006	Eurobir Consultancy	Project Assistant
July 2003 - August 2003	Tracing Roads Across' Project	Project Assistant

## FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Basic French, Basic Portuguese

## PUBLICATIONS

1. Soyseçkin, İ. S. "Siberuzamda Bir Dünya: MUDlar ve Toplumsal Cinsiyetin Şekillenışı", Folklor ve Edebiyat, 13(50), 25-41 (2007)
2. Soyseçkin, İ. S "Sanal Uzamda ve MUDlarda Eril-Dışil Kimliklerin Yeniden İnşası in Mutlu Binark (ed.) Yeni Medya Çalışmaları, Ankara: Dipnot Publications, 251-280 (2007).

## APPENDIX G.

### TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu araştırma Türkiye’de enformel bir istihdam biçimi olarak ücretli çocuk bakım emeğine, çalışan orta sınıf annelerin haneîçi sorumluluklarına ve iş yükümlülüklerine yeterli miktarda zaman ayırabilmede kullandıkları bir strateji olarak işaret etmektedir. Kadınların çocuk bakıcısı istihdam etmelerinin nedenlerini, ve işin ve kurulan iş ilişkisinin dinamiklerini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Enformel çocuk bakım alanında hizmet sağlayıcılarının ve alıcılarının büyük bir çoğunluğunu kadınlar oluşturmaktadır. Çocuk bakım işinde işverenin, çalışanın ve çocuğun yanı sıra, ailenin diğer fertleri de etkiye sahiptir. Bu alanı ailesel ilişkilerin dışında düşünmek neredeyse imkansızdır. Diğer taraftan çocuk bakım sektöründe aracı kuruluşlar da önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

Çocuk bakımı konusu yalnızca annelerin işgücüne katılımı açısından değil, çocukların sağlıklı gelişimi için de önemlidir. Çocuklar toplumların geleceği olduğundan kaliteli ve ulaşılabilir bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerinin sağlanması temel bir problemdir. Bu hizmetlerin sunumu ise aslen devletlerin sorumluluğundadır. Ancak, dünyanın her yerinde böylesi bir durum söz konusu değildir. Bazı ülkelerde bakım ve eğitim hizmetleri çocuk hakkı temelinde kurumsal olarak sağlanırken diğerlerinde piyasaya devredilmiş durumdadır. Türkiye ise enformel bakımın yaygın olduğu ülkelerden biridir.

Ücretli çocuk bakım emeği birçok aktörü ve konuyu biraraya getirmektedir. Bu alanı anlamak isteme sebebim toplumun cinsiyet rejimini yanı sıra, işgücü piyasasının yapısını, sosyal refah rejimi uygulamalarını, duyguların metalaşmasını yansıtması ve farklı ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel alt yapılardan gelen kadınların karşılaşma alanı olmasıdır.

Bu çalışma iki temel soru üzerinden iki düzlemli bir tartışma yürütmektedir. İlk soru enformel emek piyasasında çocuk bakım emeğinin metalaşmasının işin doğasını ve orta sınıf anneler ile çocuk bakıcıları arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl şekillendirdiğidir. İkinci soru ise erken çocukluk bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerine dair sosyal refah uygulamaları ile bakım emeğinin metalaşması arasındaki ilişkinin niteliğini araştırmaktadır.

Ev işlerinin araştırma konusu olarak sosyal bilimlerin gündemine girmesi 1960'larla birlikte olmuş ve 1970'lerin sonuna kadar üretken/üretken olmayan emek tartışmaları üzerinden yürütülmüştür. 1980'lerden itibaren ise artan yoksulluk ve ülkeler arasındaki eşitsiz gelişimin derinleşmesi ile kadınlar ailelerini geçindirebilmek amacıyla göç etmeye başladılar. Ve göç eden kadınların büyük oranda ev hizmetleri alanında çalışmaya başlamasıyla, feminist literatürde bu alana dair günümüze kadar önemli bir birikim oluşmuştur.

İngilizce yazındaki araştırmaların önemli bir kısmı ırk/etnisite farklılıklarının toplumlarda var olan hiyerarşilere ve dolayısıyla çalışma koşullarına yansımalarını konu edinmişlerdir. Ancak temel sorunlardan biri bu çalışmaların çoğunlukla işçinin gözünden aktarılıyor olması ve yalnızca zayıf yanlarının yansıtılmasıdır. İşverenin sesi/sözü yer bulmadığı için, çizilen resim eksik kalmakta, aynı zamanda da işçilerin pazarlık gücü gözardı edilmektedir.

Türkiye'de ev hizmetleri literatürü iki başlık altında tartışılıyor. Birinci grup çalışmalar göçmen kadınları odak noktasına alırken, ikinci grup çalışmalar yerel kadınlara

odaklanıyor. Araştırma başlıkları farklı olsa da, her iki grup da çalışma koşullarını ve işin sömürüye açık yanlarını analiz ediyor.

Birinci grup içerisinde yer alan çalışmalar, özellikle ülkeye yeni gelmiş, yatılı ev işçisi göçmen kadınların emeklerinin yoğun sömürüsüne işaret ediyor. Gündüzlü çalışmayı tercih eden yerel kadınlarla ve kendilerine ait kalacak yeri olan göçmen kadınlarla karşılaştırıldığında yatılı çalışanların koşulları çok daha kötü. Bu araştırmalar ev işçilerinin kırılğan yanlarını ortaya koyarken, içlerinden bazıları ise pazarlık güçlerini de göstermektedir. Diğer taraftan göçmen ev işçilerinin birbirleri arasında ayrıştırıldığı ve sektörde hiyerarşik bir yapılanmanın olduğu ifade edilmektedir. Bu grup içerisinde işi bulma yollarından, aracı şirketlerin işlevine, işçilerin işverenleriyle ilişkilerinden, diğer insanlarla ve Türkiye'nin kültürü ile girilen temasın yapısına, kendi sosyal ağlarına kadar birçok farklı alanın bilgisine ulaşmak mümkün olmaktadır. Araştırmalarda göz önüne serilen önemli noktalardan bir diğeri de yerel ve göçmen kadınlar arasında yapılan ayırmadır. Göçmen işçiler daha “medeni” olarak tanımlanmakta ve yerel kadınlara tercih edilmektedir. Ancak biraz daha yakından bakıldığında yerel kadınların yatılı kalmayı istememesi ve bu çalışma biçiminin işçi üzerinde daha fazla kontrole ve az ücretle daha fazla iş yapılmasına imkan tanıyor oluşu, göçmen kadınların tercih edilme sebepleri arasında yer alıyor.

İkinci gruptaki araştırmalar, yerel ev işçilerine odaklanmakta ve işveren ve çalışan arasındaki ilişkiyi sınıf, toplumsal cinsiyet ve modernlik/geleneksellik temelinde ele almaktadırlar. Özellikle sonuncu kategorinin işçi ve işveren kadınlar arasındaki sınıf farkını görünür kıldığı belirtilmektedir. Ancak bu durum da, akrabalık kavramları üzerinden şekillenen iş ilişkisi çerçevesinde görünmezleşmektedir.

Göçmen kadınlar üzerine yapılan araştırmalarda –biraz da işin yapısı dolayısıyla- temizlik ve bakım sorumlulukları arasında herhangi bir ayırım göze çarpmamaktadır.

Yerel kadınlarla ilgili çalışmalar ise temizlik işçilerine odaklanmakta ve bakım işinde kurulan farklı ilişki dinamiklerine yer vermemektedir.

Yerel kadınlar tarafından yerine getirilen ücretli enformel çocuk bakımının kendine has yapısına dair çalışmaların azlığı, var olan literatürde bir eklikiye işaret etmektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu araştırmanın önemli bir boşluğu dolduracağını söylemek mümkündür.

Tezin alan araştırması derinlemesine görüşmelerden oluşmuştur. Şubat 2013 – Ocak 2014 tarihleri arasında 19 çocuk bakıcısı, 19 orta sınıf çalışan anne ve 3 aracı şirket sahibi olmak üzere toplam 41 mülakat yapılmıştır. Görüşmelerin süresi 23 dakika ile 1 saat 49 dakika arasında değişmiştir.

Alan araştırmasının da gösterdiği üzere sosyal refah uygulamalarının yeterlilik düzeyi kadınların çocuk sahibi olmaya dair herşeyi planlamaya başladıkları zamanı dahi belirlemektedir. Türkiye’de kadınlar evliliğin daha ilk yıllarından itibaren çocuk bakımı konusunu düşünmeye başlamakta ve çocuk sahibi olmaya kararlarını bu alternatifler çerçevesinde vermektedirler. Açıktır ki orta sınıf çalışan annelerin büyük bir kısmı ortalama evlilik yaşının üstünde evlenmektedirler. Diğer taraftan çocuk yapma kararını ise çalıştıkları iş, kariyer planları, yaşanılan yer, aile bireylerinin uygunluğu ve çocuk bakım alternatiflerinin varlığı gibi kriterler belirlemektedir. Ayrıca eşlerin işi ve kariyeri de bu karar üzerinde etkili olabilmektedir.

Özellikle doğum sonrası ilk üç yıl, annelerin büyük bir çoğunluğu çocuklarının evde bakılmasını istemektedirler. Yetersiz çocuk bakım hizmetlerinin yanında, varolanların niteliğine dair şüpheler annelerin, ailelerinin kadın bireylerinin, özellikle büyükannelerin, yardımına gereksinim duymaları ya da enformel sektörden çocuk bakıcısı istihdam etmeleri sonucunu doğurmaktadır. Bazı durumlarda uygun akrabaların yokluğu çocuk bakıcısının emeğine duyulan ihtiyacı açıklarken, bazen de

annelerin çocuklarını kendi kuralları doğrultusunda yetiştirmek istemeleri belirleyici olmaktadır.

İş ilişkisinin kurulmasında iki temel yol bulunmaktadır: Sosyal ağlar ve aracı kuruluşlar. Muhtarlar, kamu kurumlarında çalışan eşler ve apartman görevlileri diğer kaynakları oluştursa da sosyal ağlar ve aracı kuruluşlar yaygın şekilde başvuru alanlarıdır. Anneler, alternatiflerin sayısını arttırmak için hem kendi ağlarından hem de aracı kuruluşlardan faydalanırlarken, çocuk bakım emekçileri çalışacakları aileleri çoğunlukla tanıdıkları vasıtasıyla bulmaktadırlar. Son 10-15 yıldır Türkiye - özellikle coğrafi olarak yakın ülkelerden- uluslararası göçün hedef ülkelerinden birisi konumundadır. Göçmenler büyük oranda yatılı ev işçisi olarak istihdam edilmektedirler. Bu alanda, aracı kuruluşlar etkin çalışmaktadırlar. Ancak bu kuruluşlar yolu ile gelen kadınların seks işçiliği yaptığını dair hikayeler dolaşmaktadır. Dolayısıyla işin hem bu kötü itibarı hem de iş yerinin ev olması çocuk bakıcılarının ailelerin güvenilirliklerinden emin olmayı istemelerine sebebiyet vermektedir. Ayrıca acentalara karşı olumsuz düşünceler de kadınların kendi ağlarına sıkı sıkıya bağlı kalmaları sonucunu doğurmaktadır.

Ücretli çocuk bakımının temeli sevgi ve güvenilirlik olsa da, kiminle çalışılacağını belirleyen başka kriterler de bulunmakta. Anneler birden fazla kriteri gözönüne alıyorlar: Çocuk bakıcısının aile yapısı ve aile ilişkileri, yaşı, deneyimi, eğitimi, kilosunu ve dış görünüşü. Aile yapısı ve aile ilişkileri işçinin güvenilirliğini gösterirken, yaş ve kilo ise farklı sorumlulukların herhangi bir zorluk yaşanmadan yerine getirilip getirilmeyeceğinin anlaşılması açısından dikkate alınıyor.

Eğitim de önemli çünkü hafif temizlik yapılmasına dair beklentilerle ilişkilendiriliyor. Sektörde, az eğitilmiş olmak çocuk bakımı dışında hane içi işlerin de yerine getirilmesi anlamı taşıyor. Diğer taraftan az eğitilmiş çocuk bakıcılarının annenin çocuk yetiştirme

prensiplerine ve evin kurallarına daha fazla uyduđu düşünülüyor. Eğitim seviyesinin yüksekliđinin direnç ve çatışmalara neden olduđu fikri yaygın.

Temizlik işçilerinden farklı olarak, çocuk bakıcıları ailenin temsilcisi olarak görülüyorlar ve dolayısıyla orta sınıf değerlerle uyumlu bir giyim tarzına ve konuşma biçimine sahip olmaları bekleniyor. Sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sermayeye ulaşmak açısından anneler ve çocuk bakıcıları arasındaki fark açıktır, ancak anlatımlarda bu farklılıktan çok benzerliğe vurgu yapılıyor. Bu vurgunun altında anneler için orta sınıf değerlerin güvende olmasının önemi yatıyor. Çocukların sınıf değerleri ile uyumlu sosyalizasyonundan birincil sorumlu olarak kadınlar görüldüğünden, annenin yokluğunda çocuk bakıcıları bu misyonu üstleniyorlar. Aileye en uygun düşen bakıcının aranmasının temel sebebi de bu durum.

Kısacası, orta sınıf kadınlar için çocuk bakım işi birçok farklı konuyu aynı anda göz önünde bulundurmak anlamına geliyor. En başından itibaren anneler çok karmaşık bir karar alma süreci deneyimliyorlar. Elbette şefkat, sevgi ve güvenilirlik çocuk bakım emekçilerinin sahip olması gereken en temel özellikler. Diğer taraftan, anneler çalışanları, ailenin yaşam biçimi ile uyum sağlayabilecek kişiler arasından seçmeye dikkat ediyorlar. Düzgün aksan ve giyim tarzı ile kendini yetiştirmiş olmak orta sınıf değerlerin taşıyıcılığını yapabilmek için değerli özellikler. Öte yandan eğitim seviyesinin düşüklüğü de hayat tarzları üzerinden çatışma yaşanmayacak bir ilişkinin kurulması açısından isteniyor. Aynı zamanda, çocuk bakıcılarının güçlü ve genç olması da çocuğun peşinden koşturabilmeleri ve temizlik yapabilmeleri açısından iyi bir durum. Diğer taraftan yeterli olgunluğa ve deneyime sahip olacak ve ihtiyaç devam ettiği sürece çalışabilecek kadar yaşlı olmaları da isteniyor. Ama temizlik yapmalarını engelleyecek kadar da yaşlı olmamaları gerekiyor. Çocuk bakıcısının deneyiminin bir göstergesi olarak yorumlanan çocuk sahipliği, çocukların yaşının annelerinin bakımına ihtiyaç duymayacak kadar büyük olması gerekliliği ile birlikte kendisini gösteriyor.

Öyleyse yaşı daha büyük çocuk bakıcıları en istenilir adaylar, ancak anneye arkadaşlık edebilecek ve benzer çocuk yetiştirme tarzına sahip olacak kadar gençlerse. Başörtülü çocuk bakıcıları ile ilgili olarak da yaşam tarzları arasındaki farklara işaret edilse de ‘dindar’ bir kişinin vicdanlı olacağı düşüncesi annelerin onları tercih etmesine neden olabiliyor.

Kadınların bu kadar fazla kriteri aynı anda değerlendirmeye almasının arkasındaki neden sosyal refah uygulamalarını ve hane içindeki eşitsiz iş paylaşımını belirleyen cinsiyet rejimidir. Kadınlık aile içinde ve ücretsiz yerine getirilen hane içi sorumluluklarla ilişkili olarak tanımlanıyor. Bu işlerin ücretli yapıldığındaki değersizliği özel alanda değersizleştirilmesi ile yakından ilgili. Kadınlar doğuştan anne olarak görüldüklerinden hem formel hem de enformel işgücü piyasasında çocuk bakım emeği düşük nitelikli bir iş olarak konumlandırılıyor. Özellikle enformel emek piyasasında sınırları daha da belirsizleşiyor. Bu nedenle çocuk bakıcıları ucuz emek gücü olarak hane içi ile ilgili her işten sorumlu tutuluyorlar. Özellikle 0-2 yaş arasındaki çocuklar için, yetersiz erken çocukluk bakım ve eğitim hizmetleri ve hane içindeki cinsiyetçi işbölümü, anneleri yalnızca çocukların değil ailenin de ihtiyaçları üzerinden bir iş ilişkisi kurmak zorunda bırakıyor. Çocuk bakım işçilerinin ucuz emeği, orta sınıf çalışan annelerin en iyi yardımcısı. Neo-liberal ekonominin kuralları ile uyumlu bir biçimde devletler bakım alanından çekiliyor. Değersizleştirme ve görünmezlik, kadınların hane içi sorumluluklarını başka kadınlara transfer ederek işgücü piyasasına katılmalarını sağlayan bakım işinin ucuz kalabilmesi için gerekli.

Araştırmadaki kadınların anlatılarının gösterdiği üzere neredeyse bütün orta sınıf anneler çocuk sahibi olmanın zamanlamasını doğumun ilk yılı ile nasıl başedebileceklerine bağlı olarak yapıyorlar. Genellikle en az 6 ay-1 sene arasında evde kalmak istiyorlar. Emzirmeye atfedilen önem ve çalışırken çocukları emzirmenin zorluğu bu istekte önemli bir rol oynuyor. Ayrıca Türkiye’deki cinsiyet rejimi en iyi

bakımın özellikle çocuklar üç yaşına gelene kadar evde verilen bakım olduğu düşüncesini üretiyor. Bu fikir yetersiz devlet ve hatta özel sektör tarafından verilen çocuk bakım hizmetleri yetersizliği ile de uyuyor. Diğer bir deyişle 0-2 yaş arasındaki çocuklar için kreşler iş dünyası tarafından dahi karlı bulunmuyor olabilir. Ayrıca yalnızca 150'den fazla kadın çalışanı olan işyerlerinin kreş açma zorunluluğu ve devlet kurumlarındaki kreş olanaklarının azlığı, çalışan orta sınıf annelerin mümkün olduğunca çocukları ile birlikte kalmak istemelerinde büyük rol oynuyor.

Öte yandan kadınlar beklenilenden önce işe döndüklerinde de bakım işine dair herşeyi yine onların organize etmesi gerekiyor. Üstelik bu sırada çocuklarına bakmak yerine işe başlamış olmanın suçluluk hissi ile de baş etmek durumunda kalıyorlar. Patriyarkal ideolojinin yaygın olduğu bir toplumda kadınların annelik sorumluluklarını başka bir kadına, hem de aile içinden olmayan birine, transfer ettikleri sürekli olarak onlara hatırlatılır. Erkekler çocuk bakım yükümlülüğünü paylaşmadıkları gibi kreş bulma sürecinde de destek olmazlar. Dolayısıyla annelerin hem çocuklarının hem de hanelerinin ihtiyaçlarının karşılandığından emin olmak oldukları ve onları suçluluk hissinden kurtaracak birçok farklı özelliğe sahip bir çocuk bakıcısı arayışları süpriz değil.

Fiziksel görünüşün/giyinme biçiminin, aksanın, ve davranışların bu kadar önem taşınması annelerin çocuklarının ailenin sınıf değerlerine uygun şekilde sosyalizasyonundan sorumlu olmalarından kaynaklanıyor. Annelerin yokluğunda ise çocuk bakıcıları bu misyonu yükleniyorlar ve dolayısıyla onların kendilerini toplumsal hayatta nasıl konumlandıkları da önem kazanıyor. Aksi takdirde orta sınıf kadınlar kötü annelik yapıyor olma riski ile karşı karşıya kalabilirler. Bu riskten kaçınmak için Türkiye'de orta sınıf kadınlar hafta içi tam zamanlı evin dışında olsalar bile bakımı işini bakıcı kadınlarla koordineli bir biçimde organize etmeye çalışıyorlar. Ancak

“koordineli bakım” eğitim seviyesi, deneyim ve yaşla yakından bağlantılı olduğundan anneler en iyi çocuk bakıcısı ‘kombinasyonunu’ yakalamaya çalışıyorlar.

Diğer taraftan çocuk bakıcıları anneler kadar kritere sahip değiller. Çalışılacak ailenin güvenilirliği en önemli kriter olarak görünüyor. Konuşulan kadınların neredeyse tamamına yakını ilk öncelik olarak namusun altını çiziyor. İşyerinin ev olması dolayısıyla her türlü formel düzenlemenin ve kontrolün dışında kalması bazı hikayelerin çıkmasına ve yayılmasına neden oluyor. Bu bağlamda çocuk bakıcılarının sosyal ağı annelerinkine nazaran daha güçlü görünüyor. Çünkü ev işçisi kadınlar, çoğunlukla birlikte seyahat ediyorlar ve dolayısıyla deneyimlerini paylaşmaya daha fazla şans buluyorlar.

Yapılacak işleri, ücreti, ve iş ilişkisini tanımlayacak herhangi bir formel mekanizmanın yokluğu, sınırları belirsiz bir alanın ortaya çıkmasına neden oluyor. Ancak, sektörün enformel olarak tanımlı prensiplerinin varlığı da göz ardı edilmemeli. Bir taraftan bu prensipler/kurallar formel bir düzenleme ihtiyacını ortaya koyarken diğer taraftan da siyasi otoritenin, alanı düzenlemeye gösterdiği direnci segiliyor.

Aracı şirketler de moderni ‘köylü’, kültürlüyü kültürsüz, yereli göçmen karşısında üstün konuma yerleştirerek sınıf, toplumsal cinsiyet ve etnik hiyerarşileri ve annelik ideolojisini yeniden üretiyor. İş ilişkisinin her iki tarafının da çıkarlarını koruduklarını iddia etseler de, amac kar elde etmek olduğundan, ailelere daha yakın konumlanmış durumdalar. Bu iş çoğunlukla kadınlar tarafından yürütülüyor. Bu durum, hem işveren hem de çalışan, kadın olduğundan gerekli olarak görülüyor. Ancak kadın olmak sektörde başarı kazanmak için yeterli değil. Ailelerin ihtiyaçlarını anlamaya yarayan annelik mutlak olarak önemli. Şirket sahipleri bakıcı adaylarını kendi çocukları için arıyormuş gibi değerlendiriyorlar ve kriterler orta sınıf annelerin kriterleri ile neredeyse birebir örtüşüyor. Aracı şirketlerin daha fazla alternatif sağlaması ve yazılı bir kontratın

varlığı başta anneler olmak üzere bakım işçilerinin de kendilerini güvende hissetmelerini sağlıyor. Çünkü anneler için en büyük korku çocuk bakıcısının önceden haber vermeden işi bırakması iken; çalışanlar ise ücretlerin anlaşılabilir miktar üzerinden düzenli almamaktan çekiniyorlar.

Çocuk bakımı bir iş olsa da, aile benzeri bir yapı içinde şekilleniyor. Bu durum işin enformel sektörde yapılıyor oluşundan kaynaklanıyor. Bu nedenle de aracı şirket sahipleri ebeveynlerle ve çocuk bakıcıları ile olan ilişkilerini arkadaşlık ve/ya da kızkardeşlik olarak tanımlıyorlar ve kontratın süresi dolsa bile ilişkinin devam ettiğini söylüyorlar. Formel düzenlemelerin yokluğunda aile ile çocuk bakıcılarının eşleştirilmesi sürecinde ve ilk aylarda aracı şirketler önemli bir fonksiyon üstleniyorlar. Ancak daha sonrasında şirket, aile ve de çalışanlar arasındaki ilişki devam etse de hanenin içi herhangi bir müdahalenin dışında kalıyor.

Formel düzenlemelerin yokluğu anneleri, çocuk bakıcılarının güvenilirliğinden emin olmak için bazı önlemler almak zorunda bırakıyor. Bakıcının tanıdık vasıtası ile bulunması ve referanslarının olması da durumu değiştirmiyor çünkü sonuç olarak çocuk, ailenin hiç tanımadığı birine bırakılıyor. Bakım işçisini hamileliğin belirli bir döneminde ya da işe dönmeden bir ya da iki hafta önce- istihdam etmek annelerin geliştirdiği temel stratejilerden ikisi. Bu tanışma dönemi, bakıcılara da evin kurallarını/düzenini öğrenme imkanı veriyor. Diğer aile bireylerinin varlığı, annenin özellikle çocuk bakıcısı ile geçirecek fazla zamanı olmadığı durumlarda önem kazanıyor. Böyle bir durumda büyükanneler ya çocuk bakıcısı ile bir süre birlikte kalıyor, ya da habersiz eve gelerek onları kontrol ediyor. Ayrıca düzenli olarak telefonla aramak, eve kamera koymak ya da komşulardan evden gelen seslere kulak kabartmalarını istemek annelerin çocuk bakıcısını kontrol edebilmek için geliştirdikleri diğer yollar.

Yabancı birisinin evinde haftanın beş günü oturmak, bakım işçileri için de ilk ayların zor geçmesine neden oluyor. Bakıcıların en temel istekleri kendi evlerinde gibi rahat hissetmek. Bu da işverenin tavrı ile yakından alakalı. Aileden biri gibi davranıldığı takdirde eve alışma süresi kısılırken işten duyulan memnuniyet de artıyor.

Yalnızca çocuk bakıcıları değil, anneler de ilişkilerini işçi-işveren ilişkisi olarak düşünmekte sıkıntı yaşıyorlar. Çalışanın işe geliş gidiş saatlerini ifade etmeleri bile “fazla talepkarlık” olarak değerlendirilebiliyor. Ayrıca bu durum anneleri, kendilerini işveren gibi hissettirdiği için de rahatsız ediyor. Her ne kadar kendilerini işveren olarak konumlandırmak istemeseler de, bir yandan da resmiyeti kaybetmemeye çalışıyorlar.

Özellikle çocuk bakım işine yönelik formal düzenlemelerin yokluğunda işi sarmalayan belirsizlik, gerilimi de arttırabiliyor. Hem bakım işçileri hem de anneler birbirleri ile olan ilişkiyi işçi-işveren ilişkisi olarak tanımlamaktan kaçınıyorlar. Bu nedenle de ailesel terimlerle düşünme ve davranma eğilimi içinde bulunuyorlar. Aileye ait kavramlar annelerin çocuklarını başka birine bırakmalarından kaynaklanan suçluluk duygusunu hafifletirken, çocuk bakıcılarının da para karşılığında çocuk baktıkları gerçeğini unutmalarını sağlıyor.

Bakım işinde duygusal ve fiziksel emeği ayırt etmek kolay değil. Dolayısıyla, duyguların metalaşmasını yalnızca para karşılığı yapıyor olması üzerinden tartışmak konunun farklı vechelerini kaçırmamıza neden olur. Bakım işi “sevgi satın alınabilir mi?” sorusu çerçevesinde düşünülürse emeğin değersizleşmesine katkı yapma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya kalır. Paranın önemini küçümsemek ve duyguları yüceltmek kutsayarak değersizleştirmeye neden olur. Hem annelerin hem de bakım işçilerinin aileye ait kavramlarla düşünme/davranma eğiliminin nedeni de bu durum. Kapitalist pazar ilişkileri herşeyi ölçmek isteyen maskülen değerlerle hareket etmektedir. Duygusal emek ölçülebilir olmadığından değer kaybetmektedir. Değişim değerinin

olmayışı onu Kapitalist ekonominin dışında bırakmaktadır. Ayrıca bakım işinin kadınlar tarafından evde harcanması ve başkalarına şefkat göstermenin kadınlığın doğal bir uzantısı olarak görülmesi hizmet sağlayanlar ve alanlar arasındaki pazar ilişkilerinin göz adı edilmesine neden olmaktadır. Çocuk bakımının iş olarak görülmemesinin altında yatan en önemli neden budur. Diğer taraftan yeterli bir ücret almak, çalışanın işten duyduğu memnuniyeti arttırırken çocuklara da olumlu bir şekilde yansır. Yani, “bireysel yarar”ın iyi bir bakım için gerekli değerler karşısında konumlandırılması, işçi haklarının önemsizleştirilmesi sonucunu doğuracaktır. Paranın gerçek duyguları yok ettiği iddiası bakım işinin değersizleştirilmesine katkı sunarken, bakım emekçilerinin ve çocukların üzerindeki olumlu etkiyi de görmezden geliyor.

Çocuk bakımının iş olarak görülmemesinin diğer bir sonucu da sigortasız çalışmanın yaygın oluşu. Elbette işin enformel sektörde yer alması en temel belirleyici. Ancak, sigorta yaptırmanın yasal zorunluluk haline gelmesi ve son yıllarda artan kontrole ve yüksek cezalara rağmen hala kadınların büyük bir oranının sigortasız çalışması, işin hiçbir nitelik gerektirmeyen annelikle tanımlanarak değersizleştirilmesinin de sonucu. Ayrıca sigortalama sürecinin zorluğu, ağır yükümlükler, ve emeklilik prim günü ödemelerini çocuklukla 35-40 yaş arasında işe başlayan çocuk bakım işçilerinin emekli almaya hak kazanmaya yetecek kadar çalışma ihtimallerini ortadan kaldırmaktadır. Şurası kesindir ki anneler işveren, bakıcılar işçi, çocuk bakıcılığı da iştir. Ama klasik anlamıyla işten farklılıklar taşımaktadır. Öncelikle para, işçi ve işveren arasındaki en temel ilişki noktası değil. Her iki taraf da kurgusal akrabalık çerçevesinde düşünüyorlar ve davranıyorlar. Yalnızca para, işten duyulan memnuniyeti ya da iyi bakımı garantileyemiyor. İşveren, çalışanın çeşitli yollarla da destekliyor ve beklenti de bu yönde. Hediye alışverişi hem işçinin kendisini aileden biri gibi hissetmesini sağlıyor hem de annenin kendi evlerinde işveren olmalarından duydukları yabancılaşmadan sakınmalarına yarıyor. Ancak açık ki anneler, çocuk bakıcılarından

ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel sermaye açısından daha güçlü bir konumda bulunuyorlar. Dolayısıyla çalışanlarını desteklemek ile onları hor gördüğü izlenimi vermek arasında ince bir çizgi var. Bu nedenle birçok anne hediye, ekstra para ya da başka şeyler verirken dikkatli olmaya çalışıyor. Çalışanlar da duyguları incitilmeden destek görmek istiyorlar.

Diğer taraftan kurgusal akrabalık ilişkisinden ve işin duygusal emek barındırmasından kaynaklı her zaman için sömürü riski bulunuyor. Çocuk bakım sektöründe daha önceden konuşulmuş kuralların esnetilmesi yaygın bir durum. Ama anlatılardan görüldüğü üzere, gönüllü ve gönülsüz yapılan işleri birbirinden ayırmak gerekiyor. İş yerinin ev olması, çocuk bakıcılarının istenmediği halde temizlik de yapmasını getiriyor.

Anneler ve bakıcılar arasındaki eşitsizliğe rağmen her iki tarafın da kendi pazarlık gücü var. Bakım işçisinin niteliklerine ve baktığı çocuğun ona ne kadar alışmış olduğuna bağlı olarak anneler, çatışmadan uzak durmaya çalışıyor. Problemlerin çocuğa yansımalarından çekindikleri gibi özellikle başka yardım edecek aile bireyinin bulunmadığı durumlarda bakıcının habersizce işten ayrılmasının onları zor durumda bırakacağından da korkuyorlar. Benzer şekilde çocuğa duyulan sevgi ve yeni bir aileye daha alışmanın zorluğu, çocuk bakıcılarını da gerginlikleri büyütme ya da işi bırakmaktan alıkoyuyor.

Çocuk bakım işinin öteki işlerden bir farkı da diğer aile bireylerinin rolü. Anneler açısından çocuk bakıcısının kocası ve çocuklarının ne ile meşgul oldukları büyük önem taşıyor. Diğer taraftan çocuk bakıcıları için de, çalışılacak evde başka aile bireylerinin bulunup bulunmaması benzer derecede dikkate alınıyor. Özellikle büyükanneler, çocuk bakıcıları için durumu zorlaştırabiliyorlar. Sektörde bunun için özel bir tanımlama da mevcut: Büyükanne sendromu. Ayrıca eşlerin işleri de bakıcılar için dikkat edilecek bir

unsur. Evde anneden çok vakit geçiren bir babanın varlığı bakıcının işi kabul etmesini engelleyebilir.

Eşlerin diğer bir rolü de annelerin aldığı haneîçi yükümlülükleri arttırması ya da azaltması. Evdeki işbölümü, kadınların çocuk bakımını ve işin gerekliliklerini deneyimleme biçimlerini şekillendiriyor. Anlatıların gösterdiği üzere, Türkiye’de, orta sınıf erkekler arasında bile haneîçi sorumlulukların paylaşımı yok denecek kadar az. Bu eşitsizlik, özellikle doğumdan sonraki ilk yıllarda, kadınlar tarafından çok olumsuz bir şekilde deneyimleniyor. Eşler sosyal hayatlarına vakit ayırmaya devam ederken anneler çocuk bakımı dışında bir etkinlikte bulunamıyorlar. Geleneksel cinsiyet rollerinin içselleştirilmesi kadınların eşlerinden beklentilerini sınırlandırmalarına neden oluyor. Sorumluluk almaları için uğraşsalar da eşlerin gösterdiği direnç o kadar kuvvetli ki kadınların bir süre sonra pes etmeleri ve aile bütünlüğünü korumak adına varolan durumu kabullenmeleri sonucunu doğuruyor.

Haneîçi sorumlulukların eşitsiz paylaşımına ek olarak yetersiz iş ve aile yaşamının uyumlaştırılması politikaları da kadınlar için durumu daha da zor hale getiriyor ve bakım yükümlülüklerini yerine getirebilmek için kendi çözümlerini geliştirmelerine sebebiyet veriyor. Türkiye’de annelik izninin süresi kadınların ve çocukların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yetecek uzunlukta değil. Kadınlar bu izin en az altı ay olmasını istiyor. Ancak dört ay izin kullanabilmelerinden kaynaklı kadınları çocukları ile daha fazla zaman geçirebilmek için kendi yollarını bulmuş durumdadır. Bu yolların çeşitliliği kamu ya da özel sektörde çalışılıp çalışılmadığına, iste pozisyonlarına ve sorumluluklarına, haneye giren gelirin miktarına, diğer aile bireylerinin varlığına, eşin çalıştığı yere ve evdeki işbölümüne bağlı olarak değişiyor. Kullanılmayan yıllık izinleri ve süt iznini ekleyerek, rapor kullanarak, kadınlar ücretli izin zamanlarını arttırmaya çalışıyorlar.

Anneler hamilelik döneminden başlayıp, belki de hayatlarının sonuna kadar, çocuklardan birincil sorumlu olarak görülüyorlar. Görüşme yapılan kadınların çoğunluğu çocukların üç yaşına kadar evde bakılması gerektiğini düşünüyor. Ancak bu yaştan sonra gelişimleri açısından kreşler büyük önem kazanıyor. Varolan alternatifler arasından en iyi okulu bulmak da annelerin görevi. Ama çocuğun kreşe başlaması bakım emekçisi ile kurulan ilişkiyi sonlandırmıyor. Özellikle okula alışma döneminde çocuk bakıcıları yarı zamanlı olarak çalışmaya başlıyor. Yanı sıra bazı anneler, bakıcıları tam zamanlı istihdam etmeye devam ediyor ve onlardan çocuğun okulda bulunduğu süre zarfında temizlik yapmalarını bekliyor. Dolayısıyla çocukla geçirilen zaman azaldığından bakım işi temizlik işine dönüşüyor. Yani aradaki farklılıklara rağmen bakımdan temizlik işine dönüş, hiç de zor değil. Ancak statüleri çocuk bakıcısından temizlikçi kadına ‘düşüyor’. Orta sınıf kadınlar ve temizlik işçileri de birbirleri ile akrabalık terimleri üzerinden ilişkiye geçse de, çocuk bakıcısı aileye daha yakın görülüyor. Aralarındaki fark “kadınların işi” ile “kadınların rolü” arasındaki ayrıma denk düşüyor. Çocuk bakımı “kadınların rolü”ne aitken, temizlik “kadınların işi” alanında değerlendirilebilir. Orta sınıf anneler, geçici olarak, “rollerini” çocuk bakıcılarına aktarıyorlar. Bu nedenle temizlikçi ile bakıcı arasında bir ayrım yapmak önemli. Temizlik, meslek hiyerarşisinin en altında yer alıyor. Ama enformel sektörde yapılması, işin daha da fazla değersizleşmesini getiriyor. Formel sektörde erkelerin de çalıştığı bir alan iken, enformel sektörde neredeyse hiç erkeğin yer almadığı bir alana geçiş oluyor. Yani toplumun gözünde işçiden, temizlikçiye hatta yalnızca ‘kadın’a dönüşüyor. Her ne kadar temizlik işçisi kadınlarla çocuk bakıcısı kadınlar benzer sosyo-ekonomik altyapıdan geliyor olsa da, çocuk bakıcıları işverenin gözünde kendisini geliştirmiş kadınlardır. Temizlik işçilerinin tersine nasıl konuşulacağını, nasıl giyinileceğini ve davranılacağını bilirler. İşveren, çocuk bakıcılarını ailenin dolayısıyla orta sınıf değerlerinin temsilcisi olarak konumlandırır. Çocuk bakıcıları annelerin

yokluğunda evin hanımıdır. Bu pozisyon bakıcılar tarafından da içselleştirilmiştir, ki bazen eve gelen temizlik işçisi kadınla arasında gerginliğe sebebiyet verebilir. Bu, aynı zamanda ‘modern’ ile ‘köylü’ arasındaki gerilimdir. Modernin köylü olandan farkı fiziksel görünüm ve aksan ile tanımlanırken aynı zaman da çocuk bakıcılarının temizlik işçisi kadınlardan üstünlüğüne de işaret eder.

Enformel emek piyasasındaki ücretli çocuk bakımı, farklı toplumsal sınıflardan kadınları özel alanda biraraya getirmektedir. Sektörün kadınlar açısından önemi büyüktür çünkü her iki sınıftan kadının da çalışma imkanı bulmasına olanak tanır.

Çocuk sahibi olmak Türkiye’de toplumun büyük bir kesimi tarafından yüceltilirken, bakım söz konusu ise hem devlet hem de erkekler geri çekilmektedir. Kadınlar herşeyi tek başlarına organize etmek durumunda kalmaktadırlar. Çocuk bakımının diğer haneîçi sorumluluklar gibi yalnızca kadınların meselesi olarak tartışılmasının nedeni de budur. Konu, çoğunlukla şeytanlaştırılan işveren ve kurbanlaştırılan çalışanlar çerçevesinde ele alınıyor. Cinsiyetçi işbölümüne, yetersiz erken çocukluk bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerine ve işgücü piyasasının yapısına bağlı olarak değişen pazarlık gücü görmezden geliniyor. Diğer bir deyişle devletin ve erkeklerin payı unutuluyor.

Enformel sektördeki ücretli çocuk bakımı, niteliksiz işgücü olarak görülen alt sınıftan kadınların çalışmasına ve ekonomik bağımsızlık kazanmasına imkan tanıyor. Sektörde 15-20 yıldır çalışan kadınlar var. Ve son beş yılda çok daha fazla kadının sektöre girmesi söz konusu. Ama, çoğunlukla sosyal güvenlik sisteminin dışında çalışıldığı için yalnızca çok az sayıda kadının emeklilik hakkı elde etmesi mümkün olacak. Diğer taraftan çocuk bakımı, bakıcılar tarafından bile iş olarak değerlendirilmiyor. Kazanılan para da aile bütçesine katkı olarak görülüyor. Kadın işi olarak değersizleştirilmesi, düşük statüsünün devamına ve devletin enformel emek piyasasında kurulan bu iş ilişkisini görmezden gelmesine neden oluyor.

Ekonomik gücü olan bazı kadınlar ise çalışma hayatına geri dönebilmek için çocuk bakıcısı istihdam ediyorlar. Ancak, bakıcının varlığı kadınların bakım sorumluluğundan kurtulmaları anlamına gelmiyor. Çocuk bakımına dair hemen hemen her ayrıntıyı hesaplamaları gerekiyor. Bu, neredeyse asla bitmeyen bir süreç. Hane içindeki işbölümü, bakım olanakları ve işgücü piyasasının yapısı bebek sahibi olma zamanlamasını, hatta bazı durumlarda bebeğin hangi yolla doğurulacağını bile etkiliyor. Bebek doğduktan sonra, onun ihtiyaçlarına göre kendi hayatını düzenleyen yalnızca kadın oluyor. İş ve iş dışı yaşamın uzlaştırılması her zaman kadınların dert ettiği bir durum haline geliyor.

Bu araştırmanın iki amacı vardı. Birincisi enformel emek piyasasında metalaşan çocuk bakımının doğasını ve orta sınıf kadınlarla bakıcılar arasındaki ilişkinin dinamiklerini anlamak iken, diğer amaç kadınların taleplerini ortaya koymak ve erken çocukluk bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerine dair politika öneriler sunabilmektir.

Avrupa Birliği içerisinde çocuk bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerinin kapsamının ve niteliğinin; izinlerin ve desteklerin süresinin kullanılabilirlik kriterlerinin ve biçiminin bir standardı yok. Bazı ülkelerde hem kadınlar hem de erkekler ailevi zorunluluklardan sorumlu görülürken, diğerlerinde hala kadınlar çocuk bakımından ve iş ve iş dışı yaşam arasında denge kurulmasında birincil sorumlu olarak konumlandırılıyorlar. Geleneksel cinsiyet rollerinden uzaklaştıkça, uzlaştırma politikaları da kadınların ve çocukların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yakınlaşıyor.

Bu çalışmadaki kadınlar çocuk bakımına dair ihtiyaçlarını net bir şekilde ortaya koydular. Feministler de, uzun zamandır, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlamanın yollarını ifade ediyorlar. Benim yapmak istediğim de bu talepleri biraraya getirerek sosyal politika uygulamalarına dair önerilerde bulunmak.

Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği perspektifinden nasıl bir uzlaştırma politikası gereklidir? Birçok ülke örneğinin gösterdiği üzere ücretli ebeveyn izninin ve erken çocukluk bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerinin ne kadar yeterli olduğuna bağlı olarak kadınların işgücü piyasasına girme ihtimaleri artıyor. Ayrıca, bu servislere ek olarak, annelik ve ebeveyn izin olanakları, doğrudan ya da dolaylı nakit transferleri, çalışma saatlerinde yapılacak düzenlemeler ve/ya da iç esneklik uygulamaları iş ve is dışı yaşamın dengelenmesinde önemli mekanizmalar olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. Ancak bu mekanizmaların cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlaması, nasıl uygulandıkları ile yakından ilintili.

Annelik iznine bakıldığında kadınların doğum sonrası hem kendilerine hem de çocuklarına yeterli zamanı ayırmak istedikleri görülmekte. Ancak bu zaman, ne işe dönmeyi zorlaştıracak kadar uzun ne de annenin ve çocukların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yetmeyecek kadar kısa olmalı. Görüşme yapılan kadınların ortaya koyduğu üzere, 24 haftalık bir annelik izni mutlaka gerekiyor. Ayrıca maaş kaybının yaşanmaması ve izin sonrası işte aynı pozisyona dönülebilmesi önemli.

Yakın zamanda, Türkiye’de esnek çalışma, kadın istihdamını arttırmak için bir yol olarak sunuluyor. Ancak esneklik kadınların haneçi sorumluluklarını hafifletmiyor. Sunulanın aksine, güvencesiz çalışma koşulları, düşük maaş ve belirsiz bir gelecek anlamına geliyor. Kadınların en az üç çocuk doğurması beklenirken tüm bakım sorumluluğunu da tek başlarına üstlenmeleri, hem işgücü piyasasında kalmak hem de haneçi sorumluluklarını yerine getirmek için atipik işlerde çalışmaları isteniyor.

Cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanmasında ücretli ebeveyn izni de çok önemli. Gerekli düzenlemeler yoluyla babaların da çocuk bakım sorumluluğunu paylaşmaya teşvik edilmesi gerekiyor. Burada yine ücretlerin kesintiye uğramaması, aynı pozisyona dönme garantisi önemli kriterler olarak karşımıza çıkıyor.

İzin uygulamaları, uzlaştırma politikalarının önemli bir parçası. Ancak Avrupa Birliği düzleminde de anneleri ilgilendiren uygulamalar babalarla ilgili düzenlemelere göre daha fazla gelişmiş. Ebeveyn izni ise hem erkekler hem de kadınlar tarafından kullanılabilirdiği için cinsiyetçi yargıları aşındırma potansiyeli taşıyor. Farklı ülke ve bakım modelleri örneklerinin gösterdiği üzere, izin, ebeveynlerin ihtiyaçlarına göre düzenlenmediğinde yalnızca ekonomik gücü olan kadınların yararlanabilirdiği bir olanağa dönüşüyor. Bu nedenle, ebeveyn izninin ücretli olması farklı sınıflardan kadınların da faydalanmasına olanak verecektir. Ücretin yanı sıra esnek kullanılacak şekilde sağlanması, erkeklerin kullanımını teşvik edecek biçimde ve transfer edilemez olarak düzenlenmesi, babaların da çocuk bakımında yer alması açısından büyük önem taşıyor.

Türkiye’de yetersiz izin olanaklarının yanı sıra emzirme izni ve ücretsiz izin konularında Memur ve İşçi Kanunları arasında farklılıklar da söz konusudur. Bu ayrımcı durumun ortadan kaldırılması ve hem erkek hem de kadın çalışanların bakım izinlerinden faydalanmaları sağlanmalıdır.

Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi Türkiye’de erken çocukluk bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerinin kurumsallaşması çok zayıf. Devlet ihtiyacı karşılayacak kadar kreş ve gündüz bakım evi sağlamıyor. Aileler de bu durumda sorunu kendileri çözmeye çalışıyorlar, ve bir kısmı pazardan hizmet satın alıyor. Bu, elbette yalnızca ayrıcalıklı aileler için geçerli. Çoğunluk, ailelerinin kadın üyelerinin ücretsiz ve görünmez emeğine başvurmak zorunda kalıyor.

Feministler uzun zamandır mahalle kreşlerinden işyeri kreşlerine ebeveynlerin çocuklarının ihtiyaçlarına göre seçebilecekleri modellerin olması gerektiğini savunuyor. Bu kreşler ücretsiz, standard nitelikte olmalı ve 7 gün 24 saat hizmet vermeli.

Çocuk bakım hizmetlerinin niteliği de çok önemlidir. Çocukların anadilde eğitim alması, okulların fiziksel koşullarının yaş seviyelerine uygun, güvenilir yerler olması gerekiyor. Ayrıca eğitimin içeriği de cinsiyet eşitliği temelinde hazırlanmalıdır. Araştırmada konuşulan kadınların yetersiz denetlemeden kaynaklı kreşlerin güvenliği ile ilgili dile getirdikleri endişeler, uzmanlardan, sivil toplum örgütleri temsilcilerinden ve de ebeveynlerden oluşan denetleme komisyonlarının gerekliliğini ortaya koymaktadır. Kreşlerde çalışan tüm personelin cinsiyet eşitliği eğitimi almış olması ve erkekler ve kadınlardan oluşması önemlidir.

Yasaya göre çalışanların 0-6 yaş arasında 50 çocuğu varsa, kamu kurumlarında kreş açılabilir. Ancak 2008 tarihli düzenlemeyle bu kreşlerin merkezi bütçeden desteklenmesine son verilmiş ve tüm maliyeti kurumun kendi bütçesinden karşılaması karara bağlanmıştır. Bu değişiklik zaten az sayıda olan kurum kreşlerinin sayısının giderek düşmesine neden olmuştur. Dolayısıyla devlet yardımının yeniden sağlanması ve 50'den az sayıda çocuk olduğunda ebeveynlerin diğer kreşlerden faydalanmaları desteklenmelidir.

Özel sektörde ise yalnızca 150'den fazla kadın çalışanı olan işyerleri için kreş açma zorunluluğu bulunmaktadır. Burada ciddi bir ayrımcılık söz konusudur. Bu eşitsizliğin giderilebilmesi için çalışanların toplam sayısı göz önüne alınmalı ve 0-6 yaş arası en az 50 çocuk olduğunda, kreş açılması zorunlu tutulmalıdır. Diğer durumlarda ise çalışanların çocuk bakım olanaklarından faydalanmaları için destek sunulmalıdır.

Okulların açılma ve kapanma saatlerinin çalışma saatleri ile uyumsuzluğu birçok kadının sıkıntı yaşamasına neden oluyor. Dolayısıyla çalışma ve kreşlerin açılış kapanış saatlerinin birbiri ile uyumlu hale getirilmesi gerekiyor. Diğer taraftan okul sonrası olanaklar da arttırılmalı, yaygınlaştırılmalı ve ücretsiz sunulmalıdır.

Çocuk bakımında alternatiflerin çeşitliliği büyük önem taşıyor. Bazı ebeveynlerin de çocuklarına evde bakmak isteyecekleri göz ardı edilmemelidir. Böylesi durumlarda ailelere ihtiyaçları çerçevesinde finansal destek sağlanması gerekiyor.

Ev hizmetlerinde çalışanların sosyal güvenlik kapsamına alınması, işçi sayılmaları ve iş tanımlarının yapılması hak kayıplarını ortadan kaldırmak için önemli. ILO'nun 189 No'lu Sözleşmesinin de bir an önce imzalanması elzem. Ancak işyeri ev olduğu için özel alanın mahremiyetini ihlal etmeyecek şekilde özel düzenlemerin yapılması ihtiyacı söz konusu. Diğer bir problem ise ev işçilerine dair veri yokluğudur. TÜİK'in ev hizmeti alanının ayrıntılı bir resmini çıkaracak şekilde veri toplaması gerekmektedir.

Hizmetlerin kurumsallaşması ve yaygınlaşması, emek piyasasının ebeveynlerin ihtiyaçlarına göre düzenlenmesi, çocuk bakımında cinsiyet eşitliği sağlamanın yollarından yalnızca ikisi. Ancak aslolan yapısal bir dönüşüm. Cinsiyetçi işbölümü bizatihi devlet tarafından aşındırılmalıdır. Yapılacaklardan birisi cinsiyet eşitliği fikrinin Türkiye'deki eğitimin her aşamasında yaygınlaştırılması ve bireylerin küçük yaştan itibaren bu fikri içselleştirmelerinin sağlanmasıdır.

Erkekler çocuk bakım sorumluluğunu ve hane içi diğer sorumlulukları paylaştıkça, ev işi kadınların doğal uzantısı olarak düşünülmekten çıkacaktır. Ancak bu, çok uzun ve zorlu bir yol. Yine de inanıyorum ki "feminist analiz ve aktivizm" en sonunda başarıya ulaşacaktır.

**APPENDIX H.**

**TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU**

**ENSTİTÜ**

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

**YAZARIN**

Soyadı : Soyseçkin

Adı : İdil Safiye

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) :

NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF INFORMAL PAID CHILD CARE IN TURKEY:  
COMMERCIALIZATION DUE TO INSUFFICIENT WELFARE POLICIES

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**