

WOMEN MANAGERS' EXPERIENCES AND STRATEGIES: THE CASE  
OF METU TECHNOPOLIS

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **WOMEN MANAGERS' EXPERIENCES AND STRATEGIES: THE CASE OF METU TECHNOLIS**

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For centuries occupations segregated for women include tasks that do not have priority or wage importance in economy. However, with the improvements in education, with the globalization and economic liberalization policies leads influential changes in the structure of occupational composition. Today a higher number of women take up prime positions in economy. With the changes in the occupational structure, new dimensions such as social network, social connections and relations become crucial in the professional life. Not only in business sphere but also for the individual, social connections and related facilities bring important alterations. For that reason, social capital which is one of the fundamental entity for the professional life has been frequently discussed in the literature. In this study, women managers and entrepreneurs' experiences and strategies and how they develop these strategies on the basis of their social connections has been identified. According to the interviews with 18 women managers and entrepreneurs in Middle East Technical University Technopolis, it is seen that women experience different problems in the work place and also during the start up process. In order to cope with those problems, women managers develop some strategies by using their social connections. However, although women managers and

entrepreneurs shape strategies that adapt them to the existing business sphere, it is generally seen that there is still deeply rooted patriarchal influence in all of them. Even though the strategies that women develop result in short term gains, there is apparently a long-term failure in changing the masculine and gendered organizational culture. At the end of the study, it is difficult not to acknowledge the dependency of women, even in managerial positions, on a continual and limiting patriarchy.

**KeyWords:** Techno Parks, Managers, Entrepreneurs, Social Capital, Patriarchy.

## ÖZ

### KADIN YÖNETİCİ VE GİRİŞİMCİLERİN DENEYİMLERİ VE STRATEJİLERİ: ODTÜ TEKNOKENT ÇALIŞMASI

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Tarih boyunca kadınlar iş yaşamında yer aldıkları konumlar ekonomi ve maddi açıdan öncelikli konumda olmamıştır. Ancak, eğitimde yaşanan gelişmeler, küreselleşme ve ekonomide yaşanan serbestleştirme politikaları ile birlikte mesleki kompozisyonlarda değişimlere neden oldu. Bugün iş yaşamında yöneticilik gibi üst pozisyonlarda yer alan kadın sayısında artış meydana gelmiştir. Mesleki yapıda meydana gelen bu değişimler ile birlikte, sosyal ağlar, sosyal bağlantılar ve ilişkiler gibi hususlar profesyonel yaşam bakımından daha önemli hale gelmiştir. Sadece iş dünyasında değil aynı zamanda bireyler açısından da sosyal bağlantılar ve ilgili ilişkiler önemli değişimleri getirmiştir. Bu nedenle, literatürde profesyonel yaşam anlamında sıklıkla tartışılan sosyal sermaye kavramı temel kavramlardan biri olmuştur. Bu çalışmada, kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin deneyimleri ve bu deneyimlerde yaşadıkları problemlerin üstesinden gelmek için sahip oldukları sosyal bağlantıları nasıl bir ilişkide kullandıkları incelenmiştir. Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Teknokentinde yer alan yönetici ve girişimci 18 kadın ile yapılan görüşmelerde, kadınların şirket kurma esnasında ve iş yerlerinde farklı sorunlar yaşadıkları görülmüştür. Yaşanılan bu sorunların üstesinden gelmek için kadın

yöneticiler sosyal bağlantılarını kullanarak bazı stratejiler geliştirmişlerdir. Ancak, yönetici ve girişimci kadınlar çeşitli stratejiler geliştirerek yaşadıkları sorunların üstesinden gelmeye ve kendilerini var olan iş dünyasına adapte etmelerine rağmen, derinlemesine içselleştirilmiş ataerkilliğin etkilerini gözlemlemek mevcuttur. Kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin geliştirdikleri stratejiler kısa süreli olarak bazı kazanımlar sağlamasına rağmen, uzun dönemde ataerkil ve toplumsal cinsiyet temelinde oluşturulmuş kurumsal kültürün değişiminde başarılı olamamıştır. Çalışmanın sonucunda, kadınların yönetici pozisyonlarda yer alsalar bile bağımlı konumda yer almalarını; ataerkil etkinin hem bir devamı hem de kısıtlayıcı etkilerini görmemek zor olacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Teknokent, Yöneticilik, Girişimcilik, Sosyal Sermaye, Ataerkillik.

To Onur Karaduman...



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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The tendency for women and men to be involved in different occupations is extensive and well known in all societies all over the world. For centuries occupations segregated for women include tasks that do not have priority or wage importance in economy. Nursery, secretarial work, caring or domestic relations are some of the jobs leading the list of traditionally female carriers. However, with the improvements in education, with the globalization and economic liberalization policies influential changes started taking place in the structure of occupational composition. Today a higher number of women adopt and take up prime positions in economy. In other words, progressed education and intensive involvement in business life empowered women to ascend to managerial positions. Although more women take primary position in the organizations, there are still some substantial inequalities are workspace that cannot be ignored.

Although both men and women get the same education and qualifications, why women have less opportunity for promotion has been one of the major issues in literature. According to Hartman (1976: 158), “the capitalistic organization of industry, in removing work from home, served to increase the subordination of women, since it served to increase the relative importance of the area of men’s domination”. Male domination over women is not a new case. By virtue of the extending control over technology, production and marketing, men have expanded their control over economy and women have become the main domestic servants of a family. Even though women get involved in the labor force, they earn less money than the men colleagues and occupy only the concentrated lower grades of work (Hakim, 1979). The main idea behind this

segregation between men and women is that if women are working for the capitalists, they have less time to work for their husbands (Walby, 1990). For that reason, a lot of women prefer engagement in the economic life by working part time.

However, with the technological renovation, the demand for the higher performance in sector leads to an alteration in the association of women's employment. More women started to occupy the 'male' jobs. Women's self-motivation for career achievement and self enhancement are some prime factors that explain their success and high share in the male dominated sectors (Ecevit, Hoşgör, and Tokluoğlu 2003). In their studies, Ecevit et. al, found that employers preferred appointing women for the computer programming positions in Turkey as they are more capable of working with people successfully. Moreover, since women are stereotypically considered as more organized than men, they are better at details at work and superior in social skills such as communication skills (2003:81). As they mentioned, women are perceived as being more social with supplementary social skills. Having social skills generates some additional benefits at a work place. Through the social contact, workers can develop social networks and social ties in an effective way. Having social networks and social ties provides the capabilities to make some new information easily accessible, to work in cooperation effectively and bring social cohesion in the work place. The benefits from social networks, social ties and connections that facilitate resources and new resources are the main idea behind social capital. According to Cohen and Prusak (2001) the collective value of all social networks and trust, reciprocity, information and cooperation developed by social networks can be defined as social capital. Social capital creates collaboration, commitment, information sharing and trust while improving accurate participation in the organization that brings more success and effectiveness (Timberlake, 2004). The importance of social capital as defined by Cohen and Prusak states; "social capital tends to be cumulative so that the components of trust, communication, rich networks and shared norms increase with each successive interaction. A positive

experience in one endeavor builds trust, social connections and information that facilitate future interactions and collaborations among individuals and groups” (2001).

As it is defined, social capital has been one of the important issue for creating new resources, accessing new information, knowledge and facilitate the sources. For that reason, not only during the set up process but also in the professional life, social capital has various impacts on managers and entrepreneurs’ business success.

### **1.1. The Scope and The Significance of The Study**

The stereotypical ideas about women actually related to their emotionality, sensibility and having more emphatic values than men have. If women have more social skills and communication talents, it is expected for them to develop more social networks and connections. The interactions and relations that are developed through connections can facilitate new resources; new opportunities and help to overcome difficulties emerged. In this sense, the main aim in this study is to analyze and identify women managers and entrepreneurs’ experiences and strategies in their organizations. By examining women managers and entrepreneurs at Middle East Technical University Technopolis, this study aims to show how social connections and social networks can help to overcome difficulties and problems and generate the strategies that women managers and entrepreneurs can use. Through this, the impact of social connections and social networks for developing survival strategies in the masculine organizational culture can be analyzed.

Before giving deep information about the study, the reason why I choose Metu Technopolis should be clarified. In 1997, the MetuTechnopolis’ idea was conceived to set the foundation for today’s projects and developments. After the construction process, in 2000, Metu Techno Park officially started to

service the academic and industrial sectors. Between 2005 and today, the number of companies operating at METU Techno park has incredibly increased. While defining the field of the study, it is essential to note that MetuTechnopolis is a place consisting of 320 different companies. These companies are mainly working on the software and information technologies (45%), electronic (15%), machinery design (7%), biomedical (7%), energy and environmental technologies (7%) and telecommunication (3%) and others (16%). Most of the companies have been developed to set the foundation for new corporations and co-operations between universities and industry. During this process, the companies gather different supports from not only MetuTechopolis but also government funds. MetuTechnopolis provides the companies with four different collaboration models. They are entrepreneur opportunities, university-industry collaborations, collaborations among companies and international collaborations. These collaborations provide new information and knowledge about the projects and expertise about the defense, aviation and security sectors.

In that aspect, I have chosen MetuTechnopolis in order to examine the impact of social network, social capital and its applications towards the creation of surviving strategies among women managers and entrepreneurs. Since the majority of the companies and organizations in METU Technopolis are established by men and since the field of the study of the companies are mostly related to 'male' spheres like engineering and technology I chose Metu Technopolis as a suitable case fulfilling the aim of the study. Although there are many researches about Middle East Technical University and Technoparks, there is no any study that examining the interrelation between social capital and the strategies that managers develop through their social connections. Since the main aim of the thesis is to demonstrate the social network of women managers and entrepreneurs, and its impacts on their experiences in their organizations, I have limited my study with companies that are administrated by women. This study aims to contribute to literature by limiting women managers and entrepreneurs' experiences and strategies through using their



social connections. With the analysis of women experiences and social network support, this study contributes to the missing part of the literature about women managers and entrepreneurs' strategies and social capital effectiveness.

## **1.2 Research Procedure and Methodology**

In Metu Technopolis, 59 out of 320 companies were established and/or managed by women. After defining the companies, I realized that some of the companies that established by women actually not established by women themselves. Their husbands or friends set up the company and to get the support they use women's name during the set up process. Even if their names are written in the official documents, they neither are in power nor working for that company. After getting feedback from the companies mentioned, only 31 of them have really been established, developed and managed by women in MetuTechnopolis.

In order to put women at the center of the research and analyze women's experiences from their standpoints, feminist methodology is used in this research. To acquire the real experiences of women, their difficulties, family-work conflicts and their coping strategies, the feminist methodology can provide full understanding. In the feminist methodological approach, the researcher performs a non – hierarchical and self reflexive research through the women's experiences. In addition, since feminist methodology actually lies in the critical theory (Neuman, 2006), the results of the study aim to set light on subordinate position of women in society by empowering them through analyzing.

As a researcher, during the interviews, I did not face any difficulties or problems with the respondents. Although the time of the meetings has been decided, most of the time, due to the heavy schedule of the managers and entrepreneurs, I had to wait to do conduct interview. This caused some

problems in the meeting schedule. However, except one interview that took two hours, other all interviews took approximately one hour. Since the field of the study is a techno park complex, there were no problems in accessing the respondents. Most of the companies are quite close to each other and there are many places where you can wait.

As it will be explained later, most of the correspondents declared that they are grateful for the thesis objectives to point out their positions in the present business life and its gender differences in the creation of social capital. Before deciding on the meetings, the information mail has been sent to all of the companies established by women. However, even though there are 31 companies, only 18 of them responded back. After getting appointments from the respondents, more detailed information about the study has been explained to the respondents.

Since there are no studies concerning their experiences and difficulties in male dominated environment in METU Technopolis, all of the respondents declared that they are quite interested about the objectives of the study. Since Metu Technopolis is a techno park that is established in a broad area at the university campus, there are different buildings and several leisure time facilities. All of the interviews have been done in the METU Technopark either inside of the company or in one of the coffee houses of the organization. Since I m a young, master student who wants to reveal their coping strategies in a highly patriarchal environment, almost all of the respondents were hospitable and welcoming.

### **1.2.1 Data Collection**

As mentioned before, this study is conducted within the MetuTechnopolis case through the qualitative research. The main motivation of a feminist research is to understand and demonstrate women's real

experiences from their own perspectives. In order to understand their own experiences, I used qualitative research methods instead of quantitative. As Hakim (1987, 26) suggests that:

“... individuals own accounts of their attitudes, motivations, and behavior. It offers richly descriptive reports of individuals’ perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views, and feelings, the meanings and interpretations given to events and things, as well as their behavior; displays how these are put together, more or less coherently and consciously, into frameworks which make sense of their experiences; and illuminates the motivations which connect attitudes and behavior, the discontinuities, or even contradiction between attitudes and behavior, or how conflicting attitudes and motivations are resolved in particular choices made”.

In order to reach the real experiences of women through their own discourses, the in – depth interviews are held by 18 women managers and entrepreneurs in MetuTechnopolis. The reason why the in-depth interview interviews is preferred is that this technique is the most suitable technique to capture the perspectives of the women entrepreneurs and top managers in male-dominated areas. Since only 59 companies are created, developed and managed by women entrepreneurs, we can say that MetuTechnopolis is a place which is highly male dominated and male centered. As mentioned earlier, before all interviews, the aim of the study and the permission about the thesis is sent to the all respondents, the appointments were made on the dates the respondents approved of.

### **1.2.2 The Design of the Questions and Research Design**

Before arranging the appointments, the permission for the study is gathered from Metu Technopark administrative office. After getting permission, related information such as company name, founder or managers’

information (only name and surname) was provided by the responsible person who assisted me to access the respondents. After arranging the meetings with the respondents, the research process was decided.

In order to clarify it more deeply, I asked 29 open - ended questions to 18 women top manager and entrepreneur respondents in Metu Technopolis. All of them are constituted as open - ended questions that aim to understand real experiences and difficulties of women in business area. Hiding the names of the respondents and the companies on the basis of ethical issues, I aimed to highlight the profile of the respondent with first questions that include demographic information of the respondents. In order to reach the real experiences and standpoints of women from their perspectives, the questions of the study are defined in 3 main parts. The first questions are to get some general information about the respondent's age, marital status, work experience, managerial or entrepreneurial experience and perspectives behind the managerial positions. Firstly, the main part of this study is performed on the basis of creating social network, social ties, connections and their impacts on social and business life. In that part, some of the questions are as follows: 'How would you evaluate your friends' support to your career? , How would you evaluate the fact that your professional network can contribute to your career? or do you think that your social life has an affect on your business life?' With these questions, my aim is to analyze the creation and the ideas of social capital and social network on the basis of career and business success. The second part of the questions tended to highlight the difficulties that are exposed in business life. In that part, the difficulties, oppressions, subordinations and the limitations of the women top managers and entrepreneurs were asked. Through that, my aim is to understand the existing difficulties and subordinate positions of businesswomen in MetuTechnopolis. With that part, the experiences and the strategies that women managers and entrepreneurs can be focused on. The last part of the questions are structured according to the relationship between social capital and its impact on experiences and strategies that women top managers and entrepreneurs

develop. The objectives of part 2 and part 3 are to analyze the expression of experiences and the impact of social capital on those experiences and strategies that women managers develop to cope with.

### **1.2.3 The Profiles of The Respondents**

Before going into deep analysis of how women managers and entrepreneurs experience difficulties and develop strategies to handle those difficulties, it is critical to give descriptions about the respondents of the research. The study is conducted with 18 women top managers and entrepreneurs in Metu Technopolis. All of the respondents are university graduates. The 12 of them have also postgraduate degrees and the 4 of them have Phd. degrees. Similar to the working area, most of the respondents graduated from the engineering departments (11 respondents). When I ask them about the period of their work life, respondents generally declare that they have been working for approximately 10 or more years. Only one of them says that she has been working in her company since 2010, which makes 6 years in total.

Since the aim of the study is to understand the experiences and strategies that women managers develop, I take previous job descriptions and positions into consideration. Except 2 respondents, most of them have been working as a manager or a specialist. The area of the previous jobs was also similar or close to the current one. Generally, they were working in defense, aviation and information technologies sectors as a quality manager, a project specialist, a corporate development expertise and a researcher.

Currently, 4 of the respondents are top managers and 14 of them are entrepreneurs in Metu Technopolis. Even some of them complain about the responsibility of administrative position, all of them declare that they love their jobs. When I ask questions about administrative position and its

responsibilities, some of them complain that they do not find time to work as much as possible they desire. Since administrative tasks take too much time, they do not find opportunity to focus on their own issues. However, although they complain about the responsibilities, most of them also love their administrative and entrepreneurial positions. Those who love their managerial positions in job say that they have created and developed their company since they started controlling the processes, directing people and working as a team. For that reason, they do not want to work as an employee in somewhere else, so they set up their own company or become a top manager in the company.

Thus, almost all of the respondents have university degrees and more, and all of them love their jobs. Although some of them complain about the increasing responsibilities, most of them also love their administrative and entrepreneurial positions. 15 of respondents are married and 10 women have their children. This information provides discussions about work – family conflict and dual responsibilities that are attributed to women. Another important information is that almost all of the respondents have come from similar work areas or worked in close projects in their previous jobs. Through this, we can discuss the impact of previous network on current positions and company success in the following chapters.

### **1.3 The Plan of the Chapters**

Following the introduction chapter, in chapter two, theoretical framework will be provided with the reference to the existing literature. In order to clarify the impact of social capital on overcoming difficulties and strategies that women develop, the concept of social capital will be examined first. While doing this, it is important to give attention towards the gender differences for creating social capital. After giving definitions, conceptualizations and comparisons about the social capital, the third part of the literature is based on women experiences and their strategies for coping with gender based

segregations at work. In that part, how women manager and entrepreneur experience gender segregations when working with men will be examined. With the aim of analyzing real experiences of women from their own standpoints, the present literature is used about businesswomen, women managers and women entrepreneurs in male dominated areas. Following chapter, which is the last part of the literature, will focus on the interrelationship between having social capital and overcoming difficulties, limitations and subordinate positions of women. Within that interrelation, gendered organizations, gender stereotyped discriminations and how women develop strategies while using their social connections will be analyzed. In that part, the issue of being women in male dominated areas and being managers / entrepreneurs in highly competitive business areas is discussed on the basis of gender perspective and social capital. Chapter 4 presents the data and its analysis along with major findings of the research. In that part, I examine the findings of the study regarding the social capital expressions, existing difficulties and limitations for top manager and entrepreneur women and the overcoming strategies about those limitations and difficulties within social network. In chapter 5, the last part of the overall study, I discuss the findings of the research about the structured difficulties of women top managers - entrepreneurs and overcoming strategies through social networks. Throughout this discussion, I link discussions with feminist theoretical paradigm with the aim of change in the existing nature of male dominated business area.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **NEW APPROACHES TOWARDS THE SOCIAL CAPITAL**

In order to understand the individual relations and their complexities, it is important to comprehend all social relations. For that reason, examining social relations is crucial not only for economy, but also for sociology. Every single relation examined compromises sociological and economical meanings. In this sense, social capital and its discussions have great significance on the basis of socio – economical literature. One of the missing parts is the lack of interest about the social relations in organizations. Most of the research done is about the individuals and their individual relations. However, while considering organizations and organizational relations, it is significant to take social relations into consideration. Examining social reality is only possible by regarding sociology and economy within the same context. Considering capital is a social fact, it is crucial to take social relations on the basis of social capital. When taking society as an institution that composed of whole social relations, we assume that understanding social relations can provide an analysis of an organizational structure. For that reason, classical capital literature will be analyzed first and then new meanings towards the capital mainly social capital will be discussed.

Although the classical economy theories consider capital as a physical component and labor power, modern economy revises this perspective. The advocates of the economical theories propose that individuals and their behaviors are the main elements for constructing institutions. However, sociology takes society as an important structure with an impact on individuals and their behaviors. If socio–economical theories are the ways for examining



the social structures and their impacts, it is crucial to focus on social relations and relation dynamics.

When we examine the social relations of trust and solidarity dominating facts about all social institutions, the discussions of social capital will be understood. For that reason, social capital and its discussions are significant not only for researchers but also for the literature. The analysis of social capital would provide different aspects for the individuality increase and the global organizational structures. It is better to find an answer to the question of ‘what is social capital?’ Therefore; we need to discuss all different perspectives and definitions about it. The definition of social capital is a problematic issue itself. The concept and its explanations owe their significance mainly to Putnam (1993), James Coleman (1988), Fukuyama (1996) and the other important scholars. However, when we go back to social capital concept and its origins, we should emphasize on Adam Smith and Montesquieu as well. According to Schuller (2001: 4);

For the majority of writers, it is defined in terms of networks, norms and trust, and the way these allow agents and institutions to be more effective in achieving common objectives. The most common measurement of social capital looks at participation in various forms of civic engagement, such as membership of voluntary associations, churches or political parties or at levels of expressed trust in other people.

## **2.1 Definitions of Social Capital**

In order to understand social capital and its roots, first we need to comprehend the meaning towards capitals. Since all impacts of interaction and relations of social capital can differ from each other, which different dimensions of social capital would exist is quite normal. Throughout the history, what capital is and what capital means lead to some crucial discussions. The meanings towards capital differ from each other and gain

important dimensions. According to Lin, capital is relations and investigations that composed of embedded relations rather than an economical term (2000). As we can see, after 1980s and 90s, the definition of capital and its meanings vary and acquire more than economic aspects. However, before taking social capital and its dimensions into consideration, it is significant to draw attention to the origins of capital and their different aspects.

For Marx, capital is actually a concept that cannot be separated from production and class relations. Capital is not only related to economical issues, but also related to social institutions. According to Marx, social definition of capital is connected to the production of commodity and to the relations of property (Althusser and Balibar, 1997). Since production process cannot be separated from the producer and the commodity, capital takes a social meaning rather than an economical term. Moreover, since commodity itself has no meanings, the market and market relations should be considered as well. When we consider market dynamics, capital takes social meanings. Actually, Marx focuses on economical inequalities and class conflicts that reflect a complete analysis of socio-economic dynamics in a society (Lebowitz, 2003). For Marx, capital is crucial because it creates all class relations and class conflicts on the basis of production process and power relations. Starting with the growth of European labor movement and socialist ideas, Marx pays attention to the production process and the class relations. For him, the economic system acquires a compulsive power that shapes all other social activities because of the priority that has to be given to meet the basic economic needs. For that reason, all relations including social relations turn into economic relations in the end. For Marx, defining capital as the basis of all economic relations and insisting on that only market relations and capital can solve the existing inequalities in the society through we can create consciousness according to those relations. We cannot separate the totality of social relations from the production process and the commodity dynamics that are created by surplus value in

the market (Ritzer, 1992). Since Marx relates profit with every created surplus value, there is nothing more important than the production process and the dynamics. With that relation, Marx identifies that created surplus value and profit lead to a conflict within bourgeois and proletarians (Ritzer, 1992). When capitalist class increases their power on the production process and the product itself, the working class would alienate the production and the commodity. With the alienation theory, Marx identifies the relations within a production process, a product, a worker and a commodity (Foley, 2009). When a worker loses the connection with the product, product becomes a detachment from the worker. Although a worker produces the product, the product becomes separated from the worker himself. Marx defines that relation as ‘alienation from products of own labor’. Another alienation type is the alienation from the process of production. In that relation, worker specializes in only one part of the process and worker does not have any right to get involved in the process. The worker does not have the power for determining the process, thus they lose the connection with the production process. Another type of alienation is the one from the human potential. In that alienation, Marx puts the emphasis on the creative nature of human beings. For him, human beings are creative and this creativity is crucial for work. However, if they do not have any means to work, they become alienated. They lose their objectives and all their purposes originating from the human essence based on creativity. The last form of alienation is the one from the other workers. According to Marx, in the work process, the workers do not communicate with each other because of the work speed. In that system, communication is permitted and high competition makes workers become enemy of each other. Thus, workers become alienated to each other. In over all, when we take Marx’s alienation and production process into consideration, we see that even though it is a machinery process, there is still a complicated set of social relations inside (Foley, 2009). Since we cannot regard human being as separated from the society itself, economy and all economical relations cannot be separated from the social relations as well. Even in the

production and the commodity relations, we see that the social dynamics are embedded in that relationship.

In order to understand what capital is and what capital means for the social relations, we need to look at the capitalist system and the capitalist market relations defined by Marx. He analyzed the capitalist society on the basis of production process, commodification, alienation, and class relations. For him, capitalism is a historical relation, not a human nature (Lebowitz, 2003). The first problem dealing with the production process and the class relations begins with the relationship between a bourgeois class and a working class in the production process. For the production, capitalists buy the raw materials and the labor power of the producer. This is one of the basic particular relations between the capitalist and the worker. In that connection, the main aim of the relation is maximizing the profit and increasing the value of the product (Ritzer, 1992). After the capitalist system and the production process, capital itself becomes significant. The source of the private property actually comes from the social relation itself. All relations in the capitalist system are organized according to the capital and commodity production (Foley, 2009). Throughout history, private property is a visible mechanism that reflects the social relations. That relation is based on the capitalist class that owns the means of production and the working class that produces. There are social relations and social interactions in both exploitation and competition. Through the competition and exploitation in the market, the dynamics in the society vary. With the aim of profit maximization, capitalists create competition. It is a dynamic and all sources of action come from that objective (Lin, 2001). The capitalists control not only the market dynamics, but also the social relations in the market. All social relations create different possibilities in the market (Lin, 2001). The consciousness, ideas, and concepts are all forms of those market relations and according to Marx, capitalists have the power to control and direct those relations. For Marx, commodity is the general feature of the capitalist society. It is a dominant form of the social

relations. It has a power to spread out to whole society in a global sense. At the end of the commodity, there is a circulation of money representing the value of the commodity. With this unending process, there continues the creation of capital. As long as this process continues, the capital will continue. The important point actually is what kind of social relation can create the forms of capitals. Leaving out the appearance, there are certain mechanisms that are invisible. According to Marx, those mechanisms originate from the social relations between the capitalist and the working class, within the capitalists and within the working class. It is produced and reproduced throughout the history. It is a never-ending process. Every interaction within the production system creates the commodity production and the market value in the capitalist system. Interaction within capitalists creates different relations and the interaction between capitalists and working class creates different ways of relation as well. All relations coming from the social interaction, but within the economical system turn into the economic values. The newly created economic values create another way of interaction in the market, and this process continues throughout the history. In general, Marx identifies all social relations on the basis of economic terms. He analyzes the social interaction and the relations within the market dynamics in the capitalist system. According to him, capital itself comes from the social interactions and goes further with the relations (Lebowitz, 2003).

Although Marx identifies social relations only related with economic terms, in today's world, this identification has taken different forms. Capital gains different meanings and social relations become more crucial for the economic system. According to Bueno, Salmador and Rodrigues (2004: 556) we can distinguish different kinds of capital:

- natural capital, consisting of the natural resources that a country owns;

- built capital, created by human beings. It includes different modalities such as: infrastructures, equipment, technological capital, financial capital, commercial capital, etc.
- human capital defined by the nutrition, health and level of knowledge of the population; and
- social capital as a new concept derived from multi agent relationships of current economy (Kliksberg, 2000).

Classical theories about capital put economy and social relations at the center. Especially in classical theories; labor power, commodity, natural resources and raw materials are at the basis of capital. However, with the change in the meanings and relations within the capital, especially sociology becomes dominant in literature. Considering the current relations and interactions, we should emphasize on social network, social norms, values and trust. For that reason, taking social relation into consideration becomes fundamental for the sociological literature.

According to Masca and Karagül, relations based on trust within people from the economic point of view are called ‘social capital’. In recent years, it has been understood that it is not possible to explain existing economic well-being by only physical capital (2005: 37). Over the past two decades, scholars have focused on positive aspects of social networks, ties and bonds and network relationships that create opportunities and success both for them and for the groups in which they are members (Labianca and Brass, 2006). For that reason, with the aim of a better analysis, it is significant to emphasize on different aspects of capital and varying forms of social capital.

The social capital derived its own meaning from; Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam (Adam and Roncevic, 2003). Before making deep analysis towards definitions and conceptualizations of social capital, it is significant to examine Bourdieuan understanding of social capital. For Bourdieu, social capital is;

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity – owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986: 248).

As mentioned, in order to understand Bourdieu's concept of social capital deeply, his theoretical ideas should be analyzed first. Bourdieu's theory originates from the idea of the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism (Ritzer, 1992). He placed both practices at the center of his analysis, at the same time, he gives importance towards the dialectical relation between the agency and the structure (Bourdieu, 1977: 3). In order to reflect the structure and the social reality behind, he labels his own analysis as 'structuralist constructivism'. For him, the perceptions and constructions that take place in social world are constraints by structures. There is a continuing interaction within the structures and social reality behind (Bourdieu, 1984). In his emphasis on the social reality, the dynamics of social practice should be analyzed. Bourdieu is especially concerned with what people do in their daily lives. Since the social life cannot be separated from individuals and society itself, we need to understand the relation between them (Jenkins, 1992). The heart of Bourdieu's work, and his effort to make analysis towards the relation between objectivism and subjectivism at the center of social life, the concept of habitus and field was born. According to Ritzer (1992: 438), "for Bourdieu, while habitus exists in the minds of actor, fields exist outside their minds. Habitus is the mental or cognitive structure through which people deal with the social world". Through habitus, people perceive, understand, appreciate and evaluate the social world (Bourdieu, 1984). In that aspect, it only exists inside the heads, and it is practiced in every interactions with the social world (Jenkins, 1992). With the habitus, people internalize the every day practices, reproduce those practices, and evaluate them. Even in the same society, every

individual has its own habitus. According to Bourdieu, the habitus varies depending on one's position in the social world (1984). There is a continuing relation within the individual and habitus. While an individual is practicing the habitus according to his/her position in the social world, the habitus shapes the practices. Although individuals do not have the consciousness and operations towards the practices, the way we talk, we eat, we speak and we behave reflect the habitus and everyday practices. Unlike very subjective position of the habitus, the concept of field is the network of relations among the objective position of the individual (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Ritzer (1992: 440), "the occupants of positions may be either agents or institutions, and they are constrained by the structure of the field. There are number of fields in the social world (artistic, religious, economic) all with their own specific logics". The field is the social arena which all struggle, and competitions take place over the specific resources. According to Wacquant (1989: 39) the field is the network, configurations and objective relations between objectively defined positions. A field reflects the structured system of social position of the individual (Jenkins, 1992). Through the three dynamics of capital, individual creates and maintains his/her position in the social world (Bourdieu, 1984). With the impact of economic, cultural and social capital, individuals possess and locate themselves with objective relations to other positions. According to Bourdieu, economic capital is the occupational division of labor which forms a system; cultural capital is the culturally specific competence that can provide power in particular setting and finally social capital connects the group members and social networks that create and maintain the social position of the individual (Weininger, 2005).

The theoretical cornerstone of Bourdieu's sociology is the idea of the society composed of different fields and different habitus. Forms of capitals (economic, cultural and social) are the fundamental factors that define positions and actors in specific fields. Mainly, economic capital is similar to the idea of Marx's sense of the relationality, but also offers some capacities for actors to increase the potentiality. Cultural capital is the set of relations that can



be gained throughout education process and cultural institutions. According to Bourdieu;

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises; as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social connections, which is convertible in certain conditions, into economic capital. (1986: 47).

Although individuals have the same economic capital and cultural capital, the differences on the degree of profit can be understood with the impact of social capital. The ways in which different social capital creates different degree of profit vary according to the different powers that influence different actors (Siisiainen, 2003). On the whole, while Bourdieu gives great importance towards the social class and the meaning of capital, he denies the mere conceptualization of capital in economical matters. He sees class differences and thus individual positions in the social world on the basis of the interaction in the field that is shaped with the impact of economic, cultural and social capital of the individuals.

Another important scholars who give importance towards the meaning and impact of social capital is Adler and Kwon. They (2002) have focused on characteristics of social capital and examined its varying forms from other capitals. First of all, like physical capital, economic capital and human capital, social capital is also long-lived asset that resources can be invested in. With the expectations of a future and benefits, the relations and the networks provide superior access to information, power and solidarity among members. Firstly, by investing in the development of their internal and external relations, actors in the relation can enhance their collective identity and capacity for a collective

action. Secondly, like other forms of capital, social capital is both convertible as Bourdieu (1985) says and appropriable as Coleman (1988) emphasizes on. Like physical capital, social capital can also be used for other purposes. For example, one actor position can create another opportunity for others and can be applied in economical terms. In other words, one's position in the social network can create other positions and can be converted into economic relations. As Bourdieu mentioned, economic capital is easily convertible into human, cultural or social capital. However, social capital (compared to economic capital) is more sticky and hard to be converted into another capital as economic capital is. Thirdly, social capital can complement other forms of capital. Actors in the relations can compensate for their lack of capital such as human capital or economic capital through the strong social capital. Social capital can enhance the efficiency of economic capital through the reduction of transaction costs (Lazerson, 1995). In the fourth place, unlike economic capital, social capital needs maintenance. In order to pursue the efficiency, social capital needs investment and renovation. Like human capital, there is no predictable depreciation in social capital. The network, ties and bonds should be renewed continuously. In the fifth place, unlike other forms of capital, social capital is not a private property of one has. Since it is composed of a set of relations, norms, values, ties and bonds, it is impossible to make private property that one actor has complete power on it. This feature brings another specialty of social capital. In the sixth place, Coleman (1988) argues that social capital is not located in the actors but in their relations. No actor has ownership rights on the social capital, since the very specialty of its feature belongs to the relation itself. If one actor dissolves from the connection, the relation will disappear. For that reason, social capital always needs the utility of network goods, commitment and cooperation. Finally, social capital can be turned into real 'capital'. That means, unlike other forms of capital, that social capital needs investments and those investments cannot be measured in a concrete way.

As Adler and Kwon has mentioned, social capital requires attention towards the relationships and individual collectivity to create social network. These relationship can occur between different individuals, different groups or within groups. But all social capitals require dynamic interactions and maintenance to continue those relations. According to Bueno et. al, social capital can:

- influence professional success;
- help workers in the job process and create a better portfolio of employees for the organization;
- facilitate the exchange of resources between units;
- stimulate innovation, intellectual capital creation and the efficiency of multidisciplinary teams;
- reduce the rotation of employees and support the creation of start-ups; and
- Strengthen relations with suppliers, regional network production and inter organizational learning (2004: 558).

## **2.2 Different Dimensions of Social Capital**

Before a deep analysis of social capital, it is critical to distinguish the other forms of capital from social capital in order to understand the differences. First of all, human capital is defined as knowledge, skills and competences embodied in an individual and can be applied to economic activity (Schuller, 2001). The origins of human capital can be traced with Gary Becker and Theodore Schultz in 1960s. For Becker, there are many ways to do investment for an individual. Some of the ways are schooling, on the job training, and acquiring information about the economic system. According to him, “They differ in the relative effects on earnings and consumption, in the amount of resources typically invested, in the size of returns and in the extent to which connection between investment and return is perceived” (Becker, 1962: 9). In general, Becker emphasizes on that the investment in education and on the job

training can provide further qualifications and improve human capital of the individual. Knowledge can enhance the consciousness and capacity of the individual, thus the individual becomes more motivated and more productive. Another scholar who emphasizes on human capital is Schultz (1961). He mainly goes further from individual qualifications and asserts that production process and improvement have also direct impact on an individual for the enhancement of human capital. Starting with Smith's arguments, Schultz (1961) goes further and emphasizes the role of individual position and qualifications.

According to Schuller (2001), we can summarize human capital, cultural capital and social capital as follows: Human capital mainly focuses on accumulation of knowledge and improvement of skills that increase the productivity and earnings. The investments towards school, on the job training and all other assets can enhance the human capital of the individual. Cultural capital, on the other hand, focuses on the way of power reproduction. Through the family and other objects, individuals can produce and reproduce their superiority. However, social capital focuses on social networks, and the relationships. With strong connection and trusting relationships, one can improve the capacity to access to knowledge, innovations and reduce the transaction costs through the social network ties. According to Portes (1998), involvement and participation in social groups can create positive results for the individual and group members. Finally, those social groups facilitate social cohesions and social networks.

Social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations, usable as a reliable source of other benefits (Portes, 1998: 3).

Within that aspect, it is quite essential to analyze the way social networks constructed and the ways in which individuals are getting benefit from those

networks. Different scholars have different point of views about the pros and cons of having intense social capital.

Although some scholars give importance to individuals and their personal ties (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973 and Putnam,1993), some give importance to the location that actor occupies (Burt,1973). In that aspect, the main argument is whether social capital belongs to the individual or is related to the society itself. For that reason, it is normal to have different approaches towards explaining social capital and its dynamics. In the literature, social capital definitions and analysis are made through different ways of criteria. For some, social capital should be explained on the basis of structure of the relation; micro, mezzo and macro level. For some others, social capital should be discussed on whether it is a private property of the individual or it belongs to the society. Those discussions vary according to the position of the scholar. For example, although Bourdieu (1986) gives more personally-based definitions for social capital, Coleman (1988) has emphasized on the interaction between society and the individual. Moreover, Putnam (1993) and Fukuyama (1995) have focused on the societal level understanding of relation which is more placed in macro level social capital discussions. According to the scholars who give importance to the individual level understanding of social capital, actors use their social network, ties and connections to reach their individual targets. However, others who emphasize on macro level relations discuss that social capital is not individual private based entity, but it is actually a property of society and whole relations (Gerni, 2013).

However, social capital discussions are not only concerned about those who own the relation or those who belong to that relation. In addition to individual – social; micro, mezzo and macro level analysis, there is also some structural differentiations. According to Gerni, we can separate all discussions on the basis of those 3 dynamics; horizontal – vertical, strong – weak, formal – informal ties, bonding, linking and bridging ties, and structural, cognitive and relational social capital (2013).

According to Woolcock and Narayan (1979), horizontal social capital shows the relations between actors have similar location and similar power. Those relations are more based on close relationships and have strong solidarity features. On the other hand, vertical social capital occurs between actors who do not have similar position, power or location. Horizontal social capital analysis is focusing more on an individual centered and disordered. Those relations constructed among different actors have different purposes, targets and growth through different norms, values and trust of those actors. However, vertical social capital constructed on the basis of hierarchical relations among actors provides some knowledge transfer, cooperation and social change for the individuals.

In another dimension; weak and strong social capital is related to the dynamics of bonds, network ties and its classifications according to the type of that network. Instead of hierarchical positions of the social network, the important point in that analysis is the actor's ties and the quality of those ties. According to Granovetter (1983), we can classify social network and ties according to whether it is weak or strong. Strong ties mainly are based on common solidarity and trust relations that provide support and cooperation. However, since strong ties are too much closed on the basis of mutual worth and value, they also give limited opportunities to reach new information and knowledge sources. For that reason, although the ties with common desires and targets have more unifying features, they also limit the new alternative information sources. On the contrary, weak ties provide more opportunity to reach new information and knowledge, since they are constituted by different kind of relations and communications that do not have that much strong connection as strong ties have. According to Granovetter (1983: 205), "weak ties have a special role in a person's opportunity for mobility, that there is a structural tendency for those to whom one is only weakly tied to have better access to job information one does not already have". For him, strong ties are important for the better communication and solidarity, however, they also limit the access to

the new information, the new knowledge and the better opportunities. On the contrary, weak ties provide more flexibility to the individual and opportunity to access new connections easily. For that reason, Granovetter calls the significance of those ties as 'strength of weak ties' (1983). In his analysis towards educated and less educated individuals seeking job, he has found that:

The group of well educated respondents where weak ties are most likely to be used we see that the effects of using the weak ties are more positive. The use of weak ties in finding jobs has a strong association with higher occupational achievement in so far as the weak ties connect respondent to an individual who is well placed in the occupational structure.

He continues his finding as:

The most likely interpretation of these findings is that weak ties are more efficient at reaching high status individuals, so that if such ties are available, they are preferred. (1983: 207).

In that aspect, according to Granovetter (1973,1983 and 1985), strong ties can provide mutual cooperation and solidarity, however, at the same time, they limit the access to new opportunities and create new alternatives. On the other hand, weak ties provide people with an access to the new information and resources beyond their own individual network circle.

The other scholar who also emphasizes on the quality of the social ties is Burt (1992). In '*Structural Holes: Social Structure of Competition*', he analyzes the location of an individual in a network platform. Like Granovetter, Burt also emphasizes on the significance of weak ties which can create more opportunities than the strong ties can. He also focuses on the actors' position in the network platform and the location of those ties. He defines the location of ties as:

A sparse network with few redundant ties often provides greater social capital benefits. If the opportunity to broker the flow of information between groups constitutes a central benefit of social capital, and if, in general, information circulates more within than between groups, then key source of social capital is a network of ties characterized by many structure holes – linkages to groups not otherwise connected (Adler and Kwon, 2002: 24).

For Burt, closure between and within ties leads gaps between networks. The increase in gaps between networks can limit the flow of information and access new resources. The actor in the networks who connect those unconnected networks, is the most advantageous one, since s/he can connect and overcome those gaps. Eliminating those gaps can facilitate to access new sources, new knowledge and better opportunities between different actors. Thus, the weak connection of different networks and different actors can provide new sources for the capital and create better opportunities for the network.

When we take formal and informal network ties into consideration, first of all, the way how those ties are constituted should be analyzed. According to Pichler and Wallace (2007), clubs, groups, social communities are some examples for formal ties. They are more based on voluntary participation and there are some involvement conditions. On the contrary, informal ties are more individual based and include more intimate relationships. When we consider network ties and creation of opportunities, for Pichler and Wallace (2007) both formal and informal ties are significant. In some circumstances, the individual-based informal ties create more possibilities, and in some, formal ties can be used for creating new resources.

An actor's network of social ties creates opportunities for cooperation, solidarity and mutual benefits. In order to create those benefits and cooperation, some scholars give more attention towards trust and reciprocity of



the relationship. In that aspect, Putnam (1993) and Coleman (1988) give more significance to the reciprocity and mutual expectancy of the relationship on the basis of trust and solidarity dynamics.

Coleman (1988) argues that closure of the network ties maintains the trustworthiness of others. For Coleman, the concept of social capital can be understood as a resource for action that one has for the rational action paradigm (1988: 95). In order to understand individual actions and rationality behind, the social context that includes norms, values, interpersonal trust, social networks and social organizations should be analyzed. Through those norms, values, trust and networks, actors create their social networks on the basis of those entities. For Coleman (1988), what makes human capital different from social capital is that human capital is created by the ways in which individual skills, capabilities that make action in new ways. On the contrary, “social capital comes through the changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action” (1988: 100). With the sanctions and punishment, individuals in the close network facilitate their mutual cooperation, solidarity and interdependent trust. Unlike Burt (1992), for Coleman (1988), the closure of the social structure is crucial not only for norms and values, but also for the creation of the expectations and proliferation of obligations. The importance of trust and reciprocal expectancy is explained as:

When an individual asks a favor from another, thus incurring an obligation, he does so because it brings him a needed benefit. Similar statement can be made with respect to trustworthiness as social capital. An actor choosing to keep trust or not (choosing whether to devote resources to an attempt to keep trust) is doing so on the basis of costs and benefits he himself will experience(1988: 117).

Through the closure of the network and ties, actors can facilitate their relations on the basis of mutual benefits, reciprocity and interdependent trust. In those networks, instead of hierarchical relations, the important point is the mutual

norms and common trustworthiness. With created mutual benefits and close trust dynamics, the solidarity among actors will be constituted, thus the actor will be able to reach the new opportunities, and information. In addition, since there is strong and close ties between individuals, disagreement and conflicts will be eliminated. This will provide easy access to resources.

Another scholar who gives importance to the trust and reciprocal norms, Putnam (1993) has emphasized on the trust and advantages of that trustworthiness. Between 1993 and 2000, Putnam has focused on the reduction of social capital in America. He analyzes the reasons behind that reduction. For Putnam (2000), the level of community, the membership of the community affects the participation in the social life. This encourages building social capital directly (Schuller, 2001). The central idea of social capital for Putnam (2001: 1) is that the networks and the associated norms of reciprocity have value. Since there is no any single form of social capital, the dynamics of all networks and ties should be considered. For example, some forms of social capital like group meetings in a bar every Thursday are highly informal (Putnam, 2001). However, whether it is formal or informal, the point is to facilitate informal contract enforcement. According to the study that he has done in America, he says that:

Where people are connected by dense networks of engagement and reciprocity, they are more likely to comply with the law, very probably because they are more confident that others will, too, so they will not be suckers in this dilemma of collective action. The states where people are more connected with each other are also marked by greater tolerance (2001: 12).

Although there are multiple forms of social capital and those forms vary according to the circumstances, Putnam gives attention to the mutual support, trust and reciprocity of the relationship that facilitates common relations. Mainly he analyzes the civic engagement through the involvement in

communities and he finds that strong solidarity, mutual trust and reciprocity will be emerged with engagement. As a result of those relations, the cooperation and involvement will improve and the consciousness of 'we' instead of 'I' will be constituted. For Putnam (2000), trust is an entity that facilitates mutual solidarity and benefits for the individuals who interact. For that reason, the relation that turns into social resource for creation new opportunities is a significant issue. With the notion of social interaction, actors gain benefits not only for themselves but also for the communities that they are members of. In this aspect, for Putnam, the involvement in all formal and informal communities, groups and networks creates advantages for the members. In his study, he analyzes that the density in the participation into the networks creates profits from common goods. For that reason, in his studies, there is importance to the reciprocity, collective action and the primary source which is 'trust'.

In all organizations in a business life, relations and networks are important. Not only for the employees but also for the top managers and entrepreneurs, the social capital becomes one of the crucial issues for the creation of new opportunities and access to crucial information. For that reason, in order to understand the difficulties and the easiness for being top managers and entrepreneurs on the basis of reciprocal relations and solidarity in a similar organization, we need to comprehend how relations can provide benefits and advantages. In that aspect, in that chapter, the definitions and different aspects about social capital are discussed and this will help to comprehend how managers and entrepreneurs' relations can overcome difficulties encountered in a business life. In this aspect, first of all, we need to understand social capital and its importance on the basis of accessing new information, new knowledge and creating new opportunities for new resources. in order to access those facilities, some scholars argue that there should be close relations, mutual and interdependent trustworthiness and reciprocity; the others argue that the weak ties can be stronger than the close ties as close ties may limit the access to new

opportunities. Norms, values and mutual targets can improve the social network and through reciprocal trust, those networks become much stronger.

In this aspect, before making analysis on how top managers and entrepreneurs in Metu Technopolis constitute their social capital to overcome difficulties in a business life, we need to understand how women become successful in a business life and can reach the top positions in a male-based business environment. For this reason, next chapter will be related to the top manager women and their business strategies to overcome existing patriarchal dynamics in a business life.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **WOMEN TOP MANAGERS and ENTREPRENEURS' SOCIAL CAPITAL**

#### **3.1 Women in Business Life**

In order to understand top managers' relation dynamics and their creation of social capital to overcome difficulties in a business life, first of all, the analysis of women managers and women entrepreneurs in male dominated business life should be examined. According to the study, Harris (2002) has shown that in UK women comprise only 2% of the executive directors and 9.6% of the non – executive directors in FTSE 100 companies. Although a lot of women are now occupied in a business sector, the top manager and executive manager positions for women still remain low.

One of the earliest studies of Adler (1984, 1986, and 1987) shows that in the North America sample, there are relatively lower participation rates for women in an international management. In particular, according to Adler, there are several reasons that limit the participation of women in an international business sector. Those reasons are:

- Women do not want to be international managers,
- Companies refuse to send women abroad,
- Foreigners' prejudice against women renders them ineffective, even when they are interested in the international assignments. (Harris, 2002).

Reviewing the women and business life literature, there is a strong emphasis on the work – family interlinkages. According to Harvey (1997), there is a strong

focus on the analysis towards family and work balance and its stress results. Due to the 'myths' that Adler has demonstrated a lot of women even today do not want or do not find any opportunity to participate in some several occupations. Especially in patriarchal societies, like Turkey, domestic duties attributed to women lead to low participation in a business life. Although women have shown the highest level of participation into the economy during the period of World War 2 to tolerate the low attendance of the male employees, today women do not take part in a business life as much as they did in the past.

According to Soysal (2010), who examined women entrepreneurs and their difficulties in Kahramanmaraş, there still is a fragile economy in Turkey and those women entrepreneur activities there are the key to grow that fragile economy. According to the study, women do not prefer to participate in male dominated sectors like IT Sector or industrial defense, for that reason, there should be some policies and programs that support women for participating in those areas. However, male dominated understanding limits that participation although there are some policies or programs for them. According to Kanter, "at local and regional meetings, training programs, task forces, casual out of office lunches with colleagues and career review or planning sessions with managers, the men are overwhelmingly likely to find themselves with a predominance of people of their own type - other men" (1977: 381). In her study of the culture of the corporate administration experiencing male dominancy: "On the professional and managerial levels, Industrial Supply Cooperation was nearly single sex organization which is male" (Kanter, 1977: 381).

Despite the changes in the ratio of women participation in economy, there still is consciousness about that the administrative positions in the corporate should belong to men, instead of women. Since women are emotional and tend to be, managerial positions require masculine characteristics. The study Schein and Mueller (1992) have carried out shows that the German and British

management students admit that managerial positions require such characteristics more commonly dominated in men rather than women. For Schein et. al (1996), in Japan, only 5% of all managers and professionals are women. In addition, Hildebrandt and Liu (1988) demonstrate that only 8.9% of Chinese managers are women. Those rigid results are some examples of ‘think manager – think male’ (Schein, 1970) phenomenon, especially among males. Despite cultural, economic, political and historical differences, the view about men as a manager and women as a manager are still the same. There is a strong belief that women do not become top managers or executives since the managerial position requests masculine characteristics (Harris, 2002). Although there are some policies that try to prevent gender discrimination at a work place, there is still hidden consciousness about that the managerial positions and entrepreneurships should belong to males. Even though there are some affirmative actions, new hiring and promotion policies, the top manager positions and executives belong to the males.

According to Kanter (1977), there are some stereotypical assumptions about women participation in a business life. There are some mistaken attributions and biased judgments that prevent women’s high participation into the economy. For her;

In the office, they were often taken for secretaries; on sales trips on the road, especially when they traveled with a male colleague, they were often taken for wives or mistresses; with customer, they were first assumed to be temporarily substituting for a man who was the real salesperson; with a male peer at meeting, they were seen as the assistant; when entertaining customers, they were assumed to be the wife or date (1977: 392).

In that aspect, gender discrimination at work is not considered as such, but rather it is seen as invisible forms such as male superiority in top positions. Since women are considered as ‘mothers, they are not taken as serious on their

positions. According to Xiao - Tian (1992), women who become manager are termed as 'iron women' meaning that they are strongly attributed to masculine characteristics. In order to prevent the stereotypical expectancy to be a woman as mother, they hide their feminine characteristics and give superiority to masculine behaviors. Gender stereotypes promoting discriminatory practices related to women are too much emotional, intuitive and socially oriented to manage the corporate at all. On the contrary, men are dominant, sufficiently rational and instrumental to manage. Williams and Best (1990) have shown that those expectancies and stereotypes are more or less similar all over the world. Both in hiring and promoting process, those stereotypical expectancies towards women have impact on decisions. According to Willemsen (2002), since men are perceived to be similar to be an ideal manager than women, even though they have the same qualifications and capabilities, it is more probable to hire and promote men instead of women. In addition, even though recent literature has shown that ideal manager should be emotional and person oriented, those characteristics are attributed to women rather than men, still the thinking of a manager as male is the case in the business life. Even in the researches that scholars have done the use of manager generics 'he' is related to male biased imaginary in the mind of the respondents (Hamilton, 1988).

According to the study that Powell and Butterfield (1979) have done, a good manager described as masculine terms and performance by women is evaluated less favorably than the same performance by men. Although the study shows that the good manager should be androgynous, there still continues the tendency towards masculine behaviors among women managers. According to them:

All self groups within each group subjects significantly preferred a masculine manager. According to these results, an ethic that 'masculine is best in management' continues to be strongly held by both men and women (Powell and Butterfield, 1979: 401).



This belief can be associated with the idea that masculine traits are more desirable than feminine traits especially when we consider male based, patriarchal, corporate administration (Willemsen, 2002). Even though recent literature has demonstrated that being emotional, intuitive and person oriented is valued for managers, those attributions are more valued for males rather than for female managers. This is explained by Willemsen as:

If a male manager is described as emotional, this may mean that he is expected to show his feelings now and then; if a female manager is described as emotional, this may mean that she is expected to burst into tears in the middle of a difficult meeting. In other words, an emotional male manager will probably be expected to inhibit adequate managerial behavior, whereas an emotional female manager will probably be expected to inhibit behavior that is considered inappropriate for a manager (2002: 390).

If a woman is emotional or person oriented, this is considered for not being appropriate to be a manager. In general, the women in business life are believed to have the following roles; women as a mother, women as seductress, women as a pet and women as iron maiden (Kanter, 1977). On the basis of assumption that women are sympathetic and good listeners, most of women are considered as mothers of the corporation. Whenever women do not play nurturant – maternal role, then they are attributed as iron maiden. Women inducted as the iron maiden stereotypically behave tougher than how they really are. On assuming women as seductress, the main expectancy is the woman as sexual object without the capacity to manage the corporation. This expectancy is challenged with the women as mother roles. If the women have children, then it is hard to attribute seductress role to that woman. Finally, pet role for women says that women are the cute, amusing and small things and symbolically play the role of a mascot in the group. “A woman is expected to admire the male displays and to cheer from the sidelines, but not to join them;” (Kanter, 1977: 393). Those attributions towards women lead to benevolent

sexism in the corporation. In other words, attributions for women create positive orientation of protection, idealization and affection directed towards women (Glick et. al, 2000).

In Turkey, these attributions are also dominant in a male centered business life. Since women's spheres are limited by patriarchal expectancies towards domestic duties in Turkey, women still do not participate in economy as much as possible. If women find an opportunity to take part in economy, this will be limited by feminine, 'women friendly' areas such as nurturing, caring, teaching, etc (Willemsen, 2002). Although industrial revolution contributes women to take part in economy, most of the women are working for meeting the immediate needs. Moreover, most of those needs are related to family and children rather than individual desires. In that aspect, Çakıcı (2003) makes a research in Mersin, Turkey with 160 entrepreneur women about their primary reasons to establish small business corporations, she finds that having an independent work, a higher social status and earning their own money are the primary reasons for women's entrepreneurship activities. While developing and growing their small shops, women denounce that they face 2 types of difficulties during the establishment. First of all, they face problems that are related to being a woman, and secondly they encounter problems that are related to business sector and environments. In this aspect, in order to understand how women entrepreneurs and women in administrative positions can overcome those difficulties, we need to comprehend the ways how their social network and relations can deal with those problems.

### **3.2 Exploring Social Capital for Top Managers and Entrepreneurs**

According to Labianca and Brass (2006), over the past two decades scholars have focused on positive aspects of network relationships that equated with social capital. Through the social capital, individuals' social contacts provide opportunities for competitive success for them and for the groups that

they are the members. In this aspect, information theory (Galbraith, 1973) has focused that organizations in business need to find opportunity to access and use information for both reducing all possible uncertainty and for increasing performance. For Collins and Clark (2003: 741), “top managers are responsible for gathering, sifting and collating information from different employee groups and departments throughout an organization”. For that reason, it is vital that top managers and new entrepreneurs have high social network and social relations that can provide advantages. In order to access new information and create better opportunities, individuals who work in administrative positions should be able to use their social networks to reach these facilities. According to Podolny, Pfeffer & Hansen, 1999), the social capital facilitates the exchange of valuable information and knowledge and also social network can accelerate that exchange within and between organizations. For this reason, the executives and entrepreneurs give attention towards their social ties and networks for creating social capital.

In addition, having high social capital also solves the problems of the corporation through the reciprocity and trust dynamics. According to Kim and Cannella (2008), a corporation ability to function as a team will be improved when directors have high levels of internal social capital that helps to resolve problems associated with lack of trust, collaboration and team spirit. In addition, using their external social capital, directors can improve the organization efficiency through gathering new information form different resources.

The social capital is not only beneficial for gathering new information and creating new resources, it is also an important factor for determining one’s position in the corporation. Lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981) argue that a job seeker’s personal resources, primarily family background and later education and career achievements, are important determinants to affect the occupational status. In this aspect, having variety of social network ties is important not only in the corporation but also determining the position in that corporation (Leana

and Buren, 1999). Having a positive effect on knowledge creation and innovation is also shown in Özdemir's study. According to her study that analyze academicians and their social network features, "through the source, embedded in social capital dimensions, structural, relational and cognitive dimensions provide a forcible background to the basic knowledge creation activities such as accessing to knowledge, sharing the accessed knowledge and combining it with the existing knowledge" (Özdemir, 2008: 81).

In that aspect, since women are considered as more person oriented, sympathetic and open to new relations, how their social networks can facilitate the corporate relations becomes one of the crucial issues. For that reason, it is vital to examine social network features and thus social capital on the basis of gender dimensions.

### **3.3 Gender and Social Capital**

As Bourdieu argues, the social capital is the set of social relations and social connection that can be convertible in economic gains (1986). The extent the individuals' social connections, their positions in the social network and the ability to access resources through social capital can vary from one to other (Sobel, 2002). For that reason while making analysis towards the women managers and entrepreneurs' social capital and its impact on business success, we need to comprehend the role of gender in diversification of social capital.

Although the number of women entering the workplace has risen steadily in the last half century and strides have been made in attaining economic parity with men, statistics revealed that women continue to lag behind men in career advancement and in levels of compensation and achieved status. Women are hindered in their efforts to achieve career advancement and its associated benefits due to their inability to access social capital, a valuable organizational commodity and source

of knowledge, resources, and networks that are essential for career development and maturation (Timberlake, 2005: 34)

From this quotation, it is argued that women stay behind men in terms of promotion and wage salary, and moreover, women also stay behind men in terms of social capital developments for career achievements. In this aspect, the social capital and gender dimension will be analyzed in this part. According to previous chapters, it is argued that social network is highly important for the creation of new resources, accessing new information and better opportunities especially for top managers and new entrepreneurs in a business environment. In order to compensate the highly competitive and ambitious business market, there should be some strategies and resources for compensation. This resource is mainly social capital that creates collaboration, commitment, information sharing and trust that improve the participation in the organization necessary for success and effectiveness. For this reason, especially managers and new entrepreneurs try to build and grow their social capital to use those social connections and social relations in achieving their individual goals as well as organization and firms. In order to build strong relations, and grow social connections; trust and communication become one of the crucial elements.

According to Cohen and Prusak, there are many benefits of high level of social capital for the organizations;

- better knowledge sharing, due to established trust relationships, common frames of reference, and shared goals;
- lower transaction costs, due to high level of trust and cooperative spirit (both within the organization and between the organization and its customers and partners);
- lower turnover rates, reducing severance costs and hiring and training expenses, avoiding discontinuities associated with frequent

personnel changes, and maintaining valuable organizational knowledge, and

- greater coherence of action due to organizational stability and shared understanding (2001: 10).

In order to create and maintain social capital, there are several main factors for that enhancement. Social resources that are embedded in networks can provide several benefits such as information sharing and control. Social capital, in that aspect, is significant for creating and maintaining the firm in business life. According to gender role socialization theory, men and women are socialized and through socialization, they learn their socially appropriate roles that are attributed for them (Addis and Mahalik, 2003). In that process, women hold more emotional and responsive attitudes whereas men are seem to play more strength and individual attitudes. For that reason, while considering women entrepreneurs and women top managers, it is crucial to examine gender differences on the basis of creation and maintaining social capital. According to Emmerik (2006), women are more able to disclose emotions easily rather than men can do. For that reason, networks of women are likely to be expected to have more networks than men can have. Women's socio – emotional oriented networks can bring profit more because of emotional intense ties (Umberson et. al, 1996). In addition, women are more expected to be embedded in networks that can create opportunities and resources compared to networks of men (Kanter, 1977; Ibarra, 1995).

One aspect of creating social capital is the membership in networks. Networks are important for development of individual identity. Networks can generate commitments and loyalty among members and through those networks, there is considerable sharing of information, resources and organizational practices. Although women have been located in the work place as men have, there are limited opportunities for them to create and involve in social networks. According to Timberlake (2005), women continue to be concentrated in low opportunity positions due to the fact that they have little access to the networks

and contacts that can bring power and advancement. Since women are employed in male dominated business environments, most of the time they cannot go beyond the labels like ‘mother’, ‘seductress’, ‘pet’ and ‘iron maiden’. As Healy, Haynes and Hampshire (2006: 111) emphasize on “studies of professional networks suggest that men tend to have greater access to the kinds of social networks, i.e. hierarchical networks, which will advance their careers compared with women of similar professional standing”. Although since women are more ‘emotional’ and ‘person – oriented’ because of their femininity, there is an expectation towards that women are more likely to develop and maintain their social connections and social networks. Unlike that expectation, most of the studies show that women are less likely to be able to access and maintain their social networks in business areas. According to Healy et. al (2006), one of the reasons for this limited access can be the dual responsibility of working women. Despite their greater responsibilities in the private sphere, like family, they are also exposed to gender discrimination and stereotyped labels in business life coming from traditional gender roles. For the women expecting to fulfill the reproduction role for the family and domestic duties, the creation of social network and density of those relations vary from men can have. However, since corporations mostly male dominated, and all networks are already constituted, for women, it is hard to enter male hegemonic social network in the firm. In addition, not only male hegemonic area, but also secondary position of women in the society limits the access to those social relations and new networks in the business area. For women, it is also hard to take part and locate themselves in male dominated, business environment; creating and maintaining social capital is another tough issue. For this reason, although the creation of social connections and network is necessary for social capital in economy, women suffer from the male hegemonic and traditional patriarchal platform in already established business areas.

Another important factor that has an impact on the degree of social capital is the legitimacy (Timberlake, 2005). Through legitimacy, the insiders and the

outsiders of the community are determined. In most of the companies, new employees, young men and mainly women are perceived as outsiders. The first method to gain social capital is to find a sponsor that can introduce you to social community. When introduced by a sponsor to a new network, women gain social capital from new contacts and new connections. This gained social capital is borrowed from a person who already has legitimacy in that network. Although the sponsor person is important for men, they are crucially essential for women (Kanter, 1977).

According to Brass's (1985) study, although gender specific informal networks are equally well in the organization, because of the segregation, women are less central in male dominated networks and thus they are unable to access that male hegemonic coalition. In this analysis, it is found that women are less advantageous because accessing that group is difficult due to the fact that men are significantly more career oriented than women (Brass, 1985). Women are excluded from the informal interaction networks for different reasons. One of the reasons is that men do not feel comfortable while communicating with women. For that reason, most of the men do not prefer women to include in their interaction networks. Another reason is, like newcomers to the company, women are also unable to access the informal networks in the organization. They face difficulties while accessing and involving male hegemonic social interactions and thus they become outsiders of the company. Since they are excluded, they do not find opportunity to reach valuable information resources and gather support from other colleagues.

Although there are different resources that can provide social network, according to Emmerik (2006), there are also several resources that can foster social capital within an organization. First of all, stable relationships may signify more opportunities to create and maintain the resources. Secondly, emotional closeness can intensify the informal ties on the basis of trust dynamics (Ibarra, 1995). Third, having same background and proximity arguments suggest that people with same background have more similarity that



can foster reciprocity. In this factor, women face more difficulties than men in an organization. Since most of the companies and mainly economy are male dominated, women have difficulties to find proximity to others. Since all employees and managers in the company have opportunity to interact and get to know each other in a variety context, for most of the cases women stay behind in the men's world. This incurrence leads to a disadvantageous position for women in the company for accessing valuable information, creating new resources and finding opportunities.

In this aspect, women, who are seeking supportive relationships in the corporation, face difficulties in terms of emotional, psychological and social support. For this reason 'one – size – fits – all' approach fails to explain gendered patterns of social capital (Healy, 2006). Lack of focus on gender in social capital studies reinforces the dominant traditional gender roles. According to Adkins (1999: 127):

The process of traditionalization (including the formation of communities and networks) may itself rest on a hidden gendered productivity, a productivity which means that while women may be key in the constitution of community (for instance resources to construct shared identities), they may not be able to claim membership or belonging in terms of that community in the same way as men.

Like Adkins, Healy emphasizes that already existing social capital analyses (Putnam, Coleman or Granovetter) do not highlights the masculine bias for the creation of social capital. "Key social capital theorists have failed to recognize women's contributions to social capital creation (Healy et. al, 2006: 112). Dominant accounts of social capital devalue women's contributions in terms of only focusing on participation male hegemonic social relations and social networks. While neglecting the informal network – building activities in which women are playing the primary role, men are considered more engaged than women. This dominant understanding fails to recognize women's distinctive

and supportive contribution to the social resources on the basis of personal support and reciprocal trust. Wellman and Frank (2001) conclude that networks including more women than men provide everyday support. This shows that high percentage of women in the networks potentially result in supportive relations.

Generally speaking, strong and weak ties, social network and social capital not only provide valuable information and resources but also advance through start up process. In this aspect, having high social capital is not primarily important for individuals in administrative positions. According to Davidsson and Honig (2003), social capital is a robust predictor for nascent entrepreneurs. Having parents who owned business or having close friends who owned business are important factors for nascent entrepreneurship. In addition, being a member of related communities and having social connections in similar business areas are also important determinants for start up processes. In this aspect, main studies concerning membership in social networks conclude that having social network is a potential source of scarce information that brings knowledge and resource acquisition (Davidsson et. al, 2003). Like Bourdieu (1983) says that social networks provided by family members, community or organization based relations have supplementary impact on education, experience and financial capital.

Social capital can be used as a source for gathering new information, valuable knowledge or resources for the top managers in a company, it can be also used to provide and secure nascent entrepreneurship. Adler and Kwon (2002) and Putnam (2000) has focused on that social capital can be a useful resource not only for improving internal organizational trust but also bridging external networks that can provide new resources. In this aspect, trust is a glue that can hold organizations together. In addition, through social capital and thus social ties, top managers and also nascent entrepreneurs can reach valuable information, new resources and facilities. According to Davidsson (2003: 308);

Nascent firms might rely upon weak ties such as membership in a trade organization in order to learn about the latest technological innovations. In contrast, an example of strong ties would be sibling or parent helping out for free in some aspect of the start up activities. Thus, strong ties such as those derived from family relationships, provide secure and consistent access to resources.

Social capital is commonly operationalized through different networks and network relationships such as group activities, meetings, and other formal interactions, as well as informal relations such as social and family relationships. From a nascent entrepreneur and manager's perspective, social capital is the capital that provides networks which can facilitate different and valuable opportunities as well as scarce resources. According to Bruderl, Preisendorfer and Ziegler (1988), entrepreneurs most of the time make decisions on the basis of their friends and their social relations. When starting a new business and managing a firm, both weak and strong ties and also both formal and informal networks have impact on business process. As Davidsson et. al (2003: 309) have mentioned "Social capital provides individuals with networks that facilitate evaluation, procurement and utilization of resources necessary for exploitation. In addition, weak ties also utilize what an individual has developed within their own associations, and reflects their own value structure, priorities and resource allocations". As they have examined, social capital can provide additional information in intra-organization as well as efficiency through reciprocity. In addition, social capital also eases the inter-organizational relations on the basis of interdependent activities and serves information about innovations, situation about the market, products and resources.

From these explanations; membership, having ties and social connection and reciprocal trustworthiness in business network strongly influence the success and the efficiency of the company. For that reason, not only nascent entrepreneurs but also individuals with administrative positions try to create

and maintain their social network in business life. According to the study that Davidsson et. al (2003: 322), “having parents and/or close friends or neighbors in business, as well as encouragement from friends and family, was strongly associated with probability of entry into business life.” These results seemingly indicate that although self - sufficiency and individual qualifications are important for success in business life and in entrepreneurship, having social network and social connections are also significant factors. The research that Emmerik (2006) has done related to the creation of social capital among male and female faculty members indicates that men are more able to create and maintain team – related resources for creating social capital. Moreover, “since women are relatively newcomers within academia accordingly their stability of relationships was shown considerably lower than that of men” (Emmerik, 2006: 34). These results are not surprising to show that social proximity is lower for women than men in male dominated environments. In order to survive in a male dominated, patriarchal environment, it is necessary to develop social network for women. For this reason, already existing approaches towards social capital fail to recognize gender differences. The one – size – fits all approach to social capital formulation is not able to discover those differences (Healy et. al, 2006).

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **SOCIAL CAPITAL and ITS IMPACT ON PROFESSIONAL LIFE**

As mentioned in the earlier chapters, this study focuses on women managers and entrepreneurs' experiences and their strategies that are developed through their social capital. In that aspect, how women create and maintain their social capital, how they handle the difficulties that they faced within their business area and how they evaluate the impact of social capital on overcoming these difficulties are the main subjects of the study. As Coleman (1988) mentioned, social capital creates the opportunities and maintains new information flows. For that reason, the creation and development of social capital is important for gathering new sources and enhancing the existing relationships. In this context, first of all, how respondents create their social capital and how they evaluate their relations will be elaborated. In the second part, how women managers and entrepreneurs encounter difficulties and limitations in business life will be analyzed and in third part, the ways in which they cope with these difficulties through their social capital will be discussed.

#### **4.1 The Creation of Social Capital**

The central idea of the social capital is the networks and connections that can provide value and reciprocal benefits (Putnam, 2001). According to that perspective, it is important to create and maintain social connections and relations that can provide support and benefits for the individuals. Since social capital is far from homogeneous (Putnam, 2001), we should consider different aspects and dimensions of social capital. Although some scholars point out the individual relations of social capital (Bourdieu, 1985; Burt, 1992), some give importance towards the family and kinship networks benefits (Woolcock,

1998). Although there are many points of view about how social capital can be created, one of the most significant is the acceptance into those social connections. Acceptance into the majority group connections may depend on how one's identity is able to comply with the majority. As Etzkowitz et al (2002) found women has encounter many gender related barriers to access male dominated network. In order to access social connections, women managers and entrepreneurs develop some ways.

As Molyneux (2002) has mentioned, social capital literature has been understood in variety of ways; as a property of society, as a property of community or as a source for individuals to maximize their ability to attain certain goals. In this chapter, the creation of social capital will be elaborated in three different ways; membership to related associations and communities such as Turk Informatic Association or Turkey IT Foundation; social environment such as friends, family members and close relatives etc., and finally professional environment such as colleagues, business partners.

#### **4.1.1 Membership to Associations**

The creation and the value of the social capital become an important issue for the study. In order to measure the dynamics of social capital, the ways for that creation should be considered. In that aspect, during the interview, the respondents were asked several questions on their social capitals to evaluate to what extent their social relations could create social capital. On the basis of the creation of their social relations; the foundations, institutions, organizations, clubs and associations are questioned. The respondents gave different answers about the memberships to related associations for creation of their social network and important connections.

As the area of the study is covering information technologies, defense and aviation sectors in Metu Technopolis; the foundations, institutions, organizations, and associations show some differences. Only one of the

respondents declared his membership to a society related to their field. The other 17 respondents declared no memberships to any association, as they could not find enough time to join the meetings there. Since most of the associations require regular attendance and participation to the meetings, most of the respondents do not find enough time to attend those meetings regularly. One of the top managers says that;

*“I tried to join the meetings for some time, but it is not a priority anymore for me. And there are not a lot of institutions on my field. By the way, I have no extra time to join any of them even if they exist.”*

Like respondent mentioned above, the common point for those 17 respondents who declared no memberships to any society is that they could not find enough time to join the meetings

In addition, unlike Putnam (1995) mentions that the social organizations, and clubs which can facilitates cooperation and coordination for mutual benefits actually are not relevant in this study. As they were working in a limited market, the respondents declared the deficiencies of the institutions, organizations, and associations. One of the respondents who manage her own company says that;

*“None of the organizations are related to us. I used to attend the meetings in the past. But now, it is just waste of time since they do not create any opportunities or any new information that I need.”*

According to respondents, most of the associations do not related to their interest of area. For that reason, even they create time to participate in meetings, they declare that they feel that it is just a waste of time. However, one of the entrepreneurs says that she only participating in meetings that are compulsory for the company. She opts to attend associations that are related to their company and include important courses and seminars. According to her;

*“Now, I just attend the compulsory education and seminars. As the others are held outside the city, I have no possibility to go and attend. Even if I could go, it would not be beneficial for me and my company.”*

Unlike Molyneux’s (2002: 175) quote from the words of President of the World Bank: ‘Participation Matters – not only as a means of improving development effectiveness, as we know from our recent studies – but as the key to long term sustainability and leverage’, in this study it is found that the institutions, organizations, and clubs seem to be limited on the basis of social capital opportunities. However, the main area that creates social connections and thus social capital is the social environment that provides more opportunities than the membership to associations does.

#### **4.1.2 Social Environment**

In this study, another important dimension for creation of social capital is social environment. Since all different dimensions and relations can be included into the social environment, in this study, friends, family members and close relatives are considered as personal social environment.

As Woolcock (1979) emphasizes on, there are 3 types of social capital on the basis of social connection and networks. One of them is binding social capital that binds similar positioned people like family members or friends. Another type is bonding social capital that bonds different and distant ties such as previous colleagues or lost friendships. The third type is bridging social capital that brings different, distant and heterogenic community people such as sport clubs or communities. As Woolcock mentions (1979), the family members, friendships and the social environment helped more than the organizations, and clubs of which they were members for setting up businesses and managing. The answers to the questions on the effects of social environment, friends and



family members to career seem to have the common points of the respondents. The majority of the respondents believe in the deficiencies of the social environment on creating some opportunities or new information. The social environment for most of the respondents is essential to provide support when encountering some social and psychological problems. According to entrepreneur, she faced some problems when she was pregnant. However, her friends and family members provide care and support during that period. According to respondent who work as an entrepreneur says that;

*“The biggest support of my social environment was during the time when I was pregnant and gave birth to my baby. My family always supported and helped me. However, they could not help me create opportunities or do business.”*

Like she emphasized on, although her friends and relatives provide emotional support for her, this contribution is not related to business sphere. On the other hand, another respondents clearly explain her social environment contribution into the business;

*“Social environment is critical in any case such as the psychological support. Even if I had some difficulties when establishing and improving the business, I had my friends standing by me. There were some people from whom I got some advice, which was critical for the support I needed. When you are starting a business from the beginning, you can have hard time without your social environment’s support on any subject. Although they did nothing special for me, I felt as if we shared the work between us; I was responsible for the business, and they were for the house work.”*

Although the social environment lacks creating some opportunities or innovations on business, it is helpful for the women entrepreneurs and managers to balance the business and the social life. The respondents

underlining the importance of the emotional support, but not materialistic, have said that the social environment plays a critical role on the social support for starting a business.

The impact of friends on career and company is important dimension for the respondents. Most of the respondents declare that their friends supported them throughout their careers. Beginning with the university years, most of the respondents said that without their friends they could not become successful on their jobs. Throughout the university years, respondents said that they had learned how to work as a team. After university, their friends provided support in terms of finding jobs, creating new opportunities, new projects and meeting with new people. In this context, the friends' environment turns out to have a main role on the individual's career improvement and creating new opportunities for the company. As one of the respondents have mentioned below, friends and close relatives are important assets to create new opportunities.

*“My friends especially helped me when changing my job. Since we graduated from the same department, they knew the working area quite well and gave me references when changing my job and setting up this company. They also informed me about the new projects. And the most critical of all was their helping me meet the important people in the sector. “*

Another respondents says that she gathered social support from her friends when company went bad. For her; *“In some period, everything in the company went bad. But my close friend said that I can handle it. We went entrepreneurial courses together. She supported me a lot”*.

Like Burt (1992) has emphasized on, friends and colleagues can provide opportunities through providing new networks and bring different actors together to facilitate those opportunities. In this study, friends and social

network have importance towards the creation of new opportunities, finding or changing jobs and maintaining strong connections. However, according to the respondents, although friends and colleagues are quite important in a business life, they declare that those networks do not have any impact on promotions. According to them, promotion is a self-success issue that totally belongs to the individual success in that company. Although friends and relatives are quite important for start up process, the rest of the success completely belongs to the individual herself. According to respondent who work as a manager;

*“I started working with a reference of my friend. As she sent my CV, I was called to interview. However, I do not think of anybody’s effect on my becoming a manager. I worked hard and was noticed in time. That’s why I am sitting in this armchair.”*

Although some respondents say that there is no any contribution of their friends to the promotions, there are number of respondents who got help of their friends when starting a new job and setting up a company. They declared that they set up the company together with their spouses and a friend of them, in total 3 people and added that their company would not develop without the support of their friends. One of the respondents explains the importance of close relatives as;

*“My husband and I are friends from the same department at university. The other partner is a friend of my husband. We set up this company as 3 people. If we had not known each other and our working principles so well, our company would not have developed. In my opinion, the friends’ environment was very essential for all of the things done.”*

As she mentioned above, in some cases, friends and close relatives are important for the development of the company. As one of the respondent mentioned;

*“We attended a seminar on entrepreneurship with my friends together. And we asked ourselves; “why don’t we become partners?” Thus, we set up this company. Friends’ environment knows you very well. Whenever I cannot cope with a project, I have someone around to ask for help. And there is someone there to do it.”*

Although 17 respondents emphasized on the significance of friendship and friend network in business life, 1 of the respondents declared that they did not prefer using their friendships on work related issues. She said that she tried to separate work life and social environment as much as possible, for that reason, she does not prefer to talk any work related issues with her friends or family members. According to her starting a new business, changing your job or your position is only related to your self - success and individual qualifications. For that reason, sharing information or application for help may harm the relations. For her, work and private life are separate issues, so she does not have any tendency to combine them. According to one of the manager respondent;

*“I was always successful and graduated in the first place. Today, I am working very hard as well. When I am asked about any support from my friends, I am quite sure that I myself succeeded. I keep them away from my business life, in fact, I do not have a lot of friends.”*

On the contrary to other respondents, she emphasized the importance of individual qualifications and self-success in business life. For her, improvement of individual qualifications and develop human capital is crucial for business success. For her, individual can become successful if s/he can work as much as possible; there is no need for any friends, colleagues or people to become successful. Self development and human capital are sufficient to start a new work, change the position or get promotion.

However, majority of the respondents say that there is a significant impact of friendship and social connections on starting a new business, accessing new

information and opportunities and getting promotion at work. For them, friends and existing social networks can provide close network ties that can facilitate new resources and opportunities. Like Coleman (1988) has emphasized, close network ties provide support on the basis of trust and reciprocity. Through the close social network, individuals can reach new information and new resources, because information sharing only occurs when people trust each other. For that reason, friendship, and social networks are important for information sharing, and creation for new sources.

#### **4.1.3 Professional Environment**

In this study, the professional environment is taken as another social capital creating area. When the respondents are asked about the present professional networks, the ties in the past, and the effects of career and improvement, they declare that the professional networks are mostly essential for promotion and creating new job opportunities.

According to respondents, the question of how professionals affected your career demonstrated that professional network provides support and references. Not only the start - up process, but also improving the company, professional networks and acquaintances provide benefits, support and references. One of the respondents say that she viewed help of her professor to find her first job. According to her; *“A university lecturer of mine helped me find my first job. Later, I got good references in the offices I worked for. When starting a new job and this job as well, all my references from the past were a great help. Each reference creates a new job possibility and some new references.”* Another respondents explain her whole professional success in relation to contribution of her professor. According to her;

*“My story actually started like this. Once, I went to see my professor about my thesis and a job opportunity presented to me before. When I mentioned her about it, she offered to set up a firm together. As I made*

*use of her offer, we have had this firm for 10 years. If she had not offered me about it, this firm would not exist now. The ones encouraging and motivating me were always from the professional networks.”*

The professional and social networks and the friends' environment are so critical on creating new job opportunities and creating new sources. The present networks give advantage for starting a new job, and improving in our career. As Coleman (1988) states, the close friends create some new opportunities and improvements. The professional networks make the company develop when you start up a new job and have the new project opportunities as a reference. Thus, the present professional networks have great effects on the managers and the entrepreneurs on the points of start up and promotion. Almost all respondents have pointed out that they had social, but not materialistic, benefits on the work related issues by the present professional networks. According to entrepreneur respondent; “ *when you decide to change your job, your professional network provides help for better opportunities. Most of the time, my previous colleagues call me and inform new projects. This is quite helpful for business improvements*”.

Although respondents are quite aware of the essentials of social network for business life and social capital, they do not tend to choose to attend clubs, communities and related associations. According to the respondents, existing associations and communities do not generally provide new sources or new information about the sectors. Since most of them declare that they are working in niche market, they complain the lack of associations. Even though they attended once upon a time, none of the respondents currently attend any foundations or meetings to create new networks, because they believe that existing associations do not provide benefits or gains for them. Some of them declared that they did not have that much time to attend the meetings, and some of them said that those communities did not provide anything new for them. According to them, meetings are all waste of time. On the other hand,

majority of the respondents says that social environment and professional environment are quite crucial for creation of social network. A number of respondents say that they received help not only start up process but also during the development of the company.

## **4.2 Experiences of Women Managers and Entrepreneurs**

After focusing on social capital, it is important to examine the difficulties and limitations of women managers and entrepreneur's experience. In order to understand how women managers and entrepreneurs overcome difficulties that they faced with, it is crucial to define and discuss what are those difficulties. Various studies examined that women who enter male dominated field face certain problems and suffer from feelings of isolation, lack of support and gender based discrimination at work places (Jagacinski, 1987). In that aspect, difficulties and problems that women managers and entrepreneurs mainly experience are divided into three main part; problems related to working environment, problems that is caused by gender stereotypical expectations and problems related to family and domestic issues.

### **4.2.1 Working Environment**

Working is an important part of the life of women managers and entrepreneurs in this study. When I asked them how they would define their business life, all of the respondents said that they generally loved their jobs and their positions. Although there are some complaints about the responsibilities of administrative positions such as organizing the projects, determine the process and handle the problems related to employees, all of the respondents say that they cannot imagine a life without working. Unlike working class or middle class, we can identify managers and entrepreneurs as upper middle class (Beşpınar, 2010). Although they do not face financial problems as

working class women generally do, women managers and entrepreneurs usually encounter some other problems.

According to Beşpınar's (2010) study, most of the women demonstrate that upper middle class women experience many problems in their work although they do not face any financial or emotional satisfaction problems. One of the biggest problems arises from the gender discrimination. Those managers and entrepreneurs in this study stated that the environment was not that much women friendly. In other words, a number of respondents emphasize the hegemonic masculine understanding towards their managerial position in the work place. Since information technologies, defense and aviation sectors are highly male dominated, women managers' success and qualifications are exposed to comparisons with men's. As I mentioned before, the number of women managers and entrepreneurs is less than the males' at MetuTechnopolis. Although there are 320 companies, only 31 of them have been established by women. For this reason, in the male dominated environments, those women managers and entrepreneurs are not considered as career oriented. As Jagacinski (1987) mentioned, although men and women reported comparably similar responsibility, there is an increasing tendency to give men higher levels of supervisory responsibility than to women. One of the reasons for that is an understanding that women are not career oriented as men, because they prone to drop out the labor force in order to raise their children (McAfee, 1974). In addition to those expectations towards women, women managers also reported that they have to 'speak up little louder' to show their power in the company. This is reflected in one of the respondent's statements as;

*"I do not yell at anyone. But they understand what should be done through my behaviors, eyes and the way my speech. You have to be professional; you should get rid of some labels that stick towards women."*



In order to cope with that gender based understanding, most of the respondents say that they have to prove themselves in the work place. In order to show how they can work hard as much as possible, they do not go on holidays, do not get medical reports when they are sick and they are even working overtime. One of the respondents emphasize on how much she works; *“Actually, I do not have a private life so much. After everybody leaves, I keep working here. I am accustomed to do this; otherwise, nobody takes you seriously. If you are in this sector, you have to work so hard*

As respondent mentioned above, most of the respondents declare that they have to work harder than men for preventing negative attitudes towards them. Most of the women handle the women and manager perception dilemmas through working more than men. According to one of the entrepreneur respondent, *“I start work at 9 a.m. and keep on working till 23.30 p.m. Since they realize that I am working more than they are, nobody can say a word against me. I have no social life, my job is in the center of my life.”*

As Ecevit, Gündüz – Hoşgör and Tokluoğlu (2003) mention in their study, women have to work hard in order to prove themselves in the work place. Women stay for overtime, work on weekends and even on holidays. One of the respondents stated that:

*“For the first time ever, I got permission to leave for more than 4 days and went on holiday. If the laws (saying annual permit is compulsory) had not changed, still I would not have gone. Although I leave work physically, I keep on following on my pc or smart phone at home. It is sure that I work more than my husband because I have to be perfect”*

This ‘being perfect’ perception is actually a reflection of a patriarchal understanding that creates limitations for women managers and entrepreneurs. Being a perfect mother, wife and fulfilling all responsibilities attributed to

them creates patriarchal understanding towards women managers and entrepreneurs. In order to diminish those perceptions, women actually try to be ‘just as good as’ men.

Although women are taken into account and considered seriously, still they are forced to prove themselves in certain cases. Most of them say that working in a male dominated environment is hard since they have to demonstrate their skills and qualifications to prove their success. One of the manager respondents say that, *“You have to prove yourself for most of the time. You have to claim that you yourself are as successful as the men and declare that you set up that company. Otherwise, they underestimate your skills. That is the main reason why I do not visit the public institutions anymore.”*

When the respondents are asked on the common problems that the women encounter at work and on the obstacles to their becoming managers, they point out different ideas. Most of the respondents admit that they encounter some problems at the public institutions related to their gender. In some cases, respondents say that being women is not admirable in some public places. According to respondent who is an entrepreneur, she faced some discriminatory behaviors in some public institutions as:

*“I had no problem at a private sector. Whenever you had business in a public one, they really would like to see a man in front of them. There were some ignoring eye contact and shaking hands with me. They always want to communicate with my husband (the partner in the company) when you join a project as well. So I prefer staying behind dealing with the administrative subjects.”*

Not shaking hand, ignorance and not to take seriously are some examples that women managers and entrepreneurs experience in some public institutions. Because of those discriminatory behaviors, lots of women managers would prefer to have men colleagues with them there. This way, they point out that

they get the business opportunities without any unrest. One of the respondents explain her avoidance from public institutions in that way;

*“When they face a woman at the public institutions, the situation changes some way. Men prefer talking to men. Thus, I prefer not participating actively in the public projects keeping me shy.”*

Some women admit that they take advantage of this situation for the sake of their benefits. In other words, these women may deliberately hang on being “stereotypically women” in order to bargain a friendly environment and to score the success. This behavior is explained by one of the respondent as;

*“Let’s say that there is a project at a public sector, and there are some subjects I fail to understand about. I myself go and ask for help. As they consider the women to be too weak to cope with the complicated things, they explain to me everything in details. So, I can turn the disadvantage of being a woman into an advantage this way.”*

As respondent mentioned above, the strategies that women develop on the basis of performing disadvantaged positions that are expected to turn into their benefits, are actually a reproduction of patriarchal perception. In order to survive in a male dominated environment, women prefer to play a manager role of an unprofessional and incapable of doing what men can do. Although it can bring short-term gains, at the long term it reinforces the hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal perception in the organization.

What is interesting is that, by performing immaturely who needs a protection, in some cases, women managers and entrepreneurs’ state that they are considered as assistants of the manager instead of a real manager. For that reason, they sometimes prefer not to attend male dominated meetings or participate communities.

*“For example, the event which disturbed me a lot was this: My husband and I set up this company and joined the meetings together. Whenever we were together, they took me as an assistant to my husband and ignored my opinions. If you are a woman taking part in a business life, you are either an assistant or somebody else...”*

Experiences like respondent mentioned above has faced with limit women to attend and take part in different business areas. In order to cope with those difficulties, most of the women managers and entrepreneurs would prefer not to take part in the male dominated meetings. Since women are not ‘one of the boys’ (Miller, 2004), women managers and entrepreneurs are being effectively excluded from the networks and masculine activities. This is reflected by one respondents as;

*“My skills are being continuously questioned. They are asking whether or not. There is always questions like; this woman, really set up the company and managed it all by herself? They behave as if I should always be accompanied by a man, for example by my husband. For that reason, I do not prefer such situations. I prefer doing business with the people I have known before and just seeing the people they have advised me.”*

Escaping male dominated areas and limiting your network are significant difficulties that women managers and entrepreneurs experience. Some respondents turn their disadvantaged position into their advantages. However, even in those advantages, they subordinate themselves. Behaving as if in need of protection and incapable being successful, women managers and entrepreneurs try to handle the hegemonic masculine treatments in this way. Although those women are quite aware of masculine rules and systems, in order to survive they accept the patriarchal culture instead of changing it.

Besides other problems that are experienced, one the most important thing is the patriarchal perception that exists mostly in public. Although they are able to cope with the problems that exist in their highly male dominated sector, most of the respondents say that they are highly suffering from the patriarchal perception in the public sphere. This is explained by one of the respondent in that way;

*“The most disturbing event for me was that the people in public sphere ignore eye-contact with me and not take me as a ‘human’ or a ‘man’. Even if I point out that I am managing the project, they would like to see a man in front of them to talk to.”*

Like she experienced, existing patriarchal perspective limits women to become successful on their jobs. For that reason, the working environment and the perception present in the company important impact on women managers and entrepreneurs’ success. Since men are biologically thought to be stronger than women, the harder work of the occupation should be proper for men (Kadayıfçı, 2015) The patriarchal values that are attributed to managerial positions limit women to reach heading position in the gendered organizations..

#### **4.2.2 Family and Domestic Responsibilities**

One of the biggest dilemmas for women is the relationship between family and working life. The increased participation of women in labor force has led to changes in family dynamics. Although they are participating in labor force in full time, it is still expected for the women to fulfill domestic duties. For this reason, many women are encountering restrictions and limitations in the labor market. Women are expected to balance the family and work life (Adak, 2007). In order to balance the family and work life, women develop some strategies. According to Beşpınar:

“Work related strategies as actions devised for coping with the challenges related to working or not working, such as making the decision whether to work or not, using this decision to gain power in the family, easing husbands’ and fathers’ opposition to women’s working, developing adaptive strategies to combine work and family in their lives and surviving in a workplace where traditional gender roles and values are dominant” (2010: 523).

Besides the family and work dilemmas, traditional gender roles that are attributed towards women gives way to family and work life constraints. Even though they grow up in a modern society, most of the respondents internalize traditional domestic responsibilities that are attributed to women. One of the respondents says that;

*“Although I am a manager here, I am a house wife at home. The house work should be as perfect as the work here. I have been married for 23 years with a daughter, and just this year we have had a caretaker at home. If I had not got sick (meaning slipped disc), I would have also carried out my domestic responsibilities. I cannot ignore them since I am a manager.”*

Another respondent points out to domestic responsibilities that is attributed towards her by stating that:

*“I am an engineer here, not a woman. However, a housewife at home, I cannot say that I am a working engineer. Although my husband has no expectations about it, but in my point of view, the housework should be perfect as well. Since I am a woman at home, I carry on my domestic responsibilities as a woman”.*

Valuing a workingwoman who does not disregard or pass over her domestic responsibilities is a vivid example of a functioning internalized patriarchy.

Although the majority of the respondents interviewed are university or college graduates, the idea of being able to work and carry on being a “woman of her house” seems to be dominant and what is more important, desirable.

During the interview, the most commonly mentioned topic related to family and work constraints is based on children. When asked whether or not they encountered any obstacle as a woman manager, most of the respondents declared their children to be a big obstacle on the way to success. Although they were more ambitious and improved faster, the respondents pointed out that their tempo got slower after having a child. Some respondents admitted that they had postponed having a child as they thought it would have reduced their performances.

One of the respondents who thinks that children reduce the performance states that; *“for example, everything would have been different if I had not had any child. I could have traveled more often and managed more business contacts and had more networks. You are restricted after having a child, which causes a drop in success”*.

Unlike respondents who think that children reduce the performance at work, some women claimed that it proved to be advantageous as it improves the capacity of dealing with many things at the same time. In their opinion, whether or not having a child should not give way to any changes in a professional life. However, the way they thought this way was because of having a babysitter at home. If they had not had any caretaker or maid at home, there would have some decrease in their success. As Rothman (1989) mentioned, those women are ‘mother – managers’, they like their mother status at the same time they prefer to handle all difficulties with a caregiver.

For example, one of the top managers explains her situation in that way;

*“At home, I have not cooked for 10 years. There always was a babysitter for my child, together with a member of the family. So, I could have concentrated on my job. The idea that only a mother can take care of a baby is a traditional case. After my legal permit, I got back to work, and did not ask for extra permit from anybody. Today, I do not give any extra permit to anybody here”.*

Although some women think that having a child leads decrease in the working performance at work, some women managers and entrepreneurs state that women do not use their motherhood as an excuse for their insufficiency at work. For them having children and work with the same performance is not so easy, however, this is not actually an excuse for escaping from work and prefer to stay at home. As one of the respondent who is an entrepreneur mentioned; *“Some women leave work and never come back after having a baby. In fact, the organization skill increases with a baby. After giving birth, I started working two days later. Actually, the women have the capacity to deal with all. Unfortunately, most women prefer the easy way.”*

As she mentioned above, some respondents blame women to stay at home and prefer to raise their children. For them, through motherhood, women learn how to build a balance between family and work life. When a woman becomes a mother, she can develop more sensitive attitudes and these attitudes can provide benefits in the work place. On the other hand, some respondents state that since women cannot cope with the work – family life conflicts, it is quite hard for them to become successful in a business life. For that reason, many women cannot become managers and get promotions. This kind of patriarchal and gender discriminatory understanding limits women to become successful in a business life. Because of this kind of labeling, the women avoid coping with not only the work but also the house. Some leave work after having a child, some others avoid having a child so as not to be an obstacle at work. As this point of view exists in the patriarchal societies, it proves to be right for most of the 18 respondents. Having children or not is one of the biggest



dilemmas for most of the respondents. Some women would prefer not to have children, since they consider having children is the key factor that can slow the current performance at work. For them, women are not capable of constructing the balance between motherhood and businesswomen. In order to prevent the decreasing performance among working – mother women, they say that there are some contracts in their company to prevent having children. In other words, while starting a new project or hiring new personnel, they are expected to sign a contract about their preferences to become a mother. This is reflected in one of the respondent's statement as;

*“Whenever we are to start a new project and speed up on it, a woman steps into my office saying:” Since I am pregnant, I have to leave work in order to take care of my child.” To prevent this in future, I got each woman worker to sign a contract saying that they are not to have any children in 3 years' time. As this contract did not work in time, I decided not to work together with any women anymore.”*

Just to the contrary what she emphasized, some respondents stated that having children improves women performances at work. Through being more organizational and sensitive, mother - women learn how to cope with different issues at the same time. For them, having children is not the worst thing like others think. As respondent says that; *“Whenever a woman becomes a mother, her capacity to cope with all her responsibilities at the same time increases. They get more empathetic and more understanding, and thus they learn to limit their ambitions.”*

Although most of the respondents think that children can reduce the performance at work, others believe that mother women can cope with different problems at the same time since they develop organizational and sensitive abilities. Still the case, family and work constraints are the main dilemmas for women managers and entrepreneurs during their professional performance.

### 4.2.3 Stereotypical Expectations

Hiding women attitudes and identity at work can be the reflection of the ‘think manager – think male’ phenomenon (Schein, 1973). As Schein et. al (1973) summarize in their study, there is a strong belief of sex role stereotyping in the work place. According to them, there is a general approach towards successful managers and professionals that they should be male and perform masculine characteristics. This understanding is similar to the one in our study. When I asked questions about the necessary attitudes of managers, most of the respondents described masculine characteristics. According to one entrepreneur respondent;

*“The women managers actually have more empathy. This attitude sometimes gives some advantages, but it turns out to be disadvantageous for most of the time. The women are so niggling that they are generally lost in details ignoring the major parts. On the contrary, men can see the whole picture.”*

As Evetts (1997) has mentioned, if women demonstrate feminine qualities of care and sensitivity, most probably she is likely to be assessed either inappropriate and insufficient to become a manager, on the contrary if she is a competent manager then she is likely to be judged as unfeminine. This perspective is reflected on another respondents’ ideas; *“The women are busy in their private lives and at work. Paying attention to more than one thing gives them distractions and so they get unsuccessful at work. However, a manager should be disciplined with a high concentration. The men have these attitudes more than the women do.”* For that reason, as respondent states above, many women managers and entrepreneurs prefer to demonstrate more masculine attitudes rather than feminine.

Like Schein et al (1996) have emphasized in their study, analytical ability, self confident, competitive, ambitious and self -controlled are the characteristics of male managers. According to this understanding, being emotional, emphatic and niggling are the characteristics of female that prevent them from becoming a manager. This is reflected by one of the respondent as;

*“The women work in a more detailed style, they are more sensitive and hardworking. This sensitivity sometimes gives them harm. On the contrary, the men are sure of themselves and move at a slow motion. That’s why there are some differences between men and women managers.”*

Although all of the respondents are women, they have also stereotypical understanding towards other women managers. Like traditional, patriarchal perspective, most of the respondents say that women should hide their emotions in order to be a good manager. Since women are too much ambitious, they may suffer because of this attitude. For that reason, male managers are preferred and they have much more possibility to become a good manager. Those respondents who think that good managers should have masculine characteristics state that they are not emotional themselves and they do not have any tolerance towards emotional and sensitive issues that other women have. This is reflected in one of the respondents’ statements in that way;

*“I am a woman as well. When they come and ask me for permission to leave with the excuse of their sick child, I never let them go. The women must not ask for permission, as the men usually do not. Since they are more emotional, they start crying. That’s why I do not like working with woman. As you can see here, I am the only woman.”*

As she emphasizes, some of the respondents claim that women would not prefer to be worked with them since they are too much emotional and sensitive.

As mentioned above, even though the respondent herself is woman, she does not want to work with other women. For her, working with women causes too much gossip and unrest in the work place. For that reason, while promoting an employee, she does not prefer to choose women. This kind of understanding actually reflects the internalized patriarchy that some women managers and entrepreneurs carry on. According to Hatmaker (2013), women who have positioned themselves with success as similar to men, sometimes actively distance themselves from other women, particularly ordinary and unsuccessful women.

In order to eliminate this kind of perspective, many women prefer to behave as men do. For them, performing masculine characteristics prevents the existing stereotypical perspectives towards women. Behaving in order to look 'professional', they develop gender neutral or masculine attitudes. Like Beşpınar (2010) has emphasized, women prefer hiding their emotional expressions and keep their physical distance from male colleagues. In this study, it is seen that performing gender neutral or masculine characteristic and prefer working with men are some strategies to escaping gender stereotypical attributions towards women. As one of the respondent says;

*"I am not a woman here, and I do not like anybody celebrating my women's day. I exist here with my work here, and I avoid feminine attitudes. So I never hear people saying: "She is a woman and a mother anyway."*

In order to escape existing gender stereotypical expectancies, most of the respondents state that they get rid of their feminine identifications. Since women considered as too much emotional, sensitive and not career oriented, through behaving as if they are men as well, they try to overcome the problems they encounter. In fact, this is mainly nothing more than reproducing the patriarchal point of view. By making use of the point of views, " she cannot do it any way, she cannot manage any way, and she cannot succeed since she is a

woman any way”, the women have asked for help and thus accepted the subordinate position ascribed status to them.

Although they are experiencing dilemmas in terms of whether to have children and family or not and construct a balance between family and work life, women managers and entrepreneurs also facing too much problems in their work places. During start up process, development and establishing new resources and also while becoming manager, women experience different kinds of difficulties. Most of the time they are not perceived as serious as men are and they are always forced to prove their success and qualifications. Even it is permitted; mother women are exposed to gender stereotypical expectancies that limit their performance at work. Those difficulties even restrict women managers and entrepreneurs to be active participants in the work places. Although they are dealing people with high educated and high economic profile, they are still experiencing different problems and difficulties in terms of managing and entrepreneurial activities.

#### **4.3 The Impact of Social Capital on Overcoming Difficulties and Developing Strategies**

As mentioned in the previous parts, there are some significant difficulties and problems that women managers and entrepreneur’s experience. In order to cope with those difficulties, most of the respondents explain that their social networks and connections are quite helpful. Not only their close social environment such as family members or friends, but also other networks are auxiliary to overcome those limitations and difficulties. In order to comprehend how women managers and entrepreneurs overcome problems through their social capital, there are three main methods that handle the difficulties; changing working environment, set the family – work balance and strategies to access the social network.

### 4.3.1 Change in the Working Environment

One of the main problems is that there is no women friendly culture in their work places. Most of the respondents state that during their working life, they face some problems. Working in a male dominated environment, exposed to gender discriminatory behaviors, out of town meetings and frequent international business trips limit women for constructing family and work life balance. In that aspect, most of the respondents claim that in order to escape those problems that they faced in their current and in their previous jobs, they set up their company with their relatives. According to them, if they set up their companies with their husbands, friends or close relatives, they can prevent all kind of male dominated and not women friendly culture. According to respondent, through setting up company with her relatives, she handles the problems that she exposed to in her previous jobs. Using close networks and connections during the set up process is a way to overcome problems that faced with. This is stated from one of the respondent as;

*“In my previous job, I had to travel for most of the time. In general, I was always accompanied by men. I was often disturbed by their attitude and jokes as well. When I had the idea of setting up this company, I shared it with my husband and my close friends. Now, I feel equal to them and I don’t have those problems anymore. It turned out to be a family firm, so everybody knows each other and feels comfortable away from the problems in the past.”*

According to Schwartz (1991), some of the best women engineers are opting to leave engineering oriented organizations and set up their own businesses. Like in engineer-oriented organizations, in this study, most of the respondents emphasize that there are many reasons to set up their companies. However, one of the main reasons is to escape that male hegemonic working environment that they experienced in their previous jobs. In order not to experience those kinds of problems in their current jobs, they set up their companies with their

relatives, acquaintances or close connections. Even though they are hiring some personnel, they declare that references are the most important criteria for being chosen. Using social connections and working with people whom you know well is a way to eliminate problems in the work place. With the help of social networks and relations, managers and entrepreneurs set up their companies with their close relatives. In this way, they try to overcome male hegemonic and patriarchal discriminatory understandings through the endowment of their social capital. This case is expressed in one of the respondent case;

*“In my previous job, I always had problems with the manager. There were a few working women and he had a different kind of attitude towards us. When I informed them about my pregnancy, I was told: “Get well soon.” When I was first signing the contract to start my work there, they had a deal with me on my not getting pregnant. Afterwards, when I had to ask for a day off due to my small son, I was not given the permission to leave. They did not show empathy when I had to use my legal rights about the pregnancy. Now, we have established this place and worked with people who are acquaintances with good references. When you have a stress-free atmosphere without problems, there is certainly an increase in one’s performance.”*

Another respondent states that since she uses her social connections for establishing her company, she eliminated all kinds of gender discriminatory behaviors. Through establishing your own organization, there is a perception that you can create the type of environment that is free of such kind of gender discriminatory barriers. Working with people whom you know is a way to eradicate the problems that is faced in working environment. This is explained by one respondents as;

*“In my previous experiences, I have almost nothing good to tell. Since I had experienced some mobbing and harassment, I had to give a stop*

*to working. After a while, I thought that I would no more have problems if I worked together with acquaintances. I am now giving priority to the references instead of the CVs. I always work with people whom I know well and am acquainted with”.*

As they want to overcome the difficulties they had experienced in their previous jobs, the social network plays an important role on the women entrepreneurs who give priority to the references and set up their own companies with the help of their social environments. The respondents admit that it provides the company and its managers with some more easiness to work with people whom they know well and are acquainted with. They also underline the fact that the present social environments produce a big social capital when setting up a new company. As respondent mentioned below;

*“Actually, techno parks are very protective structures. You always communicate with people with high educational level. However, if Facebook (emphasis on the big corporation) even experience this kind of mobbing, it is not a big surprise for us to experience mobbing in here. However, I have some ways to eliminate this; such as communicating with the people I know, using my own social network. This gives me the new opportunities in the field and access to the new information.”*

Since information technologies, defense and aviation are highly male dominated sectors, respondents complain about the situation that they have to prove themselves in every cooperation and meetings. Since there is a hegemonic understanding that women are fewer careers oriented and too much emotional to become good managers, respondents in this study says that they are continuously performing gender neutral or masculine characteristics in order to prove themselves as good managers. Changing the working environment is a way to overcome these problems that is experienced. Working with people whom you know put a stop to gender stereotypical



expectancies towards women. This is reflected by one of the respondent as;  
*“Here is my own working place. The personnel here are the people who have known me for ages and come from the companies I worked for in the past. I am no more in need of proving myself since everybody here is sure of my capabilities in my field. No one is questioning it. As far as I hear and know, the women in the other working places cannot be managers just because they are women. However, this is not the case here since it is our own place.”*

Establishing your own company and using your social capital to the development of the company is a way to eliminate existing male dominated environment in the work place. Changing the working environment and reconstructing through social capital can overcome the problems that encountered. This is clearly stated by one of the entrepreneur as;

*“I tried a little to demolish the male dominance here. The number of men and women is equal here. What is critical here is to succeed. If you prove yourself once here in a way, you can easily find a lot of positions with this reference in Turkey. I have full confidence in me, which is known by everybody in my environment. Whenever I have difficulty in doing something, my mates are so helpful and supportive. In my previous office, I had mostly soldiers (she worked in a company that is established by retired soldiers) around me and nobody took me serious as I was a young woman; however, I am the only person here they have to take serious and communicate with.”*

Using social connections and relations to set up the company and develop is a way to change the existing working environment that creates some problems and difficulties for women managers and entrepreneurs.

#### **4.3.2. Set the Family – Work Balance**

Working with people that you know also provides some benefits within the company. Most of the respondents who complain about family – work life balance difficulties, state that they overcome those difficulties when they set up their own companies. When they decide to set up their companies, one of the most important advantages is that they can make their decisions on their own. With the help of their husbands or family members, some women entrepreneurs set up their companies and become top managers. In this way, they admit that they are happier than before in terms of raising their children, deciding about their own schedule and fulfilling the domestic responsibilities as well as carry out administrative responsibilities at work place. One of the respondents say that thanks to her social connections and relations, she set up her company. In this way, no more she experience family and work dilemma in terms of caring or raising the children. Even though she does not use her social capital in economical terms, she uses her social connections to manage family work balance. This is reflected from one respondent as;

*“We have set up this company together with my husband. When my child was small, I did not use to come here for most of the time. I used to prefer working at home and caring for my child. But now, I can manage to plan my own time. As my husband and I are in the managerial position, no one is trying to look into this situation. When my quests are to visit me, I can leave work earlier, which reduces my stress. I can go home and get ready in a comfortable manner.”*

Not only be a successful manager but also, at the same time, becoming a successful mother and fulfilling the domestic duties properly create psychological pressure towards women. In order to overcome those pressures, most of the respondents say that they are more comfortable than before when they use their social network and social connections that they can trust. They use their social capital in terms of providing some benefits for overcoming difficulties about family and work life that women managers and entrepreneur experience.

According to Ecevit (1995), there are several reasons why women have been participating less in the labor force such as family responsibilities, domestic duties and patriarchal relations within family. In that aspect, although more women have been attending the labor force in urban settings today, they have still been encountering several difficulties. One of them is to construct a balance between work and family life. Having children or not, fulfilling domestic responsibilities, being an ideal mother and a wife are some examples with which the respondents usually experience dilemmas. In order to be successful in both a working life and a family life, many respondents say that they are outsourcing those domestic responsibilities. In that way, they feel more comfortable in terms of being a mother, a wife and a manager. This is mentioned from one of the respondent as;

*“The biggest support to minimize the problems I encounter here in this organization comes from my social environment. As far as I have someone dealing with my house and childcare, my performance here increased very much. In the past, I felt squeezed between my work and my house; but now, I do not have to take care of the house. I have a babysitter, a maid and family members to inspect them. My social environment and my family helped me a lot on constructing family and work constraints.”*

Existing social capital analysis fails to recognize the importance of social network and relatives in terms of caring and fulfilling the domestic responsibilities. However, like in this study, there is a significant impact of social network, family members and acquaintances on women’s business life success. As Bezanson (2006: 436) has emphasized; “for many women, strong endogamous social ties are the necessary glue for balancing paid work and family responsibilities”. In that aspect, through outsourcing the domestic duties and responsibilities, women managers and entrepreneurs get rid of the less participation into business life. This affects not only their family lives but also

their occupational success. This outsourcing provides opportunities for managers and entrepreneurs to mobilize resources. In other words, with the help of social network and relatives, women find the way to attend different significant organizations, out of town meetings, and the international business trips. In addition, spending less time with the domestic responsibilities at home brings more opportunity to construct relations and interactions in the work place. In order to prove themselves and become successful as much as men do, many women managers and entrepreneurs state that after outsourcing domestic issues, they are more comfortable to spend time at work. According to one of the respondent;

*“In the past, I used to get stressed when I had to go home without finishing my office work, and so I had to leave the work behind. This was giving me nightmare at home. But now, I am doing my own business and I do not have to take care of the housework. We have a maid at home, which makes my husband happy as well. I can now give more time to my work, join the meetings and fly abroad for business trips comfortably. I do not need to think about home; furthermore, I feel successful at work as much as I do at home.”*

When asked to comment on the interrelation of social capital and dealing with household issues most of the respondents confirm that they owe their success to their social networks. By exercising and regulating a well-invested social network, women managers and entrepreneurs indirectly enable a more women friendly environment.

#### **4.3.3 Strategies to Access the Social Networks**

According to Timberlake (2005), although the number of women entering the workplace has risen, they still stay behind men in career advancements and achieved status. One of the reasons can be the inability to access social capital that is a valuable source for knowledge, organizational

commodity and networks. In this study, it is seen that since there is a continuous understanding towards women managers and entrepreneurs on the basis of career achievements, being a mother and emotional, most of the women respondents say that they do not attend any meetings or communities.

Because of the misperception that women are too emotional to take part in administrative positions, women seek some alternative solutions to access social networks. The only way for women to access those resources and information communities, as Timberlake (2005) mentions, is to find a sponsor to introduce themselves. In this study, most of the respondents say that thanks to their male colleagues and/or husbands, they are able to reach sectorial information, new knowledge and connections. Even though women managers and entrepreneurs can find a way to access social connections and resources, there still is a perception that males in the business sphere uncomfortable while communicating with women. For that reason, most of the respondents say that they are not opt for to attend those informal interactions and communications. As one of the respondents have emphasized; *“Sometimes I have a feeling that they do not like seeing me around. Whenever I step into the room, they feel disturbed. Then, it is so important to be successful in the career. I just prefer directing. What matters is to succeed for the sake of the company. A man from the office attends the meetings instead of me.”*

One of the strategies to access those male hegemonic social networks is to keep themselves in the background. As Hatmaker (2013: 383) mentioned, “in male dominated professions with a gendered masculine culture, professional identity is often not gender natural”. In order to create and maintain their social capital to access new resources and information, they do not prefer to attend male dominated environments and direct them into a male colleague.

Keeping themselves in background is also helpful for establishment of new connections and relations. A number of respondents say that when they attend meetings with men, they sometimes exposed to gender discriminatory

behaviors. For that reason, they choose to stay in the background in a strategically. According to one of the respondent;

*“References and relationships are very essential to do business in Turkey. Whatever I did, I could not create networks as many as my husband. When I joined the business meetings, there occurred some tension. I joined the business lunches, but the people misperceived it as I was a woman. When I perform the things that a man does comfortably such as making jokes or laughing, it is perceived in a different way.”*

When women managers and entrepreneurs experience difficulties in terms of accessing social networks, connections that can provide valuable resources and knowledge, they develop some strategies. In some cases, they prefer not to attend male dominated meetings or communities; sometimes they prefer to send male colleagues to those meetings. When they try to reach informal networks and connections in some cases, this leads to different consequences. Even though men managers can go out with the other businessmen, this leads to different results if women managers do it. Gender stereotypical expectations and discriminations are highly dominant. In order to get rid of those misunderstandings and misperceptions, most of the respondents state that they prefer behaving masculine or gender neutral in those meetings. Hiding femininity and performing masculine ones are another way of the strategies that women managers and entrepreneurs generally use. The change in the manner of speaking, dressing, treating to other people are some examples to strategies that women managers and entrepreneurs use. As Miller (2004: 66) argues, although women denied the salience of gender, women avoid gender based stereotyped discriminations through not showing their emotions, masking sexuality by dressing carefully, and so on. This is reflected from one of the entrepreneur respondent as;

*“The perception of people about a man speaking and a woman speaking usually differs in an environment, especially in a municipality.*

*We generally have to work during the night. I get dressed like a man and go to the working area. Once I was called; "What's up, bro?" by the male workers. (She highlights that she looks like a man.) I think it is better for me not to be noticed and felt as a woman. If I were inquisitive to compare myself to them, there would be some decrease in my performance. Unfortunately, we have to accept this situation in Turkey."*

As respondent mentioned above, the strategy as behaving, dressing and speaking masculine is actually a reflection of the adaptation to dominant masculine culture. Rather than trying to change it, women generally accept the hegemonic masculine culture and tend to be 'muted' (Marshall, 1993) as unaware of the masculine nature of the context. Women learn in their work context, which types of behaviors and treatments are rewarded, for that reason they do not question the nature of the context; they rather accept the masculine dominant culture in their work places. According to Miller (2004: 64); "they became exceptionally skillful at their practice, but they did not think about the fact that they were reinforcing the masculinity of the whole system".

In order to survive in a male dominated environment, women learn and develop strategies to gain short-term benefits. As Marshall (1993) emphasized, women prefer to keep silence in the existing male dominant culture, and rather prefer to display their feminine behaviors. This is reflected in one respondents' case who interrelates her dressing with hiding her femininity to create new social connections in the work place. According to Miller (2004: 67), "not only was stereotypical feminine clothing an issue, but they also learned not to display other feminine behaviors". As respondent mentioned below;

*"When I meet new people here, they take me as an assistant. Once they learn that I am one of the founding partners, they get surprised so much. It is usually a part of our work to communicate with men. In time, I started to behave like a man. You see that I never dye my hair, I*

*just put on jeans and go out. I gave up my position as a woman, otherwise you cannot survive in this world.”*

Internalizing the ‘think manager – think male’ phenomenon (Schein, 1996), women adapt themselves into the male dominated organization culture. Preferring to behave masculine and stay away from ‘feminine’ behaviors is actually a reflection of the continuation of patriarchal understanding towards women managers.

In order to survive male dominated and patriarchal gendered organization, women managers and entrepreneurs develop strategies. As Quinlan (1999) has emphasized, women seek out some supportive relationships playing a significant role as emotional, psychological and social support. Through that support, women feel more comfortable in terms of surviving in a male dominated environment. For that reason, it is frequently seen in this study that most of the respondents get help while setting up their companies. During the set up processes, majority of the entrepreneurs get economical, social and psychological help from their husbands, family members, relatives and acquaintances. Not only through the economic help but also the social support, most of women entrepreneurs enhance their start up process.

In some cases, husbands or fathers become the ‘sponsor’ for introducing them into the related business network (Kanter, 1977). Through that introduction, women find the way to access valuable information, related knowledge, resources and to build intimate relations in the business network. This involvement into the network can overcome the existing invisibility of women’s participation in social networks. Like most of the other sectors, information technologies, defense and aviation sectors are also highly male dominated. For that reason, all related communities, corporations and companies are also male dominated and fewer women friendly. Through their social capital, women find the way to access those communities and reach valuable resources and build some new relations.



All in all, if to look at all three phases in women's path in overcoming obstacles in work environment, it is impossible to ignore deeply rooted patriarchal influences in all of them. Women managers and entrepreneurs shape strategies that adapt them to the existing system. Performing masculine behavior in order to be respected or having a male sponsor for a business start up serves as examples of reproducing a patriarchal dominance in business sphere. Moreover, women put a lot of effort in balancing work and family as they acknowledge themselves similarly responsible of both of it. A vivid internalized patriarchy can be clearly observed in these women trying to be successful at work as well as at home. In addition, in need of modifying a working environment in their own favor women managers and entrepreneurs employ their social capital and prefer working with close acquaintances and relatives. In this picture, it is difficult not to acknowledge the dependency of women, even in managerial positions, on a continual and limiting patriarchy.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

Throughout history, women generally experience different kinds of difficulties. It is expected from women to stay at home and raise their children. Mainly husbands, fathers or any male figures in women's lives do not let them participate in economic sphere. Some of their primary responsibilities were those on giving birth, taking care of the children and the elderly in their own families. During the war periods, men joined the army in times of war, women had to take part in economic sphere. Since then, more women have had different jobs. According to Walby, although women have participated into economic sphere, they faced two types of segregation; vertical segregation is mainly related to the position of women and men in company. Although they have the same qualifications, men are located in top positions and women are located in the bottom. In addition, the idea that some occupations are appropriate for women and some are not reflects the horizontal segregation in the work place (Walby, 1989). Due to those perceptions, women are restricted in some occupations and certain positions in business environment.

Through some policies and attempts that encourage women to take part in economic sphere, more women are currently participating in labor force. However, there still exist some restrictions and limitations preventing women from being equal to men in working life. In this study, the notion of social connection, relations and networks, which is not only different for men and women but also some types are limited for women, is analyzed and discussed. When starting with social connections, it is crucial to focus on social capital. For this reason, throughout the study the capital that is the core entity of social capital is discussed. From the Marxist perspective, the idea and the perception

towards the capital have changed. It gained more social meaning rather than an economical term. According to Bourdieu, the main scholar who developed the idea of social capital (1984), through three forms of capital (economic, social and cultural), individual can possess and locate themselves with objective relations to other positions. With the changes in social sphere, the differences between individuals are to be examined through those three forms of capital. Although individuals have the same economic capital and cultural capital, the different degrees of profit in the economic sphere can be clarified with the impact of social capital. Although examining economic capital is sufficient to make analysis towards the differences, social and cultural aspects need discussions today. In that aspect, the ways in which different social capital creates different degrees of profit vary according to the different powers that influence different actors (Siisiainen, 2003).

In this study, mainly women managers and entrepreneurs' business success and the background to be examined. The main aim of the study is to analyze the experiences and strategies that women managers and entrepreneurs develop through using their social connections. In order to make this analysis, the field of the research is chosen from Metu Technopolis case. As mentioned in previous chapters, Metu Technopolis mainly working on defense, aviation and information technologies are heavily male dominated and women do not find that much opportunity to take part in male dominated business environment. This is also reflected as large difference in the number of companies that men and women established. When considering the results of the study, it is seen that Metu Technopolis is one of the proper areas to actualize that aim of the study.

While coping with difficulties and problems that is faced by women in organizations, managers and entrepreneurs need social connections and networks to build relations. The main idea behind the social capital is the ability to access new resources, new knowledge and information through the social connections and network ties. According to Adler and Kwon (2002),

through the social capital, individuals enhance their collective identity for a collective action with the help of internal and external relations. In addition, like other capitals, social capital can be applied in economical terms. This means that one's position in social network can create other positions and can be converted into economic relations. Moreover, actors in the relations can compensate for their lack of capital such as human capital or economic capital through the strong social capital. Social capital can enhance the efficiency of economic capital through the reduction of transaction costs (Lazerson, 1995). In addition to those advantages, Coleman (1988) argues that social capital is not located in the actors themselves but in their relations. No actor has ownership rights on the social capital, since the very specialty of its feature belongs to the relation itself. If one actor dissolves from the connection, the relation will disappear. For that reason, social capital always needs the utility of network goods, commitment and cooperation. In that aspect, besides the importance of the social capital, there is necessity to maintain those relations through continuous investment into those networks.

In order to make analysis towards the impact of social connections and relations on business success, this study focuses on women managers and entrepreneurs' experiences and strategies. For some deep analysis about their experiences and expressions, the in depth interview is done. With the help of face-to-face, open - ended questioned interviews, the real experiences of women are analyzed. In order to reach the real experiences of women and the ways in which they overcome difficulties that they face with, there is a necessity of a methodology that can provide the access of reality of women from their own standpoints. For that reason, the Feminist Methodology is chosen to access the experiences of women from their own perceptions and help to overcome the subordinate position of women in the male dominated work sphere. As mentioned, since feminist methodology emphasizes on the non - hierarchical and self - reflexive research, there were no hierarchical positions during the interviews and I experienced the help of same gender for better understanding women's experiences in public sphere.

In order to fulfill the less addressed issue about the interrelation between social capital and women managers, entrepreneurs' experiences and strategies, first of all, it is necessary to mention about the present literature on the social capital and women in economic sphere. For Marx, the main idea of capital comes from the production process and the commodity itself. The idea of social capital owes these definitions and conceptualizations to three main scholars; Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. Bourdieu defines those three forms of capital as economic capital, social capital and human capital (1986). Unlike Marx, Bourdieu gives capital more than a social meaning. This is similar in Coleman and Putnam's theories. Putnam mainly emphasizes on trust, norms of reciprocity, network and civicness for indicators of social capital (1993). Coleman (1988), on the other hand, shifts social capital analysis from individual to the groups, organizations (Adam and Roncevic, 2003). According to him, social capital is not a single entity; it is composed of different aspects of social structures and facilitates certain actions of actors (Coleman, 1988). Another important scholar Fukuyama gives attention towards social capital with trust. He examines simple differences between high level trust societies (Germany, Japan, The United States) and low – trust societies (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Italy and France) in a comparative manner. Unlike other scholars, Burt (1992) mainly gives importance to the locations of actors rather than relations. For Burt, the structural hole in the network is the main source of social capital and the location of the actors in the network is important for the creation of social capital (1992). Another scholar who gives attention towards the network relations for the creation of social capital is Granovetter (1983). According to Granovetter (1983), we can classify social network and ties according to whether it is weak or strong. Strong ties mainly are based on common solidarity and trust relations that provide support and cooperation. On the whole, as mentioned in chapter two, social capital is significant for not only creating new resources and accessing new information, but also having important impact on business success.

In chapter three, mainly women managers and entrepreneurs' business life experiences, work – family life conflicts and their social capital possessions have been examined. Domestic responsibilities attributed to women lead low - level participation in economic sphere. Raising children, taking care of the elderly and patriarchal pressure towards women restrict women in the domestic sphere. Although they find the opportunity to participate in economic sphere, there is some continuous understanding towards male and female occupations. Not only in Turkey, but also all over the world, there is strong emphasis on 'think manager – think male' (Schein, 1970) phenomenon. The belief on that women cannot be top managers and executives restricts women from becoming successful in their work places. Although some policies try to prevent gender - based discrimination at work place, there is hidden consciousness towards the idea that managers need masculine characteristics. Those biased judgments prevent women's high participation into the economy (Kanter, 1977). In order to understand how women entrepreneurs and managers are overcoming those difficulties, the impact of social capital is to be examined.

As Healy et. al, (2006: 112) have argued, key social capital theorists have failed to recognize women's contribution to the social capital creation. For that reason, the chapter four, which is the analysis part of the study, demonstrates that there are important results towards the impact of social capital on women managers and entrepreneurs' experiences in business sphere and strategies. Although none of the respondents say that they do not prefer attending any related communities, social organizations and meetings for creating social capital, there are other ways to develop their social connections. Mainly their close network ties such as family members, friends are the primary source for the creation of social capital. Most of the respondents declare that their friends and family members supported them in terms of both economically and socially throughout their start up process and developments. Sometimes with the help of their friends, women managers and entrepreneurs change their jobs and access new resources, and sometimes with the help of family members, they establish and develop their companies. In addition to friends and family

members, in this study, it is seen that professional environment is another source for the creation of social capital. Most of the respondents state that professional networks and connections are mostly essential for promotions in an occupation and also creating new job opportunities. Not only in the start up process, but also when improving the company, respondents say that professional network and acquaintances provide benefits, support and references for new networks.

While considering the impact of social capital on overcoming difficulties and problems, women managers and entrepreneurs have stated similar problems. One of the biggest dilemmas for them is the balance between family and work life. For them, since work takes much of their time, it is hard to construct a balance between the family life responsibilities expected from 'women', and the work life. Although all of the respondents are university graduates, most of them say that women should be the one primary person for controlling and maintaining a family life. In order to do this, most of them say that they have to be a perfect wife and a perfect mother at home as they are perfect managers at their company. This 'being perfect' understanding causes some constraints in their family and work lives. Another important difficulty that they experience is the idea of a manager established majorly with masculine characteristics. Although all of the respondents say that they do not think of a life without working, most of them stated that women are less career oriented for that reason successfulness is attributed towards male characteristics. In order to be successful managers and entrepreneurs in their organizations, hiding their femininity is a way for them to be successful in their work place. In their opinion, when considering the administrative positions, as women are not sufficient enough to be good managers, they have to perform masculine behaviors in their work places. Although all of the respondents complain about gender stereotypical understandings, respondents themselves declare that women are too much emotional, emphatic, and not career oriented. This is one of the dilemmas in the study. Although all of the respondents define themselves as women, they have stereotypical understanding towards female

managers. As men have, it is seen that some women respondents have patriarchal and gender discriminatory understanding towards other women managers and entrepreneurs. Another difficulty that women managers and entrepreneurs have is the decision in respect of having children, or not. Most of them state that they are expected to take care of their children, not to travel anymore, and not to construct new networks as they do not attend any organizations or meetings and their working tempo slows down after having a child. As Jagacinski (1987) mentioned, relatively a large percentage of career oriented women in science and engineering spheres are more likely to be childless. Career women may choose not having children in order to escape from career – family role dilemmas. They also emphasize that even if they construct a balance between family and work life, the business environment is actually not women-friendly. As McAfee (1974) emphasized, women are not promoted as men because there is an expectation that women more than men tend to drop out labor force in order to raise their children. Most of the entrepreneur respondents say that they quit their previous jobs because of this patriarchal and gender based discriminatory understanding. After establishing their own companies, they try to end that kind of understanding and find the opportunity to actualize their own potentials. Thus, setting up their own companies and developing by themselves is a way to avoid existing patriarchal and male dominated perspective in the economic sphere.

In order to cope with those limitations and difficulties, women managers and entrepreneurs use their social connections, ties and relations in several aspects. Since the work place is not that much women friendly, women entrepreneurs set up their companies with their close acquaintances in order to overcome gender discriminatory behaviors in work place. Working with relatives and acquaintances is one of the ways to overcome difficulties in the workplace. They make use of their social connections and social networks to establish and develop their companies, while overcoming the present gender based discriminations. Working with people that they know well is helpful for eliminating male hegemonic understanding towards women managers and



entrepreneur. With the help of their social connections and relations, women managers and entrepreneurs are not forced to prove their qualifications in the work place, because working with people whom they know well is a way to avoid patriarchal understanding towards managerial positions for women. The respondents admit that working with people whom they know well provides the entrepreneurs as well as the managers an opportunity to not to deal with gender-based problems at the work place and helps focus on the business itself. Since information technologies, defense and aviation sectors are highly male dominated as in Metu Technopolis, respondents claim that when they work with people whom they know, they do not have to prove themselves or perform masculine characteristics to demonstrate power in their companies.

In addition, through respondents' social connections and relations, they say that companies get new projects and take part in important cooperation. Working with people whom they know is helpful for the creation of new resources and accessing new information. Women managers and entrepreneurs state that they owe most of their new projects to their social connections and social networks. Sometimes with the help of a sponsor (Timberlake, 2005), women managers and entrepreneurs create new networks and develop their social capital. Having high social capital provides benefits in terms of accessing new resources and information, creating new opportunities, decreasing the transactions and establishing new cooperation. Another advantage of using social connections and relations at work place is that it provides advantages in terms of constructing balance between family and work life. Having children or not, fulfilling domestic responsibilities, being an ideal mother and a wife are some examples about which women experience dilemmas. Through their social relations, some of the respondents outsource those domestic responsibilities and children care, and some of them point out that they behave in a more sensible way in the workplace since their social connections show respect for their special situation with children. With the help of their social capital, one of the respondent claims that "the biggest support to minimize the problem I encounter here in this organization comes

from my social environment. Since there is someone taking care of my house, my performance here has increased very much". As Quinlan (1999) has emphasized, women seek out supportive relationships playing a significant role in terms of emotional, psychological and social support. Through their social capital, most of the respondents say that they receive emotional, psychological and social support during the set up process and the development of the company. Thanks to their social connections and networks, all of the respondents say that they can set up their companies, participate in new projects and establish strong references for further projects. With the help of social connections and relations, women are able to avoid gender based stereotypical understandings at work places and to set the balance between family and work life.

All in all, if we look at women managers and entrepreneurs' experiences, it is impossible to ignore deeply rooted patriarchal influences. Women managers and entrepreneurs shape strategies that adapt them to the existing male dominated system. Performing masculine behavior in order to be respected is a way to escape subordinate perspective towards women. In order to cope with the gender based discriminatory behaviors such as ignorance, not shaking hands or removing eye contact, women managers and entrepreneurs adapt themselves into the patriarchal and discriminatory environments through performing masculine behaviors. In addition, since women are not considered as career oriented, they are excluded from business networks, communities and relations. In order to cope with those experiences women managers and entrepreneurs find male sponsor to be introduced into the business networks. Although women put a lot of effort in balancing work and family, it is clearly observed that women themselves have actually internalized and reproduce patriarchal understanding that subordinates women in all spheres. A vivid internalized patriarchy can be seen in these women trying to be successful at work as well as at home. Considering that home as a place that women have to be responsible creates some constraints for both entrepreneurs and managers. Adapting some strategies such as modifying working environment or setting

family – work balance are some ways to avoid male dominant perspectives aimed towards them. As Schwartz (1992) states, some of the successful women are opting to leave male dominant organizations and set up their own companies to build the type of environment that is free of such barrier. Through using their social connections and relations, women managers and entrepreneurs readjust some strategies to overcome existing patriarchy at the work places. Setting up companies with their relatives and working with people whom they know well are some ways to escape male dominance in the business sphere. Using their social connections, women managers and entrepreneurs try to sabotage the ‘outsider’ or ‘foreign’ position in the organization and try to join ‘boys club’ at the work places. However, although those strategies for adapting or modifying the male dominant culture are successful in short term, they actually reinforce the masculine value system and lead to long-term failure. Those individualistic coping strategies can only be viewed as ‘coping’ strategies; they are unfortunately far away from solutions to the problems that women face.

Lastly, as epistemologically it is not that much possible to devise a single concept and a single way of measuring social capital on the basis of social relations and connections, this study encounters limitations. For this reason, social capital needs further researches that tend to measure its impact and applications towards the social relations. Although it is one of the significant concepts in literature, there are few researches combining social relations and patriarchal perspectives that subordinate women managers and entrepreneurs in the business sphere. For that reason, it is suggested that future researches should acknowledge the dependency of women even in administrative positions on a continual and reproducing patriarchy.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: Tez Mülakat Soruları

#### Tez Mülakat Soruları

1. Eğitim durumunuz hakkında bilgi verebilir misiniz?
2. Medeni durumunuz, varsa çocuk sayınız nedir?
3. Bugüne kadar hangi işlerde, ne kadar süre ile çalıştınız?
4. Daha önceki işlerinizdeki iş tanımlarınız nelerdi?
5. Şu anda çalışmakta olduğunuz işte ve pozisyonda görev tanımınız nedir?
6. İşinizi seviyor musunuz?
7. Yönetici olmayı seviyor musunuz? Neden?
8. İyi bir yöneticide olması gereken özelliklerin neler olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
9. Tüm iş deneyiminiz göz önüne alındığında kadın yöneticilerle erkek yöneticiler arasında benzerlikler ve farklılıklar görüyor musunuz? Bunları nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
10. İşyerinizde yönetici konumunda olmanız sosyal hayatınızı etkiliyor mu?

11. İş dışındaki hayatınızı nasıl tanımlarsınız?
12. Üye olduğunuz dernek, kurum ya da kuruluş var mı? Varsa neler?
13. Varsa bunların toplantılarına faaliyetlerine düzenli olarak katılır mısınız?
14. Mezun olduğunuz okulların dernek veya toplantılarına katılır mısınız? Katılma & katılmama nedeniniz nedir?
15. Sosyal hayatınızın iş yaşamınızı etkilediğini düşünüyor musunuz?
16. Arkadaş çevreniz kariyerinize nasıl bir katkıda bulundu?
17. Profesyonel çevreniz kariyerinize nasıl bir katkıda bulundu?
18. İş yaşamınızda bir kadın olduğunuz için yaşadığınızı düşündüğünüz sorunlar oldu mu? Örneklendirebilir misiniz?
19. Kadın yönetici olarak karşılaştığınız engeller oldu mu? Örneklendirebilir misiniz?
20. Bu sorunların üstesinden gelirken sosyal çevrenizin size bir katkısı oldu mu?
21. Sizce kadınların yönetici olmalarının önündeki engeller nelerdir?
22. Bu engellerin ortadan kaldırılmasında kişinin sahip olduğu sosyal çevrenin nasıl bir katkısı olmaktadır?

23. Kadınların iş yaşamlarında yükselmelerindeki engellerden biriside ‘cam tavan sendromu’ adı verilen görünmez engeller olduğu söylenir? Bunun hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
24. Sizce sahip olunan sosyal sermaye bu engelleri aşmada katkıda bulunur mu?
25. Siz işte yükselmede sektörel - kişisel ağların etkisini nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
26. İşte yükselmede eğitimin rolünü nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
27. Kadınların iş yaşamında karşılaştığı sorunların neler olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
28. Hangi araç ve mekanizmalarla bu sorunların aşılabileceğini düşünüyorsunuz?
29. Eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?



## **APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY /TÜRKÇE ÖZET**

Tarih boyunca kadınların iş yaşamında yer aldıkları konumlarda ekonomik ve sosyal anlamda öncelikli ve önemli konumda olamamıştır. Kadınlar her zaman erkekler tarafından kıyaslanmış ve ikincil pozisyonda bırakılmıştır. Sadece özel alanda yani aile bütünlüğünde değil aynı zamanda iş hayatı gibi ekonomik anlamda kamusal alanda da erkekler ile kıyasıya mücadele içinde yer almışlardır. Ancak, eğitimde yaşanan gelişmeler, küreselleşme ve ekonomide yaşanan serbestleştirme politikaları ile birlikte mesleki kompozisyonlarda değişimler meydana gelmiştir. Yaşanan değişimler ile birlikte iş dünyasında ve ekonomik alanda da değişimlere neden olmuştur. Bugün küresel dünyada değişen iş yaşamında yöneticilik gibi üst pozisyonlarda yer alan kadın sayısında artış meydana gelmiştir. Mesleki yapıda meydana gelen bu değişimler ile birlikte, sosyal ağlar, sosyal bağlantılar ve ilişkiler gibi hususlar profesyonel yaşam bakımından daha önemli bir hale gelmiştir. Sadece kamusal veya özel alanda değil aynı zamanda sosyal bağlantılara sahip olmak ve bu bağlantıları etkili ve verimli kullanabilmek iş dünyası için de önemli bir konumdadır. Sahip olunan bağlantılar, tanıdık kişiler ve ilişkiler; yeni fırsatlar yaratımında, yeni ilişkiler kurulmasında ve var olan ilişkilerin güçlendirilmesinde önemli yere sahiptir. Bu nedenle sosyal bağlantılar başta olmak üzere ilişki ağları ve sosyal bağların incelenmesi sadece sosyal anlamda değil aynı zamanda ekonomik anlamda da önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Sosyal bağlantıların yeni fırsatlar yaratması, yeni ilişkiler doğurması ve yeni bilgiye kolay erişim sağlaması açısından değerlendirilmesi karşımıza sosyal sermaye kavramını çıkarmıştır. Literatürde yer alan ve Marx ile derinlemesine tartışılan sermaye kavramı zaman içerisinde ekonomik temelden daha çok sosyal bir anlam kazanmıştır. Sermaye kavramının sosyal bir anlam kazanması

ile birlikte sadece ekonomik temelde incelenen sermaye daha çok ilişkisellik bakımından da incelenmeye başlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, ilişkileri ve ilişkilerin durumlarının öncelikli olduğu sosyal sermaye kavramı profesyonel yaşam anlamında sıklıkla temel kavramlardan biri olmuştur. Bu çalışmada, kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin deneyimleri ve bu deneyimlerde yaşadıkları problemlerin üstesinden gelmek için sahip oldukları sosyal bağlantıları nasıl bir ilişkide kullandıkları incelenmiştir. Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Teknokentinde yer alan yönetici ve girişimci 18 kadın ile derinlemesine mülakat yöntemi tercih edilerek yapılan görüşmelerde, kadınların şirket kurma esnasında ve iş yerlerinde farklı sorunlar yaşadıkları görülmüştür. Daha çok savunma, yazılım ve bilişim sektörlerinde yer alan firmalarda genel olarak erkek çalışan sayısında bir fazlalık ve ortamın daha çok erkek dostu yapılanmada olduğu görülmüştür. ODTÜ Teknokent bünyesinde 320 firma olmasına rağmen sadece 31 tanesinin bir kadın tarafından kurulmuş veya yönetiliyor olması da yer alan hipotezin doğrulayıcısıdır. Var olan ataerkil anlayış çerçevesinde şekillenen çalışma ortamı, kadın yönetici ve girişimciler açısından farklı zorluklar ve problemlerin deneyimlenmesine neden olmaktadır. Yapılan ilgili çalışmada, kadın girişimci ve yöneticilerin iş yerlerinde deneyimledikleri ve ilgili alanlarda sıklıkla karşılaştıkları temel problemler 3 ana başlık altında birleştirilmiştir. İş yerinin kendi dinamiklerinden kaynaklanan sorunlar olarak kategorileştirilen birinci sorunsalın temelinde kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin ataerkil anlayış ve toplumsal cinsiyete bağlı ayrımcılıklar ile mücadele etmeleri yer almaktadır. İdare pozisyonunda yer almaktan bazen şikayetçi olunsa da görüşülen tüm yönetici ve girişimciler buldukları konumdan memnunnlardır. Ancak yapılan görüşmeler esnasında yöneltilen sorulara verilen cevaplarda görüşmüştür ki temel olarak kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin esas sorunları idari pozisyondan ziyade ataerkil ve erkek egemen anlayış merkezinde çevrelenen iş yaşamlarıdır. Kadın olma durumlarına bağlı olarak yaşadıkları ayrımcılık, sürekli kendilerini kanıtlamak zorunda bırakılmaları ve kariyer hedefinden uzakta görülmelerinden kaynaklı yaşanan dışlamalar temel olarak kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin yoğun olarak deneyimledikleri problemlerdir. Kadın

ve yönetici olma durumları arasında yaşanan ikilem esasen yöneticilik pozisyonunun kariyer hedeflerinde yer alan ve daha kapasiteli olduğu düşünülen erkek cinsiyeti ile ilişkilendirilmesinden kaynaklıdır. Hem kadın hem de başarılı bir yönetici olma durumu, erkek egemen bakış açısında pek de mümkün olmamaktadır. Çünkü genel olarak yöneticilik ve idarecilik erkeklere atfedilen konular olduğundan kadınlar ne kadar yeterli olurlarsa olsunlar bu pozisyonlarda yer alamamaktadır. Kadınların kariyer hedeflerinden yoksun oldukları düşüncesi, onların başarısız oldukları algısını yaratmakta ve kadınlar bu algıyı ortadan kaldırmak için sürekli kendilerini kanıtlamak zorunda bırakılmaktadır. Yapılan görüşmelerde kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin var olan bu algıyla mücadele etmek için diğer konumdaki çalışanlardan çok daha fazla çalışmakta, tatil yapmamakta ve kendilerini sürekli kanıtlama ihtiyacı hissetmektedirler. Kadın ve yönetici kavramlarında karşılaşılan ataerkil düşüncenin yansımaları sadece yer alınan iş yerleri ile de sınırlı kalmamaktadır. Görüşmeciler kendi iş yerlerinde karşılaştıkları toplumsal cinsiyet temelli sorunlar ile mücadele edebildiklerini ancak kamusal alanda karşılaştıkları sorunların üstesinden gelmekte zorlandıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında yaşadıkları göz temasından kaçınma, el sıkışmama, erkekler ile konuşmayı ve irtibatta olmayı tercih etme gibi davranışlar, kamusal alanda kadınların en çok karşılaştıkları problemlerdir. Bu problemlerin üstesinden gelmek için kadın yöneticiler kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarına gitmekten kaçınmakta veya bir başka erkek çalışanın gitmesini sağlamaktadırlar. Erkeklerin erkekler ile konuşmayı ve irtibatta olmayı tercih ettiklerini ve kamusal alanda kendilerini hiçe saydıklarını ifade eden görüşmeciler aynı zamanda yöneticilik pozisyonlarının da sınırlı olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Kadınların başarılı idareciler olamayacakları ve sadece erkeklerin birer girişimci olabileceği algısı ile mücadele eden kadınlar hem özel sektör hem de kamu da sürekli kendilerini kanıtlamak zorundadırlar. Ayrıca kadın olma durumunun annelik ve eş olma kavramları ile içselleştirilmesi kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin sürekli annelik ve yöneticilik durumlarının sorgulanması anlamına da gelmektedir. Bu bağlamda kadınların iş yaşamlarında deneyimledikleri bir diğer temel problem aile ve ev içi

yükümlülükler başlığı altında incelenmiştir. Kadınlık, ideal eş ve anne olma durumlarının sorgulandığı geleneksel ataerkil bakış açısına göre kadın ev içi görev ve yükümlülüklerini yerine getirmek zorundadır. Çalışma hayatının yoğunluğu ev içi hizmetlerin kadın tarafından yerine getirilemeyeceği algısı yüzünden kadınlar ev ve iş üzerinde temellenen ikilemler yaşamaktadır. İdeal eş olmak, yönetici olmak ve annelik üzerinden oluşturulan baskılar ile mücadele eden kadınlar, yer aldıkları pozisyonlarda da sorunlarla karşılaşmaktadır. Anne olup işten ayrılma düşüncesi genel olarak iş verenlerde bir ayrımcılık yaratmakta ve kadınların önemli pozisyonlara yükselebilmeleri engellenmektedir. Çocuk sahibi olmanın konsantrasyonu düşüreceği ve performansı azaltacağı düşüncesi nedeniyle kadın yöneticiler ve girişimciler iş yaşamlarında farklı bir boyutta da zorluk yaşamaktadırlar. Çoğu zaman ev – iş dengesini kendileri ayarlayabilmek adına girişimci olmayı tercih ettiklerini ifade eden kadınların sayısı bu çalışmada bir hayli fazladır. Bu kadınlar kendi şirketlerinin sahibi olmanın temel motivasyonlarından birisinin de çocuklarına ve ailelerine istedikleri gibi vakit ayırabilmek için kendi zamanlarını kendilerinin ayarlama arzusunun yattığını belirtmişlerdir. Annelik ve ideal eş algısının da yer aldığı basmakalıp beklentiler sadece bunlar ile de sınırlı değildir. Kadınlar üzerine atfedilen bu basma kalıp beklentiler, kadınların görüşmeler esnasında en çok karşılaştıkları sorunlarda son kategoriyi oluşturmaktadır. Kadınların kadın olduklarından dolayı başarılı olamayacakları beklentisi temelde ataerkil bir basma kalıp düşüncenin yansımasıdır. Kadınların başarılı olmalarını engelleyen diğer etmenler onları çok duygusal oluşu, kariyerden uzak olmaları, çok çabuk ağlamaları ve dedikodu yapmaları esasen erkek egemen anlayışın göstergeleridir. Kadınlar kendilerine atfedilen bu tarz basmakalıp beklentilerden kurtulmak için farklı yollar tercih etmektedirler. Bu yollardan biri kadınların iş yaşamlarında erkek gibi davranmayı, konuşmayı ve yönetmeyi tercih etmeleridir. Kadınlar bu sayede erkeklerin kendilerine yükledikleri yanlış basmakalıp ifadelerden kurtulmakta ve kendilerini ispatlayabilmektedirler. ‘Profesyonel’ gözükme için kadın yönetici ve girişimciler kadınsal davranışlardan ve giyimlerden kaçınmakta ve maskülen davranışları tercih etmektedirler. Kadınların çocuk sahibi olmaktan

kaçınmaları, evlenmemeleri ve maskülen davranışlar sergilemeleri kendilerine atfedilen bakış açısı ile mücadele etmelerini sağlayan yöntemler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Ancak yapılan bu çalışmada görüşülen her kişi kadın olmasına rağmen, kadınların diğer kadınlara aynı şekilde basma kalıp bakış açısı yansımaları görüşmeler esnasında edinilen önemli bir bulgudur. Çalışmada yer alan birçok kadın yönetici ve girişimci, çocuğu olan veya olmasını ‘bekledikleri’ kadınlara farklı davranışlar sergilemekte, onları terfi almasına veya önemli konuma yükselmelerine sıcak bakmamaktadırlar. Kendilerinin diğer kadınlardan farklı olduğunu ifade eden bazı görüşmeciler, temelde eleştirdikleri ve mustarip oldukları ataerkil davranışları yeniden üretmektedirler. Kadın çalışanlara çocuk sahibi olmalarını yasaklamaları, anne olan çalışanlarını terfi ettirmemeleri, onlardan kötü olarak bahsetmeleri, sürekli kendilerini diğer kadınlar ile kıyaslamaları esasen var olan ataerkil ve erkek egemen temelde oluşmuş anlayışın yeniden üretilmesinden başka bir şey değildir.

Edinilen bilgiler doğrultusunda yaşanıldığı gözlemlenen bu deneyim ve sorunların üstesinden gelmek için kadın yönetici ve girişimciler sosyal çevrelerinden yardım almakta ve sosyal bağlantılarını kullanmaktadır. Araştırmanın temelini oluşturan bu ilişkisellik temelde sorunların üstesinden gelmede sahip olunan sosyal çevrenin etkilerini ölçmeye yöneliktir. Bu bağlamda sahip olunan sosyal bağlantıları ve sosyal sermayenin kullanımı ve etkisi incelemek amacıyla öncelikle sosyal bağlantıların hangi yollar ile kazanıldığını ve geliştirildiğini incelemek yerinde olacaktır. Literatürde sıklıkla yer almasına karşın bu çalışmada dernek, kurum ve kuruluşlara üyelikler sosyal bağlantılar açısından yeterli kaynak sağlamadığı bulunmuştur. Yapılan görüşmelerde dernek ve kuruluşlara üyelikler ile ilgili bir takım çekinceler dile getirilmiştir. Oldukça niş bir alanda çalışma yaptıklarını ifade eden bir çok yönetici ve girişimci için kendilerine yeni fırsatlar sağlayacak ve kaynaklar sunacak ilgili dernek, kurum veya organizasyon bulunmamaktadır. Var olan kuruluşlar ise yeni fırsatlar ve kaynaklar yaratamamaktadır. Bu nedenle hem katılım açısından vakit alması hem de ilgili olunan alanla alakalı bir dernek

veya organizasyon bulunmaması nedeniyle sosyal bağlantılar açısından üyelikler yeterli imkan doğurmamaktadır. Ancak çalışmada karşılaşılan bir diğer önemli bulguya göre sosyal bağlantılar yaratma ve yaratılan bağlantıların kullanımı açısından düşünüldüğünde sosyal çevre oldukça önemli bir etmendir. Yapılan görüşmelerde aile, arkadaş, tanıdıklık kavramları üzerinden ifade edilen sosyal çevre sayesinde görüşmeciler yeni olanaklardan haberdar olduklarını ve yeni kişilerle tanışmaları kolaylaştığını ifade etmişlerdir. Bu sayede yeni fırsatlar iş dünyasında yeni projeler getirmekte ve bu sayede kazanımlar artmaktadır. Aile, arkadaş, tanıdıklar yeni haberlerin edinimini kolaylaştırmakta, yeni fırsatlar sunmakta ve işlerin hızlanmasını sağlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda sosyal çevre bu çalışma açısından en önemli sosyal sermaye kaynağı olmaktadır. Son olarak ise yapılan görüşmelerde yeni bağlantılar kurma, ilişkiler yaratma ve bu ilişkiler aracılığı ile yeni fırsatlar yaratma açısından bir diğer kaynak profesyonel çevre olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Eski bağlantıları kullanarak yeni ilişkiler kurma ve eski işler sayesinde referans sistemiyle yeni işler oluşturma açısından konumlanan profesyonel çevre yenilikler ve fırsatlar açısından önemli kazanımlar yaratmaktadır. Bu bağlamda sahip olunan sosyal çevreden sonra görüşmeciler profesyonel çevrenin de iş yaşamında önemli yere sahip olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Ancak sahip olunan sosyal ve profesyonel çevrenin kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin yaşadıkları ve deneyimledikleri problem ve sorunlara hangi oranda etki edebileceği sorunsalı üzerinden kurulan çalışmada sosyal bağların etkisi 3 ana başlık altında toplanarak incelenmiştir.

Daha öncede belirtildiği üzere kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin deneyimledikleri ve karşılaştıkları problemler oldukça fazladır. Yapılan çalışmada, bu sorunların üstesinden gelmek için kadın yöneticiler ve girişimciler kendi sosyal çevrelerini ve sosyal bağlarını kullanarak bir takım stratejiler geliştirmişlerdir. Öncelikli olarak sosyal bağlantıların kullanımına bağlı olarak geliştirilen bir strateji alanını çalışma koşullarındaki değişimler oluşturmaktadır. Kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin sıklıkla mustarip oldukları bir husus olan kadın dostu çalışma ortamının olmayışı ve erkek egemen bakış açısı ile şekillenmiş çalışma yaşamının üstesinden gelebilmek için kadınlar farklı

yollara başvurmaktadır. Daha önceki iş deneyimlerinde bu tarz problemler ile karşılaşan kadın girişimciler için kendi şirketlerini tanıdıkları ve arkadaş ortamından bireyler ile kurmaları aslında ataerkil zihniyetten kurtulmak üzerine kurgulanmış bir stratejidir. İyi bildikleri, güvendikleri ve tanıdıkları sayesinde kurdukları girişimci şirketleri, onların eskiden maruz kaldıkları erkek egemen bakış açısından sıyrılmaları için bir yol oluşturmaktadır. Sadece şirket kurulması aşamasında değil, aynı zamanda şirketin gelişmesi ve büyümesi sürecinde de kendi sosyal çevrelerindeki bağlantıları kullanarak büyümeyi tercih eden girişimciler eskiden deneyimledikleri sorunlardan kaçınmayı başaramışlardır. Zaten iyi bildikleri kişiler ile iletişim halinde olup, çalışma ortamını paylaştıkları için sürekli kendilerini kanıtlama zorunluluğundan kurtulmaktadırlar. Ayrıca sektörde yer alan olası ayrımcılık maruzlarına karşı da sahip olunan sosyal çevre ve ilişkiler sayesinde bir bariyer oluşturulmaktadır. Sahip olunan sosyal bağlantıların ve ilişkilerin karşılaşılan ayrımcı ve ataerkil zihniyet merkezinde kurulmuş sorunların aşılması amacıyla kullanılması kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin kendi sosyal sermayelerini kullanarak geliştirdikleri birinci stratejiyi oluşturmaktadır.

Bir diğer strateji ise yine kendi sosyal çevrelerini ve bağlantılarını kullanarak aile ve iş arasında yaşanan ikilemlerin ortadan kaldırılmasına yöneliktir. Tanıdıklar ile çalışmak, arkadaş çevresinden ve aile bireylerinden yardım almak ve sosyal bağlantılar sayesinde kurdukları kendi şirketlerinde idareci pozisyonda yer almaları sayesinde kadın yönetici ve girişimciler sosyal sermayelerini kullanarak eskiden maruz kaldıkları sorunları bir oranda azaltabilmişlerdir. Kendi şirketlerini kurmaları ve yönetmeleri sayesinde istedikleri gibi zaman çizelgelerini ayarlayabilmekte, hatta şirket bünyesinde çocukları oynamaları için özel alan bile tahsis edebilmektedirler. Bu sayede yapılan görüşmelerde, görüşmeciler kendilerini daha rahat ifade edebildiklerini ve ev – iş ikilemi yaşamadıklarında işteki performanslarında gözle görülür bir artış meydana geldiğini belirtmişlerdir. Sadece başarılı bir iş kadını değil aynı zamanda başarılı bir eş ve anne rollerini aynı anda yerine getirmeye çalışan kadınlar için maruz kalınan ataerkil temelli problemler azımsanamayacak

kadar çoktur. Maruz kalınan sosyal ve psikolojik baskıları sosyal çevrelerinin yardımları ile aştıklarını ifade eden kadınlar evlerini de birer iş yeriymiş gibi algılayıp, profesyonel anlamda 'yönetmeyi' tercih etmektedirler. Zorunlu ev içi hizmetleri dışarıdan satın alarak gideren kadın yönetici ve girişimciler için hem aile alanı gibi özel alanda hem de iş yeri gibi kamusal alanda başarılı olmak zorunluluktur. Bu nedenle sosyal sermayeleri aracılığı ile görüşmeciler ev ve iş dengesini kurmakta ve gerekli görülen her alanda sosyal çevreden yardım alınmaktadır. Sosyal çevreden yardım alınması ve sosyal bağlantıların yaşanılan zorlukların aşılması amacıyla kullanılması anlamında geliştirilen son strateji ise erkek egemen bağlantı, grup ve ilişki düzeneklerine girme ve yeni olanaklar elde etme üzerine kurulmuştur. Kadınların kariyer merkezinden uzakta yer aldıkları, çok duygusal oldukları, çabuk ağladıkları ve duyguları ile mantıklarını idare ettiremedikleri üzerinde oluşan toplumsal cinsiyet temelli algıların üstesinden gelebilmek için kadın yönetici ve girişimciler farklı yollar tercih etmektedirler. Örneğin Timberlake (2005)'in de bahsettiği üzere farklı sosyal ortamlara girebilmek ve yeni bağlantılar kurabilmek için kendilerine sponsor adını verdikleri bir tanıtıcı seçmektedirler. Bu kişi hem kadınların erkek egemen ortamlara girmelerine yardım etmekte hem de yeni kişilerle tanıştırmak için yeni bağlantılar kurulmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Kadınların erkek egemen topluluklar içinde yer aldıklarında deneyimledikleri ayrımcı davranışların üstesinden gelebilmek için bir sponsor aracılığı ile sosyal bağlantılar yaratmak, sosyal sermayenin etkin kullanıldığı bir strateji olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Erkek egemen ortamlara girmenin ve yeni ilişkiler geliştirmenin mümkün olmadığı durumlarda ise kadın yönetici ve girişimciler bir erkek çalışma arkadaşları sayesinde yeni bilgiler edindiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Kendileri katılmak yerine bir erkek çalışanın katıldığı toplantı ve organizasyonlarda, kadınlar sanki kendileri başarmış gibi yeni bilgiler edinmekte ve yeni fırsatlara erişebilmektedirler. Kendilerini arka planda tutarak yeni olanaklara ulaşmaya çalışan görüşmeciler için esas olan yeni bağlantıların kurulmasıdır. Bu bağlantıların kendileri veya bir başkasının kurmuş olması önemli değildir. Ayrıca görüşmeciler, kendilerini arka planda tutarak maruz kalınması muhtemel toplumsal cinsiyet temelli ayrımcılıklardan



ve dışlamalardan da korumuş olduklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca eğer kendilerini temsil edecek bir sponsor olmadığı durumlarda ve erkek egemen ortamlarda yer almaları gerektiğinde ise kadın görüşmeciler davranışlarında bilinçli olarak değişiklik yaptıklarını söylemişlerdir. ‘Eğer onlardan biri gibi olursam’ bakış açısı temelinde oluşan maskülen davranış tercihi ile kadın girişimci ve yöneticiler başarılı birer örnek model oluşturmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Bu sayede kendilerini daha rahat hisseden erkekler ile yeni ilişkiler kurmakta ve yeni bağlantılar geliştirebilmektedirler. Giyiniş şekillerinden, konuşma ve davranış şekillerine kadar maskülenliği tercih eden görüşmeciler için esas olan kadın ve erkek olgusu değil yeni fırsatlar elde edilmesidir. Bu bağlamda var olan ataerkil zihniyetin ve egemenliğin yeniden üretilmesi kendileri için bir sorun teşkil etmemektedir.

Kadınların geliştirdikleri 3 ana stratejiye baktığımızda iş yaşamında deneyimlenen ve sıklıkla karşılaşılan ayrımcılıklar ve zorluklar ile mücadele edildiğini görebiliriz. Ancak geliştirilen stratejiler temelde anlık ve kısa süreli çözüm olanakları yaratsalar bile uzun sürede var olan ataerkil zihniyetin ortadan kaldırılması için hiçbir olanak yaratmamaktadır. Hatta sadece kısa süreli çözüm merkezinde geliştirilen bazı stratejiler bizatihi ataerkil zihniyet ve egemenliğin yeniden üretilmesine yardımcı olmaktadır. Kadınlık özelliklerinden vazgeçilmesi ve erkeklik üzerine değer atfedilerek geliştirilen stratejiler ataerkil anlayışın yok olmasından ziyade devam etmesi hatta güçlenmesine neden olmaktadır. Kadınlık özelliklerin sıklıkla aşağılanması üzerinden sorgulanan başarılı kadın girişimci ve yönetici algısı ile sürekli bir mücadele içinde yer alan kadınlar için erkek davranışları sergilemek esasen bir kaçış noktası olarak gözlemlenebilir. İdeal eş, mükemmel anne ve başarılı iş kadını üçgeninde şekillenen ikilemler kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin sürekli kendilerini kanıtlama zorunluluğu hissetmelerine neden olmakta ve iş dışındaki alanları da profesyonel anlamda yönetmelerine teşvik etmektedir. Ancak bu durum, geleneksel erkek egemen zihniyetin 21. Yüzyılda önemli teknolojik alanlarda çalışan kadın yönetici ve girişimciler için bir yansımasıdır. Bu bağlamda deneyimledikleri ayrımcılık, dışlama ve aşağılama ile mücadele

etmekten ziyade kadınlar kendileri de ataerkil zincirin döngüsüne katılmakta ve sorgulamayı bırakmaktadırlar. Hatta bazı durumlarda görüşmeciler kadınlar ile çalışmaktan hoşlanmadıklarını çünkü erkekler kadar başarılı olamadıklarını ve profesyonel davranmadıklarını ifade etmiş, toplumsal cinsiyet temelli ayrımcılığı yeniden üretmişlerdir. Gözlemlenen bu davranışlar esasen içselleştirilmiş ataerkilliğin yansımalarıdır. Bu zihniyet yapısını sorgulamak ve değiştirmek yerine anlık başarıları tercih eden kadın görüşmecilerin sayısı hiçte az değildir.

Temel olarak deneyimledikleri zorluklara karşı koyabilmek ve üstesinden gelebilmek için sahip oldukları sosyal bağlantılardan yardım alan kadın yönetici ve girişimciler için hem aile anlamında hem de iş hayatında başarılı olmak önemlidir. Bu nedenle hem çalışma ortamının yeniden yaratımında hem de aile ve iş dengesi kurgulanmasında sıklıkla sahip oldukları sosyal bağlantılar ve ilişkilerden yardım alan görüşmeciler sahip oldukları sosyal sermayelerini aktif olarak kullanmaktadırlar. Sosyal sermayeleri sayesinde iş hayatlarını yeniden kurgulamakta ve tanıdıkları sayesinde yeni ortamlara kolayca tanıştırılmaktadırlar. Bu sayede yeni fırsatlar, önemli bilgiler ve olanaklar yaratılmasında aktif olarak görev almakta ve sosyal bağlantılarını en etkili şekilde kullanabilmektedirler. Ancak, yönetici ve girişimci kadınlar çeşitli stratejiler geliştirerek yaşadıkları sorunların üstesinden gelmeye ve kendilerini var olan iş dünyasına adapte etmelerine rağmen, derinlemesine içselleştirilmiş ataerkilliğin etkilerini geliştirilen ve değiştirilen her davranışın yansımada gözlemek mevcuttur. Kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin geliştirdikleri stratejiler kısa süreli olarak bazı kazanımlar sağlamasına rağmen, uzun dönemde ataerkil ve toplumsal cinsiyet temelinde oluşturulmuş kurumsal kültürün değişiminde başarılı olamamıştır. Çalışmanın sonucunda, kadınların yönetici pozisyonlarda veya girişimci konumunda yer alsalar bile erkek egemen iş alanında erkek zihniyetine bağımlı konumda yer almalarını; ataerkil etkinin hem bir devamı hem de kısıtlayıcı etkilerini görmemek zor olacaktır. Sadece geliştirilen stratejilerde değil aynı zamanda sahip olunan sosyal sermayenin kullanım alanlarında da ataerkil zihniyet oldukça öne çıkmaktadır.

Kadınlara atfedilen geleneksel rollerin halen günümüzde de yansımaları bu çalışma için de bulunmuş önemli bir bulgudur. Yüz yüze gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine mülakatlarda, kadınlar genel olarak kendi başarılarını övmekte ancak herhangi bir proje veya yeni iş ortamı yaratımında çevrelerindeki bir erkekten bahsetmektedirler. Genel olarak karşılaştıkları problemlerden de bahsederken, bir çok görüşmeci sosyal çevrelerinin bu konuda oldukça yardımcı olduğunu hatta yeni ilişkiler kurulmasında kendilerinin önünde yer aldıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Yeni fırsatlar yaratma, yeni olanaklar sunma, önemli bilgiye erken erişim imkanı sağlama açısından düşünüldüğünde sosyal sermaye kavramı farklı boyutlar kazanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada da temel olarak sosyal ilişkilerin kullanımı açısından değerlendirildiğinde sosyal sermaye ve ilgili dinamikler kadın yönetici ve girişimcilerin maruz kaldıkları ataerkil zihniyette oluşan zorluklar ve problemlerin aşılması açısından önemli bir konumda yer almaktadır. Farklı boyutlarının incelenmesine ihtiyaç duyulan sosyal sermaye kavramı, kadın yönetici ve girişimciler için bu çalışmada oldukça gerekli bir konumda bulunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda ilgili alanda çalışmayı planlayan araştırmacılar için sosyal sermaye ve etkin olduğu alanların derinlemesine incelenmesi, literatürde yer alan boşlukların doldurulması açısından fayda sağlayacaktır. Ayrıca hem ekonomik hem de sosyal anlamda incelenen sosyal sermayenin farklı boyutlarının ve dinamiklerinin birleştirilmesi, araştırma kapsamında incelenmesi ve bulunan verilerin geliştirilmesi, yeni teoriler ve ilgili uygulamalar açısından da önemlidir.

## APPENDIX C: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : GÜVENEL

Adı : CANSU

Bölümü : TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE KADIN ÇALIŞMALARI

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : WOMEN MANAGERS AND  
ENTREPRENEURS' EXPERIENCES AND STRATEGIES: THE  
CASE OF METU TECHNOPOLIS

**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 alınmaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**