

WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND COPING STRATEGIES OF EMPLOYED
WOMEN IN A PUBLIC INSTITUTION

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WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND COPING STRATEGIES OF EMPLOYED
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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND COPING STRATEGIES OF EMPLOYED WOMEN IN A PUBLIC INSTITUTION

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This study aims to examine work family conflict experienced by employed mothers, and coping strategies developed by them. This study centers on gender as explanatory variable and it is set within the framework of Feminist Standpoint Theory to reflect women's experience as the starting point. The fieldwork of the study is based on accounts of depth interviews from 15 working mothers employed in a public institution in Ankara. By conducting this method, this study reveals employed women's feelings and routines in a detailed way. This study also analyses employed women's work-family conflict admitting socially and culturally constructed gender role ideology as a base. This study sets forth antecedents of work-family conflict as gendered division of labor at home, unavailable and inaccessible public facilities for childcare, working place conditions such as inflexible long working hours and workload and attitudes of colleagues, as well as employers/managers. Adopted coping strategies are the product of gender-oriented relations and reinforce gender inequality between couples. This study also focuses on emotional distress and intense feeling of guilt by employed women as a result

of work-family conflict. Lastly, policy recommendations are submitted in order to reduce work family conflict and to establish women-friendly environments.

Keywords: Employed Women, Work-Family Conflict, Coping Strategies, Feminist Standpoint Theory

ÖZ

BİR KAMU KURUMUNDAKİ ÇALIŞAN KADINLARIN İŞ- AİLE ÇATIŞMASI VE BAŞ ETME STRATEJİLERİ

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Bu çalışma, çalışan kadınların deneyimledikleri iş-aile çatışmasını ve geliştirdikleri baş etme stratejilerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, açıklayıcı değişken olarak cinsiyeti temel alır ve başlangıç noktası olarak kadın deneyimini temel alması sebebiyle Feminist Duruş Kuramını kullanır. Bu çalışmanın alan çalışması Ankara’da bir devlet kurumunda çalışan 15 kadınla yapılan derinlemesine mülakata dayanır. Bu metodla, çalışan kadınların hisleri ve rutinleri detaylı bir şekilde ortaya konulmaktadır. Bu çalışma, çalışan kadınların iş-aile çatışmasının sosyal ve kültürel olarak inşa edilen toplumsal cinsiyet rolü ideolojisini temel kabul ederek inceler. Bu çalışma, çalışan kadınların iş-aile çatışmasının öncülleri olarak evde cinsiyetçi iş bölümü, kullanılmayan ve erişilemeyen çocuk bakımı imkânları ile esnek olmayan uzun mesai saatleri, iş yükü, yönetici ve iş arkadaşların tutumlarını öngörmüştür. Uygulanan baş etme stratejileri de toplumsal cinsiyet yönelimli ilişkilerin ürünüdür ve çiftler arasında toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini pekiştirmektedir. Bu çalışma ayrıca iş-aile çatışması sonucunda çalışan kadınların yaşadığı suçluluk duygusu ve duygusal sıkıntılara

odaklanır. Son olarak kadın dostu bir ortam oluşturabilmek ve iş-aile çatışmasını azaltabilmek için politika önerileri sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çalışan Kadın, İş- Aile Çatışması, Baş Etme Stratejileri, Feminist Duruş Kuramı

To my mother...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As a daughter of an employed woman and growing in a little town located in the east of Turkey with a traditional Turkish family culture, I have had no awareness about my mother's work-related commitments and I have not developed empathy with her role as an employed woman until I also got a job. Being a child, I could not imagine the difficulties of surviving as an employed woman in male-dominated business world and striving for fulfillment of all demands of not only your husband, your husband's family, your children but also your boss, co-workers and many other people you encounter during the day. It has taken a very long time to comprehend that all the happenings all around us are neither my mother's nor my problem. It is the problem of all women and probably it will happen to my daughter if we do not take an action. For this purpose, this thesis aims at examining work-family experiences of employed women and the strategies developed against challenges in both spheres. As a unit of analysis, I chose employed women with children because of being one of the most challenging and disadvantageous position for building a career in Turkey. Giving a false impression of having good working conditions because of working in a public institution, women respondents in this study indeed have different stories unlike some others imagine. I need to tell their experiences as it is in real life. For this reason, the primary technique used in this research is feminist methodology and standpoint feminist theory. The reason why I chose this method is to apprehend women's perspectives, concerns, challenges and coping strategies against work-family conflict. Key characteristics of standpoint feminist theory are compatible with the themes of this study. Within this scope, the highlighted concepts are situated knowledge, real truth stemming from women's subordinate position and specificities and multiplicities of women experiences. According to standpoint feminism, knowledge production is systematically biased and politically oppressive. As a feminist philosopher, Harding

(1988) remarks, “feminist objectivity means quite simply situated knowledges (p.581) so, it is thought what we know is no more than partial knowledge of the social reality. In addition, Dorothy Smith (1987) argues “male social universe” implying social order constructed and shaped by malestream thinking. Science is monopolized by masculine vantage point which ignores woman, her thought, her experience and her problems. Masculinity is seen as norm whereas women are omitted from researches as both the subject and the bearer of knowledge. Therefore, modernist explanations remain incapable to interpret women’s experience since they are produced by androcentric point of view. Moreover, patriarchal relations design, determine and constrain what we know and these can be observed in institutions and social practices. Social reality is obtained from male experiences however, social reality needs to be explained from the position of women because malestream theories distort and marginalize women’s interests and experiences. With this study, as bearers of knowledge, women and their stories are included in the samples as the main component of the social reality. As Sandra Harding argues, “starting off research from women’s lives will generate less partial and distorted accounts not only of women’s lives but also of the whole social order (Harding, 1993, p.56).

Modernist explanations purpose for being universal and objective and preclude alternative knowledge production methods; on the other hand, this study centers on women experience as the marginalized group and its interaction with daily routines of employed women including gender analysis into the research. Dorothy Smith (1987) argues that standpoint theorists have “a wider angle of view because they can see things from the perspective of not only the privileged but also the oppressed women (p.99). In order to understand and resolve women’s conflict, women’s distinctive kind of thinking is needed rather than mainstream thinking. Different and daily realities expressed by different groups like women can enrich and contribute to the theory. In terms of discovering truth realities, Harding (1986, 1991) defends women as the oppressed group that have “more complete and less perverse understanding” as well as “fewer interests in ignorance about the social order”(p.26). As Lawson (1999) states “For unlike the dominant group, the marginalized are forced both to be aware of the practices, belief systems, values and traditions of the dominant group as well as to live their own” (Ho & Schraner, 2004, p. 10). Furthermore, not all women experience

common ground of subordinate position in the same way. According to standpoint theorists, standpoints differ in age, social differences, class and ethnicity and there are “multiple standpoints”, there is not just one category of woman because women incorporate various histories and experiences (Ho & Schraner, 2004, p.14). In this study, women are from different social background, education level, job position, awareness level and mindsets which contribute and enrich the findings of the study.

With regard to women’s labor, Harding thinks that women are mostly responsible for preparing men for the public life. She evaluates “they do feeding, dressing, cleaning, nursing and the other kinds of care of elite men’s bodies and the local places where those bodies exist- the relational and concrete labor that makes it possible for elite men to spend their days contemplating all by themselves the perfect motions of abstract, isolated bodies” (Harding, 1991). This argument of standpoint feminism can also be a proper statement for the employed women in the workplace I chose. They struggle in the public arena and the private sphere, they may withdraw themselves, thrust their partners forward, suspend their promotion and educational opportunities because of sexist practices supported by traditional, cultural and social patterns.

Taking all the above into the consideration, work-family conflict of employed women is a major area of interest within the field of social sciences. Along with the growth in labor force activity in everyday life, mounting concern among women centers upon feeling of conflict to catch up with all the responsibilities in family and work realms. Although work and family are major separated realms of life in terms of time and place, there are powerful interaction and close relations between them. Though being an inseparable component of society and taking actively part in demanding duties, women are located inferior than men as a result of the social positioning. For this reason, women’s labor is rendered either undervalued or invisible. Coltrane (2000) points out that more investigations need to focus on “how the performance of housework in different families is implicated in various cultural, economic and gender- reproductive processes” (Coltrane, 2000; Lavee & Katz, 2002, p. 28).

Research questions of this study are:

- What are the gender-related roots of work-family conflict experienced by employed women?
- What are the coping strategies developed by employed women to reconcile work-family lives?
- What are the result of work-family conflict in terms of emotional distress and feeling of guilt for employed women?
- What policies should be implemented for reducing work-family conflict of employed women?

The purpose of this study also is to portray the traditional gender specific roles and their effects on family and work practices of employed women. For this reason, in the pages that follow, employed women's habits and motivations will be discussed in a detailed way to obtain women's perspective at first hand. Finally, policy recommendations are presented to mitigate work-family conflict, ameliorate imbalanced power relations and establish women-friendly workplaces.

1.1. The Area and Scope of the Study

This study argues that women's lives are encompassed with gendered organizations as in work and family lives. For this reason, like in every stage of life, women fight off the conflicts in both spheres because of their gender, which is accepted as the central explanatory variable in this study. It is supposed that gender ideology shaping all around us attribute many other commitments like non-work domain together with work domain.

The major assumption in this thesis is that employed women burden much more physical and mental workload than employed men because of the assumption that work-family conflict is an outcome of internalized and sustained traditional gender role ideologies. Additionally, this study assumes that employed women perceive more conflict and guilt because they are still feeling in charge of household labor and childrearing as well as they try to earn a living as women in male-dominated labor

market. Put it differently, women's living is shaped by gendered allocation of labor in both spheres. Views about employed mothers' choices, whether having a member of upper or working class, concentrates on what women *should* do in their work and family lives. On the other hand, one needs to take into consideration that individuals' own preferences are not as personal as they may seem, and they are usually shaped by social and familial expectations and pressures (Sandberg, 2013). Employed women reconcile both spheres by formulating various coping strategies for various challenges, however, these solutions are gendered in itself. Work and family practices corroborate traditional gender roles and reasons of the conflict and adaptive strategies are gender specialized. Allocation of labor in both spheres, time spent on them and challenges faced in them are an outcome of taking for granted nature of dominant ideologies. So, it is assumed that both conflict factors and their coping solutions are the production of gender oriented relations.

1.2. Significance of the Study

This study is significant in terms of narrowing the gap in literature associating women's subordinate position and feeling of conflict with systematic reproduction of sexist practices. This study contributes the field in terms of reflecting married employed women's challenges and routines in public sector through in-depth-interviews .This study centers on women experiences with their own truth telling as a marginalized group in social order. The significance of analysing work-family conflict is the fact that it negatively affects the performance of individuals and organizations (Özdevecioğlu & Doruk, 2009). This study argues that the process shaping practices in two domains is sex-oriented. For this reason, this study examines women's positioning in social order. By this way, this study is valuable because of uncovering women employees' subjectivities in public sector and it submits a combined analysis of gender related issues with existing patterns in the labour force in Turkey.

Around the world, recent developments in women's participation in workforce have heightened the need for women- friendly services in workplace and equitable division of labor with the partner at home. Kenworthy explains women friendly services as "funding or provision of childcare, paid maternity/home care leaves, public

employment, promotion of part-time work, tax systems that do not penalize a second earner in a household, and antidiscrimination and affirmative action policies — on women's employment (Kenworthy, 2008). Main purpose of women-friendly services is to increase women's labor force participation, to protect women in case of maternity and to distribute equally workload between employers, so as to produce supporting policies for work-family balance (Topgül, 2017).

The changes in society which make an increase in the number of people who have important responsibilities for both work and family life require more research on mutual commitment between work and family. Additionally, the effects of work-family conflict on the individual is not limited to only work or family sphere; it redounds on individuals' whole life. Hence, the relationship between work-family conflict among women employers and widescale adverse outcomes on surroundings is needed to be examined. In order to resolve the relations and the reasons of different kinds of conflicts, firstly they need to be defined and analyzed. In order to help employed women performing efficient and organized work and family lives, I try to draw attention patriarchal structures surrounding them.

1.3. Plan of the Study

The first chapter of the study aims at showing work-family conflict of working women in a public institution in Ankara. It also grounds on gender-related roots of the problem in order to examine the topic. It also introduces assumptions of the study as well as its significance for the literature. At last, the sequence of the study is submitted.

The second chapter presents the explanations regarding feminist standpoint theory and the compatibility of it with the current study emphasizing basic concepts and assumptions. Establishing the framework as feminist standpoint theory, this part underlines the valuableness of women's telling of their own experiences of daily lives from their own perspectives and uncovers their actual problems focusing on gender based causes.

The third chapter continues with the discussion of work-family spheres of employed women. Within the scope of this part, the momentousness of both places for the individual and the role of gender ideology shaping their routines are reviewed. The central terms such as definitions of work-family conflict and the reasons and outcomes of the work-family conflict is categorized as gender-related, family-related and work-related factors as well as strategies adopted by women to reconcile both areas.

The fourth chapter is about methodology chosen by the current study. Research design is explained in detail. This part involves research question, sampling and data collection of fieldwork and limitations of the study.

The fifth chapter submits the outcomes of the research, subdividing them into several themes considering the responses of employed women. The findings are discussed in the light of the existing literature. Additionally, this chapter discusses coping strategies of employed women who face challenges in their work and family lives.

The sixth chapter presents institutional and structural expectations to ameliorate their work-family conflict and makes some policy recommendations based on the findings of previous literature. These policy recommendations are formed within the scope of the themes and discussions emerged in this study. The purpose is to make some suggestions for women-friendly workplaces.

The last part of the study summarizes a more holistic approach to the aims, methods and findings of the study. It offers general overview of the study and summarizes findings.

CHAPTER 2

APPROACHES TO EMPLOYED WOMEN'S WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT

2.1. Introduction

Work and family are regarded the most crucial arenas in one's life (Rane and McBride, 2000) hence, individuals spend much more time and energy than most other roles while dealing with tasks in these arenas (Wadsworth and Owen, 2007). Work is described as an instrumental activity that people contribute to goods and services so as to sustain life (Piotrkowski, Rapoport, & Rapoport, 1987; as cited in Rothbard, 2001). Family, on the other hand, is a social organization that people contribute to maintaining and enhancing family and its well-being (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Both are the organizations that people have membership as well as intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. Individuals gain personal and social rewards along with a platform to perform their own values and goals (Pearlin, 1983, Schieman, as cited in McBrier and Gundy, 2003).

Even though it seems that work and family are two major separated realms of life in terms of time and place, powerful interaction and close structural relations exist between them (Kapız, 2002). Although Munn (2013) confirms that they can be seen as two distinct domains however, they may affect each other (Skyttner, 2001; as cited in Topgöl, 2016). The effort for integrating work family domains implies that there are permeable boundaries between them, so they are not separate spheres. Kanter (1977) argues that if work and family are supposed to separate and bordered realms, they cannot be practically match up with each other (Munn, 2013).

In this sense, Munn (2013) quotes,

The “myth of separate worlds” where work and life are kept as separate bordered entities no longer reigns true (Kanter, 1977) and only serves currently to perpetuate gender (Kossek et al., 2010), sexuality, family, and relationship stereotyping, further preventing one’s ability to find meaningful work, and decreasing the opportunity to achieve work–life balance (Munn, 2013, p.408).

There is a rise in women’s workforce participation rates, correspondingly many dual-earner families all over the world are endeavouring to balance work and family domains (Hill et al. 2004; Padavic & Reskin 2002; as cited in Minnotte et al., 2010). Due to the fact that “two working parents” (Bradley & Goggins, 2001) supersede traditional family type, mothers deal with “challenging task of creating lives which allow them to be both mothers ad workers” (Redshaw & Martin, 2011; Whelan, 2014, p.83) which also can be depleting for women because of work and family demands.

Described as being “a complex multidimensional construct” (Premeaux, Adkins, & Mossholder, 2007, p.706), work-family conflict is bi-directional (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000; Frone, 2003) as family to work and work to family conflict and has multiple forms as time, strain and behavior based (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; as cited in Carlson et al., 2006). As at simplest, it means lack of harmony between family and work responsibilities among working individuals. Karaca & Dede (2017) state that patriarchal family structure of collectivist culture (Akoensi, 2017) attributes women to social roles, so these roles in work and family lead to much more conflict for women (Karaca & Dede, 2017). According to the research carried by Schneider and Waite (2005) conflict between work and family is inevitable and family is much more affected than work for almost all mothers and fathers. Bayramoğlu (2018) examines routines of couples and declares that men have extra time so as to read newspaper or drink coffee when they come home whereas women feel stress while returning home (Campos et.al, 2009) because they have to get ready for their other roles as wives and mothers, so they come home earlier than men. That is to say, men can create a sphere for themselves except for family (Campos et al., 2009) and they gradually adopt their roles (as

cited in Bayramoğlu, 2018). For this reason, women tend to experience conflict much more than men.

Pointing out literature, Duxbury and Higgins (2001) prove that women experience higher levels of work-life conflict than do men (Jennings & McDougald, 2007). In this sense, work-family conflict is defined as interference of roles which are incompatible with each other in family and work spheres (Carlson et al. 2000). Duxbury and Higgins (2010) note that work-family conflict means growing apace of the obligations in private and public spheres, becoming unbearable and consequently failure in accommodating oneself to the roles in these spheres while Kahn et al. (1964) defines it as a type of role conflict and disagreement of the work and family demands (Ulukapı, 2013). Owing that work and non-work roles have distinct requirements, they are mutually incompatible with each other. Hennessy conveys Blair-Loy's interpretation of conflict which is "fundamentally a conflict between emotionally salient, moral definitions of what it means to be a good worker and a good parent" (Blair-Loy 2003, p.178, Hennessy, 2009, p.561). Some scholars defend that work-family conflict is the result of ascribing meaning for paid work and caregiving (Hochschild & Machung 1989; Ferree 1990; Hays 1996; Garey 1999; as cited in Blair-Loy 2001, 2003). It is an outcome of presupposed perception about motherhood and employment instead of competing demands (Hays 1996; Garey 1999; Blair-Loy 2003; as cited in Hennessy, 2009).

Diverse women confront diverse conflicts because of cultural and moral dimensions of work-family life. It consists of "'intensive mothering" of middle-class mothers (Hays 1996), the "devotion to family schemas" of elite women (Blair-Loy 2001, 2003), or strategies of working-class women to remain "good mothers"' (Garey 1999, Hennessy, 2009, p.558). Taking into account several studies conducted, it can be affirmed that women have experienced much more work-family conflict rather than men (Çarıkçı 2001, as cited in Dursun & İftar, 2014), it is reinforced by other studies the conflict rates among men is lower than women (Hill 2005; Wharton and Blair-Loy 2006; as cited in Offer and Schneider, 2011). Moreover, mothers may be pressured if they have to multitask in both domains due to the fact that the people in their immediate surroundings can greater

notice them and more easily judge their ability to manage their role as good mothers.

Hochschild (1989) documents “employed mothers put in an ‘extra month per year’ of 24-hour day compared with employed fathers” taking into consideration commitments of both spheres. The time spent in various roles has great impact on role conflict. In *The Time Bind*, Hochschild (1997) comments that working men and women feel “stretched to the limits” when they struggle to create sufficient time for public and private domains (Milkie, Raley & Bianchi, 2009, p. 487). As Bianchi & Milkie reported “Mothers’ average time in child care remained high and indeed was as high in the first decade of the 21st century as it had ever been” (Bianchi, 2000; Bianchi et al., 2006; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2001, 2005; Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004; as cited in Bianchi & Milkie, 2010, p.708). For this reason, wives need to reorganize allocation of time in household chores, child rearing and employment.

As compared with mothers, fathers spend less time with their children and longer hours in paid work, being away from home (Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). Fathers also spend less two to three times with their kids by comparison with mothers (Baxter, 2009; Casper and Bianchi, 2002; Craig and Bittman, 2008; as cited in Craig and Powell, 2011). Family roles constrain women from working for late hours which withhold them to be an ideal worker depicted by organizations. As Munn (2013) emphasizes too, “the ideal worker is usually portrayed as a traditional heterosexual male (Williams, 2010) who can “subordinate all other elements of life to the requirements of the job” (Bailyn, Drago, & Kochan, 2001, p. 2; as cited in Munn, 2013, p.408). This is consistent with men’s thought of meeting no additional demand except for being a provider within the house since “employee is expected to put the workplace first, be available out of hours and not to have sick children who are on school days (McDonald, 2000, p.13). Craig and Powell defines ideal worker as the one liberated from household tasks (Gornick and Meyers, 2009; Pocock, 2003; Williams, 2001; as cited in Craig and Powell, 2011).

Work-family conflict occurs “when an individual’s values as expressed in identity are dissimilar with the role investment of that individual” (Carlson & Kacmar, 2000, p.1036). Stress stemming from “excessive demands and pressures arising from the many roles and identities people maintain” (Rosburgh, 2002) consumes resources of individuals and leads to role overload or role conflict (Front et al, 1992; Jain & Nair, 2013; Whelan, 2014, p. 86). Cinamon and Rich (2002) express that the reason why work-family conflict occur is not opposing demands but the perceived conflict because of giving precedence and salience to one sphere in comparison with the other.

2.2. Work- Family Conflicts of Employed Women

Work and family represent two domains on which people put great emphasis and spend major part of their time. Thus, work-family research is initiated as a means to realize how married, employed women balance work and childcare commitments (Lewis, 2001; Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000). In this sense, dual-earner couples have been put a significant emphasis (Barnett, 1999; Moen & Yu, 2000; Huang, Hammer, Neal, & Perrin, 2004; Aycan & Eskin, 2005; as cited in Munn, 2013). Investigations in work and family interaction help for a meaningful understanding how dominant ideologies determine and embody employed women's work and family decisions. For the purpose of interpreting work-family conflict, gender ideology and its profound impact on the society are needed to be comprehensively analyzed as the major antecedent. Two types of conflict are defined as work to family conflict which occur when work interferes with family life and family to work conflict which occur when family life interfere with work commitments (Gutek et al., 1991; O'Driscoll et al., 1992; MacEwen and Barling, 1994; Williams and Alliger, 1994; Marchese et al., 2002).

Aim of achieving balance between family and work is essential goal for employed women. In the examination of work-family processes and outcomes, work-family balance occupies a crucial position. Accomplishment in balancing work and family is desirable and motivating for employed individuals. Kapiz mentions that managing work and family roles is assumed as exclusively women’s problem

rather than an employer (Kapız, 2002). By normalizing women's domestic labor and reemphasizing their traditional position in the society, job is presented as an additional task for women. Jennings & McDougal mention that women are prone to perform as "acrobats" in order to fulfill all work and family role commitments (Kossek et al, 1999, p.110; Jennings & McDougal, 2007, p.753).

Several studies also confirm that workforce profile has drastically undergone a change, but the amount of time spent on domestic labour by men has not so altered in time (Pleck, 1985; McHale & Crouter, 1992; Ferree, 1998). As many studies indicate, the "rate of change in the sharing of household tasks within the family [...] lags behind dramatic rise in female labour force participation" (Blau et al., 2006, p.6; Burchielli et al., 2008, p.113). Nevertheless, women shoulder disproportionate burden of mental and physical labor in private sphere (Presser 1994; Zick & Bryant 1996; Milkie & Peltola 1999; Coltrane 2000; Arendell 2001; Bianchi et al. 2006; Craig & Bittman 2008; as cited in Schieman & Young, 2015). When compared to other tasks, women are more likely engaged in domestic service and raising a child than men (Bianchi et al. 2006; Craig 2006, 2007; Ironmonger 2004; Lee & Waite 2005; Sayer 2007a, b; as cited in Schieman & Young, 2015).

2.3. Antecedents of Work- Family Conflict within Feminist Framework

Domestic servant and caretaker image of women and the role of provider as the head of family are supported by social values, norms, and ideologies (Doucet 2000; Hays 1996; Ranson 1999; as cited in Tezli & Gauthier, 2009). Although the number of women entering the workforce has risen and new family types have emerged, the male gender role expectations concerning the priority of working have not altered in time (Duxburry & Higgins, 2001). On the one part, the influx of women into labor market helps eroding sole male provider stereotype, increases dual income couples and converges the male breadwinner/female caregiver family model. On the other hand, women are inclined to leave of employment as a consequence of extreme work and family demands, which induces lasting gender inequality in both domains (Bianchi & Raley, 2005; Kaufman & Uhlenberg, 2000;

as cited in Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Women in profession cannot meet work demands because of household commitments, however, they are expected what “mommy track” refers, to arrange work domain to facilitate the family demands (Duxbury et al. 2003; Hays 1996; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009, p.435). Because of having dedication to the family, women hierarchically locate in lower social status and in the world of business which also makes work and family reconciliation a more challenging topic (Laurijssen & Glorieux, 2013). Gendered cultural models of work and family life obstruct women’s success in workplace. Some occupations, especially those in the well-remunerated workplaces, demand total absorption in the job, so it can be challenging for the employees who yearn to spend time with children and other family members (Blair-Loy, 2003; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010).

2.3.1. Factors Related with Gender Roles and Role Demands

Gender is defined as a complex array of not only psychological but also socio-cultural relations and practices which are associated to biological sex and shaped by the environment and experiences (Griffith, Gunter & Watkins, 2012, 187). This definition of gender implies that masculinity or femininity is a social role shaped by gender norms. In accordance with these norms, women and men perform and actively maintain their roles. Moreover, it implies that individuals actively construct perspectives about femininity and masculinity depending on social context. For this reason, masculinity or femininity can be viewed as a continuous process that is always being constructed. Due to this process, as women perform feminine roles, men do “perform” their gender in order to label themselves as masculine (West & Zummerman, 1987; Connel, 1995; Addis & Cohane, 2005; as cited in Banos, 2017, p.4).

Gender roles involve a set of traditional values and norms about appropriate role behaviors attributed for each sex while gender stereotypes include a set of traditional beliefs and expectations about the psychological traits characterized for each sex (Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008). As gender role emphasizes, women’s place is in the home and feminine traits such as compassion, nurturance, sensitivity

to the needs of others, are the exhibited behaviors for gender stereotypes. Gender roles and stereotypes are ascribed by gender socialization period in childhood (Archer & Lloyd, 2002; Lippa, 2005) and strengthened in adulthood by anticipated confirmation period (Roese & Sherman, Powell & Greenhaus, 2007; 2010). Rather than having inherited qualities naturally existed at birth, socially formed qualities prevent men from looking and behaving feminine or associating with negative connotations such as weak. Boys are encouraged to hinder their emotions and to play masculine interests such as trucks and wrestling. Girls are permitted to play dolls and to dress up pink from top to toe. This socialization process divides boys and girls from childhood and results in the dichotomy in all fields of life. As a result of this type of classification, men are attributed with traits such as being rational, logical, objective, active, adventurous, strong, aggressive, ambitious, independent, task-oriented and self-confident, on the other hand; women are referred to exact opposite traits such as being caring, nurturing, responsible, sensitive, dependent, gentle, people-oriented, polite, fragile, considerate, emotional and passive. As cited by Wierda-Boer, Gerris and Vermulst, "Masculinity and femininity are embedded within the social context and are socially reinforced" (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Wierda-Boer, Gerris & Vermulst, 2008, p.1005). It can be told that specific roles and traits of roles are gendered. In order to maintain and perform the attributed roles, men adapt "their attitudes, behaviors, cognition and relations" (O'Neil, 1986; Banos, 2017, p. 4). The more they engage in role behaviors, the more they build identities linked to those roles. The roles have such a wide impact on every sphere of life that the way of dressing, speaking, acting in and outdoor, institutional practices, in broader context, laws and theories have been affected by them. In this respect, Lipsitz Bem (1993, p.2-3) states that gender lenses are determinants which "shape how people perceive, conceive, and discuss social reality" and hence form material reality (Blair-Loy, 2001, p.689).

Powell & Greenhaus (2010) remark,

Individuals develop gender belief systems, consisting of a multi-faceted, internally consistent set of ideas that they have about gender (Deaux & LaFrance, 1998). The components of gender belief systems include the gender stereotypes that people have about the psychological traits that are characteristic of members of each sex (Kite et al., 2008); the views they have about their own gender identity, beginning with

children's awareness of their own sex and extending to adults' beliefs about the extent to which they personally possess psychological traits that are associated in gender stereotypes with each sex (Deaux & LaFrance, 1998); and the attitudes they hold about the social roles of women and men (Deaux & LaFrance, 1998; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010, p.514-5).

Korabik and her colleagues (2008) regard gender role ideology as attitudes and beliefs about proper roles of women and men in the family or society. Social construction of gender underlines how women's "choices" are confined by their husbands' circumstances (Bielby & Bielby 1992; Risman 1998; Moen & Yu, 2000, p.294). The issue of choice is not based solely on rational self interest but is a moral one shaped by what mothers believe is the right thing to do and their freedom to make a choice in the best interest of their family (Hennessy, 2009, p.165). Women's work and family choices are wholly self-sacrificing or wholly self-interested. They are shaped by the realities of limited resources and responsibility for children, in addition to broadly shared understandings of what women should do as mothers and workers (Hennessy, 2009, p.169). As a cultural structure, "intensive" motherhood is required "child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive, and financially expensive" care for a child (see also Skolnick 1991; Blair-Loy, 2001, p. 690).

Cunningham comments, "gender is the best predictor of time spent on housework and the type of tasks performed" (Berk, 1985; Coltrane, 2000; Cunningham, 2007, p.424). Masculinity is culturally linked with "good provider" role so men are financially responsible for meeting their family requirements (Bernard 1981; Hennessy, 2009, p.562). On the other hand, women are entitled as "angel of house" and "the ideology of domesticity" (Williams, 1991; Crompton, Lewis & Lyonette, 2007, p.2). Incurring an identity as mother, role of motherhood is associated with child bearing and rearing. In this regard, lacking of child can mean not fulfilling the role accordingly or somehow conflicting with the role.

Traditional beliefs and culture influencing work and family spheres can be observed by values, resources and opportunities of the individuals. Deep cultural structures that determine self-understanding and the frame of a fulfilling life, designate also work and family choices (Blair-Loy, 2001, 2003; Hennessy, 2009,

p.575). Furthermore, Ireland notes, "motherhood remains the standard by which society defines adult women" (Ireland 1993:133; Hennesy, 2009, p.574).

In spite of egalitarianist tendency, the salience and meaning of family and work roles persist to be shaped along gender lines (Offer, 2014, p.921). Women cannot exceed the limits of appropriate female behaviors that Coverman (1985) refer as "sex-role attitudes" (Presser, 1994, p.350) because gender roles are learnt with socialization and are internalized by women themselves. Legerski & Cornwall also confirms that individuals in their midlife are under the influence of deep-rooted and lifelong socialization and internalized gender ideology (Legerski & Cornwall, 2010).

According to gender model, work bears diverse social and psychological meanings for women and men (Simon, 1995; Wiley, 1991); even if men and women work in similar labor market positions, they may carry distinct expectations about work and home obligations as a result of traditional gender role ideology and socialization (Barnett et al., 1995; Schieman, McBrier and Gundy, 2003, p.143). In spite of improvements in work-family attachments, "the cultural landscape of family life today is one that continues to be strongly shaped by gendered beliefs" (Bianchi et al. 2006, p.125, Hennesy, 2009, p. 558). According to Singley and Hynes (2005) work and family patterns of a couple may be impacted by gender role attitudes of that couple. Women with egalitarian gender attitudes tend to equally share family-work commitments with their spouses and perceive the tasks in both domains as less demanding unlike women with traditional gender attitudes. Gender ideology comprises the way individuals recognize themselves in terms of marital, family, and work roles which are determined by gender expectations (Greenstein, 1996b; Minnotte, Minnotte & Pedersen, 2013, p.687).

Gender can have effects on the sources of conflict; the way of conflict is discerned and expressed, the kinds of applied coping skills (Jick & Mitz, 1985; Pleck, 1985; Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Voydanoff, 1988; Schnittger & Bird, 1990; Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Gutek et al., 1991; as cited in Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1994, p.145). Therefore, gender and managing work-family spheres are interrelated and

interacted each other in many ways. Work and family spheres intertwine with gender expectations; therefore, it can be inferred that gender ideologies shape how partners conceive family-work conflict (Minnotte, Minnotte & Pedersen, 2013, p.687). More traditional attitudes facilitate people's navigating work and family because "cultural scripts" define proper manners (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983) meaning that the more gender ideologies and attitudes adopted by an individual are turned into egalitarian, the more people challenge traditional perspective regarding work and family management (e.g., Brewster & Padavic, 2000; Hochschild, 1989; Minnotte, Minnotte & Pedersen, 2013, p.686). Furthermore, to Zvonkovic et al., "it is easier for couples to function in accordance with established, gender-based roles than to forge new expectations" (Zvonkovic et al, 1994, p. 186; Minnotte, Minnotte & Pedersen, 2013, p.695). Husbands' gender ideologies play a stronger role than their wives in structuring family dynamics. Legerski & Cornwall mention:

Observing "when husbands and wives are doing gender traditionally and when they are undoing it" (Risman, 2009, p. 82) requires examining "social relational contexts"—"arenas where gender beliefs and rules are in play" and significant structural and cultural changes are occurring (Ridgeway & Correll 2004, p. 511). The household is one such arena where structural and cultural changes may affect gendered selves and identities, influencing the negotiation of household labor and the doing of gender (Legerski & Cornwall, 2010, p.448).

As a hierarchical structure, gender influences everyday relations in public and private domains. There is only one prescription of interpreting the reality in one's life, therefore it does not permit any other interpretation as a result of being compelling and taken for granted (Hennesy, 2009, p.574).

Blair-Loy (2001) quotes from Lipsitz Bem's remark,

"one's thoughts, feelings, and normative self-definitions are shaped by the gender lens, she did not fully develop the emotional and normative dimensions of the gender lens nor how these dimensions relate to agency and change in particular historical settings" (Bem, 1993, p.153-55; Blair-Loy, 2001, p.689).

As traditional gender roles attribute work commitments for men and family commitments for women, work role characteristics is associated with work- family

conflict among men and family characteristics are more significant among women (Voydanoff, 1988, p.750).

Throughout life, people take many roles as employee, boss, subordinate, spouse, parent, child, sibling, friend, and community member. In order to fulfill the demands of these roles, sufficient time, energy and commitment are needed. Because of undertaking multiple roles, individuals can exhibit a range of role identities (Ashforth, 2001; Burke, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010, p.516) because of peculiar expectations and appropriate patterns of behavior. Roxburgh remarks "Role theorists assert that roles give meaning, substance, and structure to daily activities" (Larson, Richards, & Perry-Jenkins, 1994; Thoits, 1986; as cited in Roxburgh, 2006, p.530). Cited by Müzeyyen Gönüllü and Gönül İçli, Kocacık remarks that role determines attitude, behavior and activity which are expected by the person who hold a social standing (Kocacık, 1997, p.105; Gönüllü & İçli, 2001, p.85). So, it can be said that role value determines how working people attribute meaning and take action. As spouses, parents, employee or managers, individuals hold various roles in work and family domains. Lee et al. (2014) refer that theorists pay attention that individuals in roles give to their role behaviors (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993; Daly & Beaton, 2005; as cited in Lee et al, 2014) because constructed meaning of the roles determine the amount of pleasure someone has and at the ratio with which someone identifies him/herself. Numerous researches show that men and women incline to rank order work and family roles diversely (Tenbrunsel, Brett, Moaz, Stroh, & Reilly, 1995; Moen & Yu, 2000; e.g., Martins et al., 2002; as cited in Jennings & McDougald, 2007, p.754). According to Powell & Greenhaus, individuals' decisions give shape and adapt work- family role needs (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010) in addition to citing to Baltes & Heydens-Gahir (2003) regarding establishment of targets and referring to Greenhaus & Powell (2003) regarding distribution of time (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010).

Role demands are defined as "structural or psychological claims associated with role requirements, expectations and norms to which individual must respond or adapt by exerting physical and mental effort" (Voydanoff, 2004, p.398).

Masculinity and femininity indicates stereotypical masculine and feminine roles. Accordingly, Kanter (1977) terms a "masculine ethic" of rationality and commitment in order to indicate the ideal image of workers in higher-level position (Schieman, McBrier & Gundy, 2003, p.143). It also motivates men to be announced as "good father" and "successful" men having a self-sufficiency and social position (Christiansen & Palkovitz 2001; Townsend 2002; William 2012; Ranson, 2012; Offer, 2014, p.919). Especially during their career-building period, men give precedence work over family because of gender role expectations (Becker & Moen, 1999; Jennings & McDougald, 2007). Consequently, majority of men concern wage employment instead of family related charges (Gerson, 2010; Ranson, 2012, as cited in Offer, 2014). As Doucet states, "men's and women's lives as caregivers and earners are affected by deeply felt moral and social scripts about what they should do within and outside household life" (Doucet, 2006, p.191; Offer, 2014, p.922). When total amount of time on unpaid and paid work has been considered, it can be concluded that it is also "gender specialized" because women allow more time to unpaid family care as men do the same way in paid labor (Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie & Robinson, 2012, p. 58).

Role conflict is experienced when an individual burdens multiple, demanding roles lacking of adequate time, energy and commitment. The more roles an individual undertakes, the more probably s/he feels role overload (Keene & Reynolds, 2005). Put it differently, interrole conflict occurs if a burden arising from one role does not match with another role's burden which stands opposing tensions. Within the limits of opportunities and restrictions, people make selections and establish values such in gender-specific roles (Brines, 1994; Browne & England 1997; Risman 1998; Bem 1999) and these play a large part in forming work conditions and life quality (as cited in Moen & Yu, 2000). As Simon's study (1995) have showed, working mothers feel more guilt and suffer greater role conflict since they possibly think that work demands preclude them from performing family demands (Offer, 2014).

2.3.2. Factors Related with Work Sphere

Although women have already appeared labor force for thousand of years, 'working life' is generally dominated by men and indicates wage earning activities outside the house according to Selçuk and Tuzlukaya (Selçuk & Tuzlukaya, 2013, p. 4; Seval, 2017). Work-related commitments include "working hours (Noor, 2003; e.g., Britt & Dawson, 2005; Voydanoff, 2005; Lu et al., 2006), workload (Lu et al., 2006), job demands, job autonomy, scheduling flexibility (Keene & Reynolds, 2005), occupational status (Keene & Reynolds, 2005), time pressure (Voydanoff, 2004), shift work, overnight travel, workload pressure and job insecurity" (as cited in Voydanoff, 2005). According to Jennings & McDougald, work domain determinants also involve self-determination at work, resilience in timetable, working hours, supportive workplace practices, co-workers and supervisors (Jennings & McDougald, 2007). Again, Clark et al. sort work related stressors as distance between work and house, the recurrence of extra hours at work, difficulty level and volume of work and lack of support by supervisor (Baltes & Heydens-Gahir 2003; Byron, 2005; as cited in Clark et. al, 2014).

Working demands involve a set of duties in an institution that are executed by someone holding a position there (Guerts & Demerouti, 2003; as cited in Duxury et al., 2008). Bakker & Geurts note:

Job demands refer to those physical, psychosocial, or organizational aspects of the job that require sustained physical and/or mental effort and are, therefore, with certain physiological and/or psychological costs... Job resources physical, psychosocial, or organizational aspects of the job that may meeting task requirements (i.e., job demands) and may thus reduce physiological and/or psychological costs—and at the same time stimulate growth and development (Bakker & Geurts, 2004, p. 348; as cited in Schieman & Young, 2015, p.743).

In general, working parents remark work-family conflict, especially when they have long working hours (Frone et al., 1997; Moen & Yu 2000; Jacob & Gerson 2004; Voydanoff 2004; Whartons & Blair-Loy 2006; Schieman, Milkie & Glavin 2009; as cited in Offer & Schneider, 2011). It is revealed that work-family stress is more affected by working conditions than the conditions in the house (Byron, 2005; Gallie & Russell, 2009; as cited in Laurijssen & Glorieux, 2013). For this

reason, work demands affect worker preferences, such as delays in child bearing, career choices and time spent in leisure activities. “Women shoulder more responsibility for domestic work, and they also face larger obstacles in the workplace, including less autonomy and flexibility on the job and more pressure to make career sacrifices by cutting back time at work...” (Jacobs and Gerson 2004, p. 115; as cited in Minnotte et al., 2010, p. 427). In addition, the mothers feel ambivalence while trying to fulfill appropriate parenthood responsibilities with limited financial resources and lack of control over the work hours. As Offer points out that only mothers can arrange and modify their work schedule in order to fulfill family requirements because of family-related problems. For example, only mothers have to care and accompany ill kids or take the kids to the school untimely finishing work off (Jacob & Gerson, 2004; Keene & Reynolds 2005; Gerson, 2010; as cited in Offer, 2014, p.931). Consequently, these structural obstacles prevent employed women from attain a balance in her private and professional lives.

2.3.3. Factors Related with Family Sphere

Gender roles impose women upon staying within the boundaries of households and dealing with child care. Patriarchal structure does not allow women to participate in working life outside the house (Kablay & Elma, 2018). Although women’s work force participation has progressively increased, women still spend more time on unpaid household tasks than men. It is an indicator that the developments in domestic area do not go parallel with non-domestic area (Beaujot & Andersen 2007; Doucet 1995; as cited in Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). Women are disproportionately and closely involved in raising and educating their children which is also a requirement of intensive parenting. Again as a societal expectation, motherhood mandate implies to leave career aspirations as a secondary aspect of their identity behind family demands. It portrays best mothers as convenient forever and happily sacrifices their personal and work demands for the sake of family demands (Marcus-Newhall, Casad, LeMaster, Peraza & Silverman, 2008). As Shaw cites from the study of Fox (2001) assumptions, opinions and requirements for maternity always modify, constantly shaped and regenerated (Fox

2001; as cited in Shaw, 2008). Wall (2001) is named profound devotion and affection for their children as the “moral regulation” of maternity while engaging role of fathers limited with helping care for kids and concerning for them (e.g. Marsiglio et al. 2005; as cited in Shaw, 2008, p.688). Shaw mentions that motherhood is a kind of commitment which has emotional and social relations (Shaw, 2008). It is believed that good parenting is related with a substantial amount of time with children.

A great gender gap in household labor persistently keep going (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie 2006; Legerski & Cornwall, 2010). Women diminish housework hours in almost a one-for-one in return for the increase in their attachment in labor force (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie 2006; Bianchi 2011; Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie & Robinson, 2012). Several studies have revealed that married women have altered the profile of labor force to a great extent however, contribution of men’s in household chores have not so changed in time (Pleck, 1985; McHale & Crouter, 1992; Ferree, 1998).

As Feeney & Stritch cite from the studies of O’Brien (2005), child care is mostly expected from women in addition that they are responsible for household chores (Tang & Cousins, 2005), and sentimentally and materially sustainability of household members (Strazdins & Broom, 2004; as cited in Feeney & Stritch, 2017). In family domain, together with maintaining routine activities and daily needs, the ones who have to consider the whole household arrangement are the women. To a certain extent, social norms seem to be transformed and couples tend to distribute responsibilities in domestic sphere, however; women consistently cater to care services for kids and domestic chores (Drago & Lee, 2008; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; as cited in Lee, Zvonkovic & Crawford, 2014). Employed women feel under pressure as a result of fulfilling work-family responsibilities. Men pour themselves into the work since they burden no extra load except for work. Women burden responsibilities of family in addition to the work commitments (Mardin 2000, as cited from Ablan-Metcalf & West, 1993; Adak, 2007).

Fathers are more related with effortless and simple tasks with their children and performing plays rather than physical, arduous and exhausting works (Starrels, 1994; Lamb, 1997; Craig, 2006). This means that mothers do more of the laborious physical care activities, which must often be done routinely at certain times of the day. Undertaken typically by women, major household tasks are labeled as never- ending tasks because they require tremendous amount of time, being almost indispensable and deferrable ones. In many texts, these are diversely named as “nondiscretionary”, “mundane”, “repetitive”, “onerous”, “unrelenting” and “boring”. On the other hand, tasks performed by men are optional and arbitrary because they are less strict or boring commitments (Larson, Richards, & Perry-Jenkins, 1994; Coltrane, 1998; Coltrane, 2000, p.1210). It can be summarized that both quality and the quantity of care service vary according to gender. It can be illustrative to explain why some commitments are backbreaking and time- intensive for mothers instead of fathers (Craig & Powell, 2011, p.276). It is reinforced by other studies that even if women progressively gain a place in the labor market, they still devote much more time for domestic labor than men (Keuzenkamp & Hooghiemstra, 2000; Wierda-Boer, Gerris & Vermulst 2008). OECD reports (2014) cited by Offer and Schneider (2011) verify that ordinary and burdensome works such as preparing meal or houseclean are mainly ascribed to women (Hochschild 1989; Milkie & Peltola 1999; Twigg, McQuillan & Ferree 1999; as cited in Offer & Schneider, 2011, p.810). Women’s domestic commitments involve routine physical tasks such as cooking, cleaning as well as nurturant and emotional tasks (see DeVault 1991; Shelton, 1999; Gerstel 2000; Duffy 2005; Stevens et al. 2006; as cited in Legerski & Cornwall, 2010). All these tendencies in distribution of labor demonstrate how unequal household labors are divided between men and women. Due to uneven distribution of domestic obligations, most women have to work “double shift” (Dunn & Skaggs, 1999; Bıçaksız, 2009, p.15). In parallel with this argument, Galinsky and colleagues (2005) report similar results about overburden feeling of women instead of men.

Mothers are the ultimate responsible for the child care rather than fathers and despite their progressive inclusion in domestic labor, paid work hours spent by fathers are still longer than mothers in just the same way that. Connell (2005)

remarks that women are more in charge of managing the house and greater barriers pose obstacles for them to attain balance in both realms (as cited in Feeney & Stritch, 2017). As Sayer (2007a) reveals “dual-earner families, mothers spend nearly seven additional hours a week combining two unpaid work activities, either housework, shopping, or childcare while fathers spend less than three hours for unpaid multitask” (Offer & Schneider, 2011, p.813). Craig’s research (2007) supports other searches on this line that men are less likely to multitask household tasks than women because men are not sufficiently engaged in domestic chores and care service (Offer & Schneider, 2011). While Offer & Schneider refer to Bianchi and colleagues’ study (2006) in the sense that parents prefer multitasking because it enables saving of time as a juggling act (Offer & Schneider, 2011); Bayramoğlu reveals that house chores for women take almost twelve as much time than men (Bayramoğlu, 2018). Again, since accepting family care and household chores as tremendous responsibilities, women can allocate less time to workforce by comparison with men (Presser 1994; Zick & Bryant, 1996; Bianchi et al. 2000; Craig and Bittman 2008; as cited in Offer & Schneider, 2011).

The tasks carried at home and workplace involve not only visible and physical labor but also mental one. Household chores contain not only washing, cooking, cleaning, etc. but also thinking and organizing about how to manage these activities (DeVault 1991, 1999; Walzer 1996; Shaw 2001; Daly 2002; as cited in Offer, 2014). In comparison mothers, fathers do not calculate, organize or program for any meeting or attempt which can be called as mental labor (Hochschild 1989; De Vault 1999; Arendell 2001; as cited in Offer, 2014). In this respect, Offer refers to Darrah and his associates (2007) while explaining that thinking process alleviate parents’ perception of overcrowded in their daily lives (Offer, 2014, p.917). According to the studies, the context, content and emotional implication of mental labor are gendered; studies show that men are attributed as the provider of the family (Christiansen & Palkovitz, 2001; Townsend 2002; Gerson, 2010; as cited in Offer, 2014), correspondingly; fathers are much more concerned about occupational problems than mothers when it comes to mental labor (Offer, 2014). In the domestic sphere, mothers are accepted as the homemaker or "default" parent because of being mentally available and person for children and their demands at

any time (Offer, 2014, p.918). Offer also remarks that it is anticipated that women can be reachable and redressive for unforeseen misfortunes and changes (Arendell 2001; Bianchi & Coltrane 1996, 2000; Doucet 2006; Hochschild 1989; as cited in Offer, 2014). Mental labor has role-blurring nature because it enables people to be “physically located in the role’s domain but psychologically and/or behaviorally involved in another role” (Ashforth et al. 2000; p.474; Offer, 2014, p.921) which is an indicator of the permeability of boundaries of two spheres. Since mental labor is invisible, its tremendous role of regeneration of gender inequality among dual-earner couples can be ignored by scholars (Hochschild 1989; Mederer 1993; Walzer, 1996; Shaw 2008; as cited in Offer, 2014). In parallel with this, household labor is miscalculated because it has invisible, hidden and unmeasured process.

Furthermore, women set higher standards for men; since they have great expectations for household chores, it deters men participating in these tasks (Ferree, 1991; as cited in Portman & Lippe, 2009). Middle class women feel they cannot get it right no matter what they choose because the contemporary motherhood bar has been set too high (Warner, 2005; Hennessy, 2009). In this sense, “contemporary working couples are traversing an uncharted terrain” (Moen & Yu, 2000, p.311). The more parenting standards and job expectations become demanding, the more people feel obliged to meet these demands and experience severe time squeezes (Bianchi, Robinson & Milkie, 2006; Christensen & Schneider, 2010; Gerson, 2009; Jacob & Gerson, 2004; as cited in Offer, 2014). Generally mothers set aside very limited or no time for themselves because care giving and family commitments pose an obstacle on the path of their free will (e.g. see Bella 1992; Daly 1996; Deem 1986; Shaw, 2008). Family leisure aims to promote mutual family goals and unity of family together with upbringing of children (Shaw, 2008). Under limited circumstances, women try to make some arrangements and find parenting time (Estes, 2005). Bianchi (2000) notes that for the sake of managing all the responsibilities in both spheres, mothers renounce their leisure and bedtime when quite enough assistance is not provided to her or her domestic responsibilities coincide with commitments at work.

2.4. Coping Strategies of Employed Women

There is no "one size fits all" solution to the issue of work-life balance (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001, p.65). There is no single or best coping strategy to reduce the adverse consequences of work stressors and/or family stressors. It can be summarized that "The more resources an individual has to cope with demands (e.g., one's personal repertoire of coping strategies), the more likely that individual is to experience reduced negative outcomes such as burnout and strain"(Bakker & Demerouti 2007; Clark, Michel, Early & Baltes, 2014, p.634).

In compliance with the gender ideologies that people hold, they may be influenced by their family- work conflict in different ways (Minnotte et al., 2013). Gender shapes adaptive strategies, work environment and life quality (Moen & Yu, 2000, p.314). As Reuben Hill (1970) mentions, "family members actively constitute and reshape their roles, resources and relationships" as a coping strategy in order to reconcile family and work experiences (cf. Goode, 1960; Moen & Wethington, 1992; as cited in Becker & Moen, 1999).

Partners may adopt a wide range of strategies to fulfill commitments in both realms. According to the studies, dual earner couples who report that they can balance family and work responsibilities smoothly state that they endeavour for partnership, get pleasures from being two-income family, preserve work boundary, equally share in decision making process as adaptive strategies (Haddock, Zimmerman, Ziemba, & Current, 2001; Minnotte, Minnotte & Pedersen, 2013). Voydanoff (2005) proposes two types of coping strategies as creating sources such as outsourcing domestic assistance and lowering demands (Wierda-Boer, Gerris & Vermulst, 2008). In addition, Hochschild (1989) identifies five methods that employed women adjust to manage household tasks: getting husbands to help with housework, doing all the work themselves (supermomming), minimizing responsibilities and expectations in both workplace and house and buy services (Stuenkel, 2005; Schneider & Waite, 2005). In domestic sphere, women may prefer scaling back strategies such as reducing expectations for household chores, having too few children and not devoting great time on leisure, social, and

community pursuits (Jennings & McDougald, 2007). Couples may also adapt some other strategies such as limiting the number of child and leisure time, reducing expectation for housework in order to cope with strain. In general, employed women pursue some strategies such as segmentation, compensation and accommodation (Jennings, & McDougald, 2007). Segmentation means sharp division of two domains, engaging in one role while leaving aside out-of-role thinking, feeling and practicing. Compensation means fully engagement in one domain to cover up any discontentment in other domain. Accommodation means restricting psychological and behavioral engagement in one domain so as to cater to demands of other domain (for review see Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999; Lambert, 1990; Jennings & McDougald, 2007). According to studies, reported scaling back strategies are having a one-job, one-career marriage, trading off and placing limits (Becker & Moen, 1999). Some couples may prefer marriages in which one of the couples has a job while the other has a career. By this way, one partner can build a career and advance in business life while the other pursue less demanding job. If both of the couples desire to move up the career ladder, they may postpone giving birth or forgoing children until they attain what they aim in work life. Some couples may prefer placing limits on work hours and work invasion in home as well as they may prefer scaling back expectations about professional growth in the long run. They may prefer declining work promotion, travel or relocation options. As the research practised by Becker and Moen, two thirds of women respondents choose job versus career and placing limits strategies (Becker & Moen, 1999). Being the most preferred strategies by women, these are also gendered; consequently, conventional female caretaker role is reinforced. When two spheres overlap, women are more likely to cut back on work to accommodate family demands (Damaske, 2011; Kaufman & Uhlenberg, 2000; Williams, 2010). According to Moen and Sweet (2003) couples choose how many hours they work by discussing with their partners within the context of available resources and strains. The choices reveal partner's personal preferences, cultural expectations and the demands of the labour market. According to the authors, work hour arrangement strategies are the reflections of certain characteristics such as career demands and occupational rewards, gender orientations and life stage (Laurijssen & Glorieux, 2013). As the most common

temporal strategies, adjusting the work hour can mitigate the time pressure. The number of work hour and home labor hour are the major sources of work-family conflict or of time pressures (Gallie & Russell, 2009; Hosking & Western, 2008; Laurijssen & Glorieux, 2013). People are obliged to live with insufficient time and energy for family life because of having too many work hours and inflexible work hour conditions which are the major causes of families (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004).

For dual-earner couples who have sufficient monetary assets but limited energy, time and interest; outsourcing unpleasant, time-consuming and labor-intensive tasks is appealing. Having ample financial resources, dual earner couples reduce their burden and enjoy more family time, supporting and fulfilling relationships. Previously fulfilled tasks by family members are now available in marketplace (Bitman, Matheson & Meagher, 1999; Spitze, 1999; Stuenkel, 2005). Having two demanding careers and raising young children, couples hire a woman in order to manage their commitments. Dual-earner couples not only carve out the time needed for maintaining a life but also get rid of unpleasant tasks such as cleaning, yard work, laundry, meal preparation or shopping thanks to time and labor saving services. Schneider & Waite cite, "... there is a positive relation between employing of women and the purchase of services such as meal (Cohen, 1998), house cleaning (Cohen, 1998; Oropesa, 1993), childcare home repairs and exterior painting" (Weagley & Norum, 1989; Schneider & Waite, 2005, p.253).

2.5. Results of Work-Family Conflict

As gender-role congruence theory presents, people's well-being is promoted if their behaviors are in harmony with their gender ideologies whereas it diminishes if their behaviors are contradicted with their gender ideologies (Roehling & Bultman, 2002; Minnotte, Minnotte & Pedersen, 2013). That responsibility causes them to be judged by the society which determines appropriate thinking and acting way of women and portrays them as principle care provider (Doucet 2006). As a consequence, mothers are more likely frightened than fathers concerning that they will be criticized by anybody else if they act improperly and against the ideal of intensive parenting (Doucet 2006; Ruddick, 1995; Walzer 1996; Offer, 2014).

Rothbard and Edwards (2003) reveal that women experience stronger depletion processes from family to work than for men (Jennings & McDougald, 2007). Rothbard notes, “a relative plethora of linkages between work and family for females and a paucity for males”, meaning that women cannot separate their roles as men can (Rothbard, 2001, p.677; Jennings & McDougald, 2007, p.753).

Organization of family and work place has not kept up with women’s increased participation in paid employment (Glass & Estes, 1997; Hochschild, 1989, 1997; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Hennessy, 2009). As Jacobs and Gerson (2001) tell, total working time of couples has been extended by the entrance of women into the workforce. Time previously devoted to domestic labor is depleted by the displacement of paid employment. For this reason, contributions to fulfill domestic labor or childcare by one of the partners can mitigate individual’s time pressures and thus subsequent stress whereas working long hours and little contribution to the domestic work can impose extra burden to the already time-crunched individual (Frederick & Fast 2001; MacDonald et al. 2005; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). Simon’s study have showed that working mothers feel more guilt and suffer greater role conflict since they possibly think that work demands preclude them from performing family demands (Offer, 2014). Ayca et al (2007) express that psychologic, psychoterapy and dissatisfactions related with setting aside personal time for themselves are among the problems experienced in private sphere of women. These problems leads feeling of guilt resulted from burnout, unrest and unable to manage (Seval, 2017).

Traditionally, women are held responsible for how their children fare and how their households are run (Arendell, 2001; Doucet, 2006), for this reason, mental labor may be more distressing and more unpleasant experience for mothers than fathers. In addition, Glavin and his colleagues (2001) indicate that only mothers feel extremely guilt because of involving in work-related problems out of office hours (Offer, 2014). Married employed women undertaking workload on their own show much more depressive indications than the employed married women sharing workload with their husbands (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994) while men holding traditional values but experiencing egalitarian family roles, are prone to

live more marital distress and fewer marital satisfaction (McHale & Crouter; Coltrane, 2000). Craig (2006) indicates that in contrast to men, total duration spent with children by mothers are higher, just as they multitask more, perform more strict schedule, pass more time alone with children, and undertake full liability to look after children more than men (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Again, the deterioration of the balance between work and family does not affect every woman in the same way. This differs according to women's own characteristics, their perception of events, definition and resolution of the problem (Yılmaz & Şahin, 2008).

A number of studies have emphasized that job satisfaction and work-family conflict are negatively associated (Schneider & Waite, 2005). In dual-earner marriages, women must cope with high level stress and obstruct for career progression. Researches show that work- family conflict is related with people's well-being in both spheres, such as family and marital life, job satisfaction, and job stress (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000; Duxbury, Higgins, & Thomans, 1996; Frone & McFarlin, 1992; Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997; Hammer, Cullen, Neal, Sinclair, & Shafiro, 2005; Thomas & Ganster, 1995; Lee, Zvonkovic & Crawford 2014). Stress has adverse outcomes which reflect the individual, the family, the children, the workplace, and community on the whole (Zuzanek, 2000, Duxbury et al. 2003; Gornick & Meyers 2003). It devastates mental and physical health of the people, leads to marital conflict and tensions within the family, destroys parenting behavior and causes discontentment within family life in general sense (Frederick and Fast, 2001; Zukewich, 2003; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009).

Work-family conflict is related directly or indirectly to job outcomes such as job dissatisfaction, employee burnout, and turnover (Boles, Wood & Johnson, 2003). In addition, it affects employee's work-related behaviors such as absenteeism, tardiness, organizational commitment, turnover intentions and turnover (Ryan, Ma & Ku, 2009). It decreases the quality of services which employees give (Karaca & Dede, 2017). It also influences job and life satisfaction (Allen et al., 2000; Boles et al., 2001; Kossek & Ozecki, 1998), psychological distress (Frone, 2003), chronic health problems (Grzywacz, 2000), job performance and absenteeism (Allen et al.,

2000), and turnover intentions and voluntary turnover (Boyar et al, 2003; Lee & Maurer, 1999; (Hargis, Kotrba, Zhdanova and Baltes, 2011). Duxbury and Higgins (2001) tell that absenteeism rises while organizational commitment decreases because of work-family conflict. Ohlott et al. (2004) remark that family-to work interference reduces job performance (Jennings & McDougald, 2007). It decreases job satisfaction (Netemeyer et al, 1996) satisfaction of family life (Beutell& Wittig-Berma, 1999) and life satisfaction (Adams et al, 1996) resulting in fatigue and exhaustion (Burke & Greenglass, 2011; Kossek & Ozeki, 1999) and affecting mental and physical health (Frone et al., 1997; Topgül, 2016). The imbalance affects welfare adversely triggering stress (Efeoğlu, 2006; Çarıkçı &Çelikkol, 2009; Coşkuner & Şener, 2013; Topgül, 2016). The most crucial consequences of imbalance in for women are to withdraw or to be excluded from workforce due to child or elder care and domestic labor. In any cases, even if the conflict does not arise from work related stressors, women tend to reduce working time because of work- family conflict as Reynolds (2005) finds (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Family to work conflict impacts job performance (Witt & Carlson, 2006) appearing as the burnout feeling (Erickson, Nichols, & Ritter, 2000). In addition, family to work spillover influences women's performance more than men's (Keene & Reynolds, 2005; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Job related stress may reduces organizational commitment, impacts employees' productiveness, causes absenteeism and give rise to high turnover rates (Duxbury et al. 1999; Frederick & Fast 2001; Glass & Estes 1997). To a great extent, organizations get harmed because of high turnover rates and low employee productivity (Duxbury et al. 1999; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). On the other hand, employees supported by organizations respecting work-family balance note higher levels of organizational commitment (Scandura & Lankau, 1997), increased productivity (Cappelli, 2000), lower burnout (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985), decreased intentions to leave (Simon, Kummerling & Hasselhorn, 2004) and higher job satisfaction (Burchielli, Bartram & Thanacoody, 2008).

Major et al. (2002) as a result of the research on the Fortune 500 list of employees working in operations; a positive and meaningful relationship is found between work family conflict and psychological distress of employees and it is found that

work family conflict have mediating effect between time and psychological distress (Çelik & Turunç, 2011). Dissatisfaction, unhappiness, frustration at work affecting one's life causes a decrease in life satisfaction. It harms physical and psychological health by affecting the individual's environment, family and friendship relationships in a negative way (Keser, 2005). In general, researches reveal that work-family conflict increases stress and to decrease satisfaction with work, family, and/or life overall (e.g., Duxbury & Higgins, 2001; Higgins & Duxbury, 1992; Martins et al., 2002; Ohlott et al., 2004; Parasuraman, Greenhaus, & Granrose, 1992; Jennings & McDougald, 2007). In this context, the importance of achieving work-family balance is gradually increasing (Çarıkçı & Çelikkol, 2009). In a study conducted by Mesmer-Magnus and Viswesvaran (2005) on 4714 employees, a positive and significant relationship was found between stress and family-work conflict (Çelik & Turunç, 2011). To meet expectations of others and to become the best in all roles as the desired level, women struggle too much and this causes tremendous pressure on women (Müftüoğlu, 2007; Yılmaz & Şahin, 2008). Moreover, in a study conducted by Steinmetz et al. (2008), a positive and significant relationship was found between work-family conflict and stress (Çelik & Turunç, 2011).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on methodological approach and research design of the study. This chapter involves two interconnected parts. The first part of the chapter aims to provide a discussion on methodological standpoint of the study. Second part of the chapter explains method of the study and details of the fieldwork.

Research questions aim to explore gendered division of labor in both spheres of life which abandons working women with multiple obligations such as caring and household tasks in addition to commitments of paid work and leads women off being ideal worker image, sustaining unequal gender relations in their everyday life. Women occupy disadvantaged position in both realms due to gendered structure of agents; they adopt some coping strategies, which is also an outcome of gendered environment.

As Legerski (2010, p.451) cites:

Institutional accounts of gender emphasize the persistence of gendered practices because “embodied agents continually constitute them” (Martin 2004, 1257); even though “individuals resist pressures associated with institutional rules, customs, and procedures . . . doing so generally fails to change the institution in a major way” (Martin 2004, 1266; Legerski & Cornwall, 2010, p.451).

By redirecting questions, this study examines gendered stereotype behaviors, patriarchal power relations and gendered norms and practices regulating work-family lives of employed women. The invisibility of women experiences in male-dominated society is denied by this way. Moreover, it is argued that adaptive strategies are also nothing more than reproduction of stereotyped gender ideologies. This questioning also confirms women’s feeling of strain and guilt while managing work-family commitments. For this reason, in this study,

egalitarian solutions are pursued to establish women-friendly work places and harmonious living.

3.1. Feminist Standpoint

Science it would be seem is not sexless, she is a man, a father and infected too.
(Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas*)

The theoretical framework of the study is shaped by feminist standpoint theory because it not only fits in the assumptions and data analysis of the study but also establishes socially and politically marginalized group's experience as the starting point. It asks researchers for "listening to women tell us about their lives and experiences," in order to "articulate observations of and theory about the rest of nature and social relations" (Harding, 1991, p.123-4). Standpoint of women try to explore how the relations work and which mechanisms rule, reproduce or conceal the relations between authority and everyday experience. Thus, Feminist Standpoint intends to explicate the social world from vantage of women daily experiences. Similarly, Smith (1987) advocates "a sociology from the standpoint of women" to handle everyday life as problematic (1987, p.8). In the adaptation of Feminist Standpoint Theory to the subject matter in this study, women's experiences come to the forefront because women are the true bearer of knowledge and they are experiencing social reality regarding work-family conflict at first hand. Furthermore, Feminist Standpoint rejects meta-narratives, absolute and universal truth of modernism. This concept is closely compatible with this study's objectives because this study aims to learn about every woman's own perspectives with in-depth interviews. Feminist Standpoint emphasizes on constructed and relational meanings. Feminist research centers on women in every aspect and problematizes gender relations, metaphors, power relations and structures in everyday life, male bias and hegemony in research and knowledge production process. As Hekman (1997) puts forward, the assumptions of knowledge is partial and subjects are constructed by relational factors such as gender, age, occupation, etc. bell hooks explains that because sexism "directly shapes and determines relations of power in our private lives ...[f]eminist effort to end patriarchal

domination should be of primary concern" (hooks, 1989, 21–22). In this study, as a constructed variable, gender will be examined while explaining everyday work-family conflict of women. Dorothy Smith aims at developing a sociology for women instead of sociology about them (Adams & Sydie, 2001). Smith states that "our own situations are organized and determined by social processes that extend outside the scope of everyday world and are not discoverable within it" so it is needed to expose social relations governing our everyday life (Smith, 1987, p.153). This study also problematizes social relations that determine everyday decisions and routines of employed women. Gender is accepted as a constituted relational factor and a determinant for the division of paid and unpaid labor because as Adam & Sydie evaluate, gender is not an inborn and natural phenomenon however, it is a result of complicated social relations that can be noticed when looked at 'routine, daily accomplishment' (Adam & Sydie, 2001, p.220). As Simone de Beauvoir explains the social construction of male and female remarking that unequal position of women is attributed rather than biological in the lines "He is the Subject, he is Absolute- she is the Other" (Beauvoir, 1974, xix) and "One is not born, but rather becomes, women" (Beauvoir, 1974, p.36). As Harding explains, [I]t is important to remember that in a certain sense there are no "women" or "men" in the world—there is no "gender"—but only women, men, and gender constructed through particular historical struggles over just which races, classes, sexualities, cultures, religious groups, and so forth, will have access to resources and power. (Harding, 1991, 151; Bloom, 1998, p.142). This position asserts that how one is socially constructed may give or deny access to power. Wharton and Blair-Loy (2006) note "socially constructed meaning of work and family hold consequences for individual and family functioning" (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000, p. 990; Wharton, Blair-Loy, 2006, p.416). The claims of the study bear a close resemblance to the remarks of Wharton and Blair-Loy in that work-family practices are the product of attributed meanings for both spheres. Male dominance creates an unfair world in which men determine the rules for women to conform as an inferior group and undermine women's interests. The limitations and constraints created by patriarchal institutions obscure social and political activity, and then transformation of prevailing ideology. As Adams and Sydie claims, "women are

corporate capitalism's housekeepers at home and in paid labor" (Adams & Sydie, 2001, p.417) since all the work women undertake serve for man and his interest. For this reason, patriarchy is incapable of acquiring knowledge for womanhood. As a consequence, in order to change power balances, the way of acquiring knowledge needs to be changed. Feminist Standpoint Theory makes it possible to look social reality from the position of women as we adapt in this study.

As Alison Wylie states, Feminist Standpoint Theory is marginal to mainstream philosophical analysis of science because mainstream science is androcentric and sexist (Wylie, 2004). Feminist Standpoint Theory refuses conventional modernist assumptions and criticizes harshly post-modernist assumptions. Inventing alternative types of knowledge is entailed because woman is not a fixed category. As we witness in this study, every woman has own history, family structure, adaptive strategies for workforce challenges. In short, every woman's experience is specific. Harding (2004) also discusses that "starting thought out" from the lives of marginalized people enables them to face the social realities explicitly and different from men. Among the marginalized, women have limited access to the resources and opportunities as a consequence of inferior positioning. Harding defines standpoint as a superior insight resulted from political circumstances and unique ability of women (Harding, 2004). For this purpose, Feminist Standpoint Theory focuses on specific relations between knowledge production and power structures. It examines the concepts of the knower, the known and the way for knowing. Feminist Standpoint Theory discovers associations between knowledge production and power practices (Harding, 2004, p.1). Smith depicts standpoint as the site in which enquiry sparks, on the basis of knowing rather than already constructed figure, the knower (Adams & Sydie, 2001, p.423).

Feminist Standpoint Theory highlights women and their concerns like conducting sub-surface "excavation" so as to reveal thoroughly all the positions of women. It targets to reproduce new ways of knowledge production concepts and practices unlike the mainstream one which put men and their concerns to forefront (Devault, 1999, p.30). Taking women on stage, Feminist Standpoint Theory presents the actual life experiences of women which are censored, repressed and rendered

invisible. Spender remarks that neglecting women experience “contributed to their invisibility” and “played a role in the denial of women’s existence and strength” (Adams & Sydie, 2001, p.412). Feminist Standpoint Theory promises adequate and sustained understanding of social reality moving beyond bordering and distorted analysis and allow making women’s voice heard. Hartsock draws comparison standpoint feminism with Marx’ critique of capitalism and states:

like the lives of proletarians according to Marxist theory, women’s lives make available a particular and privileged vantage point on male supremacy, a vantage point which can ground a powerful critique of the phallographic institutions and ideology which constitute the capitalist form of patriarchy (Hartsock, 2004, p.36).

So she suggests that the sexual division of labor paves the way for such a standpoint and the structures describing women’s labor as contributors to subsistence and as mothers can be epistemologic tool.

3.1.1. Themes of Feminist Research from a Standpoint

Feminist Standpoint Theory has some key concepts which are compatible with the subject matter of the study. These basic concepts are situated knowledge, epistemic privilege, partiality, outsider within position of the self, strong objectivity and specificities of subjectivities (Dayan, 2016, p.8). First of all, truth of oppressed is analysed with its compatibility with this study. By examining it, it can be revealed that how knowledge is situated and contextual and it can be evident that knowledge is insufficient to reflect women experience and their social reality.

The truth of oppressed is one of the premises that standpoint feminism handled. According to Harding and Hartsock, the oppressed community is widely able to recognize the truth rather than the privileged ones who can only produce distorted and partial truth. Hartsocks (1983) emphasizes “real relations of humans with each other and with natural world are not visible” from the point of masculine thinking (Dayan, 2016, p.9). Moreover, in terms of discovering objective realities, Harding (1986, 1991) defends women as the oppressed group that have “more complete and less perverse understanding” as well as “fewer interests in ignorance about the

social order” (Dayan, 2016, p.19). Androcentric, racist, Eurocentric and economically advantaged ignore the lives of the oppressed (Harding, 2004). Fredric Jameson thinks that subordinated groups are be able to transform “ an oppressive restriction...into capacity for new kinds of experience and for seeing features and dimensions of the world and of history masked to other social actors” (Harding, 2004, p.141). Asking questions to the women as marginalized group of the society can be useful to apprehend real relations in this study.

The normalization and prioritization of some truths over others in politics and intellectual arena are associated with “might makes right” (Harding, 1992, p.569). Being in alignment, most women in this study perform the attributed tasks without questioning in the way that patriarchal structures order. Women’s live is devalued and condescended. Being different women’s lived realities from the men’s does not mean that women’s social reality is trivial. Feminist Standpoint is supposed to hold out a better account of social reality and assure more adequate claims because scholars in orthodox science scholarship cannot create a noteworthy change as Harding indicates “science is politics by other means” (Harding, 1992, p.308). Many feminist researchers also confirm that knowledge is androcentric and ignores the experiences of women (Smith, 2004; Hartsock, 2004). Produced knowledge is sexist along with androcentric disciplines and agendas. Dorothy Smith (Smith, 1987, p.7) refers to “male social universe” discussing that traditional social science bases on men’s experiences as Harding (Harding, 1987, p.6) comments “it has asked only the questions about social life that appear problematic from within the social experiences that are characteristic for men (white, Western, bourgeois men, that is)”. By focusing on working women experiences in both realms and applying in-depth interviews to them, this study aims at more truth explanation of social reality.

As for situated knowledge, it is claimed that the knowledge of womanhood cannot be reflected as truthful narratives because of the bearer of knowledge who is generally a man and already carry his own subjectivities. For this reason, it is assumed that the modernist theories remain incapable to interpret women’s social reality since they are produced by androcentric point of view. Because scientific

knowledge is generated within male dominated society, mainstream theories produce deliberately biased and inadequate knowledge. Consequently, used methods, concepts, hypothesizes, interpretation, validity of knowledge, investigation and sorting data process will be distorted and non-objective. Positioning masculinity as a norm means excluding women and other marginalize group from scientific studies, the samples and intellectual environment. Modernist explanations ignore women like other marginalized groups, exclude them from politics and power and finally mute their voices. Patriarchal relations conceal the reality of women through the agency of its institutions and social practices. By means of dominant institutions and their conceptual models, social relations and structures are carried on. Social relations are ruled, recorded, regulated and manipulated by them. On such an occasion, social reality of women cannot be objectively attained. Hartsock indicates that the mechanism with which social relations work are concealed by oppressors' dominance (Hartsock, 2004). In addition, Jaggar evaluates that discomfort felt by oppressed groups seems to be overlooked and entitled as enjoyment or justified and rationalized as preferential, appropriate or destined (Jaggar, 2004). As in this study, employed women are ascribed with motherhood and domestic labor by social norms, they are thought to get enjoy by doing them and women regenerate social practices imposed by dominant institutions. Household labor is again assigned to them to be performed as a duty.

Harding points out social situatedness of subjects of knowledge claims in order to maximize objectivity (Harding, 2004). For research practices and science, Harding defends that value-neutrality is a myth and dominant groups leave social fingerprints (Fricker, 2002). Standpoint proposes a conceptual framework which belongs to women and places them as epistemic subjects, so resolves the contradictions resulted by male-generated theories. Harding draws attention family concept and double shift of women at home and work as preferable and normal.

Who benefits from only one form of 'the family' being regarded as normal and desirable, and all others...devalued as deviant and undesirable? How did occur that a double day of work, one day of which was unpaid, was regarded as normal and necessary for women but not for men (Harding, 2004, p.5).

The questions also correspond to how women have to reconcile contradictions in private and professional lives. Standpoint feminist theory responds to the questions explicating how dominant institutions such as legal, welfare, health, education, economic or military and their policies and practices abuse and restrain women's choices, how they are constructed counter to them and how they are operated against women's interests. Smith thinks of the differences between the world we experienced and the world that science imposes us to know formulating in the framework of concepts (Farganis, 2000). As a result, science is monopolized by masculine vantage point disregarding woman, her thoughts, her experiences and her problems. In this sense, this study differs because of conducting by a female researcher. Harding (1987) asserts that what we know about women is result of inquiry of male dominated structures. However, the source of will to knowledge is to dominate and control both people and institutions. For this reason, women should question and answers about womanhood and women lives. Feminist Standpoint Theory claims what Stanley & Wise offer, "Women need to re-define and re-name what other people- experts, men- have previously defined and named for us" in order to break off "power relationship which exists between the researcher and the researched" (Stanley & Wise, 1983, p.144). It can be only achieved by moving beyond traditional boundaries, empowering women and putting them in the center as research subjects (Adams & Sydie, 2001). Focusing on women's experiences as sources of research data locates women as the producers of knowledge being researchers and researched. Bloom also argues if the research is carried out by women, unusual research questions can be come into being (Bloom, 1998).

By feminist researchers, the attempt to achieve strong objectivity necessitates thinking about the notion of truth and neutrality. Knowledge is produced without women narratives, so holistic knowledge cannot be attained though the aim of universal and objective reality. Harding and Hintikka state "when knowledge is presumed to be gender-free- when male experience is taken to be the human experience- the resulting theories, concepts, methodologies, inquiry goals and knowledge- claims distort human social life and human thought" (Harding & Hintikka, 1983, xxx; Ho & Schraner, 2004, p.7). In addition, Harding argues

objectivity of science referring that the interpretation of research is “not only sexist but also racist, classist and culturally coercive” (Harding, 1986, p.9). However, objectivity should indicate the division of perceiver from what s/he perceives and how s/he perceives. Smith notes that our everyday life is confined with conventional boundaries of already arranged assumptions and knowledges (Smith, 2004).

Standpoint feminist epistemology claims that scientific knowledge is undetached and the outcome of social processes producing knowledge eventually. The concept of scientific knowledge is generated by the relations between material experience and power. Knowledge production is a political activity as Donna Haraway mentions that all knowledge is situated (Haraway, 2004, p.127). As one of tenet of standpoint feminist theory, situated knowledge means how one comprehends the world depends on material factors and human actions. Harding mentions that “activities both enable and limit what we can know” (Harding, 2004, p.36).

... Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. In this way, we may become answerable for what we learn how to see (Haraway, 2004, p. 87; Dayan, 2016, p.12).

Feminist Standpoint Theory discards disinterested researcher and detached accounts of knowledge, substituting for active subject who have needs and bodily existence on the contrary that the modernist assumption presumes “unitary, absolute, or final truth” accounts of researcher (Smith, 1992, p.91). Every woman has unique challenges in their family and work lives so it is not possible to speak about universal and absolute truths. Smith notes “All knowledge is knowledge from a particular standpoint and what which has been claimed as objective knowledge of society conceals a male bias” (Farganis, 2000, p.371). Harding (1987a, p. 9) also writes “introducing this ‘subjective’ element into the analysis in fact increases the objectivity of the research and decreases the ‘objectivism’ which hides this kind of evidence from the public” (Ho & Schraner, 2004, p.17). It is needed that authorized ones should dissociate themselves from biased political consciousness and ideological context. Thus standpoint theory prefers to position "outside the realm of the true" (Harding, 2004, p.6). For this reason, standpoint feminism is concerned with "beneath" or "behind" the

structures (Harding, 2004, p.6). Haraway uses the phrase “god trick of seeing everything from nowhere” which means that the subject of enquiries necessarily driven by political and social practices so the claim for objectivity of science is not attainable. It may be “an illusion, a god trick” as a reflection of the researcher’s self, belief, experiences and values (Haraway, 1988, p.581). It should be pointed out that researchers reflect their beliefs and values to the scientific study. Valentine comments what the knowledge determine is specific context or conditions that are also situated and produced (Valentine, 2002). Standpoint feminists argue that as the produced knowledge, “knowing self” is situational, locational and constructed too (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p.74). The researcher has own subjectivity, so it is inevitable that the output bears traces of the researcher’s personal history while carrying out the research. Ramazanoğlu maintains, “Making the researcher visible makes power relations between women a critical feature of understanding the complexity and variety of gendered power relations” (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p.65). Harding explains that feminist researcher exposes her values and assumptions to the readers, because she "appears to us not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests" (Harding, 1987, p.9; Bloom, 1998, p.148).

Feminist standpoint epistemology argues that women should be explained from the position of women, concerned women’s values and interest and included women’s experiences. As Harding states, Feminist Standpoint Theory discusses “starting off thought” from the lives of marginalized so as to produce less false stories rather than ideal of objectivity (Harding, 2004, p.128). The world "systematically silences and devalues the voices of women" for this reason, feminists are in charge of making public and manifest the diverse voices of women (Harding, 1987, p.7) they can achieve the goal by examining these voices through feminist theoretical lenses (Bloom, 1998). Harding supports her claims exemplifying from philosophers who consider causal and critical arguments about social order. The concrete and ideological repression provides women to gain a critical insight about dominant institutions and its functions. In that way, knowledge will be more complete, more accurate and less ideological. For this purpose, Dorothy Smith describes sociology for women- a sociology that relates to women, with which women can identify, in which

women recognize them as the subject of what is being said, and which they are structured and established within male- dominated society (Smith, 1987). Feminist research challenges omission of women from cultural, political and intellectual worlds and replaces with gender- neutral knowledge and emancipates women in the end. The power structure automatically justifies patriarchy, denigrates women, and reflects the desires of the dominant group. According to Douglas Porpora,

social structures are systems of human relationships among social positions which shape certain structured interests, resources, powers, constraints and predicaments that are built into each position by the web of relationships and which comprise the material circumstances in which people must act and which motivate them to act in certain ways (Gunnarsson, 2011, p.33).

Inclusion of women in intellectual sphere enables them to access resources immediate environment, give chance to survive in the patriarchal structure and to transform it. Harding notes,

...this kind of account enables us to understand how each oppressed group will have its own critical insights about nature and the larger social order to contribute to the collection of human knowledge. Because different groups are oppressed in different ways, each has the possibility (not the certainty) of developing distinctive insights about systems of social relations in general in which their oppression is a feature (Harding, 2004, p. 9).

The perspectives of the underprivileged group bring with epistemic advantage because of better understanding of gender, racial and other social relations. That group is lack of social and economic privilege and occupies certain socio-political site where they can question about beliefs, prejudices and biases of the oppressor as well as power relations distorting reality and restricting perspective of the world. The unasked questions about material conditions of women's lives heretofore enrich the content of research, which turns out to policy reform and finally social transformation. According to Sandra Harding, "Standpoint theories map how a social and political disadvantage can be turned into an epistemic, scientific and political advantage" (Harding, 2004, p.7-8; Dayan, 2016, p.81). In 1991, Harding points "Only through such struggles can we begin to see beneath the appearances created by an unjust social order to the reality of how this social order is in fact constructed and maintained. This need for struggle emphasizes the fact that a feminist standpoint is not something that anyone can have simply by claiming it. It is an achievement. A standpoint differs in

this respect from a perspective, which anyone can have simply by ‘opening one’s eyes’ (Harding, 1991, p.127). Asking challenging questions pave the way how things work in and of the world. It requires consciousness to deduce the mechanism of gender relations and political act for transformation.

Women subjectivities is another premise of standpoint feminist theory. Feminist research rejects metanarratives because different women have different experiences, so different aspects of social reality. Dorothy Smith notes, “To begin from women’s standpoint does not imply a common viewpoint among women. What we have in common is that organization of social relations which has accomplished our exclusion” (Jaggar, 2004, p.63). In this respect, referring to the diversity among women, New (1998) discusses that women’s experiences are not the same and that even when they seem so, women reflect on them differently. Women are socially positioned on different dimensions, and this affect their way of living (Ramazanoğlu, 1989; Korkmaz, 2012). It is necessary to pluralize women by breaking them down in multiple categories (ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation) in order to preclude essentialism and universalism (Bloom, 1998). Harding claims that the variety in women’s experience can be “scientific and political resource” for feminism (Jaggar, 2004, p.63). Through the intersectional lens, Gunnarsson acknowledges that women are not merely women, they are also black, white, rich, poor, homosexual or heterosexual, etc. (Gunnarsson, 2011). It demonstrates that apart from gender, women are strategically positioned on multiple levels because of complexity of power relations. As Harding explains, women are identified various socially situated ways rather than traditional unified notion so they experience diverse tensions and contradictions which provides a "rich source of feminist insight" (Harding, 1987, p.8). According to Ecevit, these subjectivities are spatial, contextual, situational, and even provisional and contingent, and they are constructed as reflexive and discursive (Ecevit, 2011). Women embody distinctive conditions and experiences which demands different political stances. In order to understand and resolve women’s conflict, women’s distinctive kind of thinking is required instead of mainstream thinking. Distinctive and daily realities narrated by different groups like women can enrich and contribute to the theory. Ramazanoğlu cites Hekman as “women speaking their truth” which means a new interpretation and conception of knowledge about

gendered lives (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p.51). In this study, according to the job type, attitudes of colleagues and employers, character of women as well as their challenges cause them to sense problems differently. In addition, opinions, needs and preferences of every parent vary from person to person.

Patricia Hill Collins emphasizes the inclusion of marginalized people who are treated as invisible and supports that they should be incorporated in scholarship in order to expand the scientific scope and approach by using “outsider within” (Collins, 1986, p.14). Collins argues that they can do evaluations for the social reality of the subjugated and the privileged. This position benefits greater objectivity, noticing the patterns which insiders cannot discern and potential favors of being invisible (Fonow & Cook, 1991). Smith uses the term “bifurcated consciousnesses”:

capable of explicating for members of the society the social organization of their experienced world, including in that experience the ways in which it passes beyond what is immediately and directly known, including also, therefore, the structure of a bifurcated consciousness (1987, p.89)

implying that two distinct modes that experienced by a woman: the world as one actually experiences it, and the dominant view to which you must adapt. In that way, women are able to see the world through the eyes of both subordinated groups who experience at first hand and the dominant who overlook the reality of women, for which Bowell uses double vision meaning to be aware of both the reality of the ones on the top of the social hierarchies as the authority and themselves as the inferior. In this respect, Dorothy Smith comments that the oppressed have “a wider angle of view because they can see things from the perspective of not only the privileged (men) but also the oppressed women” (Smith, 1987, p. 374). bell hooks explains having double vision as a unique position in the lines:

Leaving as we did-on the edge- we developed a particular way of seeing reality. We looked both from the outside in and from the inside out...we understand both... This sense of wholeness, impressed upon our consciousness by the structure of our daily lives, provided us with an oppositional world-view- a mode of seeing unknown to most of our oppressors, that sustained us, aided us in our struggle to transcend poverty and despair, strengthened our sense of self and our solidarity (hooks, 2004, p.156).

hooks refers to this position as a space of both repression and resistance which presents new alternatives and perspectives for marginalized people. This site gives opportunity for creating, gaining strength and liberating oneself. Positioned as marginalized with reference to the center of power, less advantaged individuals own greater access to power structures and particular perspective on reality. This dual perspective affords opportunity to be conscious of power dynamics which drive and shape the nature and social practices. In this study, social reality of women can be learnt by asking women themselves, observing their behaviors, revealing social and cultural relations which shape their routines.

3.2. Research Design

This part of the chapter includes research design of the study so as to provide a blueprint for the data collection and/or knowledge production processes of the study. The first sub-heading explains adopted method and employed data collection tool in this study. The second sub-heading intends to provide the scope and details of the fieldwork and, and the third sub-heading consists of limitations of the study.

3.2.1. Method of the Research

By employing qualitative modes of enquiry, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with fifteen women employees in various statuses as officer, worker, engineer and manager who are working in a public institution in Ankara. Johnson asserts that in-depth interviewing “begins with common-sense perceptions, explanations and understandings of cultural experience” and he explains that “[it] aims to explore the contextual boundaries of that experience or perception, to uncover what is usually hidden from ordinary view or reflection or to penetrate to more reflective understandings about the nature of that experience” (Johnson, 2002, p. 106). I chose this institution because of its reachability for me. I have been already also acquainted with some employees in that institution. With the help of this acquaintance, I can reach half of the respondents. With snowball sampling, I can interview rest of the respondents. Because of busy schedule in this institution, some employees have

rejected the request of one and half hour interview. They have also no such a long available time for depth-interview at the weekend. Therefore, I have to interview after-hours and lunch breaks. I asked twenty-five open-ended questions to the respondents. I design the initial questions in order to collect information about the participants' socio-demographic characteristics including age, marital status, level of education and occupation. I have prepared twenty-four questions which directed to deduce their work-family practices.

As the focus of this study, in shaping the work and family decisions of employed women, I tried to examine the significance of traditional gender roles. Working mothers' interpretations of appropriate models of work and motherhood are useful in documenting the shared understandings that influence action (Blair-Loy, 2001).

With this method, I aim at apprehending women's perspectives, concerns and difficulties as well as coping strategies in a detailed way. This method also helps to reveal the attempts to transformation among women and the reactions if any. The main concern of this thesis is to assess women's subjective experiences and perspectives on work-family conflict at first hand and get information about their coping strategies with the conflict. I choose to interview with women with children as my unit of analysis because being a working mother is one of the most challenging and disadvantageous position for building a career in Turkey. Like every mother around the world, the working mothers in that institution wish the best for their children and family and they act according to the way that sex-role stereotypes call for regardless of the positions they work in or how much money they earn.

3.2.2. Scope and Details of the Fieldwork

The data collection process of the study took almost a month and started with a preliminary pilot study. I tape recorded interviews with participant's permission, transcribed verbatim, and coded into appropriate categories. All participants' names are pseudonyms, and I removed any identifying information to protect confidentiality. I had the interviews when the women were at lunch break and their

quitting times on weekdays. At the beginning of each interview, I informed participants there were no right or wrong answers to the questions. I was interested in their experiences, perceptions, and views on work participation and caring for children, and programs that supported or constrained their ability to do so. In-depth interviews were based on a semi-structured interview directive including questions and themes derived from theoretical framework of the study. In line with the theoretical concerns of the study, these questions and themes are related to several major topics such as experience and views regarding childcare and household labor participation, family background, expectations about men and women's work and family commitments. By this technique, I attempted to illuminate employed women's routines, experiences, perspectives and solutions for their problems in detail. The purpose is to gain an insight about the nature, meaning and appraisals of work and family interaction in the present study. Interview data have provided me a lens into the broad cultural frameworks that shape and guide the work and family decisions of this sample of employed women in a public institution.

Because of having no extra time to interview off days of interviewees, in-depth interviews were conducted within a vacant room or private office in their workplace. Many women were still reluctant because of their workload. No formal permission has been gotten because of oral permission of the managers. Women in this institution have no fear or drawback while telling their experience. They are so courageous about their positions there that they frankly said that I can give their name if I wanted, there would be no problem. It may be the result of having nothing to lost. It also may be related with intense working conditions of that institution. Men outnumber and take place in top managerial positions in this institution. It is a male-dominated workplace where registration and contract transactions related to freehold estate are executed. Property deeds are updated, cadastral surveys are conducted, deeds and cadastral transactions are processed, checked and preserved. This institution is the most contributing one to the state treasury with title deed fees and revolving funds. However, there is no incentive payment, bonus or reward money for the personnel in return for their contribution. The personnel can be in charge of debt to be incurred because of signing the documents for procedures of purchasing and saling real estate property even if the mistake has been done in other

offices such as notary. They are responsible for finding and revealing the forged documents and theft attempt. Transactions cost pecuniary damages many times more than their salaries, it is laid down by the laws, the costs revoke the personnel for 10 years (before the regulations, their children would be responsible for the damage they made in state treasury). For this reason, the personnel need to be attentive and alert. In addition, this institution has a notorious for taking bribery. If transactions get slower, they are suspected to asking bribe. Head office cares customer satisfaction and managers do not build up their personnel in case of any trouble. On the other hand, with the modernization and technological advances, old and heavy book of land register transform into electronic system by current workforce without outside help from specialists.

After pilot interviews, as the researcher, I did some omissions and additions in the interview questions. After getting ethical permission from the Middle East Technical University Human Subjects Ethics Committee, I conducted interviews with fifteen employed women. Two of them work as assistant manager, one as worker, five as technician, one as engineer, five as officer and one as specialist. Women's age range from 32 to 53. All of them are married women, only two of them are divorced and remarried. They all have children ranging from one to four. The number of women whose partners work in private sector is nine while rest of them have partners working in public sector. Almost all women have bachelor degree, three of them have master degrees (Table 1).

Table 1. Demographic Features of Interviewees

Names	Age	Education	Working Status	Marital Status	Number of Children	Working Year	Married Year	Partner's Sector
# 1	36	Bachelor Degree	Officer	Married	2	10	10	Private
# 2	49	University drop out	Officer	Divorced & Remarried	2	30	first:6 second: 5	Public/ Private
# 3	53	Bachelor Degree	Officer	Married	4	34	33	Public
# 4	32	2 Bachelor & Master Degree	Technician	Married	1	3	7	Private
# 5	39	Bachelor Degree	Officer	Married	3	12	13	Public
# 6	33	Bachelor & Master Degree	Technician	Married	2	12	9	Public
# 7	49	Bachelor Degree	Technician	Married	2	22	22	Public
# 8	42	Bachelor Degree	Specialist	Married	2	13	13	Private
# 9	35	Bachelor Degree	Engineer	Married	2	10	10	Public
# 10	53	Bachelor Degree	Officer	Married	3	27	37	Public/ Retired
# 11	36	Bachelor Degree	Assistant Manager	Married	1	13	14	Public
# 12	38	Bachelor Degree	Worker	Married	3	13	13	Private
# 13	44	Bachelor Degree	Assistant Manager	Married	2	20	20	Private
# 14	40	Bachelor Degree	Technician	Married	2	14	15	Public/ Discharged
# 15	40	Bachelor & Master Degree	Technician	Married	2	19	17	Public

3.2.3. Limitations of the Study

This study's findings should be interpreted in light of its weaknesses. The study area is limited with one public institution. The respondents have shortage of time for the interview as a result of intense and hard work schedule. The lunch breaks and after-hours may not provide ample time for self-disclosure. Because of time constrains of employed women in work and non-work hours, the interviews conducted in a vacant room or private offices have been interrupted several times in order to deal with work-related problems. These interruptions may distract

concentration of interviewees and causes to pause tape recording. Moreover, the required time period for the interview lasts from one and half hour and two hours, so they can refuse carrying out such a long interview because of time constraint and huge workload. They are reluctant to meeting at the weekend because of being the only time to spent with their families all together.

The findings seem most applicable to lower-middle-class dual-earner couples residing in metropolitan areas. More research on this topic needs to be undertaken before the association between traditional gender roles and work-family conflict by involving much greater number of women in diverse sectors, institutions and statuses. More research on this topic may also need to include interviews of both male employees' and spouses of female employees' family-to-work conflict or vice versa. Further researches can also include job satisfaction and work-family enrichment in addition to work-family conflict.

It is thought that future research with larger samples will be able to tackle this question in more depth. Incorporating data from multiple sources/methods would provide a detailed explanation for the topic. As Hargis et.al argues, "it is not practically feasible to measure every possible work-family conflict antecedent in a single study" (Hargis, Kotrba, Zhdanova, and Baltes 2011, p. 403).

CHAPTER 4

ANAYSIS OF EMPLOYED WOMEN'S WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT

4.1. Introduction

Women are the significant component of society and they play substantial roles in every aspect of life throughout history. Thanks to industrial developments and technological advancements, women can increasingly undertake various challenging tasks and appear in almost every branch of life. By the help of urbanization, industrialization, internal migration and modernization, they have gained a new place out of home. Owing to the fact that they partake in the process of production, they can assist economic development implicitly or explicitly. Following these developments, women have been progressively associated with new roles in addition to the roles of mother and housewife.

Sheryll Tan emphasizes women's longstanding contribution to labor in the lines:

Women have always worked – in their home and the home of others, in fields, factories, shops, stores, and offices. The kind of work done has varied for women of different classes, races, ethnic groups, and geographical locations. And the nature of women's work has changed over time with urbanization and industrialization. What remains the same is that the ways in which women have worked involve a constant tension between two areas of women's lives: the home and the marketplace (Kessler-Harris, 1981, p.10; Sheryll J.Tan, 2008, p.10)

Thanks to increasing participation of women in labor force, dual-earner couples are becoming increasingly widespread. When both spouses have been employed, it is refereed as “two carrier family” (Acar, 1994: 21; Mert & Bekmezci, 2016, p. 46). Dual earner families progressively become the norm as a consequence of increasing living expenses, recession in gains of men and need for protecting economic resource with second salary (Gornick & Meyers 2003; Jacobs & Gerson 2004; Ravanera & McQuillan 2006; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). As a result of

demographic, social and economic progress in recent decades, family life has undergone considerable changes (Duxbury et al. 2003; Lapierre-Adamcyk et al. 2006). These alterations make way for eroding traditional gender roles, promoting women's workforce participation and transforming gendered allocation of domestic chores by degrees (Edwards & Rothbard 2005; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). In recent conditions, employment of both spouses has become a common and inevitable way and fulfillment of household chores has become a common and challenging responsibility for each spouse (Bhowon, 2013; Mert & Bekmezci, 2016). Dual-earner couples substitute traditional male breadwinner- female homemaker family type (Ross, Trigg, & Hartmann, 2006).

During the recent twenty-five years, women progressively get into the labor market and incompatibility between the social institutions such as work and family has become a major object of interest for scholars. Despite their increasing participation in labor force, employed women encounter multifaceted challenges and difficulties while trying to accommodate work and family commitments in daily life (Ravanera & McQuillan, 2006; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). Shifts in the economic situations have given new forms to work environment and job demands such as long and nonstandard working hours (Beaujot & Andersen 2007; Lapierre-Adamcyk et al. 2006; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). Working conditions, while minimizing workers' family dedication, make them engage in paid employment most of their time (Gornick & Meyers 2003; Jacobs & Gerson 2004; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). Women entering labor force face with many problems not only being as a housewife but also mother in work and family spheres; they deal with adverse working conditions and social pressure; and they experience conflict due to the multi-faceted commitments within the traditional social structure (Kakıcı et al., 2007; Seval, 2017). Karaca & Dede state that patriarchal family structure of collectivist culture (Akoensi, 2017) attributes social roles to women and these roles in work and family lead to much more conflict for women (Karaca & Dede, 2017).

On account that 24/7 economy has developed (Presser, 2003) and in almost every time and places, the job has flexibly been carried out, working sites have been

varied. For this reason, balance between private and public domains of the employers has been affected (Schieman, Milkie, & Glavin, 2009; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). The more women participate in the work force, the more family is structurally affected. Parallel with the increase in dual-earner couples, there has been also an increase in the number of working mothers with young children and single-parent family types, the employed who are deprived of the nuclear and extended families' support, educational level, mobility of labor force and childbearing age. However, women's employment for fee does not mean that they completely recede from traditional gender roles. The notion that men make houses, women make homes has not been changed within the frame of gender based division of labor. It is too pretentious to deduce that profile of employed women in Turkey have started to change when the impact of gender on work-family conflict is examined however, it can be deduced that studies about gender differences are needed to be increased. When examined traditional role theories, women and even to some extent, men allocate more time and energy to family and work after marriage (Çarıkçı & Çelikkol, 2009). When paid and unpaid labors seem incompatible, the ones who generally tend to shorten time for paid work are the women (Jacobs & Gerson 2004; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009). Many of women strive to integrate the work demands of each partner with family needs (Moen & Yu, 2000). Despite the arousal of the employee's expectation for work and family life and similar line of business carried by men and women, gendered division of household tasks seem obvious (Kapız, 2002). For all these reasons, women's increasingly participation in workforce in recent times gives rise to the number of studies in natural and social sciences such as psychology, sociology, human development, gerontology, management and occupational health (Casper, Eby, Bordeaux, Lockwood & Lambert, 2007; Voydanoff, 2002). The growth in women's labor force activity causes mounting of concerns among women who cannot avoid feeling strain due to the desire for catching up with all the responsibilities in family and work realms. Researchers and practitioners try to explore antecedents of work-family conflict that affect the practices and reactions of the people who also try to adjust their work and family demands (Eby et al, 2005; Hargis, Kotrba, Zhdanova & Baltes, 2011). Work-family conflict is a subject of public, scientific, and political debate (MacDermid, 2005) however, this matter

is deprived of adequate institutional support or family-friendly policies, at the level of employers and governments (Jacobs & Gerson 2004; Tézli & Gauthier, 2009).

Changing in workforce paves the way for;

individuals have a desire to be part of an organization that [will] take care of them and help them take care of their families, support their growth through skill and knowledge development, understand their need to have some work-life balance, and use their skills and abilities in a way that is meaningful” (Chalofsky & Krishna, 2009, p. 194, Munn, 2013, p.407).

Social and cultural factors have significant impacts on arising work-family conflict. The welfare level, social support, labor legislation, division of labor structure, sexual discrimination level and gender roles of countries also cause work-family conflict (Santos & Cabral-Cardoso, 2008; Çarıkçı & Çelikkol, 2009). Adak notes that the priority given to work-family sphere is relative and shaped by cultural values and norms. Norms and values ascribed to women in the process of socialization since childhood are predominantly traditional (Adak, 2007). In many cultures, while men who have completed his education are expected to start working to support her family, there is no such certainty in women’s participation in labor force (Özdamar, 2000; Adak, 2007).

For almost all individual, work and family are two most significant component in their lives (Fu & Shaffer, 2001; Noor, 2004; Özdevecioğlu & Doruk, 2009). These roles are interdependent and complementary to each other (Werbel & Walter, 2002) which are “interwoven into a single narrative of life” (McMillan et al., 2011; Whelan, 2014, p.85). In this respect, instead of ignoring the problem, identifying and getting to the root of problem will also contribute to the solution of the problem. Women’s personal and family well-being affects their business performance, too. Unless men take part in domestic spheres instead of solely helping out, the relation between gender and unequal distribution of labor force will not considerably change. Spain and Bianchi assess,

Women juggle a variety of roles out of preference and necessity. They will become more successful at it the closer society gets to defining the balancing act as a “family” rather than “women’s” issue. Until that time, women will continue to pay

higher price than men for negotiating the transitions necessary to combine family and employment (Spain & Bianchi, 1996, p.198-99, Sanchez & Thomson, 1997, p.765).

In order to grasp the mechanism and change unequal patterns, it is needed to examine as Gerson notes (1985) "how women themselves, as actors who respond to the social conditions they inherit, construct their lives out of the available raw materials" (Blair-Loy, 2001, p.689). Women can feel to be surrounded by competing and multi-valued sets of social organizations; therefore, they can reinterpret those organizations in different ways in compliance with cultural schemas (Blair-Loy, 2001). Various and alternative systems aiming at improving standards of living should be implemented due to the inhomogeneous structure of work-family conditions of employed couples and labor force (Moen & Yu, 2000).

Moen and Yu summarize that in present world, it can be seen

unfolding of new cultural prototypes of family, community, gender, work and career. Identifying the dynamic processes by dual-earner couples, respond to changing demands and opportunities, can form a basis for action in redesigning occupational careers, gender roles, family strategies and the life course to better suit these emerging work and family configurations (Moen & Yu, 2000, p.316).

In this study, within feminist perspective, work-family interaction of employed and married women is analyzed taking account of traditional gender ideologies which is imposed by socio-cultural practices and mainstream politics. For this reason, it will be beneficial to handle concepts of gender role and role conflict before examining work-family conflict and its antecedents as well as policy recommendations for achieving harmony. The antecedents of imbalances as a result of the prevalence of dual earner couples stemming from the commitments such as household chores and child care, career decisions and demands comprehensively will be examined to comprehend work-family conflict. It is beneficial to examine coping strategies developed by working women to uncover its gender relations, too. It is also essential to mention the adverse outcomes of work-family interference on working women, focusing on feeling of guilt and emotional distress. Ultimately, the stands taken by organizations and governments will be handled in order to show how significant the reconciliation of work and family spheres is for all of them.

It is revealed that the results of the work-family conflict have stronger effects for women (Karabay, 2015). In studies which examining the effect of gender on work-family conflict, it is stated that women experience more conflict than men (Çelik & Turunç, 2011). Duxbury and Higgins also prove that women experience higher levels of work-life conflict than do men (Duxbury & Higgins 2001; Jennings & McDougald, 2007). According to the research carried by Schneider and Waite (2005), conflict between work and family is inevitable and family is much more affected than work for almost all mothers and fathers. Additionally, women are the only category anticipated to make effort so as to achieve the aim of balance (Graham & Dixon, 2017; Karaca & Dede, 2017). However, striking a balance cannot be solely obtained by personal effort but social responsibility of business, and welfare policies of administrations. According to Eker & Özmete, work-family balance is a multidimensional matter involving financial issues, social roles, career planning and time management. For this reason, “culture, social structure, family values and traditions generally affect individual’s accomplishment of her/his aims” (Eker & Özmete, 2012, p.65).

Described as being “a complex multidimensional construct” (Premeaux, Adkins, & Mossholder, 2007, p.706), work-family conflict is bi-directional (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000; Frone, 2003) as family to work and work to family conflict and has multiple forms as time, strain and behavior based (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Carlson et al., 2006). As at simplest, work-family conflict means lack of harmony between family and work responsibilities among working individuals. It is also defined as interference of roles which are incompatible with each other in family and work spheres (Carlson et al. 2000). Duxbury and Higgins (2010) add that work-family conflict means growing apace of the obligations in private and public spheres, becoming unbearable and consequently failure in accommodating oneself to the roles in these spheres. Owing that work and non-work roles have distinct requirements, they are mutually incompatible with each other. Hennesy conveys Blair- Loy’s interpretation of conflict which is "fundamentally a conflict between emotionally salient, moral definitions of what it means to be a good worker and a good parent" (Blair-Loy, 2003, p.178, Hennesy, 2009, p.561). Some scholars defend that work-family conflict is the result of ascribing meaning for paid work

and caregiving (Hochschild & Machung 1989; Ferree, 1990; Hays, 1996; Garey, 1999; as cited in Blair-Loy, 2001, 2003). Similarly, to Hennessy, work-family conflict is the outcome of presupposed perception about motherhood and employment instead of competing demands (Hays, 1996; Garey, 1999; Blair-Loy, 2003; Hennessy, 2009). Men would like spouses who can burden multiple chores at home so as to focus on work commitments and feel more balanced at last. On the other hand, men do not help women to feel balanced so much and they do not arrange their home time in exchange for women's work hours (Milkie & Peltola, 1999). Dealing with family matters may impair women's other obligations and activities in different domains (Anderson, Binder & Krause, 2003). For this reason, it can be inferred from many researchs that work-family conflict alleviate stress and to diminish pleasure with work, family, and life in general (Parasuraman, Greenhaus, & Granrose, 1992; Higgins & Duxbury, 1992; Duxbury & Higgins, 2001; Martins et al., 2002; Ohlott et al., 2004; as cited in Jennings & McDougald, 2007).

Diverse women confront diverse conflicts because of cultural and moral dimensions of work-family life, which is compatible with 'specificities of subjectivities' theme of feminist standpoint theory. It consists of "intensive mothering of middle-class mothers" (Hays, 1996), the "devotion to family schemas of elite women" (Blair-Loy, 2001, 2003), or "good mothers" for working class (Garey, 1999; Hennessy, 2009, p.558). It can be noted that not all women face with same circumstances and they are not impacted from insufficient public facilities in the same way (Soyseçkin, 2016). It is also a reminder of that premise of feminist standpoint theory because work and family demands vary by sex and work-family conflict is experienced in different ways. The impact depends on the nature of the woman, the way she perceives the events, the definition and the solution of the problems (Aycan & Eskin, 2005; Seval, 2017). The perceived balance is subjective, it can mean imbalance for another individual.

4.2. Antecedents of Work-Family Conflict

In this study, the factors creating work-family conflict can be classified under two subheads, as work-related stressors and family-related stressors. One of these basic stressors, work-related factors split up four subheads in itself. These are sorted as job type/ workload and overtime working, getting permission and maternal leave, caring and training facilities for children and supervisor's/ co-worker's attitude. The second main stressor, family-related factors comprise of domestic labor and childcare. The problems faced by employed women are tried to be examined in detail with reference to the interviews which are carried out.

4.2.1. Factors Related with Gender Roles and Role Demands

In many studies, a relationship between work-family conflict and personal traits has been tried to be found. Gender is the most studied feature in this sense. Most of the studies examining gender differences indicate that women are more in conflict than men (Çarıkçı, 2001; Çarıkçı & Çelikkol, 2009). The ones who need to balance her work and family life are working women. Balancing work-family spheres in the societies where labor has been divided particularly according to the traditional gender roles, has become more difficult.

Accepted as the reason for inequality and disparity in the society, gender is referred as an "institution"(Lorber 1994) or a "structure" by gender theorists (Risman 1998; as cited in Blair-Loy, 2001, p.688). It is stated that “family is a greedy institution that demands time from women” (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; as cited in Schieman, McBrier & Gundy, 2003, p.156). In order to make sense work-family interaction, Eby et al. (2005) propose that sex differences and gender issues have to be taken into consideration as gender is “deeply engrained in work-family interaction (as cited in Powell & Greenhaus, 2007, 2010, p.1013).

Since social expectations differentiate depending on gender, work and family boundary asymmetrically differentiate between men and women (Bayramoğlu, 2018). According to the gender roles approach, women and men develop different

distinct qualifications and attitudes because they are distinctively raised and it is reflected in the choice of profession of the two sexes. Factors affecting occupational segregation shape long before men and women enter the market and it can be strengthened by labor market (Fischer, 1987; Adak, 2007).

In this study, when women are asked to identify themselves with a role, all women have identified as mothers. Women's association with domestic sphere is emphasized among the interviewees once more. In this sense, business world, considered working conditions such as workload and overtime working, hinder homemaker role of women, which is regarded as first and foremost by women. One of the respondents, Interviewee 14 notes:

I would describe myself as a mother. Maybe this role is what I spend most of my time or I mainly care about this role. We spend a lot of work at work, but when we go home, all of our work is dealing with children, we arrange their homework, food and everything for them.

Interviewee 14 has a distinct story, indeed. Her husband has been fired from job for almost one year and she earns a livelihood for her family. She was humiliated by her husband because she has not been worked for a while after marriage. She reminds of her husband's insulting such as "you cannot know anything rather than bearing children, you are only good for caring children, and you are useless because you have not worked". On the other hand, she remarks that her husband is useless now but she prefers not to tell him. Besides, she still keeps taking care of children as she was unemployed in the past. Her husband does not engage in any domestic work as he did in the past. In these circumstances, Interviewee 14 tries to perform all the tasks in both spheres without hoping or expecting nothing from her husband. As social stereotypes dictate career-oriented men and family-oriented women, Interviewee 14 confirms that she spends her whole non-work time with the kids and arrange their lives according to them. It is noteworthy that division of labor is determined by the notion of gender. It can be inferred that family-work spheres are regulated by gender roles. This case also confirms what Cook (1994) notes, the way of people sense diverse roles and decide a role as prior is shaped by gender. Women fulfill this caring mission without questioning, stating that it is not

a duty, they feel like in that way and that feeling is a natural outcome. Among the interviewees, Interviewee 8 who corroborates with her colleague and remarks:

Motherhood at this stage in my life ... I do not see it as a task, in fact, no mother does. I do it with pleasure coming from within.

She has graduated from one of the biggest universities of Ankara with bachelor degree and she has conscious of equitable division of labor during marriage. As it is expected, she expresses that she discusses with her husband and demands for his contribution at home. However, her husband remains so indifferent to her demands that she retracts to talk. She frankly says that gender role deeply perforates to her, she cannot resist it and she cannot behave the way her husband does. She wishes but she cannot do. Associating with solely women, household management such as domestic, caring, nurturing works as well as domestic production is monopolized to them. Mothers' labor is labeled as nurturers because of socially prescribed responsibilities. In the example of Interviewee 8, gender ideologies shape how parents perceive work and family dynamics. Deeply embedded gender relations lead to naturalization of motherhood in family responsibilities. To Eker & Özmete, in spite of increasing involvement in paid job, women are supposed to fulfill tasks related with household labor and childcare on the grounds of traditional, social and gender roles (Eker & Özmete, 2012). As Minnotte et al. assert, "Gender ideology provides a lens through which work -family dynamics are viewed" (Minnotte et al., 2013, p.688). Surprisingly, she notes that she does not think her duty as a task and she perform it with pleasure rather than she has no any other choice. Internalizing social norms and practices, women make their life unbearable in a sense. It reminds what Blair-Loy (2006) asserts a "gender contract" or set of beliefs and acts reinforce caring mission of women in the family (Haas et al., 2000; Wharton & Blair-Loy, 2006, p.430) in spite of the diversities in legislations, practices and social setting in several nations. As a dominant determiner, gender formulates women's work and family lives despite their wage labour. Traditional gender roles strongly dominate lives of people in Turkey. Motherhood is accepted as sacred and poses an obstacle for women who wish for appearing in various domains of social life. Cultural norms ascribe women as primary care providers. Good mothering is legitimized by both society and women as the primary criteria.

Even if a woman intends to work in paid job, she is expected to fulfill all the responsibilities in order not to be labelled as to be blamed as bad mothering (Soyseçkin, 2016). Therefore, the women in this study plan and calculate every detail of their commitments since they know that their partners do not. The role of the women in the household has not changed, on the contrary, the field of responsibility has been expanded as a consequence of undertaking multiple roles. Women's role of employee in addition to being housewife, mother and spouse has enlarged her responsibilities more and more. Even though the society attaches great importance on domestic work and childcare, woman status has not been substantially improved not no matter how difficult and important tasks they undertake at home (Dursun & İřtar, 2014; Seval, 2017).

Gender ideologies also determine the domains in which men and women actively participate because of its appropriateness. Although some of the respondents are aware of patriarchal roots of labor distribution, they are desperate about a major change which turns social norms upside-down as Interviewee 12 says below:

The role of femininity is at the forefront up to motherhood. In terms of burden and work, there are certain things that the society in the environment imposes on us. Some compelling tasks that we are obliged to impose on us. These are women-specific jobs, these are male-specific jobs. Or from the point of view of outside, this behavior is improper for a woman while it is proper for a man and we are a slave to it, I think it is a social slave.

Interviewee 12 is an educated woman however she has a low-status job in her workplace. It is striking that Interviewee 12 is aware of unequal living conditions and she feels as a social slave while she frankly call herself as woman only before having no children, after that point, she tends to identify themselves as just mothers. To her, womanhood lasts when motherhood comes. It seems that she are disturbed by the stereotypical thinking and expression, however she is deprived of overcoming it making a worthwhile change. She is aware of the attributed social and behavioral norms to each sex within a specific culture which includes some kind of appropriate behavior patterns for all the individuals in that culture. Therefore, she calls herself as a slave of the society. According to the traditional but not scientific, gender division of labor; male is strong, female is weak. The

condition remarked as slavery by Interviewee 12 can be changed by mindset as Mert & Bekmezci confirm (Güvenç, 2010; Mert & Bekmezci, 2016).

Gendered social order links family commitments' vision of meaningful life to individual's sense of identity and self-worth (Lorber, 1994; Hennessy, 2009). As Interviewee 11 also adopts traditional gender roles referring to "women's nature" and she adds:

I think that motherhood is the best thing for a woman. If you are a qualified and productive motherhood, you will grow up such beautiful children and make the generation as well as the society qualified. However, women face difficulties as a result of involving in labor force, they cannot allow enough time for the children and children may be unhealthy in the end. If the mother cannot educate her children properly, the society will break down. Fatherhood is not inborn, it is learnt but motherhood is. As soon as the child falls into the womb, you are emotionally ready. My priority is motherhood but I do not frown on get a job and take other roles. Childrearing is more significant in our society, and I think that it should be. For this reason, motherhood is placed on the top for me.... Working life is not very compatible with our nature, I am talking about working like a man. Our women work in jobs that require male power, but they can overcome it. We put into practice it by doing recurrently.

Another puzzling statement has been declared by Interviewee 11 who works as an assistant manager as senior. Her expression is an indicator that she gives precedence motherhood over other roles, glorify it with their own words and she uncovers her traditional mindset that a mother should be able to raise children. According to her, motherhood is an innate feature instead of fatherhood which is learnt afterward. The subsequent attitudes and behaviors that children will exhibit are all under the responsibility of mothers and they are only held accountable for their any false step. Business world is a barrier for women to engaging in family-oriented activities and it is not suitable for so-called women's nature because paid labor is associated with masculine identity. She has traditional gendered viewpoint, so she attributes to woman nature although she is highly educated and at top management. Her statements corroborate what Gerson notes (1985) "Women face a set of dichotomous choices in which work and family commitments are posed as competing alternative commitments" (Blair-Loy, 2001, p.690). Working as men competes with meeting domestic demands as women. Even though she has high status job, she associates herself with domestic sphere as Mert & Bekmezci indicate that while men are identified with leadership in the

workplace, women are attributed a more maternal role (Sandberg, 2014; Mert & Bekmezci, 2016).

In Turkey, gender ideology limits women within the traditional boundaries as mother and housewife. Regardless of participating in workforce, women expose the myths that children need their mothers more, for this reason, they undertake unequal share of care responsibility because of gendered social structures (Soyseçkin, 2016). As a cultural ideal, motherhood demands women to be sentimental and self-sacrificing. It requires women to be willing to devote themselves to the children. This kind of motherhood needs plenty of time which is constrained by paid work. Accepting motherhood as first and foremost is also a consolidation of social and cultural beliefs.

Interviewee 4:

For me, family has top priority. Because what I care about most in this life is family. I can define myself as a mother. I think after my daughter was born, my daughter became the center of my life. We can think that other things are the side branches around my daughter that accompany my work life, they are the things I take with them that I try to carry out. Others revolve around its axis. Occupation is at last in the hierarchy. I am trying to manage the job somehow.

Adopting a role as prior influences one's options and opinions. Theorists also accept that role identities are socially defined being a result of individuals' membership in social categories or roles (Stets & Burke, 2000; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010). Priorities are the sign of the most frequent relation people established with that role. With which people are identified themselves show what they value. Dominant ideologies determine and embody employed women's work and family decisions. By normalizing women's domestic labor and reemphasizing their traditional position in the society, job is presented as an additional task for women. As Blair-Loy (2001) explains no matter how much financial resources a woman holds or how elite, educated they are and how well-paid jobs at the top of their profession they have, gender exercise control over her life by means of devotion schemas, which are "powerfully and personally mandating the moral and the desirable; helping to define the life worth living" (Hennessy, 2009, p. 561). As having two bachelor and one master degree, the example of Interviewee 4

reaffirms that women in workforce identify themselves with motherhood at first. Her child makes her life worth living while occupation is hierarchically at last.

According to Lee et al., “actors are seen as carrying out their roles in a social context, therefore the ways their role counterparts who (e.g., spouse for family roles, supervisor for work roles)” keeping in touch with them give clues the experience in work and family roles (Lee, Zvonkovic & Crawford, 2014, p. 1253). In this study, household tasks are performed by woman while the man fulfills his own responsibility by meeting outdoor duties of the family. This is certainly true in the case of Interviewee 6 because her association with domestic labour is nothing more than the societal assertiveness. Although women work in a paid work in eight-to-five job, it seems that they prepare to take over the second shift which is not carried by anybody else except from women. The gendered division tasks are performed so systematically that otherwise is unimaginable for them. Woman’s principle gender role is admitted as wife and mother. With parallel of my subject matter, Interviewee 6 tells:

I am not telling my husband to do this, I am the woman, I have to do, it is my duty, I must do. I do not want him to get tired; I want to make him happy. He will not like it if I am a woman who orders all the time. (Saying his name) gather the table, the child to eat, remove this, if I tell him to tidy the house, he normally tells me to shut up. I do not want to say anything, as far as I can. When I have difficulty, I call him. It does not make me very unhappy to do that. If the man is doing his full duty as a man, what is the need of the outdoors, the children's needs, and when I need him, if he does not make me unhappy, I will be not unhappy. This is both a task and we do not reciprocally get unhappy. He is a partner who assists to me.

As many other participants, Interviewee 6 has traditional point of view in terms of social roles despite the fact that she has an employer having master degree. Social roles are the mechanisms regulating social relations (Gönüllü & İçli, 2001). Based on the example of Interviewee 6, it can be interpreted that acting in conformity with specific expectations and appropriate patterns of behavior, women feel happy because men also strictly fulfill his duty in accordance with gendered division of labor. Tasks are distributed along traditional gender lines as women’s and men’s tasks. For a woman, if a partner performs his manly tasks, it will be more than enough. Additionally, she regards that her partner assists her. It implies that most tasks in household have been under her responsibility unless she has serious

problems with them. Accepting the assistance of her partner, she accepts her main role and primary duty at home.

With the help of agents such as parents, school systems, and the mass media, the kids play a significant role in the production and expansion of gender socialization. In this way, gender stereotypes are perpetuated and implemented by the people throughout their life. It is also explained by Crespi who mentions, gender stereotypes “are representatives of a society’s collective knowledge of customs, myths, ideas, religions and sciences” (Crespi, 2003, p.3). In an attempt to integrate the topic with this study, the childhood memories of Interviewee 8 told below can be a good illustrator. It is a dramatic flashback that she can recall it after too many years and that change her life irrevocably:

I was playing with my friends when I was twelve. Someone who spoke to my mother said, why do you let her play in the street? She is a big girl. My childhood is over, make her do chores. That day, childhood is over for me. I started to see myself as someone who needed to do chores at home, to serve his brothers, and that continued throughout my life. In fact, such small things affect people's lives so much. Even a single sentence.

As it is seen in the example of Interviewee 8, socialization and sex role norms are taught children at very young ages in order that individuals conform to prescribed roles for them. Gender roles are ascribed by gender socialization starting in childhood strengthened in adulthood. Ideologies are formed, encouraged and maintained through social interactions which can be in way of learning, reinforcing or punishing. These set of alleged roles even designate how and in which way people should feel as being proper for men and women by means of social norms. Socially constructed gender roles also determine characteristics, professions or outer look of people. This memory has been a turning point for Interviewee 8 in that social order transforms a child to a woman by its rules.

In this study, it can be inferred even if employed women in this study realize power imbalances at home and deprecate it, they remain incapable of altering or improving their positions in practice. Interviewee 6 makes a point about family structure of her partner justifying his expectations in a sense. She desires to ingratiate herself with her spouse by sustaining the lifestyle to which his husband

is accustomed from his childhood. Conformed by family members and enforced by the society, gendered norms have so strong ties in traditional families that women are discouraged to act differently. Interviewee 6 does not deny regional and cultural values and practices in her speech:

We are from eastern of Turkey, until we get married in the east, until the age of 30, his mother and sister have not let him do chores. He was always fed by them bringing plates to him, cleaning and ironing were done. He was waiting for all of them after marriage.

Women reproduce gendered culture by discourse and refuse being a breadwinner mother. How much time people allocate their role and how they comprehend these roles vary from person to person, however it will be a meaningful explanation that experiences in the family role determines the time allocation in the work role. Men attach great significance to the role of provider (S. L. Christiansen & Palkovitz, 2001; Townsend, 2002; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010) as fathers and they take on absolute labor force commitment (Kaufman& Uhlenberg, 2000; Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001; as cited in Bianchi & Milkie, 2010) because being mature enough to assume the responsibility is expected from a man by his parents, distant relatives or even society. Internalizing the expectancies, men select the role and it is approved by those around. This has been seen in the case of Interviewee 11. Desire to withdraw from earning money at least, she demands:

But why should the woman stand on her own feet? Her husband should maintain me. I want a comfort living, I want my husband serve this life for me

This sexist perspective puts the woman in an inferior position being depend on the men who are the primary responsible for bringing home the bacon. In this way, women's participation in workforce is not leant towards (Kablay & Elma, 2018). It is obvious in this study that even women internalize this sexist perspective, they wish to stay within the boundaries of domestic sphere just because they may be too tired to manage all expected commitments of both spheres on their own. Both lower class mothers and middle class mothers think that the proper act is to accompany the kids at home (Hays, 1996; Garey, 1999; Blair-Loy, 2003; as cited in Hennessy, 2009). In this study, although women are consciousness about traditional gender roles whose impact on allocation of labor, they still act the way

traditional gender roles impose. As Aycan and Eskin quote “Changes in gender consciousness at home are the ‘final frontier’ in the quest for greater gender equality in work-family linkages” (Aycan & Eskin, 2005, p.468). However, they surrender dictations of social norms and even they are inclined to quit the work. Spending enough time with family is essential for women; otherwise it leads to feeling of guilt. Interviewee 4 being one of the most extraordinary participants of the interviews deems her spouse responsible for her being obliged to work:

The thing I regret is not spending much time with my child. I blame my husband. If he could earn a living for the family, I would not work, or if our state said that women should not work and make an extra salary allowance to their spouses, I would not have to work. (Is it right to hold the man responsible for the family's maintenance) the same thing was expected from me. Is cleaning and ironing the responsibility of a woman? I expect a man to make money if they expect me to. I can do it all day I can do ironing, I can freely look after his child and clean the house. Well, if that is the way perception is, then that is what I want.

As I mentioned before, Interviewee 6 has excellent educational background and successful professional life, she expects her husbands to make a life for her family. Being informed with *the perception* concerning women's social positioning, she might be possibly fed up with managing all commitments on her own, she prefers going into her shell at home. Even though she knows that cleaning or ironing should not be under her responsibility, she faces up to quitting work in order to take care of *his* child.

Sutfin et al. (2008) remark that parents with more traditional gender ideologies establish an environment that based on reinforced sex stereotypes, thus stimulate traditional gender ideologies become prevalent among children (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). Consciously or unconsciously, women undertake some responsibilities and engross some behaviors. Traditional gender roles shape one's expectations about roles and behaviors which are supposed to be fulfilled. In addition, they have partners who have raised in families which gendered division of labor have been practiced. Interviewee 6 is a good example of this case. She points out although she does not feel like the way she behaves she ridiculously keeps going the attitude. She summarizes it as a familial culture; it should be in this way in the lines:

Because it was taught. The mother always served the father, we saw that the grandmother used to serve the grandfather, we saw the grandmother always value above her partner. After we got married, we knew that if we did not behave well to our husband and take the line of least resistance, he would divorce us, we are down, I would be widowed, I would have to take care of my child on my own. So what do I do? I have to flatter my husband, I have to keep him good, I have to do serve for him in any case, cleaning is not enough, you have to make the man happy... You need to walk around with him, you have to be cheerful. He does never want you to be sulky. He turns into a completely different person when you sulk. Why? I may be mentally depressed. No, woman will not sulk. Woman always has to be cheerful and coquettish. Somehow, as if we were machines, we focus in this way. The woman always has to make happy... We observed and focused like that. We also do in the same way, we feel like that. I feel incomplete when I do not. As I said before, I expect my husband to help me, but later I think that my husband would be happier if I did on my own. I need to do this task in order not to deal with at weekend, so he can get happy. Somehow we get happy when he is happy. Something ridiculous. Make your husband get happy, even if you are crushed or worn out until the evening, when the evening comes, you have to keep the man pleasant with smiling face and coquet. We have a profile like that. I do not feel like it, but it has to be, because without it, there is a crack in marriage.

Interviewee 6 is expected to display all feminine traits as being caring, nurturing, responsible, sensitive, dependent, gentle, people-oriented, polite, fragile, considerate, emotional and passive. She tells that all expectancy is not limited with nurturing or caring, she also should be cheerful, polite and emotional. She have strongly internalised gender norms about her roles that she accepts that it is weird. Her happiness depends on her spouse's happiness. As prior investigations show that wives' opininons and point of views are less impressive than husbands, so husbands' perceptions give shape to wives' views more frequently than vice versa (Wilkie, Ferree, & Ratcliff, 1998; as cited in Casper & Bianchi, 2002). It may a good implication of men's greater power within marriage. Similarly, Kroska (2004) also notes that husbands' gender ideology might be more powerful determinant of domestic labor allocation than their spouses' gender ideology (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). Interviewee 6 abstains from divorcing and being widowed. For this reason, she does not want to leave any unfulfilled chores in order not to make her spouse to perform. This example also reinforces that gender role ideologies are naturalized and maintained by both men and women. As gender theories set forth, "household labor is associated with beliefs about certain behaviors being typically male or female" (Berk, 1985; DeVault, 1991) in contrast that "economic theories' assume that decisions about division of labor are gender neutral, rational and driven by constraints rather than presumably fixed preferences such as dislike of housework" (Portman & Lippe, 2009, p. 526).

Employed women strictly consider that they should not ask for their partners to divide domestic labor and childcare. As Hennessy points, “Work commitment is a masculine model of moral worth” (Korteweg 2003; Hennessy, 2009, p.566) so how challenging their occupation is, women see it as official state affairs, on the other hand, the house is their own affairs, their own spheres and duty. They are so engrained in it that they routinely and unquestionably fulfill the commitments. The mindset of employed women about the attributed roles is highlighted by the statements of Interviewee 14 below:

Women take the path of least resistance in the family and labor market. Since males predominate in our workplace, I feel to work much more than anyone else in order not to make someone say anything about me. They do not think that women cannot manage this job. At home, we meet halfway with our partners in order that they are offended. In Turkey, femininity reminds me of oppressed group in all spheres.

When questioned the motives of women in this workplace, it is revealed that women have the consciousness that they have to earn a living in some way. Unless compelled by any economic necessity, women have not been expected to go out to work so they have been hold in domestic sphere. Men, avoiding from parental tasks, expect women to fulfill housework because of being a symbol for nurturance and dependence. Even when women participate in paid employment, they have been expected to fulfill household chores at home. Women are stuck with the commitments as wives, mothers and women. Motherhood is closely related with domesticity, so household management is assigned to women as principle responsible figures. An imbalance originated from job demands is perceived as a threat for the family bliss. In line with the assessments in literature, Interviewee 10, being a disabled woman, married and with three children shares her drive for starting a work:

My husband had no job. My father-in-law's financial situation was better than my father, but I was ashamed so I could not ask for anything. I was not given pocket money and I could not ask for it. If I need socks or underwear, I ask for my mother-in-law. None of them matter for me. I have Diabet type 1, my medicine was over. I cannot say my medicine is over. I ask for my mother whenever she comes. If my mom can save money with my father's allowances, she is saving me. She asked doctors to collect the remaining drugs. My mother knows my drugs, carries on her wallet. If there is a surplus, or someone with social security can be prescribed more than needed, I take it. That way I keep my life going, but it is getting worse. I go into a coma, take them to the hospital. I feel lowly, you are both a woman and a bride. And it is humiliating and disgraceful life. So, I decided to work though my husband

and father-in-law. This is the only way out. I have to be able to take care of myself first of all.

Interviewee 10 has a success story. She has only primary school graduate when she is engaged with her husband in her 16. She finishes secondary school, high school having foundation and bachelor degree in secret. Witnessing gendered power imbalances in her family as a woman, she does not want to put up with it because economic insecurity is a major problem for her. Although the whole male figures in the family oppose the idea of bride's working, she has to give her salary to her father-in law. The only way that she keeps going to the work is to intentionally debar from a power resource, money in order that patriarchal figures maintain their hegemony. Women's subordinate position is retained by men who repress women to get under control.

Similarly, Interviewee 4 states the following account:

I used to be given pin money. It was not thought about that money, is it enough for this month? Do you want more? Is it over or not? I did not say when I ran out of money, I would not want to ask money, I did not like. He gave 50-100 TL but he did not question or follow whether it was enough or not. When the money is not enough, I did not say anything .sometimes, he gave no money for months and I did not say that I did not have money and why would you give me any. One of my reasons for getting into the work is that I could not get my child anything such as toys, clothes or stuffs for babies with one salary. I got through this period with my old friends' support but I was not happy so I got into work. I thought at least I could be useful if I could get everything my child wanted. I can say that I have money, even if he does not allocate a budget, he cannot prevent me. I have a budget that I can allocate at least I feel free and independent about it which gives me happiness.

To Interviewee 4, feeling economically insecure is also an insulting experience. As a nurturer figure, she realizes money as a resource of which she is deprived. Receiving money from a male figure and submitting the amount to be given her is a predicament. She locates in a restrictive and an inferior position compared with her husband because he handles economical power resources in his hand. Gender as a hierarchical structure, is one of the determinant for the everyday relations in house for her. Positioned hierarchically lower status, she can achieve limited resources until she gets a paid job.

4.2.2. Factors Related with Work Sphere

Long and unsystematic working hours, extra hours in workplace, lack of autonomy, capacity of workplace, low wages, negative attitude of the top management, ties among employees, length of person's employment, promotion, bonds within family, anticipation of household members, health status, number of children, age, income, various job and personal characteristics, such as efficiency of employees, are significant causes of work-family conflict (Çelik & Turunç, 2011).

In this part, within the help of depth-interviews, several themes contributing to work-family conflict among employed women have been revealed. These are, namely workload and in parallel with it, overtime working, getting permission including challenges faced with unpaid maternal and annual leaves, lack of childcare and training facilities, work environment involved co-workers' and supervisors' attitude. The findings seem the significant components which contribute to work-family conflict in this study.

4.2.2.1. Job Type/ Workload and Overtime Working

Workload is one of the major variables causing conflict. Findings from the data collected in this study show that workload can be the major factor contributing to work-family conflict. From the interviews, it can be concluded that most of the respondents agree huge impacts of work-family conflict on them. Women's working environment and heavy workloads are needed to be explained in detail in order to comprehend their conditions. Studies indicate that feeling overloaded and putting work ahead of family often have negative consequences for the employees at home. Interviewee 6 tells:

We were going to work overtime at 10 pm in land registry department, we went at the weekend... I had lost so much weight when I worked in land registry department, I cannot want to eat so much that I could mostly neglect my elder child because of workload. You must not reduce work, if you don't work, when 10 works are given, 10 more are added tomorrow, it becomes 20, so you do not finish and reduce that process it, does not end, nobody empties, citizen complains, our manager supports the citizen. Our manager will never stand behind the officer, the citizen will always make us in the foreground. And they blame you bribe. Do you want to bribe? You do not

do, so you want a bribe. No, I cannot manage, it has nothing to do with bribery, the work is busy, it never ends. There is a variety of work, not only buying a home but also a very complicated process. A processing is really taking 2-3 hours and some lasts half an hour. Things get longer and longer.

Interviewee 6 made it plain that she has difficulty in meeting demands of workplace. It is not surprising that managing work and family demands is stressful and depleting energy in such a busy work schedule. In this way, work life impinges on family life. Type of job makes it more than a desk job in a public institution. This type of work requiring too much concentration because any mistake lays a burden on the person with substantial amount of loan. Taking into consideration all features, it can be said that this a job in a public institution does not ease employers' burden despite the common misperception about public offices.

As an employer who has been worked for thirty-four years in that department, Interviewee 3 expresses major risks and hardships of being employed women in such a work place:

It is very important in our institution that all the work of the citizen is done and separated in a happy way. Of course we are tired of doing this... The responsibility of our business was also very great. Any mistakes we made could be seen after 20-30 years and we could be held responsible of it. The mistake we made could be recede to our children. This was heavy for us, for example, 3000 3500 TL salary is given to us, but we do trillion transactions sales mortgages and so on. This gave us a huge burden, both psychologically and physically. A job carried by four people in other workplaces is fulfilled by one person in our institution. For instance, it was our job to realize the frauds or mistakes that appeared in documents prepared by the bank and notary public until our arrival, and it was our responsibility. When we told the citizen about these mistakes, he thought that they were caused by us and showed his reaction to us. Or when we could not realize the fake documents, the notary or the bank were not held responsible for it, but us.

From the passage above, it can be inferred that the huge gap between employers' salaries and transactions aggravate conflict. Even if they work in a paid work, their access to economic resources is limited which intensifies their sense of conflict. The women in this institution do not feel financially sufficient in return for what they burden as a workload. No additional payment for extras, bonus or overtime wage is provided for them due to having notorious label on the institution as being referred to taking a bribe. It can be concluded that these women are deprived of the economic resources needed to sustain balanced work-family life.

Demanding work conditions engender women to diminish the commitments of women in household and orient them to pay attention to workplace. The biggest problem about overtime working is women's inability to keep up with the childcare due to insufficient time left for home. Considering the responsibilities attributed on women, Seval considers that women do not have a working hours concept. She refers to Küçük:

Verbal abuse, mobbing and gender discrimination, ignoring women's talents due to old-boy networks, stealing their ideas and projects by their superiors, pushing women to uninsured jobs by employers, transportation problems, society's prejudice towards women and, shortly it is seen that the society prejudices women and they are forced to struggle with many problems arising from being women (Küçük, 2015, p.7; Seval, 2017, p.190)

Whether a woman works in a full-time or part-time job, the line of business she works in, her status in the workplace, her working hours are closely related to her family relations (Adak, 2007). When asked how Interviewee 1 is able to combine the paid work with taking care of the children, she explained that is indeed challenging. She shares her routine:

In recent days, everyone have held responsible for extract the files, and all of us have to work overtime for 1-2 hours after 5 pm, but it is not possible for me to stay for 1 minute after 5 pm, I have to pick up my child from the school. I put the files in the bag. I bring it home I pick it up at home. Sometimes we have very thick transfer files to read and understand the ruler and take them out of the situation you can not get them working at home, for example, we need to work at the weekend sometimes, I bring the children to the office, I come here on Saturdays because mu mother says that I look after your children on weekdays but I do not have to look at the weekend, so I come with them at the weekend I am working with them on Saturday while they wander around. What time do you want to come and work, if you want to come at nine in the morning and work until 6 pm in the evening, noone does say why you work overtime. As long as you work.

Motherhood does not easily keep pace with job obligations. Non-standard work schedules hcauses adverse effects on both employees and their kids (Strazdins et al., 2004; Davis et al., 2008; Rosenbaum & Morett, 2009; as cited in Craig & Powell, 2011), it means prolonged hours in workplace while time constraints for hosehold chores, kids and free time (Barnes et al., 2006; Brayfield, 1995; Connelly & Kimmel, 2007; as cited in Craig & Powell, 2011). As it is also understood from expression of Interviewee 1, combining this type of work and family is truly difficult. While women are expected to be less committed to the job, this level of

job pressure makes more difficult compliance with family demands. Women are anticipated to be aggressive, competitive and full of action while she is supposed to stay in the background and become sensitive and soft. Moreover, women might miss the opportunities for status and promotion While they try to become a good wife and mother. As a result, they experience work-family strain because of all these contradictions and conflicts (Adak, 2007).

Work-family conflict experienced by employees is heightened as a consequence of intensity and instability in the workplace due to feeling to be under pressure (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Wharton & Blair-Loy, 2006). All women working in this institution prefer fewer and flexible working hours than their present work conditions. Interviewee 4 tells:

We cannot use lunch breaks. Since we are in the application unit, the citizens have priority. Both the supervisor and manager bear that at first you will satisfy the needs of citizen and in the remaining time you can feed your belly, you can meet your personal needs.

The ability to refuse overtime or having control over their overtime hours reduce role conflict because of allowing women to deal with non-work demands and unexpected events. Having no control mechanisms over the distribution of time has devastating impacts on women and their family. Our findings support that lack of the ability of refuse, both employed women and their families feel under the load of overworking. Interviewee 8 who has grown in the east of Turkey, however she describe herself that I am not a pathetic loser. On the other hand, she has to comply with orders imposed by directors.

Our Director said that there is a job which requires us to come and work on the weekends. The archives are transferred to the electronic environment and I think how I will come because I normally have to stand by my child on weekdays. I brood on it at....There were also the times when I came at the weekend I was also bring my children because I can not take the job to the home, my job is not such kind of jobs, so I bring my children to work. While they linger here, I try to do my job, but I steal the time of my children, I think that I make them live in bad conditions, so again this is a negative experience for me. There were many times when I came over the weekend and worked after 5 pm.

4.2.2.2. Getting Permission and Maternal Leave

Time arrangements in workplace is another base in order to manage demands of work and family domain for employed couples. To Laurijssen and Glorieux, the amount and timing of work time can be easily modified: "Because work time arrangements are, in essence, dynamic and modifiable factors that can be subject to change when necessary or requested, they constitute important tools for reducing work-home interference" (Jansen et al. 2004, p. 147; Laurijssen and Glorieux, 2013, p. 4). Getting permission is a legal right for all employees, however being able to get a permission is a hard issue for them, especially women employees. The interviews with respondents provide illustrative examples of how inflexible working hours and lacking of work permit impact the likelihood of reconciling paid work and family. Employed mothers cannot determine their working hours as well as time to go vacation. For mothers with preschool children in particular, or last-minute or unexpected events creates serious problems because they cannot coordinate their schedules without bosses' permission. Having two children and deprived of flexible work arrangements, Interviewee 8 remarks the difficulties in workplace because of mothering:

I am always late when I come to work and I am always wondering what I am going to experience or whether someone will warn me or not. I am always late due to the kids... My child is getting sick and I have to get permission because there is no one to leave. When they do not want to allow or when they cause problems, then I prefer not to come, I get reports.

Unlike Offer points out that as a mother, employed women have to arrange and modify their work schedule because of familial excuses, Interviewee 8 cannot manage because of taking the kids to the school or staying at home with a sick child. As Byron's (2005) shows that unforeseen problem taken place in household cause work-family conflict, women experience difficulty in their role as parents because of snowy days or ill kids. To Bianchi & Milkie, "parental guilt for farming out the care of a sick child to others and simultaneously frustration that the unanticipated event cut into work time and routines, thus exacerbating work stress" (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010, p.714). In just the same way, Interviewee 8 can experience conflict on account of the fact that she cannot get a permission for her

sick child, she has to get report in order not to feel guilt. Characteristics of men's profession affect women's allocation of time and chance to do more than vice versa (Craig, 2007b; Lewis, 2009; Craig and Powell, 2011). As the assistant manager who is accountable to her colleagues for drafted documents Interviewee 13 remarks:

Last time I took my son's eye infection to the doctor, he said it was contagious. He said he shouldn't go to school for at least a week. We went outside and thought where the child stay for a week. My mother is in İstanbul, my wife's family is in the village. My sister has little daughter who catches infection, her husband makes trouble. We said there is nothing to do now. I will take permission and I will stay with him. Manager said, of course, you can get things done and you can go out. It took me noon to get those signatures done. I thought, do not let the students catch the enfention there but the ones in the institutions. He stayed with me for half a day. We could get out after we finished.

The assessment of professional women regarding performance and commitment depends on her existence in the work site. This obligation contradicts with identification of women with family-oriented activities. Even if formal family-friendly policies exist, they may be little used (Feeney, Bernal, & Bowman, 2014) since working while sick or staying late is the much valued behaviors that organizations attach (Wadsworth & Owens, 2007; Feeney & Stritch, 2017). To Munn & Yu, "male model of full-time employment remains the institutional norm upon which benefits, status, and career mobility are based" (Moen & Yu, 2000, p.314). Additionally, intruding family matters into mothers' paid work rather than into fathers' paid work is socially acceptable (Butler & Skattebo, 2004; Korabik, McElwain & Chappell, 2008; as cited in Offer, 2014).

Interviewee 6 confides:

For a period, I was the secretary of the Directorate, he is our principal director, the director of all units. He never likes employed women, I am sure that no manager likes it, I personally heard it because I was her secretary. He said that do not let women to work, they are constantly receiving reports or taking leave to look after their children. Men are not. I also think that men are not. It is always women's work. That is why women are not liked at work. What women can do, the man does not ask permission. They are not liked because of taking leave too much.

Mothers can generally get maternity leave whereas fathers irregularly go on paternity leave due to being culturally improper to request it from companies (Kirby & Krone,

2002). If companies grant their personnels leave after giving birth without considering sexes, it is often unpaid on the ground that paid time-off is not offered to the employers (Glass, 2009; Munn, 2013). Nowadays, paid maternity leave lasts 16 weeks. Men have already been encouraged not to share care service with paternity leave as a result of gendered division of labor. Unpaid leave, on the other hand, deter both men and women. The maternal leave has adverse consequences in professional career of women and all employed women reach consensus that their maternal life has been greatly disturbed by paid job. Owing to perceived as homemaker, these women have common platform in that either they cannot use unpaid leave at choice because of financial difficulties and work environment or they cannot getting unpaid leave at all. All experiences in this study have a common ground is that they are all newly mothers and they are subjected to unfair attitudes due to being women who have a job in gendered workplaces. The maternal experiences of interviews are exemplified below with interviews:

Interviewee 3:

I could not receive unpaid leave for my second child also due to the workload in the office, my supervisors did not let. So I was able to breastfeed for only 2 months. I feel regretful about it.

Whenever I think of it, I get sorry.

Interviewee 2:

I have not received unpaid leave because I am a temporary seasonal worker, we started to work at the end of the forty day.

Interviewee 7:

At that time, maternity leave was 42 day long. I had to leave the baby to a nursery. At lunch break, I am going to breastfeed. There were elder children all around, the only baby was mine.

Interviewee 8:

I didn't get unpaid leave because of economic conditions. I started working when my first child was 3.5 months, and the second child was 5.5 months

Women desire to make sure to serve caretaking mission for their infant well and spend much time with them as possible. However, maternity leave after delivering baby is too short to accomplish that goal. Using unpaid leave seems to be a strategy to spend more time however it is rare among women I interviewed because it can be a good choice for the ones whose financial situation is well enough. Apart from this, attitudes of the employer come into play. In this study, economic difficulties become a factor determining the decision of going back to work earlier than they wish. In this sense, Interviewee 11:

I was assigned to my work place. 1 day after, the birth took place. I could not get a unpaid leave. Because I was not a civil service, I was only a candidate. There were no supervisor there, so I became a supervisor, I became a mother. Maybe I had the right, but no one informed me. I was assigned a district of Bolu, my husband stayed in Ankara. I went there with 20 days-old child. After 11 months, I came back to Ankara thanks to my husband. And I was 23 at the time. After my legal period- 56 days-ended. I started to work in the day 57.

Women tend to think that work demands have huge destructive impacts on their family and personal lives since they attach great importance to family care as mothers and centre on caretaking obligations (Wharton & Blair-Loy, 2006). Although giving birth is a natural process in women's lives and unpaid leave is not enough for balancing work-family spheres of employed women, they cannot even get unpaid leave because of financial conditions, troubles in work environment, legal practices and restrictions. The leave duration lasts up to 42 day for some respondents. Some other examples portray that women do not prefer getting unpaid leave because of financial difficulties. Without women's salary, men cannot bring the home alone in today's condition. Interviewee 6 explains:

I got unpaid leave for the first child for a short period because we were newly married at that time, we have financial problems, we had a lot of debts because. My husband paid the cost of wedding. He was unable to pay the debt, his salary was not enough. We were contracted personnel at first, we have been tenured later and our salary has increased. So, I had to keep the work, he could not earn a living on his own. I gave the baby to my mother when he was 9 months old, and we could not hire a babysitter. There was already the money I saved, we use it now for the second child's unpaid leave. Again I have compensated myself, my husband cannot earn enough money because our salary is not sufficient. Since we do not have a house, we have a little difficulty renting the house, gasoline, children's school, it is not enough, it is difficult.

Another problem is breast-feeding permission of women which is laid down by laws however, it is not applied in practice. This legal right cannot be enforced to the attitude of supervisors. Again it is commonly thought that women in public institution can exercise their rights. Women's social and professional status in workplace by comparison with their bosses obstruct them to object. They even cannot use their own legal rights and or cannot claim for their rights because of subordinate positions in workplace like in every sphere of life. They do not knowingly undertake any dispute which they think that they will lose.

Interviewee 13:

I was the assistant manager, that would not be problem for me too much but there were other female friends with breast-feeding leave, the manager did not let them go. However, it is a legal right. The law even says that the mother determines the hours of leave. But there were mothers who couldn't go to breastfeed. They tell us that do not be the hero of your family when you argue. Who will be the hero of a child except for his mother. Your child is sick in the morning, you need to take him to the doctor, but you can not tell him by phone, you will come to work. You will come here and tell me. It is 9- 10 am. for me to come office, and then it is impossible to make appointment for the hospital at that hour if you're not going to private one.

As an assistant manager, Interviewee 13 in this study cannot defend her female colleague in case of this unfair treatment and cannot remind the laws probably because she is grateful for being able to take permission and she may be fearful of disfranchisement.

4.2.2.3. Caring and Training Facilities for Children

As Tézli and Gauthier (2009) claim, in this study working parents confront hardships to get accessible, high-standard and constant childcare facilities. With limited financial resources, lack of extra payments for their success and already low salaries, the women in this study cannot afford to send their children any educational or recreation centres, courses or vocational schools. For this reason, they are doomed to bring their children with them to the workplace because there is no option in insecure living conditions of modern day. Children are obliged to grow in the work environment which is unfavorable for their development. Ignorance of women and their needs by male dominated structures and their

traditional association with domestic labor perpetuate lack of caring facilities. Women feel guilt, strain and dissatisfaction due to the lack of childcare arrangements. As Çarıkçı & Çelikkol (Çarıkçı & Çelikkol, 2009) mention that work - family conflict cannot be reduced unless services such as child and elderly care, motherhood and paternity leaves or providing nursery services to employees who have children cannot be provided. Child care and rearing are mainly expected to be undertaken by women. This expectation hold responsible women who may or may not work, for all the services concerning children. Because of the same reason, Interviewee 8 has to bring the child to her office within working hours:

I bring my son to the workplace sometimes because there is no one taking care of him. I cannot send him courses because of being expensive. He stays here with me until 5 p.m. under the same conditions

This case is true of mothers having not only infants but also teenagers. As the assistant manager in the institution, Interviewee 11 has inadequate access to financial resources because of being ignored, underestimated and prevented to achieve resources. In this case, Interviewee 11 has a young boy who is expected to fend for himself, so her request is in vain. Women are not taken seriously in terms of their requests, needs and complaints because of their gender:

There are no state-sponsored summer schools, all are paid. If those which are low paid, they are privileged for the some. We experience troubles. When the child stays at home, working mothers cannot find a place to leave their children. Even if they do, it is financially extra burden. They can't get permission from the workplace. It is like a torment. The summer holiday is coming. I try to arrange a course for 2 days. But courses last very short. What about this kid? My son is going to be 14 years old. I am telling what the 13-year-old boy will do at home. According to the chiefs, he is not a child, he is a young. For me, 13 year old is still child. He fools about in the quadrilateral of computer, tv, ipad, mobile phone until the evening.

Workplaces are not organized according to the needs of women who are not referred as ideal workers. Agents of the governments reinforcing gendered division of labor purposefully deny child care facilities to employed women in order to discourage them to stay in business and confine them in domestic spheres with reproductive labor at home. In her study, Soyseçkin verifies that lack of financial support for childcare or insufficient daycare services reinforce gender inequality and imbalance between work and family. It leaves the parents being deprived of institutional care provisions in Turkey (KEİG 2014; Soyseçkin, 2016) because

low-priced, accessible and qualified nursery services are limited and they are mostly monopolized by private sector. Early childhood education and care is not respond the need, so it poses an obstacle for decision-making of women who wish to work (Eyüpoğlu, Özar, Tanrıöver, 2000). Interviewee 13 is one of the woman who have relatively senior position than her colleagues but have no power to resist social system:

For example, I have a summer vacation for three months now, I brood on where I leave the child. There is no one or nowhere to leave for 3 months, public schools finishes at 3 o'clock, after 3, if you want to send a study center, it costs 1500 TL, we tried to keep the woman home for 3 hours, she demanded 1000 tl from us for 3 hours per month. As such, we had to send him to the private school if the same money will be going to the private school at least let's not worry about his food. But since his installments lasted for a year, I cannot give him to the summer school. Unfortunately, I could not find a solution, or he will come to institution, because our office is very busy that I'm getting more stressed - sometimes we have to bring children in a 1-day snow holidays, I do not understand it at all, it is snowing, nursery is even closed, mothers have no holiday but children have. If children do not go to nursery, they come to workplace with us. Nobody has no place to leave and everyone brings it to work.

According to Ecevit, care services are not institutionalized and family-oriented/ home-based services are provided in Turkey and based on household (Ecevit, 2010; İlkaracan, 2010). Ecevit adds “preschool education had been taken into the agenda within the scope of protecting children from the damages of having a working mother –which had been normalized only with family’s financial needs” (Ecevit 2012; Soyseçkin, 2016, p.133).

Therefore, as Tokgöz comments, lack of public care services and facilities as well as the state's social policy encourage increasing of women’s burden rather than easing it (Toksöz, 2012). When public childcare services are insufficient or unavailable, employed parents meet whole expenses for childcare on their own, if they can.

Interviewee 3:

I pay about 1200 nurseries, the government could be financial support, after all, you work and the child can't stay at home in his 3-5 years old. State nurseries may be smoother, not decent indeed, we have to go to the private one, because we do not like the state's. It is financially hard for us.

With the prevalence of dual-earner couples, composition of the workforce and division of family labor have undergone changes, however; institutionalized mechanisms for managing responsibilities of both spheres rarely exist. Without any organizational and governmental support, working women expresses that they take advantage of their parents which is asked for either permanently or sporadically. However, in this study, deprived of close relatives of backing, women have to bring children to the workplace. There is no attempt to ameliorate women's lives because it is regarded as a woman's problem rather than a worker's problem.

4.2.2.4. Co-workers' and Supervisors' Attitude

There are a variety of factor which impact the way employees express their ability at work. According to Munn, these are "coworker and/or supervisor perceptions of personal characteristics such as sexual orientation, and marital, family, or parental status" (Munn, 2013, p.409). The features for supportive manager involve in being an excellent communicator, focusing on output rather than hours, being respectful for employees and encouraging their career development.

It is revealed that supportive organizational culture and work environment reduces work-family conflict (Burchielli et al., 2008) it is obvious that no standard women-friendly approaches exist in this workplace. Moreover, implementations and attitudes depends on the individual with whom women work. Consequently, women need to take position accordingly not to lose their seniority or reputations. Studies show that employees working with supportive managers can establish work-family balance than those working with non-supportive manager (Duxburry & Higgins, 2001). In parallel with, as Berman, West, and Richter (2002) report, relationship with supporting colleagues can "reduce workplace stress, increase communication, help employees and managers accomplish their tasks, and assist in the process of accepting organizational change" (Wadsworth & Owens, 2007, p.77). However, women employers in this study cannot feel comfort and support of work environment. In an urgent situation, giving priority to the family adversely influences the status of individuals in an organizational culture in which complete

dedication and maximum time investment are rewarded (Tezli & Gauthier, 2009).

Interviewee 14 tells her dissatisfaction about her co-workers below:

They tell me not to work if you use your children as excuse. Men talk in the same way, especially if their wives do not work. They tell me that their wife is looking after a child at home, you get the same salary here with us, so you have to work, you cannot use your child as an excuse

Interviewee 8:

I just need to work so I work, or I do not love this job. I cannot choose the environment I work for and the job I work for. You cannot pick the people you work for. So you are falling in it. Even having a job is a luxury in this country... I regret the institution I work for. Outdated, not open for improvement. I would like to work in a university library, and that is my job. I am librarian. Do you know why? Let me see the young people who come, see their energy, sometimes I feel so happy that there is something that puts out my energy even when I come to work, so I regret working here. I wish I had pushed the conditions at that time and made different initiatives and not worked here. It is not about the workload. I would love to working a more modern place, more professional, treated like a human being.

It is inferred from the expressions of Interviewee 8, work environment is below her expectations. She feels worthless which obstructs her adaptation with workplace causing distress experience for her. While mentioning outdated and nonprogressive, she implies that her demands and suggestion are not taken into account. She explicitly says that she has no problem with workload but co-workers and bosses. In the workplace, conditions are made difficult for women. While speaking about working conditions, the circumstances get more and more difficult for disabled personnel. Interviewee 10 remembers her female supervisor who cannot empathize with her while she is also pregnant. This is an excellent indicator that the boss does not need to be the same gender as the personnel in order to empathize; valuing someone regardless of one's gender is a necessity for work-family balance. In a tight schedule, women demand their bosses' support and encouragement which help women to ease obligations time to time.

Interviewee 10:

Toilet was located on the 3rd floor and there was no elevator. I had a female manager, I went to her and I said that I am pregnant, and I feel nauseous, so if she let me, I, myself wanted to restore idle toilet in downstairs by covering the expenses. Five women had to go to the third floor, there was no elevator. The woman manager did not let me saying that you do not let me to get pregnant, so I cannot. As a woman,

she did not understand me , I was so sorry and cried too much...When they say what do you want from the workplace, I say I want to be able to enter the toilet first, I swear, because the doors are not very small for wheelchairs. I do not have a washbasin to use in the institution.

In this study, interviewees are deprived of support of both supervisors and co-workers. Women cannot set their mind on the truth sense of comfort and strength which requires to be installed in a workplace. Under these circumstances, women excessively feel work-family conflict more. The conditions hinder women work in peace by spilling over family life and disturb not only the woman herself but also family members. Unless egalitarian practices are implemented by authorities in workplaces, work-family balance seems fiction for women. Work-family balance is not achieved by personal efforts but it requires collaboration of both supervisors, co-workers and law-makers as well as a change in their mindset.

4.2.3. Factors Related with Family Sphere

It is explained that family related stressors for employed women include a wide range of factors such as partner's support, demands and expectations of couples, number and ages of children and family income. In this study, family commitments can be mainly summarized as childcare and household labor.

4.2.3.1. Childcare and Household Labor

The findings of this study supports what Laurijssen and Glorieux (2013) express regarding that practicing work and family responsibilities mostly reinforces traditional gender roles. Women admit that while they are engaged in cleaning and cooking which are named as typical female tasks; home maintenance chores are practiced by their partners. By this way, in other words, fulfilling domestic works causes women to "affirm" and "produce" their gender identities (Coltrane, 2000; Portman & Lippe, 2009, p.529). This is a sign for that men and women interiorize mainstream gender ideologies which ascribe proper roles for genders and distribute tasks vary accordingly as gender specific.

Fathers are less likely than mothers deal with childcare. Furthermore, mothers are more likely than fathers to perform childcare on their own, rather than with their partner. This implies that the default responsibility for supervising children falls to mothers, and that fathers most often 'join in', rather than 'take over' the care of children (Fuligni and Brooks-Gunn, 2004; Craig & Powell, 2011, p. 276). It is more commonly the mother who, for example, picks a child up from day care, takes them home and begins the evening routine of preparing dinner and bathing children, while the father joins the family at the end of his (longer) working day. According to Turkish Family Structure Survey (2013), women execute the 88 percent of childcare while fathers manage 2 percent of it. With parallel this matter, women's allocation of unpaid labor increases by 38 percent whereas men's diminishes by 49 percent after getting married (Başak, Kınır and Yaşar 2013; Soyseçkin, 2016). This study also confirms uneven distribution of labor which leads to overburden feeling because most women burden "double shift" (Dunn&Skaggs, 1999; Bıçaksız, 2009, p.15) after work life. Even if men make good money and become well educated, they do not participate in household labor. Every step is still organized by women, problems are handled by them and all the process are under their control. Hence, it can be told that motherhood experience is the most challenging activity for women and they undergo much more work-family conflict than men. Turkey is a country where gender gap in allocated time for unpaid job between men and women is enormous, time allocated to unpaid job by women is six times more than men (İlkkaracan, 2010; Karaman, 2014).

Interviewee 4:

There is no division of labor at home. I almost do everything. I have all the care of the child, cleaning the house, washing dishes, ironing and laundry. Even in the remaining time of this time, I please my wife-in-law, father-in-law volunteering, my wife's family. I go to 'gün' meetings or monthly meetings. It is expected me to make everyone happy.

With parallel of studies in literature being about that employed mothers are still closely tied with family care and household chores, Interviewee 4 expresses that she is responsible for fulfilling demands of not only nuclear family but also extended family. The above section uncovering experiences of Interviewee 4 show

that how diverse responsibilities women undertake. As in many part of the life, employed women have less power and control over the problems in the house as a consequence of her lower status in social structure. Data collected in this study confirm that household duties are mainly attributed to women. For most of the respondents, dividing domestic chores between couples is not discussed. Instead, nearly all respondents are incharge of the whole arrangements in the house. Expressions of Interviewee 13 are dramatic:

I do all of tasks at home: preparing meal, cleaning dishes, ironing. Besides, I bath my little son and deal with lessons. There is no division of labor at home. Unfortunately, he cannot because of having a habit from the family. He is a person who vouchsafe while filling his glass with tea.

The findings in this study reinforce that there is a visible gendered separation in housework. It is indicated that partners do not assist instrumentally domestic labor and childcare so much. Partners scarcely any exist at home on the grounds of working in private sector, tendencies of maternal gatekeeping of women and traditional gendered allocation of household labor. Spending time with children or picking up dishes from the table are among the supportive activities of partners in the families of this study. Men specifically have a great tendency to ignore responsibilities at home so as to meet their work demands, consequently; they perform their family role less sufficiently than women in terms of attention and time invested in the family realm (Milkie & Peltola, 1999; see also the review by Kossek et al., 1999; Rothbard, 2001; Rothbard & Edwards, 2003; Jennings & McDougald, 2007). For this reason, negotiating for competing and overwhelming demands is hard for women.

Interviewee 15:

My husband makes her a favorite meal at times but very rare once a month if she likes it. No help with cleanliness. I do the laundry, the dishes, the iron, the food. I have the inside of the house, my husband outside. We go to the markets together, but he goes alone. The outdoor activities consist of the things with the car. I usually have tasks related to the inside of the house.

Providing and taking care for their children are regarded as indispensable components of respectable motherhood. A paid job is necessary for maintaining

their children and family, however, plenty of time is needed for their children so as to meet diverse needs of children. Taking care for children with a restricted participation of fathers is socially and culturally constructed obligation for only women. Lack of spouses' support, Interviewee 10 shares her feelings in the lines:

You are going to deal with children's education, fathers do not get involved. He does not interfere whether the child goes to school, has a meeting in the school, needs bathing or feeding and study lesson or not. It is mother's job. If your child is successful or unsuccessful, it is because of you. You make them study, you make food, you do laundry, you make ironing.

In spite of fathers' gradual participation in household activities, mothers are still in charge of the moral responsibility respecting living standards of the house and welfare of children. It is expected from mothers to be within reach of the children and intimate relations with them. Only mothers deal with caregiving activities which comprise of planning, organizing and anticipating in addition to arranging and enabling fathers' participation, too (Shaw, 2008).

Attitudes toward household labor and childcare are composed of personal opinions and evaluations. In the case of Interviewee 11, men's association with impatience, intolerance and anger is stereotypes and nothing more than evaluations.

Interviewee 11:

Fathers are more impatient, while the mother is more patient while studying lessons with the child. When the fathers are impatient, the mothers intervene so that there is no tension between them. Fathers are actually indifferent to the child. While the father does not tolerate studying the child, women are limitedly tolerated. Experiences during the day reduce women's tolerance. However, women are relatively more tolerated than men.

Women's power is diminished as a result of their profession in household tasks. When men and women's attitudes towards domestic labor and child care are examined, gendered distributed labor can be obviously noticed. Additionally, employed mothers give top priority to the family as the primary caregiver, too. It is related with attributed meaning to motherhood as sacred. As a victim of the patriarchal structures, women try to fit prescribed patterns of the society and gain

acceptance at the expense of forgetting oneself. In this sense, Interviewee 6 is a good example of self-sacrificing mother:

After I got married, I experience depersonalization. There is nothing about myself. I nor dye my hair neither make up. If my hair gets white, otherwise I cannot even dye my hair. I forgot myself, I am only mom. As soon as I get up, the first question in my head is, what they eat, let the child study after coming from school

High expectations of extended family also contribute to work-family conflict experienced by employed women. As a result of cultural demand, employed women feel in charge of their surroundings and relatives. “Multiple social roles, such as mother/ father, daughter / son, daughter-in-law / son-in-law, neighbor, hostess in social events, wife / husband, are equally important. Perfection in all of these roles is demanded by the society” (Aycan, 2008, p.10). Too many commitments equal to greater degree of stress for women. It also fits what is observed in this study. For example, Interviewee 9 expresses how her mother-in-law created a tension in her life:

I cannot manage the tasks at home, I have a little mess. My husband makes a few problems, but my mother-in-law makes more. Domestic chores stay unfulfilled, she complains about them to my husband. Why is your wife messy? I have been complained to my husband in the end, and there is unavoidably a coldness between us. The house will be smoother, she tells his son what other brides are doing, for example

Men’s involvement in domestic labor seems optional, even for most couples who share great amounts of housework, men’s contributions are named as “helping their wives or partners” (Coltrane, 2000, p.1209). Considered these gendered beliefs, men probably have negative attitude toward domestic chores than women do. For this reason, women may enjoy household tasks and child care (Grote, Naylor & Clark, 2002; Kroska, 2003) more than men do.

Interviewee 9:

I have never got angry when I do cleaning, and I will be very happy when it has been clean. Getting tired does not make me think about the fatigue, it is ultimately clean. I do not create any problem while doing housework.

The results also reveal that having more than one dependent child is particularly demanding, since young children need considerable care and attention. Infant care deepens feeling of conflict although Interviewee 6 is on unpaid leave for 2 years:

I am locked in the house because I have a little baby, my child has a sleep time, she has to eat, I cannot even go out for me because I cannot go out of that program. I have not sat with my friends from the institution for 2 years in a cafe or anywhere, I forgot to talk.

She indicates that she has saved money to get unpaid leave and they spend that money within this period. She is able to raise her child on her own; however it requires too much attention and involvement. The relationship with a child is “irreplaceable and lifelong” (Nelson 2010; Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie & Robinson, 2012, p. 60) for this reason, devoting the child care, childcare bears much more meaning for employed mothers. Mothers are attributed as “selfless and sacrificial” (Thurer 1995; Warner 2005; as cited in Shaw, 2008, 689). Instead of personal preferences and demands, mothers primarily are associated with providing care for the children. Providing care includes material and physical needs as well as emotional, psychological and intellectual developmental needs such as attention and concern. Shaw expresses that mothers deal with health and well-being of their children, their cognitive and intellectual development, and their overall short-term and long-term success in life (Weingarten 1995; e.g. Wall 2004; as cited in Shaw, 2008, p.689). In line with these studies, Interviewee 14 remarks:

There is a testing system, if the children do not work constantly, they fall down in tests, we have to run them compulsorily although they are unconscious because system entails this.

Portman & Lippe refer to a term as “maternal gatekeeping” meaning that “wives may actively prevent their husbands from undertaking domestic duties by voicing high standards or complaining about their husband’s performance” (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Thompson & Walker, 1989; as cited in Portman & Lippe, 2009, p.538). In accordant with this argument, Portman & Lippe adds that women feel being in charge of them than men. Setting high standards deters men from performing domestic work. Mothers frequently think that they can handle the task with utmost efficiency rather than men whose ability to manage the chores is hardly

believable for women. In her book *Perfect Madness*, Judith Warner (2005) mentions “Mommy Mystique” implying that “mothers are characterized by anxiety, perfectionism, and exhaustion caused by the current cultural demands on mothers” (Halpern & Murphy, 2005; Hochschild, 1989, 1997; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998, LeMaster, Casad & Marcus-Newhall, 2007, Marcus- NewHall et al., 2008, p.280). That internalized social patterns dominated lives of participants in this study. Interviewee 5 remarks:

I think something will come short. It is because of perfectionism, it is better if I do it. You have to compulsorily share some, you cannot do everything. I think my husband would do incomplete. He feels at ease but I do not. I have observed, I have lived. He is also relaxed. He has not been given such a role. He is a boy, he do not, he cannot.

This statement depicts that maternal gatekeeping is a source of work-family conflict for most of the women in this study. They monopolise certain tasks for themselves as women, engaging actively and routinely in them. The findings confirm that strong traditional family structures have fundamental role in shaping women’s and men’s actions. Studies also show that identity and participation for the parental role are positively correlated (Maurer et al., 2001) as well as homemaking identities and time spent on housework (Cast, 2003; as cited in Portman & Lippe, 2009). Since their childhood, men have not been involved in domestic labor whereas women are brought up in the opposite way. Women’s competence can be explained in the same frame with men’s reluctance. It is a consequence of gendered cultural scripts.

In general, gendered power differences underlie that women have less ability than men, so they can resist fulfilling domestic chores whenever they do not want to perform whereas women have to surrender struggling. For this reason, women feel more bound to what is expected from them as a mother and wife. This is relevant with telling of Interviewee 8:

I tell him so much that he has become insensitive, he does not hear me. He stays unresponsive, he does the same thing, and I quit, and I say that if this person is the same although I make great efforts, I won't say it anymore, I said okay, I gave up, I accepted. When my husband sweeps the house, he says that it is okay, I am done, I am going to rest now, but there is more work to do. The bathroom and the balconies need to be washed. Is that possible? Work is over and he is sure, clear, he goes, lies

and rests. When I stand up to, he says that I do not make up to you. It brings it to a point that ends up wrong although I am right.

While men define home as a place where they can relax and “charge their batteries”, women define it as a place which awaits to extra effort causing waste of time and stress (Adak, 2007, p.145). As Portman & Lippe puts, men’s tactics to avoid domestic labor may be a significant indication for gendered division of labor (Walker & McGraw, 2000; Portman & Lippe, 2009). They note that men may forget or wait for instructions (Hochschild, 1989; Thompson & Walker, 1989; as cited in Portman & Lippe, 2009). The more unfavorable attitudes they exhibit to perform labor, the more responsibility women take on that matter. To Folbre (2001) women remark that when they need their partners’ help, they do not seem to be so demanding for equal division of labor because of being “prisoners of love- unable to bargain for a more equitable division of labor out of fear that doing so might harm family members or relationships” (Legerski & Cornwall, 2010, p. 469). Women’s withdrawal from any dispute over the problems indicates how powerful gender expectations regulate relations between couples (Legerski & Cornwall, 2010).

Interviewee 1:

The time I get up, the time I go to bed, the time the cleaning lady comes, and the work she is going to do, the money I am going to give her, all of this is in my purse. I pay for my items every month. The method I use to control my obsessiveness. I use it for years, renew it every year. I find a notebook with flowers like this. I have my payments, my rent, my bill, my debt, and mostly everything is planned financially. A week later, the feast comes, I have already organized my holiday, my mind is clear, I am not a last-minute person, I have to think about a step later. What will I do when I come home? Which laundry will I do today? I know what to do when I go home tonight. I am going to wash the white clothes today, tomorrow the uniforms will be washed. I get angry when something happens that cancel my plans. My plan definitely fails because I have an irresponsible husband at home.

As Offer points out, because of mental labor is hidden, confusion created by organizing actions to be taken cannot be estimated. However, women cannot manage obligations in both spheres without forethought. Women have more workload in terms of physical and mental than men is confirmed by not only former studies but also this study. Studies carried by Offer prove that as a part of juggling act, women often engage in mental labor as a consequence of work and

family demands and time squeeze (Daly, 2002; Darrah, Freeman & English-Lueeck, 2007; Hessing, 1994, as cited in Offer, 2014). The women who manage the time well, know what to do and when to plan daily life can more easily balance the time spent on work and family (Efil, 2004, p.35; Çarıkçı & Çelikkol, 2009).

4.3. Coping Strategies for Employed Women

There is not a common and unique coping strategy that can be implemented in all circumstances. Every specific method function better for specific kind of conflicts in particular circumstances. In this study, as a result of inadequate care facilities and duration of paid leaves, deprivation of reconciliation policies and social expectations for supermomming in Turkey, employed mothers develop some strategies to provide finest care as soon as possible (Soyseçkin, 2016). These can be collected under two main headings as scaling back in career and educational opportunity, and secondly multitasking and sacrificing personal/leisure time.

4.3.1. Scaling Back Career and Educational Opportunity

Women adapt their level and type of involvement in the labor force according to the demands of family, so they more possibly curtail their working time in workplace, get part-time job, and abandoning career ambition (Kaufman & Uhlenberg 2000; Uunk et al. 2005; as cited in Laurijssen and Glorieux, 2013). Laurijssen and Glorieux quote "scaling back" strategy of Becker and Moen who deduce that in dual earner families, mothers rather than fathers do the descaling:

We find couples who are quite conscious and articulate about resisting the demands of workplaces they perceive as greedy. But they are unable to articulate possibilities for a family life not organized around at least one career. They talk about their commitment to egalitarian marriage, but they remain unaware of or silent about the fact that women do more scaling back than men, or that this has long-term adverse consequences for women's careers (Becker and Moen 1999, p. 1005; Laurijssen and Glorieux, 2013, p.2).

The culture and structure of paid work does not so much bring about changes in men's life, however, women have to accommodate to the "givens" conditions while arranging their work patterns and in their daily routines. They make a choice such as preferring "mommy track" jobs (lower status and expectation for

promotion), quitting work, moving in part time employment, usually working fewer hours than men and being reluctant to travel or relocate (Moen & Yu, 2000, p.293). In this study, it is observed that participants have to mitigate their career ambitions, preferring not to emphasize on advancement or career sometimes temporarily or more long-term. Now being an assistant manager, Interviewee 11 has experienced hard times for the sake of advancing in her career:

I took the assistant manager exams, left my family and had to live in Istanbul for 15 months, I came back very difficult, I was married and had children. I wanted to be appointed by means of spouse-related causes – he works in security in chief office. It should be very easy - but unfortunately it forced me. It should not be that difficult, and if the family is trying to be united and kept together, the state should support

The mothers have to conform to their partner's restrictions and decision making authority about their futures. For the purpose of their families' well-being, even though they attempt to make careers, they are defeated to cultural and social dictations. Their choices do not merely belong to themselves but her husband. In order to maintain family togetherness, the only side who has to give up ideals is woman. In addition, unsupportive organizations aggrieve women by not appointing women employers to their homestall. When women have to choose one side, it will be near of their family. It is not negotiable for women. Even if most of the partners in this study work in private sector, it is not thought by men to change of place. Women always are constrained to their husbands. During interviews, women complain about inadequate number of personnel in Ankara, on the other hand, they cannot be appointed to Ankara. It is a serious trouble that workplace puts to its female personnel to block her career opportunity. As two assistant manager of the study both Interviewee 11 and 13 have to resign because of not being appointed to the place where their partners live. After working more than one year, they have to go back their homeland without titles. Long years later, titles have been granted to all owners. Both the experiences of Interviewee 13 is closely similar to this matter:

Interviewee 13:

I could not attend the assistant manager exam because I gave birth and could not leave my son After that, when I took the assistant manager exam, we lived separately

for 19 months apart from my husband and child. I went to Afyon, my husband and child stayed in Ankara, my son was going to elementary school at that time. Finally, I came back 19 months later renouncing my title. And now, when the Director's exam is started, my oldest son opposes in the first place. I have had a very hard time, I do not want my brother to experience in the same way, he says. Directorate exams are started, but we cannot apply. My husband works in the private sector because we need to stay in Ankara and I will not be able to come to Ankara. There is no assignment for us.

What Interviewee 13 experience is a good illustration what Adak mentions: whether a woman works in a full-time or part-time job, the line of business she works in, her status in the workplace, her working hours are closely related to her family relations (Adak, 2007, p.138). Women have to feel to organize their life according to their families. While they have to design and adapt their working sphere to family sphere, they make concessions to their career.

In addition to prevent women to participate in the labor market, care served by women influences the way they are employed and their position in the workplace, their wages and opportunities for the promotion (Urhan, 2016, p. 136; Şentürk & Kaymaz, 2017). Getting unpaid leave has also negative consequences for Interviewee 9. It can be only regulated by the state because unpaid leave is not a solution, it is an improvement, something is better than nothing but it is needed to be ameliorated. Concerning job rights and service period, Interviewee 9 says:

After giving birth to children, I obtained unpaid leave and I did not work until child turned age of two. I was at home. You get behind in the work place, 2 year is not a short period. Again, you are involuntarily get behind from work while you are pregnant, which also prevents your career development. Let's say that we don't work for 2 years, 10-year employee has 30 days of annual leave or because 2 years of unpaid leave is not counted, you need to pay that period to SGK in order to count it separately. I wish the state could regulate it, at least the insurance works and my service period does not decrease. I couldn't go to work because I took care of the child. It is not arbitrary.

4.3.2. Multitasking, and Sacrificing Personal /Leisure Time

Women are multi-tasked people, doing many things at once. Described as “the simultaneous performance of several tasks or the rapid alternation between them” (Spink, Cole & Waller, 2008) multitasking provides to squeeze and perform many more tasks within a short period of time (as cited in Offer & Schneider, 2011, p.810). Arendell (2001) presents that multitasking is “key to success” for

employed mothers (as cited in Offer & Schneider, 2011, p.813). Fathers spend ten hours less a week multitasking when compared by mothers, furthermore in these extra time; women predominantly deal with household chores and childcare (Offer, Schneider, 2011).

Employed women frequently disclose that they have no enough time to manage all the demands of work and family. Interviewee 13 reveals her experience due to the lack of time to meet family demands. She says the following:

We do my little son's homework in the kitchen by talking to him. I usually do my son's lessons while I am washing dishes or cooking in the kitchen.

Interviewee 8:

I plan some tactics for me. I have learned to get out of every way. I do a lot of things together. Like looking at a child at work. It is not supposed to be, but I am taking time for my mom when I have to take care of the kids. I cook while I train a lesson, I have my son read books while I empty the machine. I have a lot of good tactics. When my son stays here until 5 pm. in the evening. Coming from school, he is sweating, I need to change his clothes, his back is like water, he is hungry, I have to tell him to eat, he needs to go to the toilet, he gets stuck. Things like this

At home, women have a wide range of duties. They have to deal with non-work activities such as accompanying children with their homework, feeding and bathing them, and preparing them for the next day and concerning their extracurricular activities in addition to the tasks unrelated with children in domestic sphere. It is not surprising for them to find narrow time to fulfill all tasks. All the mothers attending to the study agree that meeting all demands costs their exhaustion and personal time. On account that workplace culture does not provide flexible work hour arrangement for its workers, women agree with being organized so as to save time.

Working women have not enough free time because of their family responsibilities and they have fewer possibilities to amuse their leisure activities by comparison with men due to having less time (Henderson et al.1996; Lee et al., 2014). Furthermore, they report to have less time described as leisure time than men because they cannot become wholly absorbed in their leisure as men. It can be

explained by Larson and Richards (1994) in that women's free time activities are accompanied with other things (Shaw, 1985; Henderson et al., 1989; as cited in Lee et al., 2014, p.1257). Consequently, mothers feel less delighted in their leisure activities than fathers (Arendell 2001; Bittman & Wajcman 2000; Bianchi 2003; as cited in Offer, 2014). As Interviewee 12 mentions, if a woman wants to live for the sake of herself, she cannot use time efficiently.

Interviewee 12:

You do not have a completely unique life because you work. You cannot do your work at home, go sightseeing or do a social surroundings... I usually set the time for myself as arranging environments with my children. You do not actually have an allocated private time. If you do not have an assistant. If your mother is looking at children, you go out for 2 hours, drink something, this is what you take for yourself, you walk, you read a book, I evaluate it in this way, but I usually evaluate the process with my children. If you do not do anything to make you feel like you are a woman, you start using time a little more efficiently, but for others.

Being different from leisure which means rest and renew, family leisure requires active involvement in permanent parenting roles for mothers and being on the alert. As Interviewee 12 mentions, unless receiving help from close relatives and kins, mothers steal their leisure and sleep time as Bianchi (2000) also marks.

Mothers are inclined to integrate household labor and childcare with other responsibilities more commonly. That can explain women's workload much more than fathers and time constraint needed for reconciling both realms. In this respect, it can be expressed that multitasking is another base for sustained gender inequality on the grounds of overburdening on women rather than men. It is revealed that by reducing their housework time as well as personal care and leisure time (Craig 2006b), employed women allocate considerable length of time with their children (Shaw, 2008). Family care is so identified with women (Coltrane, 2000; Doucet 2006; Townsend 2002) that mothers' free time is mostly "fragmented and contaminated" by that concern (Offer, 2014, p.918).

Interviewee 13:

I do not really spend much time on myself. I did not have a lot of things like traveling around friends, going to the movies, breakfasts and meals. Because of some

handicaps related with my husband, he works in a private company, he goes out of town too much. So I have all the responsibilities of children such as leaving to school in the morning or procuring something needed for the school at midnight. I think I sacrifice myself more because I have all the burden.

Due to the double burden in work and family spheres, women live an isolated life. Except for household commitments, women cannot allocate time for other activities in their leisure time. Women deal with challenges by limiting their social lives, instead of directing men to share the burden. They think that dealing with anything else rather than childcare in spare time is improper for cultural ideal of mothering (Soyseçkin, 2016). Mothers specifically tell about family or children's activities when their leisure time is asked. In this study, most women who have partners working in private sector burden all the responsibilities of children on their shoulder. There is not a self for them, they come into being with mother role. O'Reilly et al.'s (2005) discuss mothers' experiences of power and oppression in that mothers typically decide and organize family leisure while their 'choices' are determined by potential benefit for the children in addition to fathers' interests and schedules rather than mother's personal preferences (Shaw, 2008, p.700).

Moreover, mothers tend not to spend their personal leisure unless their children are grown-up and more self-sufficient (Bialeschki 1994; as cited in Shaw, 2008). Until that time, pastimes, outings or holidays are routinely preferred and adjusted in the interest of the children. As being a mother of twin girls, Interviewee 15 shares her holiday plans delayed for 8 years:

When twins were children, I could not go out alone because of being two. If my husband comes in the evening, we could barely get out. For example, we could not go on vacation together because the girls were small. Now I see those who go on vacation with very small children, but I could not. Sounds to me like a little grind. Maybe it could be left somewhere, but I could not go on vacation until they got older. Not until they were almost 9. The first time we went a vacation was 2010. We went first when we were 8 years old, when they got mature enough, otherwise I could not go.

4.4. Results of Work-Family Conflict

Work to family conflict has deep associations with strain, depression, psychiatric disorders, and depletion (T. D. Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; as cited in Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). According to Bianchi & Milkie, "the connection

between work-family conflict and lowered well-being is unequivocal”(Mullen, Kelley, & Kelloway, 2008, p. 198; as cited in Bianchi & Milkie, 2010, p.716). In this part, as a consequence of work-family conflict, emotional distress and feeling of guilt experienced by employed women in Ankara, are discussed the narrations of interviewees.

4.4.1. Emotional Distress and Feeling of Guilt

This study discloses that emotional distress is one of the major challenges because employed mothers juggle several tasks at once in accordance with gender roles even if they scale some tasks back. Not finding enough time for children is a major source of guilt for women. In addition, not spending time with the children in their personal time also causes guilt and strain for women. Even if the women in this study that tend to sacrifice their own leisure time and sleep time in order to protect their children from the adverse effects of having a working mother, they frequently refer to parental guilt as Interviewee 9 recounts,

I am consciously disturbed for leaving my child. I left after 2 years, 2 year- old is a very small age. Maybe it was better if I worked at his age of 7, but then our age is growing, you are taken to the institutions with exams, do you have a chance again. I feel remorse about the child, because you're leaving the baby in other hands, just because I cannot want to work.

Conflict leads people to evaluate themselves as insufficient to fulfill prescribed role expectations (Voydanoff, 2005; as cited in Offer, 2014). No matter how committed women are, they question and explain the issue within logical framework and they naturally have unreasonable deduction. It causes feeling of guilt, because it is practically unattainable for a person. The imbalance power distribution leads employed and educated women to react against these social practices and values. As one of the assistant manager, Interviewee 13 states:

I always complain about this: when women go home, motherhood is expected from a woman, when they come out, we are expected to work like men. We are falling apart and we cannot be productive anywhere. How can we succeed if we take more than one role at the same time?

Interviewee 11, another assistant manager, seems to be exhausted to make sacrifices and juggle between the responsibilities. While defending her opinion, she frankly voice that she cannot manage both spheres because everything is expected from her. This brings about harm on her mind. While talking about working conditions against women nature at the start of her speech, she shows her hand implying that she has a problem with running all the business on her own. The present findings confirm that married employed women experience more transitions between tasks. Because it does not make sense, she reveals her primary concern in the lines as follows:

Now there is no such thing as going to run every job just because we have the nature. Do not expect everything from the woman. I always complain about this: when women go home, motherhood is expected to be a woman, when they come out, we are expected to work like men. We are falling apart and we cannot be productive anywhere. Because how can we succeed if we take more than one role at the same time. You will either pull the family aside on one side or focus on your career, and you will neglect one side.

In comparison with housewives, employed women feel calm, steel, depressive, melancholy and distraught (Etiler, 2015: 43-44; Seval, 2017) because having no enough time with children is a disturbing experience for the respondents. The more hours assigned to labor market, the lesser time remain for family demands. Women tend to keep themselves away from work with the aim of meeting family demands. Within the traditional cultural perspective, woman's social status is linked with parenting and household chores. Women bring into exist in the society with the role of motherhood which gives morally superior position. When women cannot act in the way of parenting for their children they considered appropriate, the feelings of guilt and inadequacy induce. Interviewee 13 clearly spells this out:

Sometimes it is because of the remorse of these working conditions that we are not enough for our children, it is always a shortage of working mothers or that is why I always want them to be prior, I want to be with them.... I feel guilt when I think about my experience. Why do we endure these difficulties again for him.

This kind of working conditions leave parents with no choice but spend in preschool, school, homework related troubles of children besides passing time with them. They earn money for stheir children's future but they have to remain separate from their children for the sake of that money. This is a contradiction for

employed mothers. This does not fit with traditional sense of motherhood. Guilt sparks at that point as gender-role congruence theory presents, considering wellness of individuals is promoted if their behaviors are in harmony with their gender ideologies whereas it diminishes if their behaviors are contradicted with their gender ideologies (Roehling & Bultman, 2002; Minnotte, Minnotte & Pedersen, 2013).

Great labor intensity or the huge burden of work triggers fatigue, anxiety or psychophysiological troubles which obstruct an employee from coping with work-family conflict. It is also consistent with this study since interviewees share insufficient time problem for the tasks to be done. Interviewee 7 comments on time constraint and related feel of guilt:

I think time is not enough for anything at first, I have a lot of problems about time from work to home, from home to my mother, I can't keep up with the things that I need to take care of. This disrupts my psychology, my conscience is not comfortable.

While fulfilling role for childcare, women live "I am not a good mother" guilt (TISK, 2002; Yılmaz & Şahin, 2008, p.191). Genç et al., 2016 explains that the effort to fulfill multiple roles at the same time leads to stress which affect the individual both physically and psychologically (Akın et. al., 2017). Interviewee 11 confirms this finding in the lines:

Unfortunately, I want to keep up with everything but I'm not perfect, I can't keep up with it, to tell the truth, it's a desire to catch up, but I can't. That's why I conscientiously feel uncomfortable.

For her, managing all responsibilities is compatible with gender ideology, however, she cannot manage and the way she acts is improper in a platform where intensive mothering is glorified. In her statement, it can be understood that she has tried to be a perfect mother which is imposed and praised by cultural beliefs.

The money-care dilemma obliges the mothers to make a choice between caring responsibilities and providing for the family. In order to attain this goal, they have to work in the day time, allocating their children less time and energy. Employed mothers overexert to atone for the time spent away from children and partners little

share the feeling of guilt. When they arrive at home, they have limited time because the children have to go to bed early. Interviewee 15 captures the dilemma below:

I always think that they were small, I could not be with them, but the caregiver and nursery could. I work for them. It is not possible not to work and stay at home. Now they are going to private school. Without working, how we are going to pay the money, I have to work. If I do not, it is not possible with a single salary. I work for my family and living.

One study carried by Sharpe & Heppner (1991) show that gender role conflict is associated with greater degree of distress and less ability for friendship (as cited in Burke & Major, 2014). That responsibility causes them to be judged by the society which determines appropriate thinking and acting way of women and portrays them as principle care provider (Doucet, 2006). As a consequence, mothers are more likely frightened than fathers concerning that they will be criticized by anyone. Moreover, studies show that excessive stress may cause apathy, nerve dysfunction, dissatisfaction, uncertainty and inability to use abilities originated from mental disorders, increasing pessimism, susceptibility, restlessness, concentration disorder, constant fears, anxiety and inadequacy (Aytek, 2005; Şahin, 2007; Yılmaz & Şahin, 2008). Feelings of Interviewee 1 show how desperate employed mothers are indeed:

I am unhappy, tired, very tired, financially and emotionally. I would like to sleep for hours if I did. I would like to take a vacation alone for 1-2 days without children if I walk away and want to live a moment where the sense of responsibility is zero

By virtue of social and cultural assertiveness as well as gender oriented impositions, this study confirms that nervous, stress, fatigue, feeling of guilt and physical impairments are unavoidable for women (Aycan et al., 2007, p. 63, Yılmaz & Şahin, 2008, p.190; Eker & Özmete, 2012).

CHAPTER 5

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BALANCE IN WORK-FAMILY SPHERES

The constitutive agents of work- family domains relate and and collaborate with each other; work-familyspheres are not systems to be thought as separate. The work–life discussion include all active parts such as administrations, institutions and individuals (Munn, Rocco, Bowman, & van Loo, 2011; as cited in Munn, 2013). With the participation of women workers in working life, policies aiming at balancing work ad family have become compulsory (Ünlütürk Ulutaş, 2015; Kablay & Elma, 2018). Work-family conflict may be reflected as an individual choice or private issue however individuals, foundations and governments need to act collaboratively so as to overcome situated patterns, cultural values and institutional practices.

5.1. Policy Recommendations to the Organizations and States

Actions toward attaining work and family blance comprise plans, procedures, and rules set by institutions (Lobel, 1999; Pitt-Catsoupes, Matz- Costa, & MacDermid, 2007) in addition to the structural, cultural and organizational changes such as alternate working arrangements and backing for manager (Kossek, Lewis, & Hammer, 2010; Munn, 2013). Some programs or initiatives such as flex working time schedule, telecommuting, day care assistance, and job sharing should be also practiced. These arrangements in workplace will be helpful to obstruct distress, dissatisfaction, anxious or any other negativity. Munn declares that before adapting a new organizational culture, work–life requirements of employees are needed to be taken into consideration, seeking an answer the following questions: “what creates meaningful work for individuals, how that meaningful work is

impacted by one's work-life balance, and how work-life balance might be impacted by meaningful work" (Munn, 2013, p.414).

Striking a balance cannot be solely obtained by personal effort but social responsibility of business, and welfare policies of administrations. Family-friendly benefits should be introduced a paid parental schemes available for both partners, improving child care services, increasing quality and accessibility (Pocock et al., 2013; Campbell, 2017).

Associations need to encourage flexibility in working hours and conditions. By this way, they can alleviate productivity, attendancy of employees and motivation for progress which are essential for long reaching sustainability of that organization. For this purpose, they need to establish a set of supportive practices and to embed women friendly values in such a manner that all employees can fairly take advantage of work-life initiatives. All the attempts toward balancing work and life domains are needed to be accessible for the employees s(Lobel, 1999; Pitt-Catsouphe, Matz-Costa, & MacDermid, 2007; as cited in Munn, 2013).

Employers should arrange flexible mutually agreed working hours, improve human resources departments, support care for family members, nursery, financial help or subsidies to parents, child care provisions in holidays, breast-feeding facilities, assist cost of dependants or eldercare, implement strategies, actions, policies in order to enhance information and qualification (Evans, 2002). Employers need to pay attention to effective organizational programs and interventions such as support for the well-being of employer in order to dismantle the problems which impact the employees' reaction, formation and interpretation of their own world (Hargis, Kotrba, Zhdanova, and Baltes, 2011). Supervisors and experts may contribute to minimize work-family conflict by outsourcing services for cleaning and caring (Graves, Ohlott and Ruderman, 2007; Burchielli, Bartram and Thanacoody, 2008). High-quality training toll and management should be provided; prorated benefits for employees should be offered and unrealistic work ambitions should be renounced. For the employees trying to equally pay attention every sphere of life, time management skills and organizational skills should be

improved, stress management skills, relaxation techniques should be applied, social support should be sustained, and more transparent boundaries between work and family should be formed because studies reveal that the employees having supportive supervisors or working the hours they prefer, experience considerably better life quality (Moen & Yu, 2000).

As a result of this connected structure, gender studies should be firstly trained and available from childhood. Household commitments and care services should be equally divided among the members of family and partners should be sensitive to equitable household division of labor. Employed mothers need to modify division of time so as to fulfill demands of both being an employer and a parent (Gottfried and Gottfried, 2008; Newhall et. al, 2008).

In terms of quality and quantity, better conditions should be served for women's participation in workforce. To relieve women's distress; elder, child and patient care should be undertaken by governments and should be accessible for everyone. Psychological support should be provided for working couples. Governmental instructions initiated at domestic and country level supportive workplace policies for employed couples, the ability of individuals to take advantage of existing family-friendly regulations are collaboratively put into practice (Bellavia and Frone 2005; as cited in Tézli and Gauthier, 2009). Accomplishing balance between work and family is a complicated matter. For this reason, the interaction and cooperation of agents at the federal, provincial and organizational in addition to the individual level are needed (Tézli and Gauthier, 2009). Dual-earner couples need negotiate among themselves as employees, parents and citizens as well as with employers, policy makers, schools, and child care providers, to reorganize alternatives. Studies are needed to inquire large-scale changes at work and in communities that promote innovative strategies to prevent reproducing existing gendered division. Scholars should work on spreading such innovative methods across couples, societies, companies and sectors (Moen & Yu, 2000).

5.2. Significance of Work-Family Balance for Organizations, Governments and Society

Maintaining work-family balance is crucial not only employees themselves but also human resource professionals, employers, communities, policymakers and governments. Incongruence between work and family life not only affect the person individually but also the affiliated society. As Shiels mentions, redressing balance between work and family is essential when taking into consideration more and more people of elderly ages, declining in childbirth ratio, growing innovations in technology, battles in labor force (Shiels, 2014). Poelman et al. summarize sociological outcomes of work-family conflict as postponing having a baby, existing elderly persons in labor force, reduced job opportunities (Poelman et al., 2008). As Munn et al. (2011) note that embracing and assisting institutions and environments provide developing dedication and staying in a stabile workplace culture, working with their maximum potentials and enabling safe and relief within work environments (Munn, 2011, 2013). Work-family balance ensures personal happiness and social rest, creates intellectual citizens and help raising wholesome children (Roehling, Roehling & Moen, 2001; Kapız, 2002).

Vlems (2005) explains significance of work-family balance in terms of employees: employees' contentment level increases, gratification returns to institution in a positive way, the relationship between employee and management is promoted, employees' responsibility and commitment are enhanced, turnover rate decreases, employees' physical health as well as mental health such as self-esteem, confidence and concentration rise. Stress level decreases, motivation increases, tasks are accomplished at short notice (Igbinomwanhia et al., 2012).

Additionally, Vlems (2005) explains significance of work-family balance in terms of employers: mood of optimism increases capacity of labor force, giving of their best, employees feel to be valued, stress related problems and health expenses of institutions decrease, productivity is raised as a consequence of low rate absenteeism in workplace, influence job seekers' preferences (Igbinomwanhia et al., 2012, p.117).

Individuals having little work-related pressure are considered more dedicated and effective on work (Fornes, Rocco, & Wollard, 2008; Munn, 2013). Again, a boost in gains, capacities and outputs of the institutions has been proved (Delaney & Huselid, 1996; Konrad & Mangel, 2000; Perry-Smith & Blum, 2000) in addition to the enrollment, maintenance and devotedness of the employed (Galinsky & Johnson, 1998) as a consequence of accessible work-family initiatives (Munn, 2013).

Bevan et al (1999) explain significance of work-family balance in terms of institutions: qualified employees coexist peacefully, institution gains reputation, institutions' success increases because of employee's participation, motivation and well-being, institutions appeals qualified job seekers, employees remain and work in the same organization through long ages, due to low level of stress and high self- esteem, employees' creativity and performance raise as well as profit of institutions (Kodz et al., 2002).

To Loscocco and Spitze (1990) "[T]he potential of work to affect workers' well-being has implications for their levels of productivity, susceptibility to disease, and ability to function as citizens" emphasizing the critical outcomes in respect of society and the individual (Schieman, McBrier and Gundy, 2003, p.139). In respect thereof, Pocock also notes:

Workers are satisfied with their work-life balance are likely to be happier social citizens, parents, careers and more productive workers. They may work longer and more productively over their lifetime, making a greater contribution and their health-along with the health of their dependants and partners- may be better, reducing public health expenditure and generally increasing social well being (Pocock, 2005, p.202).

When work family initiatives become available for everyone, healthier and safer work settings are motivated thanks to the decrease in fatigue and stress of employers (Yasbek, 2004; Munn, 2013). Society will be enhanced when working people are able to devote more time and energy to their roles as parent, neighbour and volunteer. As the Vanier Institute (2000) states: "Each person in the labour force, when considered as a family member, is a vital strand in the web of relationships that sustain not just the economy but also our families, our

communities and our nation” (Dixburry & Higgins, 2001, p.5). Women are always inseparable component of the work and family lives. Their participation in labor force has a significant contribution in family budget under today’s economic conditions. In order to increase business continuity, job commitment and satisfaction, attachment to workplace, women-friendly workplaces become more of an issue. From another perspective, stress may preclude parents from taking care of children which may also pose a threat for their development and well-being in the forthcoming years (Cook and Willms 2002; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Tézli and Gauthier, 2009). Imbalance among especially women creates upset, discontented and nonproductive generations and forms an unhealthy society in the future (Harcar, 2008; Topgül, 2016). Equal share in both labor market and household labor help women get pleasure out of life, participate in both realms fairly and fulfill demands and feel more humane as an individual of that society.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Despite demographic, legal and economic improvements in Turkey, gendered division between men and women is still commonly maintained because of traditional social pressure. The purpose of the current study is to evaluate that whether employed women in a public institution experience work-family conflict. While examining it, this study assumes that conflict experienced by employed women has gender-related roots. For this reason, in this study the aim is to reveal social norms, cultural and values, institutional practices and gendered relations which influence dynamics of conflict. In addition, this study is designed to be informed about coping strategies of employed women in order to reconcile work and family spheres. Related with this, the study argues that women's choices for adaptive strategies are also morally shaped by what is the right decision for the families instead of serving women's own interests. Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this study, the policies needed to be implemented by organizations and governments are suggested by mentioning the significance of work-family balance in terms of not only women themselves but also the society and the organizations.

Considering main assumptions and arguments, this study grounds on feminist standpoint theory which examining women's experience at first hand. To this end, employing qualitative modes of enquiry helps personal histories, concerns and perspectives of employed women. The main goal is to gain an insight about the nature, meaning and appraisals of work and family interaction in this way. The findings of interview data are discussed by associating with literature. The main findings of the study are examined in detail. When questioning work-related antecedents of the conflict, matters are collected under four major headings. These

can be sorted as workload and overtime working; difficulties in getting permission and maternal leave; lack of nursery and study center for children and co-workers' and supervisors' attitude. Family-related antecedents of the conflict, on the other hand include child care and household labor. As adaptive strategies, multitasking and sacrificing personal and leisure time have been applied by employed women as well as scaling back career and educational opportunities. And finally, findings demonstrate that emotional exhaustion and feeling of guilty are apparently among the result of women's work-family conflict in this study.

The first theme related with work-related factors is workload and overtime working. The job type in the institution where the study is conducted demands too much attention because it involves purchasing and selling of exorbitant sum of properties. Women employers have to work with a wide composition of people under intense work pressure. The process is sometimes so detailed and complicated that it takes long time to finish. In addition, this institution has a notorious for taking bribery. Employers are often busted, checked or be complained. Even though they do not have an attempt to take bribery, they are accused of asking bribe when the process is slowed down. On the other hand, any mistake on the papers is saddled with employees; they are in charge of render payment which is too much money to reimburse for employees taking into consideration their low salaries. They are stuck in a difficult situation when things go wrong. They are also complaining about the attitude of everyday citizen. It is expressed that they are impatient, nervous and poorly educated. Located in Ankara, capital of Turkey, these employers can quite easily be complained because someone having friends in high places. In this case, organization cares customer satisfaction blaming their personnel. As women employees, these women also have to work in gendered workplaces. They are exposed to verbal abuse, insult, anger and psychological violence of both the citizens and their co-workers and supervisors. Working in male-dominated work place, these women are expected to adapt the environment and become mannish leaving aside their womanhood. With their discourse and behavior, these women accommodate themselves to the nature of workplace in order to survive and to be taken seriously. Workload causes overtime working. They are requested to work more and without paid extra charge.

They have already low-paid jobs in present institution. As imposed by gendered division of labor, women have to start a second shift at home, feeding and caring mission of the house. Overtime working detains women to delay or cancel of women's shift at home. It is unacceptable both family members especially the spouse, relatives and the society in general. Women have to act the way sex-role stereotypes call for regardless of the positions they work in or how much money they earn in accordance with social norms dictating to specific roles, behaviors and patterns for them. Women are surrounded by competing demands and prescribed role expectations. Traditionally, women are in charge of running of households and faring of children. Even in dual-earner families, women fulfill almost the whole housework than their spouses. For this reason, it can be inferred that work and family practices corroborate traditional gender roles.

As another finding of the study, the difficulties in getting permission and maternal leave are the most common problem among employed women in this institution. Arising from workload, women in the institution indicate that getting permission is a hard issue. They cannot their legal permission in case their children may get sick and they cannot use their rights at that time if they use it now. they tend to not to get permission when they get sick because of workload. In one's absence, the workload is shared by present personnel and they bear additional burden, so supervisors are reluctant to give permission. Women remark that they cannot get permission in the morning by phoning and explaining the situation when their children get sick, they have to come into the supervisors' presence. This is waste of time for them. These women also cannot attend any special circumstances related with their children, there are some who cannot attend any report card days of children, fairs, organizations and shows, etc. Even if their spouses work in private sector, they may attend these activities more than their wives. Or close relatives and grandparents are requested to attend on behalf of the family. Similarly, pregnancy is unwelcomed experience for co-worker because of diminishing the number of active employed. Additionally, these women cannot get unpaid maternity leave for long period because of financial difficulties. Their partners cannot earn a living for the family on their own without women's income. Moreover, it is mentioned that women have difficulty in using their breas-feeding

permission. Supervisors do not show any tolerance or support for new mothers. It is noted that some mothers cannot even go to breast-feeding because supervisors do not let them go. Work commitments impede women from family demands, employed women feel guilt and stress. Multiple roles and demands cause role overload and conflict. In this way, women feel that they cannot fulfill family demands as required by social norms and values. This discrepancy between expectations and virtual conditions, women feel that they cannot attain the goal of 'good' mothering and it leads to a boost in feelings of guilt and inadequacy. In that period, quitting work is the expected attitude from the mothers. It is anticipated from a significant proportion of mothers with young children to deal with actively much more time than fathers, for this reason they have a severe disadvantage position in marriages. When women participate in or withdraw from paid work, the couple confronts traditional cultural attitudes and gendered labor force realities in any way. As a consequence of social and familial expectations and pressures, balancing work and family is more problematic for mothers than fathers. To bring into balance between work and family, women are expected to make more endeavor than anyone else.

Handled as one of the major themes, lack of caring and training centers for the children can be counted as a contributor to work-family conflict. Even though a large number of women employees, any nursery does not exist. It is mentioned that there is a nursery in Oran province however, no one knows that it is actively working or closed or not. Either way, it is not accessible for the women working in Yenimahalle. For this reason, they need support of close relatives again. The power dynamics consolidated by patriarchal structures ignore the needs of women both within the family such as caring and training centers for the baby, flexible hours for women to family life and within the workplace such as supporting for outsourcing services, appreciating job performance, paying bonus or premium and smoothing their way for promotions and career. In this way, hierarchical structure in the gendered workplaces assures subordinate positions for women. Women may be exposed to the unbalanced power relations between couples when they are employed. Women have to cut down on their own self, interests, leisure, career ambitions and breadwinner role at the cost of homemaker role. These women are

also deprived of another power resource; the money. Their salaries are insufficient to hire a caretaker, a tutor, courses, or enroll part time training centers and vocational schools. In public schools, children's schedule is not accordant with mother's schedule because women's working hours last until the evening; the children get out of school at noon. In case they cannot stay alone at home, women need someone or somewhere to leave the children. Women have to register their children to full time private schools which also serve meal for the children and children are in safe there. However, restricted amount of money block them to enroll a vocational school in summer, any recreational camps or hire a cleaner for the house, etc. This study affirms that lack of control for running of work and limited access to economic resources influence low-income and working-class mothers' likelihood to harmonize paid work and caring tasks in a negative way. It restricts working mothers' ability to balance work and family commitments. It causes dilemmas, creates d high levels of work-family conflict, and produces feelings of deprivation and remorse. Limited economic conditions deter mothers to be the way they long for being as gender expectstations dictate.

Co-workers and supervisors' attitude is another determinant of work-family conflict experienced by employed women. Working in male-dominated workplace, living in patriarchal society and not being a part of senior staff as a result of glass ceiling, women sustain subordinate position. Much as they work in public sector, feeling under guarantee of the state, these women remark that they are exposed to their supervisors and male co-workers' shouting, insult, mobbing and other maltreatments which cannot exhibited to any male employees. Women complain about supervisors being inconsiderate and ungracious. It is thought that both co-workers and supervisors cannot develop empathy if they have non-working partners. Women are seen as merely workers as a struggle of creating prototype ideal heterosexual male worker, her performance is judged when any disturbance related with private sphere occur, perceived as a threat to work environment. Attitudes of organization towards getting permission, maternal and breast-feeding leaves of women are frequently criticized.

As the antecedent of family-related stressors, childcare and household labor is closely related with work-family conflict. In our country, cultural beliefs and traditional norms are decisive elements to attain a balance in work-family spheres. One's perception of balance is also shaped by cultural beliefs and practices. Traditional gender roles reinforce some basic commitments for women as wives, mothers, and housewives. Gender division of labor ascribes distinct roles; breadwinner role for men and homemaker role for women. Socially constructed expectations discourage women from working by means of cultural norms, gendered practices, social values and agents. Gendered expectations attribute women to deal with domestic tasks, child care, meeting demands of family members even if they prefer working in a paid job. Women are the victims of traditional gender ideology, they conform to attributed role patterns, and they struggle to meet expectation though they have paid jobs. They think that they need to spend sufficient time with their families, with primarily feeding and caring missions. In this study, there is still a sharp distinction in distribution of labor. Employed women strive for meeting demands of work and family lives in the expense of sacrificing their self. They completely feel neither housewives nor business women; however they have to be both. They try to manage all commitments in order to comply with the mainstream power structures. Most women in the study internalize and corroborate unequal gender relations in practical terms. The more importance people attach to the family, the more displeased they feel with the roles at work due to keeping women away from family members. Motherhood does not easily keep pace with job obligations. Family roles constrain women from working for late hours which withhold them to be an ideal worker depicted by organizations.

Developed as one of the coping strategies with work-family conflict, women in this study sacrifice their personal and leisure time in order to meet demands of both sphere and multitask to manage all responsibilities in a limited duration. Family and work place functioning has not keep up with women's increased participation in paid employment. Time previously devoted to domestic labor by women is depleted by the displacement of paid employment. Women can feel extra burden and time crunched unless they do don't sacrifice personal time to compensate for one thing with another.

Women in this institution, in order to save time, meet high expectations and manage attributed tasks, have to perform multiple tasks at the same time. This also causes feeling of adequacy because of little attention devoted for each role. Shortage of time is primarily cause of sacrificing personal/ leisure times. The women in this study approve that in their life time, they always make sacrifices though having a profession. Having perfectionist aspirations, women are not contented to fulfill what intensive parenting entails. Being not able to attain cultural ideals, the quality of employed women's performance is contingent upon consideration and scrutiny of their husband, in-laws and extended family which do not give a chance to women for making a mistake in their family roles. This also affirms women's inferior position as an outsider in her spouse's family. For this reason, women sacrifice leisure or personal time in order to gain extra time and energy required by both family and work demands. In this study, women have no recreational or leisure activities, hobbies, etc. Their lives are surrounded and confined with family activities, choices of partners, needs and pleasure of children and visiting grandparents. They ignore their selves for the sake of family bliss. Women in this study have irreplaceable role in their family's lives however; as individuals, they do not exist in their own lives because they do not make something for their own bliss. Leisure time in industrialization period is characterized as the residual time left over after work. Women's residual time has no relation with women themselves, it is filled with other people's preferences and considerations, these people can sometimes be husbands and sometimes inlaws.

Considering all themes and discussions into the consideration, this study examines a common result of work-family conflict as emotional distress and feel of guilt. Employed women express ambivalence, stemming from the mismatch between the culturally imposed ideal as involved parenthood and the resources offered to have this ideal come true, reinforces feelings of guilt, shame, and inadequacy. Discussions of working mothers' choices and how they allocate time to each role focus on what women should do in their work and family lives. Whether elite or working class, all women are in the cross hairs at any moment. The struggle of work-family management debilitates women in terms of physical, psychological and personal well-being. Furthermore, work-family conflict is often linked with strain, depression, somatic symptoms, and burnout. Adverse outcomes of stress harm not only the

individual, the family, the children, the workplace, but also the community on the whole. It devastates mental and physical health of the people, leads to tensions within the family, ruin parental behavior and results in discontentment within family sphere in general sense. In this study, women quite a lot times mention that they feel unhappy, stressed, fagged or sick. They come to terms with, they do not question in order not to feel strange from their beloved ones. They feel physically and mentally permanent damage because they believe that they have no staying power to battle. To them, that is just how it goes.

There is no standard or unique solution for each individual's sense of balance and work-family balance cannot be attained with personal effort. To make employed women feel more balanced, gender equality policies and practices are introduced because feeling balanced cannot be achievable only by the efforts of women themselves, there are many components and agents affecting feeling of balance. Society, governments and organizations need to collaborate to ease women's conflict which is also a collective production of the three. In order not to reproducing gender ideology; systematic, cultural and organizational reforms should be put into practice and employees, employers and policy makers need to negotiate. Work-family conflict obstructs satisfaction of work, coworkers and policy.

The policies need to be regulated considering gender dimension because gender regime reinforces inequality between men and women and women are bound to limited choices and male dominated social reality. Therefore, gender relations need to be incorporated into policies, whose absence cannot assist women as desired. Arrangements should serve for redressing gender inequality because women's contribution in family economy is significant with regard to providing consistency of family welfare. The main goal is to increase women's labor force participation; to provide protection of women in case of maternity; and to balance the burden of family care between spouses. It is significant to prevent work family conflict and balance between these spheres for the purpose of providing family integrity and quality of life, ensuring peace in the community, bringing up healthy generations, protecting mental health of women and increasing performance. For these reasons, women status should be ameliorated in household at first and in society then. On an individual basis,

women employees need to determine priorities in life, care for physical and psychological health and reduce expectations. At the level of family, domestic tasks need to be equally distributed among family members, solidarity and fairness need to be adopted by them. Work hour arrangements, working organization, human resource management, reducing workload and increasing self-determination of employees are among the measures need to be taken by organizations. Gender mainstreaming and women-friendly practices need to become widespread at governmental level.

This study contributes to this growing area of research in Turkish context by incorporating gender as a variable. With the help of feminist perspective, this study specifically questions social positioning of employed women. By this way, this study becomes significant on the basis of uncovering woman workers' experiences/ subjectivities in public sector and/or providing a gender sensitive analysis of understanding gender relations in Turkish context. As for the limitations of the study, the samples are studied in a public institution; the scope of the field is small. Time limitation is another problem for the women to express themselves during interviews. Moreover, incorporating data from multiple sources and methods may provide a detailed examination of the study. This study underlines the complexity of achieving balance in work and family spheres for women employers. Reproduced traditional gender roles through cultural values and social norms lead to feeling of conflict of women that is so harmful to organizations, employees and families. Further studies need to be performed with broader participation of not only the women employers but also their partners in order to validate findings of the study. On a wider level, it is recommended that employed women with diverse statuses and fields in public and private sectors should be compared with respect to both work-family conflict and work-family enrichment. Future works should concentrate on other adverse outcomes of work-family conflict such as turnover intentions, physical and psychological effects on women employers.

To sum, it can be concluded that gendered causes of work-family conflict produce gendered coping strategies. Though some limited improvements, it can be inferred that paternalistic culture prevails in Turkey, cultural norms and traditional values

are reproduced in Turkish society, gendered practices dominate in both family and work spheres. Family is a site where traditional gendered mindset has been formed and fostered. Then, public life with workplaces maintains constructed imbalance. Inequality is strengthened at national level with legislations, politics and actions. Without any amelioration in these fields, women sustain to be suppressed under the pressure of overload in all the areas of life.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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23 Mayıs 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Fatma Yıldız ECEVİT

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Gamze GÜL'ün "Çalışan Kadınların İş-Aile Çatışması ile Başa Çıkma Yöntemleri (Ankara'da Bir Kamu Kurumu Örneği)" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 247-ODTÜ-2019 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN

Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL

Üye

B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız? (İsminiz? Yaşınız? Öğrenim durumunuz? Mesleğiniz? Evli misiniz? Kaç yıldır evlisiniz? Kaç çocuğunuz var? Çocukların yaşları nedir? Eşinizin mesleği ne?)
- Kendinizi tanımlamak isteseydiniz ilk hangi rol ile tanımlardınız? Neden? (kadın, anne, eş, memur, mühendis, işçi)
- Kadınlık rolü denince aklınıza ne geliyor? Sizce bu rol ve onun gereklilikleri nerden kaynaklanıyor?
- Evinizde ne tür işlerden sorumlusunuz? Evinizde iş bölümü var mı?
- Ev işine ve çocuk bakımına ne kadar süre ayırıyorsunuz?
- Bir eş olarak partnerinizden iş-aile dengesi için beklentiniz nedir?
- Hayattaki önceliğiniz nedir? İşiniz mi aileniz mi? Neden?
- İşi eve, evi işe taşıyor musunuz?
- İş hayatınız ile aile hayatınız arasında dengeyi bulabildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz?
- İş-aile yaşamında dengeye ulaşmanızı etkileyen faktörler nelerdir? / Sizce iş-aile dengesizliğinin temel sebebi nedir?
- Bu iki alanda denge kurabilmek için ne gibi stratejiler uyguluyorsunuz, tavsiyeleriniz nelerdir?
- Sizce ideal iş- aile dengesi nasıl olmalı?
- İş ve aile sorumluluklarınızı yerine getirebilmeniz için size yardımcı olan birileri var mı? Kimlerden destek alıyorsunuz?
- Hayatınızın bir alanı için diğerinden ödün verdiğiniz zamanlar oldu mu? (Kariyeriniz için aile hayatınızdan; aile sorumluluklarınız sebebiyle bir kariyer/eğitim olanağından/ fırsatından)
- İş-aile sorumluluklarınızı yerine getirebilmeniz için iş yerinde ve ne gibi uygulamalar, düzenlemeler ve girişimler yapılıyor? Aile dostu uygulamalar var mı?
- İş-aile sorumluluklarınızı yerine getirebilmeniz için iş yerinde ne gibi destekler sağlansın istersiniz?
- İş hayatınızdaki yükümlülükleriniz sebebiyle özel hayatınızda karşılaştığınız güçlükler oldu mu?
- Özel hayatınızdaki yükümlülükleriniz sebebiyle iş hayatınızda karşılaştığınız güçlükler oldu mu?
- İş-aile sorumluluklarınıza yetişmekten ötürü bir stres veya karmaşa yaşadınız mı?

- İş-aile sorumluluklarınıza yetişmek için karşılaştığınız stres/karmaşa ile nasıl baş ediyorsunuz?
- Ev dışında bir işte çalışmanın sonuçları ne oldu?
- Çalışan bir anne olarak pişmanlık duyduğunuzu ya da sizi tatmin eden seçimler yaptığınızı düşünüyor musunuz?
- İş hayatındaki sorumluluklarınızı ve aile yükümlülüklerinizi göz önüne aldığınızda kedinize ayracağınız zamanı nasıl buluyorsunuz? Boş zamanlarınızda neler yapıyorsunuz?
- İş ve aile hayatında dengeyi sağlamak neden önemli? İş ve aile sorumluluklarınızdan ötürü bir karmaşa yaşandığında bundan nasıl etkileniyorsunuz?

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

İş ve aile, bireyin yaşantısında büyük öneme sahip iki alandır. Hem iş hem aile yaşamının kendine özgü talepleri vardır ve bu iki alan her ne kadar birbirinden ayrılmış gibi görünse de aslında iç içedir. Bu sebeple, birinde yaşanan olumlu ya da olumsuz durumlar, diğerini kolaylıkla etkiler (Arslan, 2012: 100; Seval, 2017). İnsanların zamanlarının ve enerjilerinin büyük çoğunluğunu bu iki alanda harcadığı düşünülürse, burada yaşanacak olumlu ve olumsuz etkilerin dengeli bir yaşantıya ulaşabilmenin belirleyicisi olduğu da söylenebilir.

Son yıllarda sanayileşmenin de etkisiyle, ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal alanda değişimler yaşanmış, bu değişimlerin sonucu olarak da çalışma hayatında yeni oluşum ve yaklaşımlar gözlemlenmiştir (Özen Kapsız 2002; Kablay & Elma, 2018). Kadının çalışma hayatına girmesiyle, ev ve aile içindeki anne ve ev hanımı rollerine ilaveten çalışan kadın rolü eklenmiş, artan roller, artan sorumlulukları da beraberinde getirmiştir. Dolayısıyla kadınlar tüm bu sorumlulukları yerine getirirken uyum sorunları yaşamaya başlamıştır.

Craig ve Sawrikar'ın (2009) emek piyasasının genel olarak oldukça cinsiyetçi bir yapıya sahip düşüncesinden hareketle, bu çalışma kadınların iş ve aile yaşantılarındaki sorumluluklarından ötürü herhangi bir çatışma yaşayıp yaşamadıklarını, çatışmayla baş etme stratejilerini ve çatışmanın sonuçlarını toplumsal cinsiyet temelinde sorgulamayı amaçlamış, bunu yaparken feminist duruş kuramından faydalanmıştır. Kadınların içinde bulundukları çeşitliliği yansıtabilmesi ve kadın deneyimini ön planda tutması sebebiyle bu çalışmada Feminist Duruş Kuramına yer verilmiştir. Tıpkı, toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin öğrenilmiş olduğu ve zamana ve yere göre değişebildiği düşüncesi gibi (Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı, 2008), feminist duruş kuramı da pozitivist bilgi üretiminin toplumsal insanın bir sonucu olduğunu ve güç ilişkilerine dayandığı düşüncesini savunmuştur. Pozitivist düşüncenin nesnel ve tarafsız olarak nitelendirdiği bilimsel bilgi ile bilen ve bilinen

feminist kuramla sorgulanmış; erkek arařtırmacılar tarafından kullanılan deęer yargılarının kadın deneyimini yansıtmadığı vurgulanmıştır (Ecevit, 2011). Bu alıřma kadının gndelik yařam yklerinin ataerkil dzende yok sayıldığı grřnden hareketle, kadınlık deneyimi hakkında daha gvenilir ve geerli bilgiyi kadının kendisinden alabilmeyi amalamıştır. Bu amala, feminist duruř kuramının ngrleri bu alıřmaya adapte edilmiştir. Bu kapsamda; arařtıran ile arařtırılan arasındaki hiyerarřının kaldırılması gerektiğini; arařtıran kiřinin kendi znelliklerini yansıtmamasının kaınılmaz olması sebebiyle yanlı bilginin var olacađını; kadınların znelliklerine odaklanılması gerektiğini; erkek egemen toplumdaki g iliřkileri ile cinsiyeti ve eřitsizliki yapı ve unsurları irdelenmesi gerektiđi n kabul edilmiştir. Kmbetođlu (2005) “Kadınların dřnce, inan, deęer ve deneyimlerinin zengin ve kapsayıcı bir řekilde elde edilmesi iin nitel tekniklerin kullanılmasının gerekli olduđunu” belirtmiştir (Ecevit, 2011, p.41). Bu alıřmada kullanılan derinlemesine mlakat tekniđi de bu amaca hizmet etmektedir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet, “herhangi bir biyolojik dayanak olmaksızın kadına ve erkeęe atfedilen karakter/kiřilik yapısı, iř ve grevler, beklentiler, davranıř kuralları ve alışkanlıklar” anlamına gelir (Barıřık, 2014: p.42; Karaman, 2014, p.89). Cinsiyet rol ise, kadının ve erkeđin nasıl dřneceđini hatta nasıl hissedeceđini belirleyen ve evre tarafından bireylere cinsiyetlerine uygun grldđ iin biilen roldr. Kadının rol algısı da kltrel ve toplumsal deęerlerden etkilenmektedir. Cinsiyet rollerine ait beklentilerin kltrden kltre deđiřiklik gstermesi, bu rollerin biyolojik kkenli deđil đrenilmiř olduđu grřn destekler (Zastrow, 2013; Karaman, 2014). Toplumsal cinsiyet temelli iřblm kapsamında ev iřleri ve bakım hizmetleri kadınlar tarafından yapılması beklenen iřlerken; erkeđin geleneksel rol, cretli bir iřte alıřıp ailenin geimini sađlamaktır. Cinsiyete dayalı iřblm, kadınların erkeklerle eřiř şartlarda cretli iř yařamında bulunmasına olanak vermeyerek bir ayrımcılık retmektedir (Molyneux, 2008; Erdem, 2018).

Geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri erevesinde bakım ve hane ii iřler kadınlara yklenmiştir. Bu konuda Topgl (2017), her ne kadar hane iinde iř blm yapılırsa da ocuk bakımı ve ev iři yknn, toplumsal cinsiyetin getirdiđi grev dađılımından dolayı kadına yklenmekte olduđunu syler. Lewis’in “erkek hane reisi” olarak

adlandırdığı modelde, erkek öncelikle para kazanmak ve evi geçindirmek ile meşgulken, kadın çocuk ve yaşlı bakım sorumluluklarını üstlenir. Kadınların öncelikli sorumluluk alanı evdir. Bu geleneksel aile modeline göre “hane içi bakım sorumluluğu kadında, kadının ekonomik sorumluluğu ise erkeğin üzerindedir” (Karaman, 2014, p.90). Bu anlayıştan hareketle, kadın pek çok ailevi görevi yerine getirirken erkek iş yaşamına daha fazla ağırlık verebilir (Kağnıcıoğlu, 2013; Karaman, 2014). Dolayısıyla, aile içi sorumluluklar, kadının iş hayatına girmesini ve ilerlemesini engellemektedir (Kirchmayer, 2002; Fidan, 2005). Kadın, iş ve aile arasında bir seçim yapmak zorunda kalırsa, toplumsal olarak kabul görebilmek için toplumun önemseydiği aileyi tercih edecektir. Kadının ücretli iş piyasasına girmesi yani iş rolü; geleneksel rolünün, yani eş ve annelik rollerinin üzerinde bir tehdit olarak algılanmıştır (Kapız, 2002). Zira kültürel kalıplar, kadınların eş ve annelik rollerini önde tutmasını ve bu görevlerini aksatmamak koşuluyla emek piyasasına girmesini ve bu alanda ikincil konumda varlıklarını sürdürmelerini beklemektedir (İlkkaracan,2010; Erdem, 2018,). Tüm bunlar kadının sosyo-ekonomik hayattaki varlığını derinden etkilemiştir. Çalışma yaşamına katılmasıyla kendini ev dışında ikinci bir yaşam alanında bulan kadının, ev içindeki rolü değişmediği gibi çoklu roller üstlenmesi sebebiyle rol alanı genişlemiştir. Ayrıca, kadınlar çalışma yaşamında da toplumsal cinsiyet ve ayrımcılık temelli birçok engelleme ve kısıtlamanın hedefi olmuş, istihdamda dezavantajlı konumda yer almışlardır (Çakır, 2008; Seval, 2017). Bu durumun sebepleri arasında toplumsal değerler ve normlar, cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü gibi etkenler gösterilebilir (Adak, 2007; Seval, 2017). Artan iş-aile rol ve sorumlulukları sebebiyle iş-aile çatışması modern toplumun tüm bireyleri için kaçınılmaz olsa da, yapılan araştırmalar bu konuda cinsiyetler arasında ciddi farklılıklar olduğunu ve kadınların çatışmayı erkeklere göre daha yoğun şekilde deneyimlediklerini ortaya koymaktadır (Karaca & Çakınberk, 2011; Karaman, 2014). Bireylerin iş ve aile yaşamındaki rolleri ve buna bağlı olarak görev ve sorumluluklarının fazlalığı, iş ve aile hayatında dengede hissetmelerini engellemektedir. Ev içinde ve iş yerinde erkeğin geleneksel olarak muaf tutulduğu işlerde kadınların, beklentileri karşılamak ve her iki alanda da başarılı olmak gayreti, iş-aile çatışmasını yoğun bir şekilde hissetmelerine sebep olmaktadır.

Roller arasında dengenin sağlanamaması sonucunda oluşan rol çatışması, her iki alandaki rol beklentilerinin fazla olması, bu beklentileri karşılayacak destek ve kaynakların yetersiz olması sonucunda meydana gelir. Bu durum, kadının yaşamını bireysel, ailesel ve toplumsal alanda olumsuz etkilemektedir (Yılmaz ve Şahin, 2008). Bu çalışmada kadınlar, iş-aile yaşamında çatışmaya sebep olan iş yaşamına ilişkin etkenleri; iş yoğunluğu ile fazla mesai, izin almada yaşanan güçlükler, bakım ve kreş hizmetlerinin eksikliği, yönetici ve iş arkadaşlarının tutumu olarak dört başlıkta sıralamışlardır. Öte yandan, iş-aile çatışmasının hane içi sebepleri, çocuk bakımı ve ev işi olarak iki başlık altında ele alınmaktadır. Bu kamu kurumunda çalışan kadınların baş etme stratejileri arasında ise, eğitim ve kariyer fırsatlarından feragat etmeleri ile pek çok işi aynı anda yürütmeye çalışmaları ve bunu başarabilmek için de boş/ kişisel zamanlarını feda etmeleri tespit edilmiştir. İş-aile çatışmasının sonuçlarından, kadınların deneyimlediği duygusal sıkıntılar ve suçluluk duygusu üzerine odaklanılmıştır. Son olarak, kadın dostu politikalar üretilebilmesi ve iş-aile dengesini sağlamaya yönelik uygulamaların hayata geçirilebilmesi için gerek işverenlere gerekse devletlere düşen görev ve sorumluluklara yer verilmiş; iş-aile dengesini sağlamanın önemi bir kez daha vurgulanmıştır.

Kadın istihdamının artışı son yıllarda dünyanın önemli gündem maddelerinden biri haline gelse de, düşük ücret, uzun çalışma saatleri, yüksek enformel istihdam oranı ve kamusal bakım hizmetinin yokluğu nedeniyle, emek piyasasına katılımın kadını güçlendirici etkisi bir hayli azalmıştır (İlkkaracan, 2014). Bu çalışma, kadınların uzun ve esnek olmayan çalışma saatlerinden mustarip olduğunu göstermiştir. Kurumda iş yükünün fazla olması, bu yükün mevcut çalışanlar tarafından üstlenilmesini gerektirmektedir. Bu amaçla çalışanlardan fazla mesai yapmaları beklenmekte, hafta sonları işe gelmeleri talep edilmektedir. Bunun karşılığında çalışanlara hiçbir ek ödeme, fazla mesai ücreti, prim gibi ödemeler yapılmadığını da belirtmek gerekir. Öte yandan, fazla mesai, eve ayrılan zamanın yetersiz kalması sebebiyle çocuklara ve onların ihtiyaçlarına yetişememe ve zaman ayıramama gibi sorunlara sebep olmaktadır (Seval, 2017). Fazla mesai kadınların aile içi etkinliklere güvenli katılımını da azaltmaktadır. Bu sebeple, standardı olmayan çalışma saatleri hem çalışana hem de çocuklarına olumsuz etki etmektedir (Craig & Powell, 2011). Kadınların esnek çalışma saatlerinden mahrum olması ve yaptığı iş üzerinde daha az özerkliğe sahip olması gibi yapısal sebepler bu çalışmada da kadınların iş-aile çatışması yaşamalarının sebepleri arasında gösterilmiştir.

Yine iş yoğunluğunun fazlalığı, çalışan kadınların izin almada zorluklar yaşamasına sebep olmaktadır. Bu çalışmada görüşülen kadınlar, gerek yasal hakları olan yıllık izin alma konusunda, gerekse hastalık veya özel durumlarda ihtiyaç duyulan günlük izin alma konusunda zorluk yaşadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Zaman kullanımı konusunda, çalışan çiftlere hasta çocukların bakımı ve ev içi taleplerini karşılamak için sınırlı esneklik gösterilmiştir (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Erkekler programlarını başka birileri için ayarlamazken, kadınlar tatillerini ve hasta oldukları süreleri çocuklarıyla ve ev içi problemleriyle ilgilenmek için kullanmaktadır (Milkie & Peltola, 1999). Pek çok çalışma, ücretli çalışma saatleri ve iş-aile çatışması arasında pozitif bir ilişki olduğunu kanıtlamıştır (Clark, 2001; Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Major, Klein, & Ehrhart, 2002; Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999). Bu çalışmada da, çalışan kadınlar boş zamanlarının olmamasına değinmiş; ev işi, aile ilişkilerini ve iş yaşamını birlikte yürütmede zorluk yaşadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Offer'ın da belirttiği üzere yalnızca anneler, çocuğu kreşten almak için işten erken ayrılma veya hasta çocuğuyla beraber evde kalma gibi aileyle ilgili sorunlar sebebiyle iş hayatındaki programlarını düzenleyip değiştirmek zorunda kalıyorlar (Gerson, 2010; Jacob and Gerson, 2004; Keene and Reynolds 2005; Offer, 2014).

Kadınların çatışma yaşamalarına sebep olan bir diğer etken, çocukları için gerekli bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerinin olmayışıdır. Konuyla ilgili olarak Türkiye'de yapılan çalışmada (Ecevit, Gündüz Hoşgör, Tokluoğlu, 2002) erken çocukluk ve bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerinin kurumsallaşmadığını, ihtiyaca cevap veremediğini ve bu durumun çalışmak isteyen kadınlar için büyük bir sorun teşkil ettiğini (Eyüboğlu, Özar, Tanrıöver, 2000) belirtmişlerdir (İlkkaracan, 2010). Ücretli işte çalışan anne baba için çocuk bakımı özel kurumlar tarafından ücretli olarak karşılanmaktadır. Ücretli çocuk bakımı aile için maddi anlamda ciddi bir yük teşkil eder (Topgül, 2017). Çocuk bakım ve eğitim hizmetlerinin kurumsallaşmamasının temel sebebi, geleneksel ve cinsiyetçi rol kalıpları gereği kadınların üstlenmesinin beklenmesidir. Bakım hizmetlerinin karşılanmaması, bu hizmetleri ücretsiz olarak kadının üstlenmesine sebep olmuş, kadının hane içi alanla ilişkilendirilen geleneksel rolünün pekişmesine neden olmuştur. Kadınların yükünü arttıran bakım hizmetleri, İlkkaracan'ın deyimiyle (2010) ev merkezli, aile odaklıdır. Çocuk bakımıyla ilgili ayarlamaları veya ev içinde

meydana gelebilecek olağanüstü durumlarda kadınlar, mesaiye geç başlama ve mesaiyi erken bitirmeye eğilimlidirler (Hofferth et al. 1991; Tézli and Gauthier 2009).

Hem yönetici kadrosu hem de tüm çalışanlar içerisinde erkeklerin çoğunlukta olduğu bu kurumda, kadınlar iş yaşamındaki sorunların dile getirilişinde ve bu sorunların çözümünde yönetici ve iş arkadaşlarının tutumunun etkili bir rol oynadığını dile getirmiştir. Hâlihazırda yoğun tempolu, ağır sorumluluk yükleyen ve karşılığında yetersiz ve ek bir ödeme olmaksızın yürütülen bu işlemlerde, erkek iş arkadaşlar, kadın meslektaşlarının yokluğunda destek veya yedek rolü sergilemekte isteksiz davranmaktadır. Bu durum, çalışan kadınları, ihtiyaç duydukları destekleyici ve rahatlatıcı iş ortamından mahrum bırakmıştır. Berman, West ve Richter'ın (2002) da belirttiği üzere, destekleyici meslektaşlarla ilişki "işyerindeki stresi azaltabilir, iletişimi artırabilir, çalışanların ve yöneticilerin görevlerini yerine getirmelerine yardımcı olabilir ve kurumsal değişimi kabul etme sürecine yardımcı olabilir" (Wadsworth & Owens, 2007, p.77). Bu çalışma göstermektedir ki, çalışma arkadaşları ile yöneticiler, çalışan kadınların sorunlarını görmezden gelmekte, sorumluluklarını yerine getirirken gerek duyulan anlayışı esirgemektedir.

Kadının hane içindeki yükümlülüklerinden doğan çatışmalara bakıldığında, ev içindeki yükün daha çok kadının üzerinde yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir (Brough & Kelling, 2002; Esin & Öztürk, 2005; Yılmaz & Şahin, 2008). Yapılan çalışmalar, kadınların özellikle çocuk bakımı (O'Brien, 2005), ev içi emek (Tang & Cousins, 2005), ev işi (Tower & Alkadry, 2008), çocuklara, eşe ve ebeveynlerine fiziksel ve duygusal destek (Strazdins & Broom, 2004; Feeney and Stritch, 2017) vermekle sorumlu olduğunu göstermektedir. Hane içi yükümlülüklerin eşit olmayan şekilde eşler arasında dağılımı ise kadının fazlaca sorumluluk yüklenmesine neden olmuştur. Çünkü geleneksel toplum yapısı kadını ev işi yapmakla, erkeği para kazanmakla sorumlu tutmuş, bu durum ataerkil aile modelinde cinsiyetçi iş bölümünün oluşmasına yol açmıştır. (Karaman, 2014). Ahlaki düzenlemeler, yoğunluklu olarak annenin, ona yardımcı olarak da babanın varlığına işaret eder (Shaw, 2008). Türkiye'de hane içi ücretsiz emeğe harcanan süre incelendiğinde, cinsiyet ayrımının büyük olduğu görülür, zira kadınlar ev içi emeğe erkeklerden altı kat daha fazla zaman ayırmaktadır (İlkkaracan, 2010; Karaman, 2014). İlkkaracan'ın, Türkiye'yi kadınların ev içi

ücretsiz işlere ayırdığı süre bakımından, cinsiyetler arasında çok büyük farkın olduğu bir ülke konumunda gösterdiği çalışmasını destekler nitelikteki bu çalışmada, çalışan kadınlar iş dışındaki bütün zamanlarını ev işleri ve çocuk bakımına ayırırken, erkeklerin katılımı yok denecek kadar azdır. Kadınlar görünür biçimde çalışma hayatına katılsalar da, kendilerinin birincil konumlarını özel alan olarak görmektedirler (Şentürk & Kaymaz, 2017).

Her kadın için geçerli olacak tek bir baş etme stratejisi olmamakla birlikte, bu çalışmadaki kadınların iş-aile çatışmasıyla başa çıkma stratejileri verilen yanıtlara göre iki başlık altında toplanmıştır. Bunlar, kariyer ve eğitim olanaklarından yararlanamamak ile kendilerine zaman ayırmadan aynı ana birden çok işi halletmek olarak sıralanabilir. Zaman kısıtı sebebiyle çalışan kadınlar, yapacakları işleri planlayıp sıraya koyarak, çoğu zaman da birden fazla görevi aynı anda yaparak sorumluluklarını yerine getirmeye çalışır. Bu anlamda zihinsel bir emek de sarf edilmektedir ve kadınlar için oldukça stresli bir uğraştır. Zira erkeklerdense, kadınlar geleneksel olarak çocuk bakımı ve ev işlerini yürütmekle doğrudan ve esasen yükümlüdür (Arendell, 2001; Doucet, 2006, Walzer 1996). Bu uğurda, boş zaman olarak nitelendirilen kişisel zamanlarından da vazgeçerler. Kadınlar kendilerini ev içi alanla o kadar bağdaştırmıştır ki, annelerin boş zaman olarak adlandırdığı bu süre endişelerle geçmektedir (Coltrane, 2000; Doucet 2006; Townsend 2002). Bu çalışmada da kadınlar, kendilerine ayırdıkları boş zamanlarının olmadığını belirtmişlerdir. Kişisel zamanlarda ev içi bakım hizmetleriyle ilgilenmemek, kültürel kodlar gereği annelikle bağdaşmayan bir durum olarak nitelendirmektedir (Soyseçkin, 2016). Bu sebeple kadınların boş zamanı, kendi tercih ve seçimlerindense, eşlerinin programları ve kararları ile çocuklarının menfaatine göre şekillenmektedir (Shaw,2008). Ayrıca, çocukları büyüüne kadar, tatil, hobi, gezinti gibi aktiviteleri ertelemeyi tercih etmişlerdir.

Bu çalışmada Wharton & Blair-Loy'ın (2006) da belirttiği gibi, kadınlar kendilerini ev hayatındaki sorumluluklardan alıkoymas ve aile üyelerinden uzaklaştırması sebebiyle iş hayatındaki rollerine karşı hoşnutsuz hissetmektedir. Kadınlar genellikle seçimlerini çoğunlukla ailenin menfaati yönünde kullanıp, düşük statüde çalışma, yükselmek için daha az beklenti içinde olma, işten ayrılma, yarı-zamanlı çalışma, erkeklerden daha az

sürekli çalışma, seyahat ile yer değişikliği konusunda isteksiz olma gibi davranışlar sergileyebilirler (Moen & Yu, 2000). Bu bağlamda, Adak da kadınların çalışma saatlerinin aile ilişkileriyle yakından ilgili olduğunu belirtmiştir (Adak, 2007). Glavin ve arkadaşlarının (2001) çalışması göstermiştir ki, mesai saatleri dışında işle ilgili problemlerle uğraşmak yalnızca annelerde suçluluk duygusu yaratmaktadır. Bu da ancak kültürel olarak idealize edilen annelik rolünün bir sonucudur. Dahası, evin ihtiyaçları ile aile ve çocuk bakımı konusunda endişelenerek vakit kaybettikleri için çalışan annelerin performansları ve üretkenlikleri, olumsuz yönde etkilenir. Üretkenlik ve etkinlikteki bu düşüş ise kadınların ekonomik kazanımlarını ve profesyonel hayattaki başarılarını tehdit etmektedir. Hamilelik, doğum gibi süreçlerde iş hayatından uzak kalmaları, kadınların iş hayatında yükselmelerini engelleyen bir diğer unsur olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, iş- aile çatışmasının sonuçlarından, kadınların yaşadığı duygusal sıkıntılar ve suçluluk duygusu üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Kadınların iş ve aileden kaynaklanan sorumluluklarını yerine getirememekten ötürü duyduğu suçluluk duygusu bu çalışmada en çok değinilen sonuç olmuştur. İş-aile çatışmasının, gerginlik, depresyon, somatik belirtiler ile tükenmişlik arasında derin bağlantıların olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır (T. D. Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Çalışmalar göstermiştir ki, iş ve yaşam alanları dengede olan çalışanlar daha az iş-yükü ve depresyon yaşamakta ve rollerini daha kolaylıkla yerine getirmektedir (Greenhaus 2003, Fisher, 2010, Morrow, 2011'den aktaran Erben ve Ötken, 2014). Ev içi roller ve mesleki rollerin çatışması kadında kaygıya yol açmaktadır (Aycan ve ark 2007; Gönüllü ve İçli 2001). Yaşanan bu psikolojik sıkıntılar sonucunda kadın tükenmişlik yaşamakta, kendini yalnız ve huzursuz hissetmekte, rollerini tam anlamıyla yerine getiremediğini düşünerek suçluluk duymakta ve sonuçta da yaşam doyumunda azalma gözlenmektedir (Aycan ve ark 2007; TİSK 2002). İş ve aile arasında dengesizlik önemli bir stres kaynağıdır (Esin & Öztürk 2005; Yılmaz & Şahin, 2008). Psikolojik açıdan stres ise çalışan kadınlar için önemli bir sağlık sorunu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Tavakoli-Fard vd., 2016; Seval, 2017). Stresin kişiye, ailesine, çocuklarına, çalışmakta olduğu iş yerine ve bağlı bulunduğu topluma yansiyabilecek olumsuz sonuçlar doğurduğu pek çok çalışmayla ortaya çıkmıştır (Duxbury et al. 2003; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Zuzanek 2000). Bu sebeple iş-aile çatışması ile duygusal sıkıntı arasındaki ilişkinin incelenmesi önem arz

etmektedir. Cinsiyetçi uygulamalar ve sosyal kültürel dayatmalar sebebiyle kadınlarda stres, sinir, suçluluk duygusu, yorgunluk ve fiziksel sağlığın bozulması gibi sorunların ortaya çıktığı yapılan çalışmalarla doğrulanmıştır (Aycan et al., 2007; Yılmaz and Şahin, 2008; Eker & Özmete, 2012). Para kazanma ve çocuk bakımı arasında ikilemde kalan kadınlar, iş hayatından arta kalan kısıtlı zamanı çocuklarıyla değerlendirmek istemekte, kaliteli zaman geçiremediği için de suçluluk duygusu yaşamaktadır. Para kazanmak için aileden uzak kalma fikri, annelik idealiyle uyuşmamaktadır. Biçilen cinsiyet rollerine uygun davranılmadığı zaman da suçluluk hissin doğmasına neden olarak, “Ben iyi bir anne değilim” algısının oluşmasına yol açar (TİSK, 2002; Yılmaz & Şahin, 2008, p.191). İş hayatına atılmasıyla sorumluluk alanının genişlemesi ve daha fazla yükümlülük üstlenmesi, kadının toplum tarafından atfedilen başlıca bakım hizmeti veren kişi olma rolünde aksamaların yaşanmasına sebep olur. Böylelikle kadın, toplum tarafından eleştirilip yargılanmaya açık konuma gelir. Kadınların, yoğun bir şekilde ebeveynlik rolünü yerine getirememesi konusunda erkeklere oranla daha korkulu olmasının sebebi de budur (Doucet 2006; Ruddick 1995; Walzer 1996; Offer, 2014).

En fazla iş-aile çatışması yaşayan grup olduğu birçok çalışmayla ortaya konan kadınların; iş ve aile yaşamını uyumlaştırmak için toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini dönüştürmek ve cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlayıcı politikalar geliştirmek gerekmektedir. İlkaracan çalışmasında, Türkiye'nin iş-yaşam dengesi politikaları açısından bir yokluklar ülkesi olduğunu belirtmektedir (İlkaracan, 2010, p.23). Kamusal hizmetlerin ulaşılabilir ve uygulanabilir olmaması ve hane içi bakım hizmetlerinin toplumsal ve kültürel olarak kadının sorumluluğunda görülmesi sebebiyle, Türkiye’de kadınlar iş-aile dengesini sağlayabilmek için bazı stratejiler uygulamaktadır (Soyseçkin, 2016). Bu çalışmadaki stratejiler, kariyer ve eğitim olanaklarından feragat etmek; çoklu görev yüklenip boş /kişisel zamanlarını feda etmek olarak açıklanmıştır.

Son olarak, iş ve aile dengesini sağlamanın önemine ve uyum sağlamak için uygulanacak politikalara değinilmiştir çünkü iş-aile uyumlaştırması bireysel çabadan daha fazlasını gerektirir. Toplumsal, kurumsal ve hükümetler düzeyinde bir dizi düzenleme yapılması gerekmektedir. İş ve aile yaşamının uzlaştırılması amacıyla yasal, kurumsal ve sosyal destek mekanizmaları oluşturulmalıdır (İlkaracan, 2010; Erdem, 2018). Türkiye’de bakım ile ilgili yükümlülükleri aile içinde kadının

üstlenmesi beklendiği için kamusal destek mekanizmaları yaygın değildir. Bu iki alanın dengeli bir şekilde yürütülmesi sorunu, bir çalışandan ziyade bir kadının sorunu olarak görülmektedir. Oysaki Kapız, iş-aile etkileşiminden doğan olumsuz sonuçların sadece bireyi değil, onun ailesini de etkilediğini, çalışanın organizasyonunu ve daha geniş bir çerçevede sosyal politika anlamında da toplumu yakından ilgilendirdiğini söylemiştir (Kapız, 2002). Bu sebeplerden, iş ve aile alanlarını uyumlaştırma politikalarında ataerkil aile modeli dışında kamusal alanda çözümler üretmek zorunlu hale gelmiştir (İlkkaracan, 2010; Karaman, 2014).

İş yerinde yapılabilecek düzenlemeler arasında: işyerinde bakım merkezleri (kreş gibi), yaşlı bakım programları, çalışan destek programları ve esnek çalışma saatleri gibi uygulamalar sayılabilir. Çalışanlara çalışma süreleri üzerinde kontrol sağlama imkânı ve esnek çalışma imkânı verilirse çalışanlar işe başlama ve bitiş sürelerini kendileri belirleyebilir. Bakım hizmetlerinin kurumsallaşması ile ilgili olarak, işyeri içinde ya da dışında bakım hizmetleri sağlanabilir. Bu mümkün olmuyorsa, ödenekler ayrılarak finansal destek sağlanabilir. Çalışanların çatışma yaşamaması için psikolojik destek sağlayacak mekanizmalar oluşturulabilir.

Bu çalışma toplumsal cinsiyeti değişken olarak kabul etmesi, çalışan kadının sosyal konumlandırması, kadınların öznelliklerine ve deneyimlerine odaklanması, feminist bakış açısıyla incelemesi bakımından değerlidir. Sınırlamalarına gelince, çalışma alanı bir kamu kurumu olması sebebiyle oldukça dardır. Zaman kısıtı ise görüşülenler için bir diğer etkendir. Gelecek çalışmalar, sadece kadın değil erkek çalışanları ve onların eşlerini de kapsayacak şekilde daha geniş katılımcılarla gerçekleştirilebilir. Farklı sektör ve kurumlardan kadınların sadece iş-aile çatışması değil; iş-aile zenginleşmesi de çalışmalara dahil edilebilir.

Sonuç olarak, iş-aile çatışmasının cinsiyetçi sebeplerinin aynı zamanda cinsiyetçi baş etme stratejileri doğurduğu belirtilmiştir. Türkiye'deki sınırlı gelişmelere rağmen, ataerkil kültürel ve sosyal normların varlığı, iş ve aile yaşamında toplumsal cinsiyet temelli pratiklerin yeniden üretilmesine sebep olmaktadır. Tüm bu sebeplerden ötürü, çalışan kadınlar bu iki alandan doğan yükü taşımak zorunda bırakılmaktadır.

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