

PERCEPTION ON FATHERHOOD AND PATERNAL LEAVE IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

PERCEPTION ON FATHERHOOD AND PATERNAL LEAVE IN TURKEY

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The objective of this study is to understand the perception of fatherhood and daily practices of new generation Turkish fathers under 40 years old and to identify the needs of fathers in the scope of the current social policies in Turkey. Cross-country analysis is made and on-going best practices on paternal leave is examined by looking at five countries in detail. Moreover, current national policies are discussed on a historical basis and developments on relevant social policies are analysed. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with nineteen highly educated, middle-class fathers under 40 years old from April 2014 to December 2015. As a result of the study, the main finding is that although fathers from new generation have different practices and perception on fatherhood compared to previous generations, they have limited requests at the policy level. Social, cultural and individual reasons are discussed in detail and policy recommendations are provided.

Keywords: Paternal Leave, Fatherhood, Parental Leave, Social Policies on Family, Turkey

ÖZ

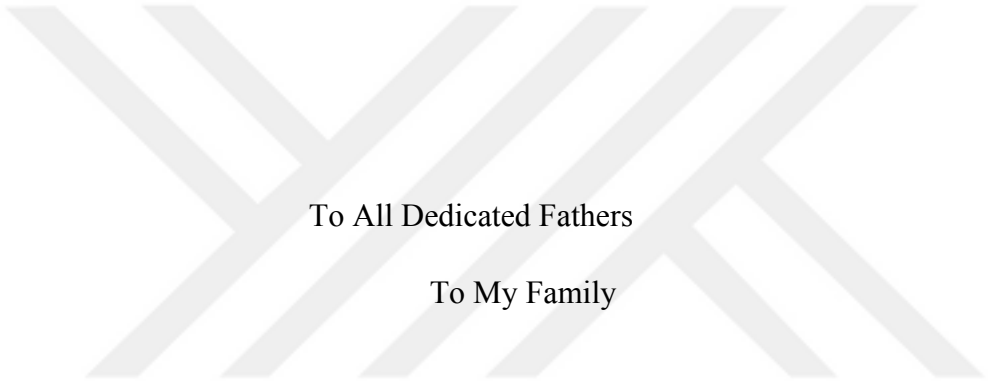
TÜRKİYE’DE BABALIK VE BABALIK İZİNLERİYLE İLGİLİ YAKLAŞIMLAR

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Bu tezin amacı, Türkiye’deki kırk yaş altı babaların babalık algılarını ve babalığa dair günlük yaşamlarını anlamak ve Türkiye’deki mevcut sosyal politikalar kapsamında babaların ihtiyaçlarının belirlenmesidir. Çalışmada, ülkeler arası karşılaştırmalı analiz ve mevcut iyi uygulamaları seçilen beş ülkedeki sosyal politikaların detaylı olarak incelenmesi ile yapılmıştır. Türkiye’deki mevcut sosyal politikalar kronolojik olarak incelenmiş ve sosyal politikalardaki gelişmeler analiz edilmiştir. Nisan 2014- Aralık 2015 tarihleri arasında kırk yaş altı eğitimli, orta sınıf on dokuz baba ile yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşme yapılmıştır. Yapılan çalışma sonucundaki ana bulgu, genç babaların, babalığa dair önceki nesillere göre farklı alışkanlıkları ve yaklaşımları olmasına rağmen ilgili sosyal politikalardaki değişikliklere/iyileştirmelere olan taleplerinin kısıtlı olduğudur. Sosyal, kültürel, ve bireysel nedenler detaylı olarak tartışılmış ve sosyal politika önerileri sunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Babalık İzni, Babalık, Ebeveyn İzni, Aile ile ilgili Sosyal Politikalar, Türkiye



To All Dedicated Fathers

To My Family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of The Research

The aim of this thesis is to understand the perception of Turkish fathers under 40 years old about fatherhood and paternal leave and to identify whether there is the gap in the current social policies in Turkey or not based on fathers' needs.

I wanted to study on fatherhood in the scope of the social policy, because I realized at the beginning of my Masters study that it is very unique subject which has not been examined in Turkey. This subject has not only been examined in Turkey. Moreover, there are also few studies in international literature currently. Studying fatherhood has become very popular in European countries and Nordic countries because of the current population trends and the birth rates that are declining substantially¹. Thus, supportive family policies have become important subject for several countries' agendas. There have been increasing efforts to provide support for families on child-care by the governments. Changing requirements of labour market is another driving factor to consider the new family policies. Labour force participation of women cannot be toss aside for the labour market and it is obvious that policies only targeting women are not enough. Current policies on women should be considered and new policies should be designed to include men into child-care and domestic responsibilities. The burden of women should be decreased and work-life balance cannot be ensured by the women themselves.

There are significant changes in the field of family life and child care in the last few decades, in line with the processes of relocation of care in Western countries (Sevenhuijsen, 2003). For this reason, recent social policies on parental leave and child care have been reviewed based on emerging requirements. In many developed

¹ <https://www.populationmatters.org/wp-content/uploads/D12Currentpopulationtrends.pdf>

countries, changes on child-care, division of labour in household and related social policies are considered concurrently.

In Turkey, we are also witnessing gradual changes on the division of labour and child care in household. However, recent social policies on parental leave are not fulfilling the requirements of labour market. Both fathers and mothers have been affected by the evolving working life and employment conditions, but there should be more attempts to adjust policies on parental leave by the Government. I assume that combination of responsibilities on child care and working not only affects the public sphere, but also private sphere of parents. This puts parents into a “disadvantaged” position which should be examined carefully. I argue that this implies a re-evaluation of child care and related social policies. Current regulations are still reinforcing their present position which makes them dependent to familial responsibilities. Women still have to fight the gendered division of labour and should redress the balance between domestic life and labour market (Kılıç, 2008). In Turkey, there is discussion about the recent policies which aim to increase the women employment rate by extending period of paid leave after birth. It is quite problematic whether these policies positively affect the women employment or not. On the one hand, there are initiatives to increase the labour market participation of women by maternal leave. On the other hand, there are very limited policies about fathers as if they are not part of one of the most important change in human life, “having a child”. Recently, there are five days paid paternity leave immediately after the birth for private sector employees and ten days paid leave for civil servants. New policies should be considered to decrease the inequality in households and potential implications of the policies should be investigated by further studies on this specific subject. For this reason, I tried to bring forward the fathers’ approach and allow them to explain their needs and suggestions in this study.

1.2 Research Question

My research question that has been examined throughout this thesis based on the aims of the study: How is the perception of Turkish fathers younger than 40 on “fatherhood” and paternal leave?

The first part of the research question is related to young fathers' approach on the process of being a father. Their own experiences and expression of their feelings play crucial role to understand their point of view on this life changing experience. Additionally, the second part of the research question is directly linked with the social policies which helped me to understand whether there is a need for amendments on current policies or not.

My research question also helped me to design the analysis process of the study. I had a chance to examine the relations between their experiences, their analyses on current family policies and suggestions for further policies. Additionally, I designed and classified my interview questions under the above-mentioned research question.

1.3 Assumptions

Before making interviews with the fathers, I had three assumptions:

The first assumption is that young and highly educated fathers are sharing all responsibilities with their wives including child care. They are aware of that fact that domestic responsibilities and child care is not the duty only for women. Thus, there is generational difference on daily practices of fathers and their approach on child care.

The second assumption is that they have still working myth which makes their jobs much more important than everything. For this reason, they intentionally accept the idea that the relation between child and mother is very special and fathers cannot reach that level. The first three years is very crucial for babies' physical, psychological and mental health. For this reason, mothers should take care of their babies.

The last assumption is related to the evaluation of current policies on child care including public support services provided by different institutions. My assumption is that the current social policies on child care is not supportive enough for parents. The current social policies have not any impact on the decision for having a baby.

1.4 Fundamental Concepts

Maternity Leave: Maternity leave means that the official leave regulations which solely concern mothers. It provides fundamental healthy conditions for mothers before, during and only after the birth. Based on International Network, it is defined as:

Paternity Leave: It involves only fathers to share child care responsibilities with their partners for a limited period. It is available during and after the birth. International Network defined that:

Parental Leave: Parental leave is the most complicated concept on leave. It is crucial to make clear definition and explain all the available possibilities under this concept. According to the description made by International Network:

²www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/defining_policies/?S=ohne%3F%3F%3Ftype%3D98%3Ftype%3D98%3Ftype%3D98%3Ftype%3D98%3F%3Ftype%3D98%3Ftype%3D98

generally understood to be a care measure, intended to give parents the opportunity to spend time caring for a young child; it usually can only be taken after the end of Maternity leave. In some cases, parents can choose to take all or part of their Parental leave on a part-time basis.

Paid Leave: Leave provided to employees including their full salary. While discussing the leave for parents, paid and unpaid leave play crucial role to understand the general patterns.

Unpaid Leave: Leave provided to employees which does not cover their salary, but it guarantees that they will have the same employment conditions when their leave period ends.

Division of Labour in household: It includes all housework such as cleaning, cooking and child care. The level of sharing works among couples indicates the gender relations in household.

1.5 Significance of The Study

There are some studies on the fathers' involvement in child care and child rearing in the international literature. However, this subject is not considered in the scope of the social policy related to paternity leave (Tanaka & Waldfogel, 2007). In Turkey, there are very few studies on fathers and fatherhood. Most of them are related to the fathers' involvement and their effects on child development. I believe that this study focusing on the paternity leave which directly affects fathers' involvement into child care will make contribution to the literature in Turkey.

I argue that this study has another significance related to the target group; young fathers. It is very important to reflect the approaches and experiences of fathers from new generation in Turkey. Making interviews with young fathers and their participation by telling their stories and ideas is very crucial for me as a researcher.

In social sciences, there are several subjects related to gender equality. Women are the main subject of these studies. However, men are also important actors in this field and they should be paid attention accordingly. Although there is small dataset in this study, I aimed to provide various insights representing different point of views on fatherhood. In most of the studies, we make definitions and we describe realities

on gender equality. However, in each study, different part of realities is indicated. There is not only one picture, one approach and one reality if we are working on gender equality. For this reason, being able to make the voice of fathers heard is very crucial for the literature on gender studies.

Not only as a researcher, but also as a woman who think over gender issues for almost twenty years, I believe that motherhood is a burden for all women, even for the ones who are not mothers. It is a social battle in any case. As a woman, if she chooses to be a mother, everyone in the society have a right to judge her motherhood in various ways, such as verbally and physically. If she chooses not to be a mother, she has to struggle with the same questions about the reasons behind this preference asked by many people. For most of the people, it is not acceptable to choose not to be a mother. Why would a woman choose not to be a mother? If there is no physical obstacle, this decision is not acceptable socially and culturally. I argue that in such a traditional country like Turkey, women's existence is based on motherhood, no matter how well-educated she is, no matter what kind of career she has. There is a general belief that women find themselves when they become mother. It is a non-arguable fact that their first and most important job is being a mother. For this reason, women are the main care givers for children. They are the ones who have to arrange their lives based on their non-transferable responsibilities. They are attributed the most sacred position in the world: being a mother. All men and institutions restrict women into this position. All policies seem to be designed and developed to support women and do favours to them. However, I believe that current approach on social policies make women much more buried into the various responsibilities. Thus, I argue that these policies are not supportive, rather it is exclusivist. Women are excluded from other social areas and being stuck at home. This study is directly related to the position of women and main responsibilities ascribed on women by the society. If we consider men to share all responsibilities related to work and home, we can extend more gender equal perception and practices correspondingly. This study is crucial, because it focuses on men and reflects their perception and interest which may cause transformative changes in the achievement

of gender equality. It may be a great expectation, but we are talking about several delicate issues that we could not even mention decades earlier. This study consists of men's opinions and perceptions on division of labour in household, child care and parental responsibilities, differences among generations as fathers. These issues are highly related to the personal choices and equal opportunities for women and men. Thus, I believe that it will contribute to the literature on gender inequalities.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This study consists of five chapters including introduction, literature review, methodology, perception of fatherhood and fathers' practices and conclusion. In this part of the thesis, chapters will be explained in detail.

In the first chapter (Introduction), there are six sub-chapters. This chapter is very important to understand the scope of the thesis. Aim of the research, research questions, assumptions, fundamental concepts, significance of the study and structure of the thesis are revealed.

In the second chapter (Literature Review), theoretical framework is formed and main arguments are discussed by giving references from various point of views. Changing role of fatherhood is mentioned as the starting point of the subject. Then, cross country analysis and on-going best practices on paternal leave is examined. In this section, the reason behind selecting countries are explained briefly. After analysing international practices, national policies are discussed on a historical basis and developments on social policies are evaluated. Additionally, current social policies on parental leave are clarified.

In the third chapter (Methodology), methodology of the study is approached comprehensively. First of all, research design and identification of research questions are explained. Then, interview preparation process is described as the main data collection tool. Data collection and data analysis process are analysed separately. Following these sub-sections, reflexivity, strengths and limitations of the study are discussed in an all-inclusive-manner. I believe that reflexivity, strengths and

limitations of the study determine the characteristics of this thesis and highlight the importance of further studies.

Data analysis and research findings are provided in Chapter Four, including detailed information and analysis on the results of interviews. Research findings are shared and analysed. This analysis is based on four subjects, which are related to their own fatherhood experiences, mother's approach, social and cultural norms, evaluation of current social policies and suggestions based on their needs. In this section, mothers' approach is addressed, because their approach to fathers have important effects on daily practices of fathers and future expectations. Additionally, social norms and expectations which have a huge influence on fathers' experiences in their private and professional life are focused on. In this section, differences between generations are also touched upon.

In the last chapter, Conclusion, the entire study is evaluated by referring various current arguments on the subject. Suggestions and recommendations in the scope of the social policy are stated.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The subject of fatherhood has been started to study in the 1970s. Attention to the subject of fatherhood has become more broad in the 1990s (Marsiglio et al, 2000:1173). In 1970s, women started to participate the labour market and contribute to the earning of household. They were still main care giver for children and main responsible for all domestic works in household. Role of men has been questioned since then (Tan, 2016: 104). The subject of fatherhood and role of men has been started to study in the academy. According to Marsiglio and friends, fatherhood studies in the academy can be categorized into four: fatherhood as a cultural representation; conceptualization on father's participation into child care; analysis on father & child relations and identity of father with mutual interactions of men with mother, child and other actors (Marsiglio et al, 2000).

Tingting Tan (2016) provides valuable review on the changes of fatherhood practices and explains the reasons beyond this critical transformation. Additionally, he examines four countries (Sweden, USA, Japan, China) regarding the dynamic changes on fatherhood practices. His study is very important for the literature on fatherhood. Although academic interest to fatherhood issues has been increased since 1970s, cross-country analysis which shows the different social and cultural transformation is not very prevalent in the literature. It is quite enlightening to look at the transformation process in different countries.

Many scholars tried to explain the reasons behind changes on fatherhood approach and practices. However, there is no consensus on the issue. For example, Dally (1993) claims that social construction of fatherhood should be focused. For this reason, we can explain that although fathers do not take their fathers as role model, they can learn how to be father from other ways (Tan, 2016:105). Doherty, Kouneski and Erickson (1998) also supports social constructionism that fatherhood is a social construction which has been showed clearly by several sociological studies

(Doherty, 1998:278). In their conceptual model, they claimed that fatherhood is influenced by individual and environmental factors. Economic status, marital status, psychological status, mother's behaviours are some the factors that directly affect the fatherhood approach and practices (Doherty et al. 1998:289). Besides these studies which try to understand the reasons behind changes on fatherhood, LaRossa (1988) claimed that culture is the critical point for the changes, not the conduct of fatherhood. Additionally, middle class fathers are the group that we can observe the changes at most (LaRossa, 1988:456).

According to Beşpınar, studies on fatherhood in Turkey, adopts mostly psychological approach and focuses on the changing value of children for families (2015: 99-100). For this reason, Turkish studies on fatherhood are quite different from studies in the international literature. Relevant studies in Turkey are analysed in the following section.

Beşpınar's study (2015) is very valuable to understand the new fatherhood practices and perception among fathers from middle-class. Drawing data from field study including fifteen in-dept interviews with highly educated middle-class fathers in Ankara and İstanbul, Beşpınar analyses new fatherhood experiences which is very different from traditional approach that previous generations applied. This finding is very similar with the finding of this thesis that fathers from new generation keep their distance from their own fathers about fatherhood practices. It is one of the important findings of this study that these fathers formed an ideal fatherhood which was laid foundation during their childhood (Beşpınar, 2015).

Atilla Barutçu and Naz Hıdır (2016) discusses the fathers who support gender equality and women's movement and who participating child rearing process in their article called; Changing Role of Fatherhood in Turkey: (Pro) Feminist Fathers.

The study is depending on experience sharing of 22 men who define themselves feminist/(pro)feminist or although avoiding these definitions for various reasons claiming to be defender of or sensitive to gender equality, trying to participate equally in housework and child care and trying to raise their children sensitive to

gender equality. Their relations with their father, relations with their wife, relations with their children and ideas on feminism, masculinity and fatherhood are examined based on their statements. Most of them are coming from patriarchal family structure and defined their relations with their father as distant and formal. These findings are very similar to the findings of this thesis that there is generational difference on fatherhood and fathers from new generation proud of it. Most of them defined their relations with their wives as egalitarian, as taking decisions together, division of labour in the household is not based on sex but done by who is available. But most of them argued that working conditions are taking men away from home, this unavoidably causes unequal distribution of housework. Most of them are complaining from sexist state policies and arguing that structural changes are necessary. This finding is very crucial which shows that fathers clearly request policy changes to put their daily life in order (Barutçu & Hıdır, 2016).

In terms of their relations with their children they are claiming to be participating in child care and as a result of that a connection develops between father and children. Struggle with social fatherhood perceptions and consequences (for example child care rooms in public spaces are mostly designed for women), the common discourse that the only thing they cannot do is breastfeeding is one of the most used argument. They emphasize that every kind of child care can be done by men, learned in time and develops with practice (Barutçu & Hıdır, 2016).

When looking at their ideas and approaches on fatherhood and masculinity, most of them are trying to be friendly father instead of traditional authoritarian father but they also stress the necessity of discipline in terms of education. They want their children to be against violence, not developing domination relations, anti-militarist and responsible and to be free individuals.

Based on the findings of the study, raising children sensitive to gender equality requires fathers not only adopting these principles but also practice and perform them. Only participating in child care is not enough for the transformation of fatherhood. The study concludes that in the current patriarchal social order, it is hard for these men to give up institutional interests provided to them because of being a

man. At the end of the day, although discourse of these fathers are (pro)feminist, they are continuing to benefit from the advantages of masculinity and exploit the labour of women. As a result, (pro)feminist fatherhood is not easy in practice, the roles of fathers are uneasy and contradictory yet their discourses are promising. For Turkey, new fatherhood can be discussed, but it is not directly the opposite form of traditional fatherhood.

I believe that Barutçu and Hıdır's study (2016) is very valuable to show the current approach on feminist fathers in the Turkish literature. Even though, they have high self-awareness on the gender equality and try to reflect this approach on their daily practices, they still benefit from the advantages of masculinity and exploit the labour of women.

Another important study is conducted by Büşra Yalçınöz (2011) and the findings of the study are explained in her thesis, *From Being A Son To Being A Father: An Intergenerational Comparison of Fatherhood in Turkey*. Yalçınöz's study is crucial, because it is directly related to one of the main findings of this thesis, intergenerational difference on fatherhood.

Yalçınöz (2011) examines the fatherhood practices in Turkey between generations with interviews thus provides information on the perceived father-son images of the interviewees and an intergenerational comparison between "traditional" and "new" fatherhood practices. The interviews and comparisons carried out through the thesis showed that, mostly the younger generation defines their father as a distant, authoritarian breadwinner father, whereas they describe their own fatherhood as more caring, involved and emotionally close. However, the "new" fathers do not completely disregard the values of the older generation. They rather combine the aspects of traditional fatherhood with the contemporary ones leaving out the values that they do not see fit. Yalçınöz (2011) conducted interviews with fifteen married fathers and found out the majority of the interviewees described their fathers as hierarchical distant figure of authority and discipline. This situation resulted in limited communications between father and son, lack of emotional caring and emotional distance. Fathers described their relations with their sons hierarchical due

to the need to establish some discipline, but they are more flexible compared to their fathers with more importance intimate relations, increase in democratic and liberal attitude instead of strict and prohibitive fatherhood perspective is taking place. Shortly, obedient child care seems to be replaced by fatherhood based on strong communication channels and mutual understanding.

The findings of Yalçınöz's study (2011) is quite relevant with my findings in this thesis. New generation fathers keep their perception of fatherhood distance from old generation, their own father's perception and practices. Although, old generation fathers are criticized about their authoritarian approach, it is somehow legitimized by the social conditions and cultural norms at that time (Yalçınöz, 2011:183).

Kazım Biber conducted an extensive and very well structured study (2016) with fathers to understand the level of involvement to their preschool children. He contributed to a Turkish literature about the strong relation between children development and father involvement. Biber's study (2016) roots from studies that show the positive effect of close and intimate father child relations on the personal development and wellbeing at preschool stages. These studies are referenced and explained throughout the introduction of the study. In this aspect, Biber (2016) conducted a study on three hundred twenty-five fathers having children between ages three and five that were enrolled to preschools. He collected data in two subsections fathers with one child and fathers having more than one child. The data was analysed at three level of involvement. The results showed that the number of children effects the fatherhood involvement and fathers having one child are more active are more involved in the work share in the household comparatively and spend leisure time with their children which effects the development of children. With this result he recommends that activities and "settings" such as trainings seminars etc. could be setup at preschools to encourage families especially fathers to explain the importance of strong father child bonds to develop a better understanding of fatherhood and the importance for the development of the child and alleviating poor fatherhood practices that are found out more with fathers having more than one child as found out by the study (Biber, 2016:124). Biber's study revealed the importance of further studies

about the perception and practices of fathers which should consider the number of children.

Doğruöz and Rogow (2009) explain and give the results of a fatherhood support program launched by AÇEV (Mother Child Education Foundation). The foundation was originally founded to provide educational and social support to mothers and children but today it is providing education to fathers, women with no children and families as well. The study explains the events that led the foundation to provide training and support to fathers and systematic structure to do so. The idea of providing fathers with education and providing social support roots from request from women attending a support group run by AÇEV. The women attending this group were learning about child development but were facing certain problems at home on childcare. They suggested that they needed a project for educating fathers on parenting and childcare. Considering the social status initially the foundation had doubts on putting this program in place.

After the trainings of the group leaders, father support programme was run. The following presents main positive observations and feedbacks from the field:

Listening and discipline: fathers that participated into this programme have reported that they have attained new communication skills and are happy and see the change in the way that they communicate with their children and listen them. The attendees also reported alternative ways of discipline instead of punishment or beating. Time for play and affection: Most of the fathers have reported that they have increased their understanding on their children needs for play time and they are spending more leisure time with them. Academic improvement: Group leaders that are guidance counsellors at schools have stated much better academic performance from children after the change of their fathers after attending the programme.

The study concludes on the great success obtained by the father support programme with fathers and children. Throughout the study, there are references from group leaders and attendees which state the presence of a traditional father that are breadwinners, authority figures which are distant and do not have a strong

communication bond with their children. Similar criticism and the need for different perception on fatherhood have been mentioned by fathers throughout my interviews. This reflects to the transformation on the social life and parenthood practices. The effectiveness of this program is a very good demonstration of what can be done with a simple training programme let alone social policies and improvement in the daily practices of families leading to a more gender equal social life and socially healthy children (Doğruöz & Rogow, 2009).

Bolak Boratav, Okman Fişek and Eslen Ziya's (2014) important article discusses the result of their studies made with fifty married men who have different socio-economic background from different provinces. Their study is very crucial to bring light on the contradictory practices of married men in Turkey. In line the findings of my study, the argument on the slow changes and high resistance on perceptions and attitudes about the traditional division of labour and gender roles in household is supported (Borak Boratav et al, 2014:301). Even tough highly educated middle-class men does not happy about their mandatory role as main breadwinner, it does not restrain continuation of the hierarchical relations in household. Additionally, the contradictory roles for men inside and outside the household make them uncomfortable about the daily practices. On the one hand, men try to conduct more emotional and intimate relations with their children and wives. On the other hand, they have to struggle with the actors outside the house where there are more judgemental and harsh attitudes towards men. However, hierarchical gender relations supported by social norms and expectations remains in Turkey as stated one of the main finding in their study. Another significant finding about fatherhood is that fathers living in the urban centres are much more open to the social changes and they understand the new expectations from men as being more involved fathers into child care. Drivers of change about fatherhood mostly affect fathers living in urban areas (Borak Boratav et al, 2014).

As stated by Akşit and Varışlı (2016), literature on masculinities and critical studies of men in Turkey is developing recently and new studies on masculinities will be much more popular (Akşit & Varışlı, 2016). Further studies on masculinities will

contribute to the literature on gender equality. As stated by Egeberg and Hearn, studies on men will help to transform the deep-seated chronic problems about gender inequalities (Egeberg Holmgren & Hearn, 2009).

2.1 Cross-Country Analysis and International On-going Practices on Paternal Leave

In this section, international context and current policies are examined, analysed and discussed based on current collected data. First of all, important indicators which reflects the countries' level of development such as Human Development Index, rate of employment, female labour force participation rate, female education level. These indicators will be the basis for selected countries in the scope of the detailed analysis on paternity leave policies. Second of all, definitions on paternity leave will be clarified. Third of all, comparative data will be presented for 34 countries and significant results will be examined in detail. Lastly, ideal and best available practices in Canada, Iceland, Finland, Slovenia and Germany will be analysed. Before looking at the current situation on paternity leave rights, it is important to understand the historical background of labour rights. When we look at the initial phases, maternity leave was represented at the first sight. Eliminating social and economic inequalities in labour market was the main goal of social policies on parental provisions. Thus, in this section we will look at historical development process on parental leave policies and also labour market statistics to understand the whole picture.

Human Development Index and Comparative Development Indicators:

Human Development Index which was created in 1990 considers several dimensions on development and human well-being and provides data in detail at the country-level. It is important criteria that the economic growth cannot be the only indicator to measure the development level of a country. It is very important indicator at the international level which has been used by several institutions and universities.

Table 1: Human Development Index -2015

Country	Human Development Index (HDI) Value	Ranking (out of 188 countries)
Canada	0.913	9
Slovenia	0.880	25
Finland	0.883	24
Iceland	0.899	16
Germany	0.916	6
Turkey	0.761	72

Source: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI>

Based on 2015 HDI shown above, Canada, Slovenia, Finland, Iceland and Germany's development level are very high out of 188 countries. I also put Turkey into the table to understand the size of the difference clearly. In this study, several important areas have been investigated for each country including health, education, income/ composition of resources, inequality, gender, poverty, work, employment and vulnerability, human security, trade and financial flows, mobility and communication, environmental sustainability and demography. I argue that employment structure and especially female labour force participation rate play crucial role in my study. Thus, employment related data is provided below:

Table 2: Comparative Employment Structure

Indicators (%)	Canada	Slovenia	Finland	Iceland	Germany	Turkey
Employment to population ratio	61.5	51.8	54.9	69.8	56.7	44.5
Female labour force participation rate	61.6	52.3	55.7	70.5	53.6	29.4
Male labour force participation rat	71	63.2	64	77.4	66.4	70.8
Employment in services	76.5	60.3	72.7	75.8	70.2	50.4
Employment in agriculture	2.4	8.3	4.1	5.5	1.5	23.6
Total unemployment rate	7.2	10.1	8.2	5.4	5.3	9.7

Source: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles>

Circumstances on employment are highly related to the parental leave policies. New social policy attempts by the governments on parental leave generally aim to provide appropriate environment for mothers and fathers for taking some time off and spend time with their child after the birth and early years of the child as the most crucial time for child rearing. However, there are not extensive researches on the relation between leave taking patterns, social policy influences and labour force participation rate.

Iceland is the highest employment rate among Canada, Finland and Slovenia. For female and male labour force participation rate, Iceland is again the best country. Iceland is one of the first countries among OECD countries introduced paid leaves for fathers between 1990 and 2000³. In 2000, national policies on parental leave were dramatically changed in Iceland. It is comparatively late considering other developed countries where supportive policies were introduced for parents on child care. I think that good indicators on employment may be the reason not to offer new supportive legislation on parental leave for the authorities.

Considering the major policy changes on paternity leave, I think it is a best example on progressive policies on child care. Mothers and fathers have equal leave rights, 130 days which is very high compared to other EU countries. However, employment indicators are very poor and reformist approach is inevitable to improve the labour market conditions, decrease the unemployment rate and gender gap on labour force participation rate which is 10.9 based on the data provided above.

Employment related indicators provided above helps us to understand the trends on employment while forming better policies in selected countries. We will analyse employment-protected leave policies in detail at later sections, but it is useful to keep the employment related data in mind while evaluating social policies on paternal leave in Turkey. As I also mentioned before, there should be extensive research on the relation between leave policies and employment patterns, not only for academic reasons but also for social policies.

³ https://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF2_5_Trends_in_leave_entitlements_around_childbirth.pdf

Paternal Leave Policies:

There is an increasing tendency towards more feasible parental leave policies which has been started to implement in Scandinavia, but now recognized in other countries. One of the most important aims behind these policies is to promote gender equality regarding the responsibilities, not only inside, but also outside of home.

Paternal leave refers to the formal right of leave available only for fathers after the birth of child. International Network on Leave Policies and Research provides specific information on this subject.⁴ I think that, looking at available policies in different countries is very useful before examining the current situation in Turkey. It will help us to identify the feasible policies and applications for Turkey.

Following table shows the statutory paternal leave in 34 countries. The lengths of leave of paternity leave vary in different countries. However, as discussed in detail in the following section, Canada, Slovenia, Finland, Iceland and Germany are the countries where paternal leave has been paid attention and family policies have been revised in the last decades. New progressive policy development process has been followed by these countries. Among these countries, Canada, Slovenia and Finland provides longer period of paternal leave which is longer than two weeks. For this reason, paternal leave policies have been examined in detail in this section. Based on my research, these countries are the leader countries on reformative paternal policies and successful implications. Additionally, I looked at implications in Iceland, because it is one of the best Nordic countries on paternal leaves at the policy level and implementation. However, it was not reflected in cross-country table. Recent changes at the policy level are another important criterion for me while deciding on the countries for detailed examinations. In these countries, major changes and developments have been introduced after 2000s which reflects that the importance of paternity leave and its expected impacts have become much more crucial. This makes the issue of fatherhood generally and paternity leave specifically significant than ever before and policy makers have been forced to keep the issue in their

⁴ www.leavenetwork.org

agendas. However, we should consider that even though these are the best countries regarding paternal policies and its implications, the continuation of the process is not always very smooth. Cultural norms and traditional perception has not been easy to change. There are hard barriers on the traditional division of labour in households. Mothers have been still seen the main responsible regarding the child care. Paternity leave policies were introduced after 1990 and accelerated after 2000s which is quite late. I think that the main reason on why developments on paternity leave policies have been accelerated after 2000s, is the widely accepted perception on difficulties of the changes on traditional cultural and social factors, such as child care and especially the role of fathers on child care.

Differences between countries can be noticed while analysing current policies from comparative perspective. It is not surprising that best policies are provided in Nordic countries. However, we may come across unexpected results, such as Slovenia. Mothers and fathers both have the right to take 130 days of parental leave which is very high compared to other EU member countries. The main aim of the new policies is encouraging fathers to share the child care and protection at the very critical period.

Table 3: Cross- Country Paternity Leave

Country	Summary of Leave	Length of post-natal leave (weeks)			Flexibility
		Total	Paid	Well Paid	
Austria	✕				
Australia ⁵	✕				
Belgium	●●● OB	2	2	2*	3
Brazil	●●●	1 or 2	1 or 2	1 or 2	None
Canada Quebec	●●● ✕	3 or 5	3 or 5	3 or 5*	1
Croatia	✕				
Czech Rep.	✕				

⁵ Australia: 2 weeks payment for fathers taking Parental leave ('Dad and Partner Pay'); included under Parental leave.

Table 3 (continued)

Denmark	●●●	2	2	2*	None
Estonia	●●●	2	2	2*	None
Finland ⁶	●●●	9	9	9	2; 3
France	●●●	2	2	2	3*
Germany	×				
Greece Private sec Public sec	●●● ×	2 days	2 days	2 days	None
Hungary	●●●	1	1	1	3, 4
Iceland ⁷	●●●		3		
Ireland	×				
Italy	●●● OB	1 day ⁸	1 day	1 day	3
Japan	×				
Lithuania	●●●	4	2 days	2 days	None
Luxembourg	[●●●]	[2 days]	[2 days]	[2 days]	None
Netherlands	●●●	2 days	2 days	2 days	3
New Zealand	●	2	×	×	3
Norway	●	2	×	×	None
Poland	●●●	2	2	2	None
Portugal ⁹	×				
Slovakia	×				
Russia	×				
Slovenia	●●	13	13	2.0*	2;3
South Africa	[●●●]	[0.4]	[0.4]	[0.4]	None

⁶ Finland: Paid at 70 per cent of earnings, but proportion is reduced beyond a specified level.

⁷ Iceland: The law does not distinguish separate Maternity, Paternity and Parental leaves, referring only to ‘birth leave’, part of which is for mothers, part for fathers, and part for parents to divide as they choose.

⁸ Italy: a further 2 days Paternity leave can be taken if the mother agrees to transfer these days from her Maternity leave. In addition, fathers may take 3 months paid leave in exceptional circumstances, e.g. the death or severe illness of the mother

⁹ Portugal: The law does not refer to Paternity leave, referring only ‘Father’s-only Parental leave’. This leave is included under Parental leave.

Table 3 (continued)

Spain	●●●	3	3	3*	4
Sweden	●●●	2	2	2*	3
Switzerland	×				
UK	●●	2	2	×	3
USA	×				

Source: www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/cross_country/

X: no statutory entitlement

●: statutory entitlement but unpaid

●●: statutory entitlement, paid but either at low flat-rate (less than €1,000/month) or earnings-related at less than 66 per cent of earnings or not universal

●●●: statutory entitlement, paid for all or part of duration to all parents at high flat rate (€1,000/month or more) or 66 per cent of earnings or more, the latter being an indicator used by the European Commission in monitoring member states' progress in meeting Employment Guidelines (European Commission (2010))

OB: part or all of the Paternity leave period is obligatory.

*: ceiling on earnings-related payment.

Flexibility: 1 – leave can be taken for a shorter period with a higher benefit paid or for a longer period with a lower benefit; 2 – leave can be taken in one block of time or several blocks; 3 – can be taken at any time during a defined period after birth; 4 – additional time for multiple births and large families.

Square brackets – [] - indicate fathers may use another type of leave at the time of the birth of a child, but that a separate Paternity leave does not exist.

In the section below, I will go into detail on the paternity policies for Canada, Slovenia, Finland, Iceland and Germany. I will look at the historical changes on leave policies for each of the below mentioned country. As mentioned before, Canada, Slovenia, Finland, Iceland and Germany have paid great importance to paternal leave and family policies have been revised accordingly in the last decades.

New progressive policy development process has been followed by these countries. I think that chronological information will show us the general picture on historical developments on leave policies at the country level.

Canada:

Canada is the well-developed country based on the 2015 Human Development Report. Canada's Human Development Index value is 0.913 which is very high compared to 188 countries¹⁰. National social policies in Canada are very egalitarian and comprehensive. However, there are milestones in the history of Canada which provided job-protected leaves and childcare support for parents. Following section focus on the historical developments on parental rights in Canada.

Parental Rights in Canada:

In the scope of "The 1971 Unemployment Insurance Act", maternity leave was introduced. This was paid maternity leave to employees with at least 20 weeks of insurable employment. Benefits were payable for up to 15 weeks. It was totally job-protected leave.

In 1976, maternity leave was amended under Statute Law Amended Act to increase payable benefits from 15 weeks to 17 weeks after the date of birth. In 1990, ten weeks shareable job protected parental leave was introduced.

2000s are very crucial on the sharp development of parental rights in Canada. After 10 years, total parental leave was increased from 10 weeks to 35 weeks which can be shared between mother and father. Flexible right of use was provided to both parents that they could take these 35 weeks paid leave during the 1st of year of the child. Finally, in 2011, self-employed parents were involved into the federal employment insurance benefits of maternity leave and parental leave.

In the scope of the national Employment Insurance Programme (EI), 15 weeks of paid maternity leave was represented in 1971 (Pulkingham and Gaag 2004). It was a

¹⁰ Human Development Report 2015- UNDP

milestone in the scope of the social policy and employee rights of women's in Canada. After that, the Parental Benefits Program (PBP) was introduced in 1990 with ten weeks of paid leave for both parents and it was extended in 2001 to 35 weeks.

Child care is also important reason for part-time work. In 2011, the rate of part-time work for women aged 25 to 44 is 34.4 % and 3.6 % for men because of child care¹¹.

In 2006, Quebec¹² Parental Insurance Plan (QPIP) was put into practice. This new programme offered extensive leave options for parents. This system eased the eligibility criteria for benefit claims. Part-time workers and other workers who do not have standard working conditions regarding working hours, income and insurance coverage have started to utilize benefit claims. New system provides benefits for the replacement of foregone wages during the parental leave. QPIP offers five weeks paternity leave paid at 70% of previous earnings which cannot be transferred to mothers, which is called 'daddy quota'.

Quebec Parental Insurance Plan provided significant changes in the scope of the parental leave policies. Non-transferable leave for fathers who have three to five weeks paternal leave is the most important change in the scope of QPIP. Secondly, Quebec Plan increased the level of insurable income from 40,000 \$ to 59,000 \$. Thirdly, parents have flexible options regarding parental leave. They can choose either basic plan or special plan. Their differences are based on length of leave and quantity of benefits. The following table summarizes two plans in terms of maternity and paternity leaves.

Table 4: Parental Leave in Canada

Indicators	Maternity Leave	Paternity Leave
Lengths and amount of basic plan	18 weeks at 70% of income	5 weeks at 70% of income
Lengths and amount of special plan	15 weeks at 75% of income	3 weeks at 75% of income
Earliest payment date	16 th week before delivery	the week the child is born

Source: <https://www.educaloi.qc.ca/en/capsules/maternity-paternity-and-parental-leave>

¹¹ <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-402-x/2012000/chap/lab-tra/tbl/tbl06-eng.htm>

¹² Canada is a federal state which has ten provinces and three territories. Quebec is the largest province in terms of land and also second largest province in terms of administrative district.

According to the researches which measured the effectiveness of parental leave benefits, the proportion of fathers used paid paternity leave increased from 3 % in 2000 to 20 % in 2006. Additionally, 55% of fathers took time off immediately after their child's birth, 21 % of fathers used short annual vacations and 11 % used unpaid leave (Beaupré & Cloutier, 2007).

Over 20 years, women's labour market participation rate has been increased considerably as shown in below. Paternity leave plays a crucial role to increase the woman labour force participation rate. The successful policies which aim to increase the gender equality pave the way for female labour force participation in Canada. Canada is the most generous country considering recent leave policies. However, when we look at the benefits as a whole, Canada does not provide ideal policy stance (Kamerman, 2007). Additionally, there are significant differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada. The Quiet Revolution made huge changes on the social policies in the early 1960s. More egalitarian policies were adjusted and results were observed in a short span of time. In 2006, new plan was offered in Quebec which included extended maternal and parental leave, special leaves for only fathers and higher benefits for parents (UN Expert Group Meeting on Policy Responses to Low Fertility, 2015).

Table 5: Labour Market Statistics in Canada

Year	Total Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)	Male Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)	Female Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)
1991	66.3	75.0	57.9
2001	65.4	72.0	59.0
2012	66.3	71.2	61.6

Source: www.statcan.ca

The relation between the female labour force participation rate and parental leave policies has been long discussed in the literature. Canada is a very good example that supportive leave policies have positive effects on female labour force participation rates. However, we will see opposite findings in different countries. According to Dearing (2015), length of the leave plays crucial role regarding the labour force

participation rate. There is not one right answer on the optimal lengths of leave for mothers and fathers. However, very long and very short leave for mothers and fathers do not provide good results for female labour participation rate. It also affects the mothers' final decision on the ideal time for going back to work after having a child (Dearing, 2015).

Slovenia:

Slovenia is a special country regarding family policies. It has a long history on family friendly working conditions and supportive parental rights. It shows us that Slovenia provides supportive childcare services which help parents to combine their professional and private responsibilities. Since 1940s, paid maternity leave exists which did not exist many country's policy agenda. In 1975, there was transferable 141 days parental leave (Sadar, 2010). As I already mentioned at the beginning of the section that Slovenia is a unique country regarding family policies. The date of the first paternity leave and also the lengths of the leave put Slovenia at the front row among other EU countries and Nordic countries.

Since 1980s, the country was in a transformation period. The main aim of the family policies was to increase the fertility rate in Slovenia. Women education level is very high compared to men. Traditional gender roles are very widespread. However, almost all parents have full-time jobs. It should be highlighted that almost all women continue to their full-time works after parental leave. It is directly related to the well-structured parental rights (Stropnik & Sircelj, 2008).

Parental Rights in Slovenia:

Slovenia provides the longest period of paid non-transferable paternal leave which is 90 calendar days. Fathers should use first 15 days as fulltime during the baby's first six months. Remaining 75 days can be used until the child become three years old and Republic of Slovenia pays social security contributions based on the minimum wage.

Table 6: Labour Market Statistics in Slovenia

Year	Total Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)	Male Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)	Female Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)
1991	53.5	59.9	47.6
2001	57.6	64.6	50.9
2012	57.8	63.5	52.3

Source: www.theglobaleconomy.com/Slovenia/Labor_force_participation/

Slovenia has improved family policies to ease the tension between professional and family obligations. Main aim of the policies was providing equal rights for both parents. The tension between professional and family obligations has been balanced by encouraging policies. According to data provided by the European Platform for Investing in Children, labour market participation rate of mothers who have children under 6 was the highest in the EU (the EU average was 60.7 %) which is 72.5 % in 2014, but still less than men¹³. This data certainly proves the success of parental policies. New Parental and Family Benefit Act which was announced in 2014 also provided the right to part-time work for mothers who have more than one children, from 6 year of children until the end of first grade of primary school. The gender pay gap also is the lowest among other EU countries, 3.2 % in 2013, compared to the EU average, which is 16.3 %¹⁴.

Slovenia has a strong and supportive family policies considering the balance between work and family, not only for mothers but also for fathers. These policies place importance on gender equality. However, fathers use paternal leave less than mothers and they also do not take whole leave which is 90 days. In 2000s, the share of fathers taking childcare leave is % 2, which is very low compared to mothers. This can be explained by the traditional division of labour in families and also deep-seated cultural structure in the society (Stropanik & Sircelj, 2008).

I think that political reform structure since 1970s is very powerful in Slovenia. Not only parental policies but also childcare policies exist which enable parents to think about more than one child. As of the regulation which was prepared and entered in force in 2008, parents were provided free preschool for their second child. This

¹³ http://europa.eu/epic/countries/slovenia/index_en.htm

¹⁴ http://europa.eu/epic/countries/slovenia/index_en.htm

regulation not only supported parents to have second child but also send their children to preschool. It is very important when considering the low attendance rate in preschool education as seen in Turkey (Sadar, 2010).

According to Nevenko Cernigoj Sadar (2010), there is another issue on employers' perception on family policies which should be considered in the scope of the Slovenian public policies. According to employers, above mentioned supportive family policies result in fragile and disorganized working environment. Number of temporary contracts has been increasing and the most affected group of the society because of this uncertainty is young employees and also women, especially mothers not surprisingly. Increasing the fertility rate has been main target of the policies. However, gender equality in employment has become one of the most important goal for the public policies, especially after the economic crises.

Finland:

In Finland, there is Nordic model welfare system which seems comparatively egalitarian and generous. Extensive social policies are always at the top of the state's agenda, even during the economic crises in 1990s. Strong institutional basis was essential regarding the inclusive social policies. Local municipality is the key institution on provision of social services. However, there is strong cooperation culture among all kind of institution. These are the strongest characteristics of the welfare system in Finland (Backman, 2007).

Parental Rights in Finland:

Finland has special history in the field of parental rights. For this reason, Finland is one of the best parent friendly Nordic country according to parental policies. In 1964, first paid maternal leave was introduced including 9 weeks. It was increased periodically that 12 weeks in 1992, 29 weeks in 1974 and 43 weeks in 1981 (Gupta, Smith, Verner 2006). Fathers were provided the right to take paternity leave in 1978. They were provided 3 weeks in 1993 and now fathers have non-transferable 9 weeks leave, approximately 54 days in total (Gupta, Smith, Verner, 2006).

Fathers can use 18 working days off paternity leave while the mother is on maternity leave. The remaining 36 days should be used while the mother is not on leave. Paternity leave should be used before the child become two years old.

Table 7: Labour Market Statistics in Finland

Year	Total Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)	Male Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)	Female Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)
1991	63.6	70.3	57.5
2001	61.8	67.2	56.8
2012	60.1	64.3	56.0

Source: www.theglobaleconomy.com/Finland/Labor_force_participation/

When we look at the labour force participation rate, there is a decreasing trend contrary to the expected result of the legislative regulations. Policy makers assume that these supportive family policies which have specific clauses for fathers are supposed to led higher women labour force participation rate. I argue that and compensation rate of current income and duration of leave play important role regarding the decisions of parents after having a child. If women and men cannot earn the same income and there is low compensation rate, women have to decide to stay at home and be the main caregiver for children. It is also directly related to the gender pay gap. If the previous income of fathers' is higher than mothers' previous income, mothers prefer to use their entire maternity leave for looking after children and fathers' take-up rate stays low. This result not only reinforces the mother's burden on child care and but also continuous unpaid work in households.

Duration of leave is another important reason behind the low and decreasing rate of women employment. Duration of leave for fathers and mothers should be examined separately, because leave schemes for fathers and mothers have different parameters (O'Brien, 2005). There is no ideal period of parental leave for every country. However, elaborative analysis should be made on the duration of leave to increase women employment rate, because too long or too short leave completely affects women's approach on their returning plan to work.

Iceland:

Iceland was a part of Denmark until 1944 and Iceland has strong bonds with Nordic countries. However, Iceland is a unique country and it has very different characteristics compared to other Nordic countries. The fertility rate is higher than other neighbourhood countries, but it has very low population density with high employment rate at the same time. Standard of living is very high even compared to other Nordic countries. There are 78 local authorities now. Division of labour among local authorities and non-governmental organization demonstrate strong sense of cooperation (Guðmundsson, Jónsdóttir and Júlíusdóttir, 2010:196).

When considering the high employment rate and fertility rate, supportive family policies become vital for parents. After 1990s, social policy context was changed drastically and parental rights such as maternity and paternity leave came into the social policy agenda.

Parental Rights in Iceland:

Iceland provided paid maternal leave a bit later compared to other Nordic countries. In 1980, mothers gained 3 months paid maternal leave and it was extended to 6 months in 1990 (Gupta, Smith, Verner, 2006).

In 2000, non-transferable paid leave both for mothers and fathers was introduced. Specific aims were explained in the scope of the new law. The law aimed to ensure that both parents can spend time with their children and both parents can have a chance to balance their professional and private life.

Paid paternity leave was also introduced in 2000. Mothers and fathers have three months paid parental leave and additional three months to share between them. The government set limits for paid leave which is 80 % of their wages. New policy has been designed to increase non-transferable paid leave to 5 months with additional 2 transferable months. The mother can start to take maternity leave one month before the birth. However, the father can use his paternal leave after the birth.

There is also 13 weeks unpaid leave for both parents which can be used until the child is 8 years old. Parents cannot transfer unpaid leave to each other. In Iceland, there is also special leave which can be used by parents until the child become 18 years old if the child has serious illness or disability.

After the vital change in 2000, the outcomes of the legal implications were wondered. However, comprehensive evaluation was not conducted at the national level. There were only small-scaled studies to measure the effect of new law on parental leave. Studies conducted in 2006 by Gallup showed that parental law improved women's position in labour market according to respondents' thought.

Table 8: Labour Market Statistics in Iceland

Year	Total Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)	Male Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)	Female Labour Force Particip. Rate (%)
1991	75.0	82.2	67.8
2001	76.8	82.0	71.7
2012	74.0	77.3	70.6

Source: www.theglobaleconomy.com/Iceland/Labor_force_participation/

As shown in the above table, both male and female labour force participation rate were decreased, although there was paid maternity and paternity leave. This fact revealed the unexpected result of the parental leave policies. At this point, it is very crucial to identify the effects of parental leave modifications on the rate of employment. When we look at the literature, there is a discussion on the relation between employment rate and length of parental leave.

Germany:

Germany is considered as a very traditional and conservative country regarding the family policies. Until 1990s, family was supported as the main institution for child care and elderly care. Role of mothers on child care were highlighted constantly based on the traditional social relation model. 2007 and 2008 was a milestone for family policies in German history. In 2007 and 2008, new legislation on the parental rights were entered into force including extended paid leave for parents. In the meantime, new social policies in Germany were originated from other countries' best

practices. Low fertility rate in Germany played crucial role for the recent reforms on family policies (Blum, 2014). Important attempts were started to change the current legislative structure on family policies. Labour force participation rates and current laws for working parents were reviewed. The process on the development of family policies is unique compared to other EU countries. However, paternal right is still the weak side of the family policies in Germany.

Parental Rights in Germany:

If we want to summarize the current situation on family policies in Germany, we can say that traditional division of labour has not been changed and maternal care is still at the centre of the agenda for the state. They encouraged women to stay at home until the child reach school age. Family policies push women to exit from the labour market and prioritize domestic requirements.

Germany is one of the worst countries on parental rights. There is no statutory paternal right in Germany. Public childcare services for children under three years old does not exist until recently. Although, some level of support has been provided to working parents to ease the burden on childcare, there are still a lot to do at the policy level.

Table 9: Labour Market Statistics in Germany

Year	Total Labour Force Participation Rate (%)	Male Labour Force Participation Rate (%)	Female Labour Force Participation Rate (%)
1991	58.60	62.30	58.40
2001	47.30	53.40	48.10
2012	48	53.20	47.80

Source: <http://www.indexmundi.com/facts/germany/labor-force-participation-rate>

In Germany, changes on family policies are highly related to employment rates. High unemployment rate is the most important factor for revision on family policies.

Conclusion:

I argue that comparative analysis is very crucial on this subject. When we consider that fatherhood and relevant policies are new issues and there are limited implications in Turkey, reviewing current policies in different countries has become much more useful to understand the general policy framework on the subject. While doing this, it is also important to evaluate the necessity and applicability of the policies according to present family dynamics in that society.

Leave provisions for fathers are most common in the developed economies, Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Long paternity leave provisions are usually non-transferable leave programmes. Although studies were conducted to measure the effect of these programmes, there is a need to more comprehensive studies to reflect the influence of policies on gender equality in household and labour market. I think that more visible outcomes and sphere of influence will result in spreading the policies in different countries.

Gender equality is attached importance in the scope of the family policies in developed countries, but women are still seen as primary caregivers for children. For fathers, using paternity leave and taking time off to spend more time with their children is depends on their choice. Based on recent studies, fathers believed that two to four weeks, especially right after the birth of their children (Harrington, Deusen, Fraone, Eddy 2014). Although there are some countries where generous paternity leave is provided, fathers do not prefer to take time off for child care. Full compensation rate and employers' attitude are much more crucial for men compared to women. Women are the ones who have find solutions to look out balance between professional and private life.

There is undeniable finding about man is that they are involving more than before to the lives of their children and they are much more active on domestic responsibilities. Recent policy arrangements are also supportive for fathers. However, gender equality is still a distant goal for many countries.

2.2 Current Legal Structure in Turkey

Legislative regulations for working women were mentioned in 1930 Public Health Law for the first time (Yatar, 2015). In the 155th article, maternity leave was identified for the first time:

Women are forbidden to work in factory, public and private firms, three weeks before the birth and following the birth if there is not any risk for herself and her child's health confirmed by the doctor.¹⁵

Please note that related laws and regulations are explained in Appendix B.

Policy analysis on working women will help us to understand the current situation in Turkey. Turkey is an extraordinary case compared to the developments on female employment in the world. When there was rising trend on the rate of female employment in the world, female employment rate was declined from 33 per cent to 23 per cent between 1988 and 2007 (Buğra & Yakut Çakar, 2010: 518). Female employment and care services are highly related to each other that if female employment rate increases, the demand on care services increases as well which requires new public policies designed by the state. Turkey was in a rapid urbanization process in that period which highly affects the rate of female employment. Non-agricultural sector could not generate jobs sufficient enough to increase the female employment rate. As discussed by Buğra and Yakut Çakar (2010), business and social services sectors can be effective to provide many jobs for women. However, these sectors generated limited jobs for women. For this reason, they benefited from social security mechanisms as a wife or daughters of the male employees which made them as the main beneficiaries of the social security system and strengthened their dependent role.

Every government has its own agenda according to the global and national trends. Policies have been arranged according to the interest of the governments. Some issues have been emerged and blown up politically if there are any specific benefits for the governments. It is important to remind that; family related issues specifically

¹⁵ Kendisi ve çocuğunun sıhhati için bir zarar husule getirmeye ceği bir tabip tarafından tahriren tasdik edilmedikçe kadınların doğumlarından mukaddem üç hafta ve doğurmasını mütaakip yine üç hafta zarfında fabrika, imalathane ve umumi ve hususi müesseselerde çalışması ve çalıştırılması memnudur.

support for child care including maternity and paternity leave have not been discussed until 2000s. We should look at the invisible reasons and also visible reasons behind this situation. After 2000s, state's family policies have been drastically changed with ruling party, Justice and Development Party's (AKP). AKP's political discourse has a special tendency highlighting the role of family, especially women as the main care taker for children and elderly (Çarkoğlu, Kafescioğlu & Akdaş Mitrani, 2012). Almost all public policies on essential subjects such as family, education, economy have been restructured. Although AKP underlines its ideological and traditional values very often which can be observed clearly during the policy making process, its commitment to the harmonization to Western values and EU regulations have been reflected since 2000s (Acar & Altınok, 2013). There are attempts to increase the women labour market participation level, but not their socio-economic level overall.

In 2008, Prime Minister at the time Recep Tayyip Erdoğan advised to have at least 3 children to the parents. This expression was the result of the recent population policies which underlines the first priority and duty of women is being mother for the sake of society. In 2010, Erdoğan met with the representatives of Women Associations and announced his opinion on the gender equality that he does not believe the equality between men and women which put an end regarding the request of Women Associations. In that meeting, representatives of Women Associations declared their concerns on the political agenda which highlights the motherhood and women role in the family. They requested revisions on the recent policies regarding women's rights and need for legal adjustments about the gender equality in Turkish society. I think that Prime Minister's speech was a milestone for the recent Turkish family policies and women's role in the household.

I believe that comprehensive analysis on political transformation after 2000s is crucial to understand the legal changes on women's socio-economic position in the society. Although there are some initiatives to strengthening the women's position in different spheres such as employment and family, these initiatives at the policy level were very limited to empower women in many aspects. These changes were not

enough to make sustainable fluctuations in women's lives in practice. Work and family balance for women were mentioned in most of the legal arrangements. However, they have no positive implications at the practical level. 10th Development Plan which is explained in the next section, was one of the reference document to make arrangements on family policies.

10th Development Plan:

Since 1963, five years development plans have been prepared under the leadership of the Ministry of Development. Several other Ministries and institutions have involved into the preparation of Development Plans, because the legal framework and main principles have been shaped by the plans. Reforms and new regulations have been taken into place according to the priorities indicated in the development plan.

In the 10th Development Plan, "Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Programme"¹⁶ has been launched. Main objective of the programme is the protection of family life, provision of social support services to the families and ultimately keeping the population growth rate at the certain level. There are four components of the Programme which are:

- I. Improving Family Related Services
- II. Increasing Family Welfare and Intergenerational Solidarity
- III. Conserving Dynamic Population Structure

Harmonization of work and family life has been highlighted in the programme. Third component is the most relevant component of the programme regarding parental and paternity leave.

Based on the principles indicated in 10th Development Plan, official leaves have been regulated via public servant's law, number 657 and labour law number 4857 in Turkey.

¹⁶[http://www.mod.gov.tr/Lists/RecentPublications/Attachments/75/The%20Tenth%20Development%20Plan%20\(2014-2018\).pdf](http://www.mod.gov.tr/Lists/RecentPublications/Attachments/75/The%20Tenth%20Development%20Plan%20(2014-2018).pdf)

“Support Package for Working Mothers” was announced based on the priorities listed in 10th Development Plan. This package included¹⁷ :

- Regulations on maternity leave
- Part-time working opportunities until schooling age
- Obligatory day-care centres for Municipalities
- Official paternity leave (10 days for civil servants and 5 days for workers in the private sector)
- Common and transferable rights for both mothers and fathers
- Financial aid for parents

Above mentioned Development Plan is the reflection of state’s approach on family related social policies. We should look at each of the application separately.

Regulations on Maternity Leave:

Maternity leave is defined in public servant’s law as the 8 weeks paid leave period before and after the birth which can be used by the women employees. However, she can work until 3 weeks before the birth if approved and documented by the doctor. In that case, working period is transferred to the official leave days after the birth. If birth takes place before the due date, same procedure on the transfer of leave days can be applied.

In Turkey, maternity leave period is comparatively short. Most of the expectant mothers prefer to use all leave days after the birth, if there is no problem on their pregnancy. Legal maternity leave is not allowed for mothers who prefer breastfeed their babies at least 6 months. Although Ministry of Health strongly encourages mothers for at least 2 years breastfeeding and makes several public campaigns on that issue, legal paid maternity leave is not enough for this choice. They draw attention on the health benefits of breastfeeding. However, conditions of working mothers and physical qualification in working places are being underestimated. State’s involvement on the breastfeeding which is very personal decision for mothers

¹⁷ <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k6663.html>

is my another concern, but it should have analysed in detail in the scope of another thesis.

Part-time working opportunities:

Until the age of the child reach the official schooling age, parents can request to work as part-time after their official maternity and paternity leave finish. All rights related to the work will be applied in half.

This regulation was passed in 2016 which is quite new and implications are uncertain. First of all, current situation analysis on different sector, whether there are part-time working opportunities or not. Implications in private sector and public sector should also be considered differently. Employer's approach plays crucial role regarding the implications of the regulations. Their concerns should be abolished by the mass awareness raising campaigns. Besides, incentive arrangements should be designed especially for the first years of the implementations. Although, this regulation may seem as part of the promoted policies to increase the labour force participation rate for women, it may result in the opposite conclusion. It would create another obstacle for women employment which end up with the decreasing rate of employers' preference for female workers.

When examining the new part-time working option for women in Turkey, the difference between the conditions of full-time and part-time work must be considered, because it reveals a fundamental question for us: Is it the option for women or inevitable situation to make balance their domestic responsibilities in household. In 2010 ILO report on Women in Labour Markets, positive side of the part-time work for women was mentioned that it helps them to stay in the labour market. Family responsibilities is the first priority among most of the women. For this reason, if they choose part-time work voluntarily and benefits from working rights such as social security at the reasonable level compared to their working hours, it becomes an opportunity for women. They can take care of their children, earn some income and stay in the labour market at the same time. However, the balance between rate of benefits for employees and working hours become crucial.

Obligatory Day-Care Centres For Municipalities:

The obligatory services of day-care centres and kindergartens are published in law numbered 5393, 14th article for Municipalities. Municipalities where there are more than 100.000 citizens must set-up day-care centres and kindergartens.

Women undertake all care responsibilities in household including elderly care, child care and patient care. For this reason, early child care services are seen as one of the important support mechanism for women employment. In March 2009, women organizations request several services which primarily focus on needs of women from local authorities in Turkey. Thus, point of origin regarding this regulation is highly related to women organization's requests.

There are two main problems regarding this legislation. First of all, all Municipalities do not fulfil their duties thoroughly considering the Metropolitan Municipalities and District Municipalities in 81 provinces. Second of all, the regulations on the registration process and services of these day-care centres are not well-defined. Thus, it is a big question mark how these day-care centres and kindergartens require the needs of the residents in that area (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Politika Forumu 2009).

Based on The Ministry of National Education Strategic Plan 2015-2019, increasing the schooling rate in pre-school education is one of the most important goals of the Ministry. In Turkey, there is an increasing tendency on pre-school education, but there is a lot to do to achieve the target rate in preschool education:

Table 10: Primary School Rate in Turkey

Performance Indicator	2012	2013	2014	2019 (Target)
Rate of primary school students attended at least one-year pre-school	58,82	51,83	56,03	92

Source: 2015-2019 Strategic Plan of Ministry of National Education

Increasing the schooling rate is an important target as part of the national education strategy. However, accessibility of the services and quality of the education should be considered initially.

All social policies are interrelated to each other. Thus, when considering raising healthy generation and focusing on pre-school education which is crucial for one's first six years for brain development, benefits of the pre-school education for women employment should not be ignored. In this point, I want to emphasize the legal pre-schooling age of three applied in public and private kindergartens. Most of the kindergartens accept three years old children which is a quite long time to have a break in women's career for taking care of her child and receiving professional support from existing mechanisms. For this reason, alternative services appear out of the legal structure and control mechanism as well. Most of the kindergartens register children under three illegally. This may seem quick and reasonable solution for working mothers, it may create serious problems if incorrect implementations occur in the kindergartens. It also closes the door to claim rights through legal channels for parents.

Official Paternity Leave:

Paternity leave is defined as the ten days official paid leave provided to male civil servants, five days to male regular employees. It has been entered into force after the legal arrangement in 2015. It is a milestone in the Turkish social policy history. Until that time, there is no such thing as fatherhood leave which was the reflection of the prevailing patriarchal point of view. Even though, it enables fathers to take care of their baby and provide support to their wives immediately after birth, it is a very big step in Turkey. From now on, fathers are not substitute, but one of the most important figures in child care. It paves the way of more egalitarian family policies regarding the child care (Ekin & Kayırgan, 2013).

There is a tendency to look on fathers and fatherhood in all over the world (Stanley & Gamble, 2005). As mentioned by Stanley and Gamble, there are different reasons behind this tendency. Labour force participation rate of women and changing family relations in the household are the two fundamental reasons. These trends highlighted the relation between motherhood, care, fatherhood and work and have been increasingly located in the social policy discourse.

Official paternity leave is focal point the in my thesis. During the interviews with fathers, I asked several questions on paternity leave to clarify their approach and identify their needs. Thus, above mentioned subject is analysed in detail in many chapters of this thesis.

I also want to emphasize that maternity and paternity leave mentioned above are paid leave for mother and fathers. Based on the studies paid or non-paid leave considerably affects the decision of parents: whether they will use their official right even it is unpaid, when and how long.

Financial aid for parents:

300 Turkish Lira financial aid for the first child, 400 Turkish Lira financial aid for the second child and 600 Turkish Lira financial aid for the third child will be provided to Turkish citizens by the government. If both parents are Turkish citizens, financial aid will be provided to mothers.

As a recent development, Minister of Labour and Social Security announced that child care support will be provided to grandmothers who are responsible for the daily care of their grandchild. The financial amount of the support is approximately 550 Turkish Lira. Pilot implementation has been started in the beginning of 2017. I think that it is a very important initiative if it is extended to all over Turkey. However, it is a part of traditional approach on child care that child care should be solved in the household. Professional support outside the home is still out of agenda¹⁸. There is a need for alternative mechanisms for parents without family support. Financial aid is certainly encouraging for grandparents taking care of their grandchildren. However, they will help their children out with the kids in any way, with or without financial support. This campaign was launched as the first implementation in the world and it was promoted as a very successful and exceptional initiative. I believe that Turkey is a unique country where all kinds of care services which should be provided as public services by the state is relocated by other alternatives, such as grandmothers.

¹⁸ www.csgb.gov.tr

Financial support is crucial for many parents. However, the amount of the support compared to the actual for new baby should be realistic. I believe that financial support in Turkey is useful only for the low income families. In these families, they have at least two children, so that they can receive double amount of financial aid.

I think that this legislation is presented for continuation of the family support regarding child care. Working and middle class women need family support for child care and they determine the location of their home close to their parents (Beşpınar, 2010: 530). Grandparents' interest to their grandchildren play crucial role to identify the child care plans for many families in Turkey. In this point, we can mention about wide range of opportunities for both sides. Elderly parents make an effort for their own children and grandchildren. Especially retired grandparents find alternative field of occupations and this make them feel themselves "valuable" and "effective". On other hand, parents who have to work very hard for their economic well-being and cannot afford professional care support can work full-time without any day off. Additionally, children are consigned to their own parents who are the most trustable people for them.

Common Rights for Both Mothers and Fathers:

Parental leave is defined in the public servant's law as the 24 months unpaid leave period which starts after the end of maternity leave for mothers and provided to fathers after the birth of their child upon their request. (Law no. 6111, 108th article which was effectuated in 29th January 2016)¹⁹.

I argue that this law aims to provide gender equal parental rights for families. It also ensures that both parents can be responsible for the child care. Mothers can use unpaid leave rights after legal maternity leave ends. Fathers also use this unpaid leave immediately after the birth. The law is very encoring for fathers to have more responsibility about their children. It may have transformative effects on the traditional division of labour in household. However, the key question is related to the utilization of these rights by men. If we consider that this regulation is enacted in

¹⁹ <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.657.pdf>

2015, we should look at the rate of fathers who used unpaid leave in 5 years. I think that legislative regulations are the first steps for more egalitarian division of labour. However, cultural transformations are crucial for higher involvement of fathers to child care which requires long time perspectives.

When highlighting the importance of unpaid leave for parents, I also draw attention that these regulations are valid only for civil servants. There is a huge gap between the rights of civil servants and employees in private sector. In private sector, women had maternity leave, but it was very limited compared to the rights provided to women public servants. For men, all the official rights regarding fatherhood were evaluated in the scope of the compassionate leave until 2015 when the new legislation is entered into force. It was highly dependent to the employer's initiative. When considering the social policies on working mother and fathers, we should look at the multi-layered discriminative point of view by the policy makers.

On the one hand, there is the huge difference between the rights of public servants and private sector employees. Support for the mothers and fathers at the policy level only include the public servants. These adjustments are very effective for the employees who have to decide to work in public or private sector. In most cases, couples share sectors for compensation of the wage differences between public and private sector. In addition to this, the total working hours and overall working conditions of the sectors are quite different. Women usually have to choose public sector despite the low salary, but less working hours and men chose high salary and harder working conditions which condemn women as the main care taker for children. During the interviews, most of the fathers highlighted the appropriate working conditions of their wives for child care. However, they do not consider work satisfaction of their partners and overall pleasure of them. On the other hand, there is huge difference between women and men in both sectors. Official resettlements and legal changes mostly cover the mothers' rights, rather than fathers. Fathers are still excluded from the process who have only 10 days leave after the child birth.

Evaluation of The Current Legal Structure in Turkey

The entire current legislation on parental leave targets “the women”. Child care and their responsibilities from its earliest years are mainly under the mothers’ watch based on the gender roles. Thus, it is clearly understood that application on part-time work option has been provided to mothers during the first six years. All principles and applications mainly target the mothers. Child care and their education are the mothers’ central duty based on the traditional division of labour in home and working places. Mothers should adjust other responsibilities without any delay or failure according to their first priorities which are their children. For this reason, mothers have been provided part-time working option for the first six years.

Based on the legislation amended Turkey’s labour laws, flexible working option covers 60 days period following the end of maternity leave after the birth of first child, 120 days for the second child and 180 days for the third child. However, these mothers benefited from part-time working option cannot use the breastfeeding leave which is one and a half hour for each working day. Part-time workers will be replaced by short-term contracted workers until mothers go back to their previous full-time work. This new legal regulation should be questioned from two aspects: mothers and short-term contracted employees. It is important that both sides should not loss a right. There are important questions listed below regarding the amendment:

- Do they have the same rights on wages, bonuses and promotion if they choose to work part-time?
- How employers will support their workers on using part-time work option?
- Are there any damages on mothers’ career in the long run?
- What about the social rights of short-term employees who will be unemployed after mother come back to work?

Above mentioned issues should be considered in detail before the part-time working request are put into practice. Women who are working as managers or high ranking women employees should be approached specifically. I think that there is a low

possibility for high ranking women employees to work part-time. Women may be pushed to work in the scope of the intensive programme without any opportunity for promotion under cover of part-time working.

Previous Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu who announced “The Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Programme” with the Minister of Family and Social Policies Ayşenur İslam identified the new legislation as perfect solution to increase the women employment rate and help them on child care issues because of their business life. He emphasized the importance of mothers’ responsibilities on child care which may create serious problems for future generations if there is any negligence from their side. I think that the importance of the secrecy of the household and its indispensability for women is the centre of the political argument. Although it seems that more options and flexibility is provided to women, mothers are the only people who are mainly responsible for rearing the children. The opposite is unimaginable according to this traditional discourse. Fathers are the “supporters” again. They have their irreplaceable jobs which is their top priority. There is an ancient dilemma about their role. Cultural habits, political discourse and legal framework are on the same side that they cannot have the same responsibilities as mothers. The critical question is that what is their opinion on the current situation and are there any requests from their side to make any small changes on that.

I argue that all amendments maintained the perception that child care is a non-assignable and non-negotiable duty for mothers. All legal changes have been promoted as significant options for women. However, women can only have a right to work if their main responsibilities on child care are carried out without any negligence. If they insist on receiving more responsibilities in business life, they have to content their selves with low wages, low ranking positions, little bonus, less vested benefits and low probability of promotion.

Turkey is still in a transformation period which reflects the effects of westernization. It is not possible to interpret the national political movements excluding international discourses. It seems that gender equality is still the centre of all the regulations on

family, employment, health, economy (İlkkaracan, 1997). I believe that gender equality has become very popular issue for most of the politicians who knows the importance of highlighting specific key concepts. However, regulations should be based on the requirements of the different segments of the society. This is the only way to spread the benefits of the new legal regulations. Redressing the balance between work and family is such an issue for both fathers and mothers. Regulations in this field may affect all other areas and increase welfare level of the society. For this reason, establishing a solidarity not only between mothers and fathers, but also employers and workers may generate the social changes despite the root-bound patriarchal traditions.

In Turkish literature about women's participation into the labour market and work / family balance, gender equality in social policy implementations is one of the important missing area (Soyseçkin, 2016). We do not know what kind of work and family life balance mechanisms are used by women and men. Considering the irreplaceable child care and family responsibilities for women, how women develop survival skills and what is men's standpoint in this unstoppable system. These are very compressive questions that cannot be answered easily only after one or two researches. Additionally, different studies should be designed to take into consideration the socio-economic status of the groups. However, implications of the current social policies are crucial based on the need of the society. In this respect, men are somehow excluded from the picture and they are beyond the pale. This result in two-sided problem that we have to deal with. On the one hand, all efforts to empower the position of women seem insufficient. On the other hand, they do not provide support for gender equality, because their primary role does not change in the patriarchal system and they have limited rights as fathers. As shown in 2013 Turkish Family Structure Survey, % 88 of women are mainly responsible for the child care. Beşpınar (2014) highlighted the importance of new polices providing equitable opportunities for women and men.

The relation between childcare responsibility and labour force participation patterns among women are indicated by many social researchers (Soyseçkin, 2016). In

Turkey, women are left alone on the child care responsibilities and they have to make choice between being working mother or stay-at-home mother. Both choices has its own difficulties only for women as the sole responsible in the family. In this point, child care services have become crucial especially for the first three years. Paid and unpaid leave is effective for women's decision. After the new legal arrangements in 2015, unpaid leave has been entered into force for both parents. However, applicability of the law is not very clear. Based on the Soyseçkin's study on middle class women, they have difficulties to make balance between work and family life, because of the insufficient childcare services. They need other kind of support either from another female family member or professional caregiver. They cannot count on their husband for division of responsibility.

This section analysed the historical development on family policies and summarized the legal structure in Turkey as well. I argue that below mentioned points explains the outstanding features of the legal arrangements in Turkey:

- Women's role as the main care giver in the household are reinforced by the law.
- Most of the regulations seems to support women employment and encourage women stay in the labour market. However, it has put women in a difficult position regarding the balance of family life and professional life.
- Family policies do not request anything from men to sacrifice their conventional lives, but only provided options to them. Their myth on "working" is still valid.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The aim of the thesis is to understand the perception of Turkish fathers under 40 years old on fatherhood and paternal leave. In order to analyse current fatherhood and identify the gap at the policy level, perception and practices of fathers should be included into the study. I should admit that I've been motivated by the social policies on all aspects of family related issues after 2000s to work on this topic.

3.1. Research Question and Research Design

Feminist research tradition provides fundamental framework of my study. This study should indicate gendered division of labour and its consequences in the policy area. Feminist researchers highlight the gender discrimination which is the fundamental reason behind the inequalities in labour market and household. These inequalities result in comprehensive differences among men and women on social values, attitudes, goals, experiences and practices in all spheres of life (Hakım, 2006).

I argue that there is mutual relation between policies and daily practices of women and men. I believe that studies on social policies play a crucial role for the society, because of this mutual relation. On the one hand, practices may shape policies, but on the other hand, policies affect the practices of parents and start transformations for families. In the scope of the study, my aim is to provide father's perception on child care and paternity leave which should create a difference both for women's and men's lives. My general concern is to reveal the unequal responsibilities among mothers and fathers. Presenting analysis on father's position and current unequal division of labour in household will directly affect women's lives as well. I believe that parental policies will be designed further based on similar qualitative research findings in the field of social policy. In addition to this, I am very happy to work on such an important, but unpopular subject which have been not worked in the Turkish literature. Although masculinity studies have been studied more intensely in the last

decades in the world, it is still new area in Turkish literature. Literature on masculinities and critical studies of men in Turkey is developing recently and studies on masculinities will become widespread (Akşit & Varışlı, 2016). Several feminist researchers are working on men's studies and highlight the importance on studying various masculinities in the scope of the feminism. I believe that this study will contribute to the feminist studies by working on fathers from new generation.

First of all, I identify my research question before choosing the research methodology and clarified the purpose of the research. My research question is:

How is the perception of Turkish fathers younger than 40 on “fatherhood” and paternal leave?

Identification of research question is the key starting point of the research which forces researcher to investigate basic interest of research (Bryman, 2016). It also direct researcher to make literature review on the subject. I revised my research questions after the literature review which includes the examination of the existing researches on the subject area. Literature review helped me to visualize the research and revealed the questions on the data collection process.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews are implemented as part of qualitative research method in this study. For making in-depth analysis, small group of respondents including 22 fathers are interviewed including pilot interviews between April 2014 and December 2015. In the scope of the pilot study, I interviewed five fathers without looking at their socio-economic status and education level. Level of education of two fathers was low and they work as blue-collar employee in public institutions subcontracted by private companies. They have been working since they were 15 years old and their main goal was to earn money for fulfilling their families' fundamental needs. They work seven days in a week and spend time with their families in their leave day. I realized that fathers having primary school degree are not very open to discuss parental leave in the scope of my study. Thus, after the pilot study, I changed the target group of my study that middle-class young educated fathers. Based on face-to-face in-depth interviews, the analysis has been provided in a structured way. I made interviews with nineteen middle class, educated fathers

under 40 years old. Unfortunately, in Turkey, official paternal leave is much more relevant for middle class fathers whose economic concern is much more low compared to others. The reason behind selecting fathers aged under 40 is that I want to provide analysis on new dads and current generation's approach on fatherhood. It would be much more meaningful to provide recommendations based on the current fathers' approach in the scope of the social policy.

3.2 Interview Preparation Process

In the scope of the interview structure, I thought that semi-structured interview is the most suitable technique for my research. It should not be completely formal, because the subject requires information about interviewees' private life. However, ready open-ended questions are crucial to stick to the subject. In the scope of my study, it is very important to encourage respondents to make their own definitions (Silverman, 2006). For this reason, I prepared semi-structured interview questions including 11 questions (Appendix 1- English Interview Questions).

I started to work on the interview questions during the SOC 543 course, "Family, Marriage and Kinship Dynamics in Turkey" which was the last course that I had to take for my master's degree. I was very lucky that I had an opportunity to make preparations for the interviews. My instructor and now my thesis advisor Associate Professor Fatma Umut Beşpınar reviewed the questions and provided feedbacks. I also tested my interview questions as part of my pilot study and shared my preliminary experiences with my advisor.

Most of the questions were open-ended to bring forward further discussions. I mainly focus on the personnel experiences and opinions rather than statistical information. The interview questions included themes such as the meaning of fatherhood, daily practices and division of labour in household, decision making process on having a child, experiences and opinions on parental leave, changes on their life after having a child, recommendations in the field of social policies on child care.

For testing the interview questions, I conducted pilot study including five interviews with fathers aged under 40 without looking at their education and socio-economic

level. Pilot study was very useful to review the questions, decide on the interview structure and specify interviewee profile as well. The most important output of the pilot study was related to interviewee profile. It showed me that education and socio-economic level are very crucial in the scope of my study. Official paternity leave is quite relevant regarding socio-economic background of fathers. Social policies should be inclusive and extensive for fulfilling various requirements from different people having different socio-economic and educational backgrounds, because of the strong relation between social policies and socio-economic structure of families. It should be noted that policy requirements of fathers which depend on individuals' education, class and income level and effects of current social policies related to fathers from various socio-economic background would be subject of another study.

I also revised the interview questions after the pilot study which helped me to have preliminary experiences. I added questions to understand the division of labour before having a baby to understand their point of view and real life experiences on the gender roles. I changed the wording of the questions which intersect their intimate life. I thought that the wrong wording of the questions can directly affect the responses and also the respondent's approach to my study. In addition, this, I found out that questions related to their point of view on paternity leave were not very clear. I decided to ask the questions by giving examples on different implications in other countries which I provided cross-country analysis in 2nd Chapter. Another change is related to the conclusion part of the interview. It was very difficult to get their opinions on the necessary changes in the field of social policy. I added intensifier questions to broaden their approach and get clear answers.

3.3 Data Collection Process

I conducted interviews with 19 fathers between April 2014 and December 2015. First of all, I reached key persons who helped me to reach other fathers matching with my target group. Their contribution was very valuable to diversify the occupations of the respondents. I used snow-ball method to reach more father under 40 years-old. I called them by phone and asked for an appointment according to their schedule.

I think that it was very important to make interview with fathers who have different educational background and occupations.

Most of the interviews were made during the weekend. I should admit that it was very difficult to find available time of busy fathers. Considering their valuable time during the weekends, we had to cancel and postpone our meetings to another time. This prolonged the time for finalizing the interviews. I turned this situation into an advantage. For this reason, I started to work on my findings immediately after the interviews and I passed on to the data analysis process.

The place of the interviews was also decided by respondents. I thought that the short distance to their current district and making choice on the location would make them comfortable before the interview. They were already accepted my request and decided to spend time during their weekend and involve my study. For this reason, I tried to make the process easier for them as much as possible.

Pilot study was very useful for me to get used to the interview questions. After two interviews, I started to encourage interviewees when necessary and make them focus on the subject on the right direction. If any unclear issue emerges, I immediately interfere and tried to ask additional questions to clarify the matter.

During the interviews, I tried to identify the sensitive issues for the respondents. For example, whether they decided to have a child on purpose is crucial to understand their approach on being father. In this way, I could understand:

- If they made preparation for being a parent,
- If becoming a parent is a joint decision,
- If they had time to think about the life-changing issue etc.

However, these are very personal questions on their private life. At the beginning of the interviews, respondents preferred to answer my questions in a very formal way. During this period, I did not insist on to have clear answers. However, respondents became much more straightforward and many issues were clarified easily at a later

stage. They provided information on very intimate issues even I did not ask during the interview.

Following table shows the interviewee profile based on their age, education, occupation and the number of days used by these fathers as paternity leave.

Table 11: Interviewee Profile

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Paternity Leave
MÇ	38	University	IT Expert	NA, because working as part-time employee
AB	38	University	Civil Servant- Department Head	Part-time employee and / 3 days from compassionate leave
ZG	39	University	Translator	1 week from annual leave
GG	37	University (Open)	Electronic Technician	3 days from annual leave
MA	33	Master	Engineer	3 days from annual leave
AD	33	University	Engineer	2 days from annual leave
UŞ	33	University	Engineer	3 days from annual leave
SB	33	University	Employer (Owner of Girls' Dormitory)	3 days from compassionate leave
BT	36	University	Veterinary- Sales Representative	3 days from compassionate leave
AÖ	33	University	Banker	3 days from compassionate leave plus 2 days from annual leave
BE	39	University	Event Organizer	NA, he was employer
LB	37	University	Engineer/ Sales Consultant	3 days from compassionate leave
BT	37	University	Architect	3 days from compassionate leave
TC	38	University	Web developer	NA, he is employer and working from home
KM	33	Master	Accountant	3 days from compassionate leave, 1 week annual leave and 1 week homeworking
KB	32	University	Event Organizer	NA, he was employer
OÖ	37	University	Expert in Pharmaceutical Company	5 days from compassionate leave
MB	34	Master	Statistician	5 days from compassionate leave
HB	38	Master	Electronic Engineer	3 days from compassionate leave

Above mentioned table shows the profile of fathers interviewed in the scope of the study. Additionally, questions on their wives' age, education level, occupation and child care support (family, baby-sitter, kindergartens etc.) are asked at the beginning of the interviews. I believe that it is important to understand general structure of the family and their experiences about child care. Below table provides the profile of interviewees' wives. Analysis in detail about wives are provided in section 4.2

Table 12: Profile of Wives

Number	Age	Education	Occupation	Child Care	# of Child.
1- MÇ	37	University	Civil Servant	Family	1
2- AB	39	PhD	Academician	Family / Kindergarten	2
3- ZG	37	University	Teacher	Baby-sitter/ Kindergarten	1
4- GG	35	University	Teacher	Family	2
5- MA	34	University	Employee in NGO	Family	1
6- AD	33	University	Teacher	Family	1
7- UŞ	32	University	Housewife	By herself	1
8- SB	32	University	Accountant	Family / Kindergarten	1
9- BT	36	Master	Employee in private university	Family	1
10- AÖ	34	University	Public Accountant	Family	2
11- BE	37	University	Owner- working with family	Baby-sitter	1
12- LB	37	University	Employee in Embassy	Family	1
13- BT	37	PhD	Biologist	Family/ Baby-sitter	3
14- TC	35	University	International Trade Expert	Baby-sitter	1
15- KM	34	University	Accountant	Family	1
16- KB	29	University	Owner- working with family	Family	1
17- OÖ	35	Master	HR Project Manager	Family/ Baby-sitter	1
18-MB	35	Master	Recruiter	Baby-sitter	1
19- HB	37	University	Psychological Counselling and Guidance Teacher	Family	1

3.4 Data Analysis Process

In the scope of my study, data analysis process started while conducting interviews. After pilot study, certain issues arose. In this way, categorization of collected data, such as perception and meaning of fatherhood, mother's approach, social norms and expectations and their opinions on current social policies have become much easier

for me. I should also point out that literature review before conducting interviews helped me to identify the framework regarding the subject area. I already indicated which questions should be much more focused and which issues should be much more examined in detail.

I completed transcriptions in the same day after each interview. I read transcriptions several times before categorize my findings. There were similarities and differences among interviews. During this process, I tried to identify recurring issues and also unique data that should be included into the data analysis. I believe that there is a tendency among researchers to focus only on recurring issues and ignore the unique approaches that were less mentioned by the respondents. I argue that these less mentioned issues can be examined in the scope of the daily practices of families. There are other emerging issues which are not very common but should be subject of other studies. Although these approaches are out of the scope of this study, they should be mentioned at least for other studies.

3.5 Reflexivity

I decided to have master degree in the field of Social Policy in 2012. My decision seemed quite late while considering other students' graduation year and their involvement to the Social Policy Programme. In the first semester, I received a course on Population Dynamics and Social Policy from Ms. Alanur Çavlin. During the course, we discussed important areas which are not studied a lot in the social sciences and absence of relevant literature. As Daly (2003) argues, there are beliefs, practices and traditions hidden from the view of researchers which are called "negative spaces". Most of the time researchers are used to observe certain issues and give their attention to them, but overlook some other issues which are part of the everyday of family life (Daly, 2003: 773). I argue that fatherhood in the scope of the social policy is one of these areas, especially in Turkey. It is a new area even in the international literature. There are very limited studies on fatherhood which are usually related to the child development issue in psychology. After rough literature review, I decided to focus on fatherhood in the scope of the social policy. I thought

that after having a long break since graduation in 2005, my area of interest could be interesting and less popular so that I can make a significant contribution in this area. In the meantime, I had to specify my subject within the scope of social policy. Then, I decided to work on paternal leave in the social policy.

In my third semester, I got pregnant. I had almost finished all the courses that I had to take during the programme when I found out I was pregnant. This was not an obstacle for me to start the interviews. However, I decided to make an explanation about my new situation at the beginning of the interviews when I introduce myself. I presumed that interviewees think that there is relation between my area of interest and having a child very soon. For this reason, I explained the reason behind my choice.

There were one advantage and one disadvantage about my pregnancy during the interviews. At the beginning of the interviews, I explained to the interviewees that I chose this subject of my thesis before I got pregnant. I tried to clarify that I made a decision separately from my own situation. I did not focus on this area of interest because of drastic changes in my personal life. As a researcher, I want to focus on their approach and experiences on the subject. It was crucial to make them concentrate on this area. I argue that this was a disadvantage for me that I had to clarify myself at the beginning of the interviews. I tried to neutralize their point of view towards me. On the other hand, I realized that my pregnancy was an advantage after conducting two or three interviews. After asking a couple of questions about their experiences and perception, they started to explain the difficulty of the process very frankly bearing in mind that I will have similar moments very soon. They sincerely shared their experiences with me. It looks like we have something in common. This was important advantage for me. I did not make too much effort to get their truthful ideas and experiences. Although, they made efforts to show me that how caring and capable father they are, they highlighted their role as quite different and somehow distant compared to mothers, despite the fact that they did not mean to do so. During the study, I looked through the relationship with my father. I remembered several details about my father's parenting style. I already criticized my

father about his fatherhood before the study as very traditional and patriarchal. I should admit that I realized once again that how important to being a participative, egalitarian and modest father in home not only for mothers but also for children. However, differences between generations are very crucial regarding the applicable social policies which I also found out during the study. At this point, new generation fathers' needs and requests are diverse from previous generations.

As the last issue that I want to mention in this reflexivity section is that my husband's approach on applicability of paternal leave policies and fatherhood practices. During the study, we talked a lot about my thesis subject. He provided all kind of support from reaching key persons to arranging his schedule for the interviews so that he can take care of our baby during the weekends. I had a chance to learn his opinions on applicable leave policies in Turkey and needs of fathers from new generation which are rarely mentioned by them. I should admit that this study would be much more painful for me if I and my husband have different approaches on fatherhood and parenthood. During my study, I thought a lot about the applicability of the policies attaching importance to gender equality in household. I had a chance to analyse my practical experiences after birth, such as my employer's approach on my unpaid leave request, my difficulties after maternity leave, my colleagues' attitudes after being a mother (especially when there is assignment out of Ankara), social pressures for being best mothers etc. It's been more than 2 years, but I have still problems on the balance between professional and family life. Thus, I am very sensitive on the suggestions of new social policies. I hope this thesis will contribute to the literature that there is significantly few researches on fatherhood in Turkey. In addition to this, suggestions will be applicable and make changes for many families if they enter into force.

3.6 Strengths

During the data analysis process, I tried to assess the strengths of my study which helped me to write clear thesis offering explicit point of view. I argue that below mentioned four subjects are strengths of my study that offers strong thesis.

First of all, I and my friends who are also writing their thesis at the same time had a chance to discuss our study, interviews, data collection process and also findings. My thesis advisor offered regular meetings with us to discuss each study together. Thus, brainstorming during these meetings provided important and crucial ideas for our thesis. Second of all, my interview notes were reviewed by my thesis advisor. I think that it is a substantial opportunity for my thesis. Assoc. Prof. Fatma Umut Beşpınar provided feedback after reading interview notes and helped me to improve the interviews. I extended the interviews over a period of time which allow me a time to analyse my interview skills and also findings. Thus, I shared all interview notes to my thesis advisor at regular intervals and I improved the data collection process based on her comments. Third of all, I identified key persons to reach the target group of my study. These key persons helped me to find rights persons and I easily reached them and get appointments for the interviews which made the data collection process easier.

Finally, I tried to make all the interviewees as much comfortable as possible. They chose the location of the interviews so that they can reach easily and feel comfortable to talk about very unique period of their life. I think that there is a strong relation between interviewees' comfort level and effectiveness of the interviews. Each interview took one and a half hour approximately. By the end of the interview, all my questions were answered intimately by the interviewees.

3.7 Limitations

In this study, limitations can be summarized in terms of three aspects. First limitation is related to the voice of mothers. Most of the respondents described their way of fatherhood as less-than-stellar. Based on their statements, division of labour in their home is egalitarian, they share all responsibilities on child care with their wives except than birth and breastfeeding. They seem very supportive regarding women employment. They both made suggestions to develop legal rights of fathers and mothers. However, I did not have a chance to learn the mothers' approach on their fatherhood and the reality in their home. As a young women researcher, sometimes I

felt that respondents provided ideal answers rather than their real experiences and perception to impress me. However, I had to rely on fathers' responses during the interviews and it was beyond my control as a researcher. I tried to overcome this problem by creating sincerer and neutral atmosphere.

Second limitation is related to the employers' approach on paternity leave in social policy. Their point of view is quite crucial to review the new policies and also to assess the viability of the policies. During the interviews, the importance of employers' position was highlighted by most of the fathers. For this reason, we should think that how social policies can be supported by the employers and how employers can be supported to increase the possibility of policies' applicability. There is a need for further studies about employers' perception on leave policies.

The last limitation of the study is related to marital status of fathers. I argue that marital status of fathers is crucial factor to affect their approach on necessary support mechanisms for parents. In Turkey, paternity leave can be used immediately after the birth and the current paternity leave was evaluated by the fathers. However, I realized that fathers examined this issue in a broader sense during the interviews and they honestly revealed the needs of parents. Divorce is an important milestone for the parents and it affects their way of parenting dramatically because of the changes on physical conditions. For this reason, not only fathers' but also mothers' needs have been changed after divorce. Specific social policies should be considered for divorced parents.

I argue that each limitation should be assessed by its own extent and their potential strengths should not be ignored for further studies. Limitations may help us to plan another study which will fulfil the need identified during this study.

CHAPTER 4

PERCEPTION OF FATHERHOOD

In this section, analysis of the data collected via nineteen face-to-face in-depth interviews will be provided in detail. First of all, the meaning of fatherhood will be focused to gain an accurate and deep understanding of the fathers' perception on being father after the lifetime change in not only their lives but also the life of entire family. Secondly, we will look at the mother's approach on father's involvement to child care based on interviewees' statements. Thirdly, social norms and expectation will be examined as important factors on family patterns. Finally, current social policies will be analysed to see the practical effects on fathers' approach and suggestions from interviewees will be conveyed as one of the crucial part of the thesis.

The four issues mentioned above which are meaning of fatherhood, mother's approach on fathers' involvement to child care, social norms / expectations and current social policies are identified as the main points which should be discussed in this chapter based on the main finding of the study: fathers do not request official paternal leave more than three weeks. As a result of the face-to-face in-depth interviews, middle-class fathers aged under 40 who have college degree or master's degree, want to spend more time with their children, but prefer to keep their involvement on child care at the certain level which should not go beyond mother's attachment area and also should not affect their working life severely. This significant outcome has become very meaningful while discussing the above mentioned four sub-subjects to understand the reasons behind this result. Although there are conflicting results with my assumptions presented in the section 1.3, the main finding is apprehensible despite the fact that the level of education of fathers is very high. These four subjects are very crucial to understand the result emerged as the sole and critical outcome. In this section, we will look at these subjects in detail.

4.1 Perception and Meaning of Fatherhood

It is not possible to mention one fixed definition of fatherhood based on the interviews conducted during the study. Each interviewee made his own and unique definition which is very important for the analysis. However, there are certain common points that were indicated by all interviewees. One of them is responsibility and the other one is attribution of untraditional fatherhood.

Fathers highlighted the importance of responsibility in their definition of fatherhood. Almost all participants stressed the meaning of being a father as directly linked to “responsibility”. However, their point of view is usually different from each other. On the one hand, some of them indicated concrete responsibilities which guarantee the future of the child. On the other hand, some of the fathers identified their role in their children’s lives as special which is crucial to shape their future in a moral sense. Both perceptions can be considered in the scope of the responsibility.

Fatherhood means responsibility and also binding your life to another person²⁰. (39 years old, father of one)

All fathers attach positive meanings to fatherhood. Although they accept the fact that their life style has been changed radically and their obligations have been increased dramatically, they do not seem weary. I think that this is quite connected with their decision on being father and the value projected children (Kağıtçıbaşı&Ataca 2015:377). One of the questions at the beginning of the interviews was related to their decision on having a child. All of them answered this question on the same way: I and my wife decided to have a child together. Their strong will on their lives affects not only their point of view to fatherhood, but also their daily fatherhood practices. No one mentions the social pressure or biological necessity as required by their age. I should admit that this is contrary to one of my assumptions before the study. I thought that social pressures, their age which indicate the limit that it would be late and very difficult to be a parent after that age, or their parents’ ambition to have a grandchild may affect their decision. However, these reasons were not mentioned by the interviewees. I think that they highlighted their own decision on

²⁰ Babalık “sorumluluk” demek. Aynı zamanda hayatınızı başka bir kişiye bağlamak demek.

being father and ignore the social pressures on having a child is one of the important findings of the study. New generation fathers would like to show how much control on their lives and their own initiatives on life-changing issues. This shows the differences between generations that new generation does not pay so much attention to social pressures. They highlighted the importance of making a choice for being a parent. For this reason, they brought the feeling of responsibility into the forefront.

Fatherhood is responsibility. Apart from that, life is much more meaningful, going to work is much more meaningful than before. You think about future more than before²¹. (38 years old, father of two)

Some of the interviewees highlighted the gender of their child. Gender of the child still seems important for some fathers. One of the fathers clearly indicated the importance of being a father of son:

In this country, if being a father is one point, being a father of son is two points²². (39 years old, father of one)

Another important common point is that all fathers define themselves as untraditional fathers and keep their distances from previous generations and especially their own fathers. The meaning attached to fatherhood and their way of taking care of children is very different from their own fathers that they present proudly. For this reason, their approaches and daily practices are far more different than their fathers. It seems that fathers of the new generation learned a lot from their fathers' mistakes. They clearly dissociate themselves from traditional fatherhood which their fathers practiced. As stated in Dally's study (1993), fathers do not see their own fathers as role model, rather they make negative references and they are very critical about their own fathers (Dally, 1993). I believe that the distance between generations give us some clues about the necessity of social policies. We are talking about new perceptions, practices and experiences that we could not imagine a couple of decades ago. Family related social changes takes long time, but it should also bring relevant applicable policies in its wake. Moreover, social policies come to the fore to trigger the changes towards more equal gender relations in all sphere of the society.

²¹ Babalık "sorumluluk"tur. Bunun dışında hayat daha anlamlı, işe gitmek daha anlamlı. Yarınları daha çok düşünüyorsun diyor.

²² Bu ülkede babalık bir puansa, erkek babalığı iki puan.

Changing dynamics in the scope of the marriage is another common point mentioned by the interviewees. The only negative thing on having a child is related to its effect on marriage. They highlighted the challenging elements that come to the fore with having children in terms of the marriage.

Men's approach on marriage is very different before and after having a child. Before having a child, you can say that I can leave whenever I want. However, you cannot say that after having a child.²³(37 years old, father of two)

When considering the increasing domestic responsibilities in households, pressure on women regarding daily activities to be done for a child is a multiplier effect. The increasing physical and moral burden of women affects the relationship between couples. Because of the existence of traditional division of labour, men only help women for some of the house works and also women remain as the primary caretaker for a child.

Having a child is very challenging for the marriage. You should be very strong. There are couples who continue their marriage, because the child would not be alone. Some of the marriages end because of the child. Some of them continue because of the child.²⁴ (38 years old, father of two)

Another important question was related to how and when they feel themselves as “father”. Almost all fathers indicated that when communication between them and their children emerged, they felt themselves as father. This finding is quite enlightening for us to understand the different awareness of mothers and fathers. The perception about parenthood process is different for fathers and mothers (LaRoss, 1988). Pregnancy which lasts more than nine months helps women to increase self-awareness on being a parent. However, as mentioned by most of the fathers, fatherhood can be perceived after having an instant connection with the child. MÇ described his experience in a specific way:

²³ Erkek adamın çocuktan önce ve sonra evliliğe bakışı çok farklı. Çocuktan önce kapıyı çeker çıkarım diyorsun ama sonra diyemiyorsun.

²⁴ Evliliği çok zorlayan bir şey çocuk. Çok sağlam durman lazım. Çocuklar ortada kalmasın diye evliliği yürütenler var. Bazı evlilikleri çocuk bitiriyor, bazılarını devam ettiriyor.

You realize yourself as father when you do everything for your child. It is very serious responsibility. I have some friends who underestimate the fatherhood. They do not have awareness because they do not do anything²⁵. (38 years old, father of one)

Fatherhood was described as something which can be learned when you make an effort. The more effort you make, the more awareness you have and more strong relation set up with your child. I think that this approach explains the more involved fatherhood model between middle class educated fathers. One can mention the critical difference from previous generations' understanding of fatherhood. Fathers, aged less than 40, see fatherhood mainly as responsibility and also involvement of each and every step of the process. However, the daily practices of fathers seem contradictory to their statements. They were asked about their daily practices at home before and after the child was born. By asking two different questions, I tried to understand whether traditional division of labour still exists at their home or not. In addition to this, I tried to figure out whether having a child affected the current structure of home and their relation or not. Although, they expressed that they try to share child care responsibilities with their wives, former division of labour showed signs of traditional habits on responsibilities or vice versa.

Most of the physical and cognitive needs of children are fulfilled by mothers. Traditional division of labour is quite dominant related to child care. For this reason, they emphasized the importance of mother's role on child development and related to this, they are fully encouraging the policies targeting mothers.

Children are much more dependent to their mother physically. You cannot do anything about it. There is difference between motherhood and fatherhood. However, we achieved a very good result as fathers from new generation.²⁶ (33 years old, father of one)

I argue that the demanding labour market conditions are also influential for fathers to legitimize their perception on fatherhood. They think that they are much more responsible for economic needs of the family. Labour market conditions and unequal wages among women and men reinforce this approach. Because men's earnings are

²⁵ Esas baba olduğunu her şeyi yaptığın zaman, bunları yaptığın zaman anlıyorsun. Çok ciddi bir sorumluluk babalık. Babalık da ne canım diyen arkadaşlarım var. Hiç bunları yapmadığı için farkında değil.

²⁶ Çocuklar fiziksel olarak anneye daha bağımlı. Elin kolun bağlı kalıyor. Bir fark var annelikle babalık arasında. Ama geldiğimiz nokta iyi yeni nesil babalara bakınca.

much higher than women even if they have the same job and do the same work, father's job have become irreplaceable. It also strengthens the working myth of men. They assign all domestic responsibilities to women, especially child care. Thus, traditional division of labour in household and labour market work in cooperation to set the responsibilities of women and men, mothers and fathers. There are forced choices of mother and fathers between child care and domestic responsibilities and paid work (Stanley, Gamble, Lewis, Rapoport, Williams, Burgess, 2005).

4.2 Fathers' Perspective of Mother's Approach

Fatherhood is not examined separately from motherhood, because there are comparative measures for fatherhood (Doherty, Kouneski, Erickson, 1998). It is not a substantive issue and there is no other measurement beside motherhood for the time being. I think that this dependent relation which does not allow to study fatherhood in itself also shows the hegemonic paternalistic approach in the international literature.

Mothers' expectations and attitudes are quite influential regarding father's involvement into child care. There are evidences to show that, the mother's approach towards father become determinant regarding the involvement of fathers to child care because the relation between mother and child is very strong (1998:278). Some of the mothers keep their children in the centre of their lives. For this reason, their approach to father-child relation become crucial.

We tell stories before going to bed since two months. Their mothers started it. I said do not start, they can get used to it, but she did not listen to me.²⁷(37 years old, father of two)

In this study, almost all fathers mentioned about the mother's sensitivity and perfectionism on child care. In this point, we can also refer to the F. Umut Beşpınar's study on women's work related strategies conducted in 2010 in İstanbul. Beşpınar argues that being mother is the centre of middle class women's identity (2010: 528). Their preferences on working depends on their estimations about the positive and negative sides of professional life for their children. I think that middle class

²⁷ İki aydır masal anlatıyoruz yatmadan önce. Anneleri başlattı tabi. Yapma dedim, alışlıklar sonra ama dinlemedi beni.

women's approach on mothering is very crucial when looking at middle class men's approach on fathering. Although Beşpınar's study focuses on work related strategies of women from different socio-economic background, responses of middle class women in Beşpınar's study are very crucial to understand their priorities and their role as mothers, because it is directly linked with their behaviours towards their husbands.

Based on respondents' statements, mothers' perfectionism makes the involvement of father into child care difficult for them. Although fathers want to be much more helpful during the whole process, the idealism of mothers pose an obstacle for them. For this reason, mother's approach is very influential on father's initiative for child care. Shortly after birth, there are plenty of thing that fathers can do both inside and outside of home, such as; applying for birth certificate, fulfilling the insurance procedures, organizing home for the initial requirements of a baby etc. After a while, it seems that the role of fathers gradually decreases. Thus, the progress of process affects the approach of fathers regarding official paternity leave.

Even fifteen days is too much for paternal leave. At the beginning, there are lots of things to sort out, but then there is nothing to do. My friends took leave after birth, but they told that they feel themselves as salt shaker (tuzluk)²⁸. (33 years old, father of one)

Emphasizing the importance of the relation between mother and child which legitimizes the current division of labour in household explain also the remaining traditional perception and practices of new generation fathers (Balcı Çelik, 2007). They argue that women are much more capable of doing domestic works and they have also unique and irreplaceable position for child care. In this point, most fathers refer to the nature of women. However, there is somehow awareness among fathers that they either consciously highlighted the unreplaceable relation between mothers and children, because they benefited from it or they are uncomfortable about this special relationship that bonds among fathers and children stay at the limited level no matter how efforts they make. It somehow undermines the egalitarian approach on parenthood. I argue that "the nature and disposition of women for motherhood" is

²⁸ Babalık izni 15 gün bile fazla. İlk başlarda çok daha fazla şey oluyor halledilecek. Ama sonra yapacak şey kalmıyor. Arkadaşlarım aldı izin, tuzluk gibi hissettiklerini söylediler evde.

one of the problematic ideological issue. Position of women is reduced to motherhood and being a mother is shown as the main existential reason for women.

Mothers are the main care giver and they have all the responsibilities about children including physical, psychological, mental. Thus, they cannot disassociate with their children. For this reason, children have low self-esteem.²⁹ (38 years old, father of one)

It seems that artificial protected area, only women and children can enter into, is created by men. Men consecrate the mother's role and keep themselves away from the area. They make recommendations to expand the legal rights of mother by highlighting the importance of the mother-child relation in this sense.

The first three years, you will not interfere between mother and a child³⁰. (37 years old, father of two)

I argue that this issue is much more complicated than it seems. Although mothers define boundaries for fathers, social pressure of being perfect mother should not be ignored. Social pressures from their own mother and mother-in-law make enormous effects on women negatively. Although it seems that mothers from previous generation share their own experiences on child-care for the best, they increase the negative pressure and deepen the hierarchical relations among women which pave the way to use authority towards new mothers. It increases the obsession of mothers not to make a mistake on child care which result in the enlargement of boundaries for fathers. The pressure of being a good father and good mother cannot be compared in the same way. Nonetheless, it does not change the fact that mother's approach is determinant for father-child relationship. Internalized egalitarianism and determination play crucial role for both women and men. Women from previous generations are strengthening the traditional norms and make motherhood hard for women by determining expectations from mothers. Thus, they stereotype how to become good mother and place another burden for women.

In this study, interviews were made with fathers. However, general questions about other members of the family and source of the child support were asked, such as age

²⁹ Çocukların bakımından esas olarak anneler sorumlu ve çocuğun fiziksel, psikolojik ve zihinsel olarak tüm sorumluluğu onlara ait. Böyle olunca çocuklarıyla bağlarını koparamıyorlar ve çocukların kendine güveni zayıf oluyor.

³⁰ İlk üç yıl anne ile çocuk arasına girmeyeceksin.

of the mother, education level and occupation of the mother, number of children, ages of children and child care support which are provided from other family members, baby-sitter or kindergarten, if they receive any of them. To understand the whole picture, this information is crucial in the scope of the study. When we look at the profile of the families, they have one or two children, except than one interviewee. All mothers are highly educated that they have at least university degree. Except one of the mother, all of them have professional works. When we look at the child care support, family members, usually from grandmothers, are the main source of support. During the interviews, fathers who employed baby-sitters for their child indicated that they requested support from their patents, especially right after the birth. Additionally, children start to attend a kindergarten after two and a half years old. There are very few kindergartens / day care centres which accepts children under two years old in Turkey. Families also receive support from other family members before their children attend kindergarten. Some of the parents hire baby-sitters, but this is still a matter of trust in Turkey. Some of them have bad experiences about baby-sitters. It is seen as the last option when they do not receive any support from other family members. Based on the interviews, other family members play crucial role to support parents on child care. This shows the public support system's weaknesses on child care in Turkey. Public services are relocated by other alternatives, that is family in Turkey.

When looking at alternative mechanisms, we should also consider the compromises made by parents, especially working parents. Trying to make balance between professional life and family life is challenging both for mothers and fathers. However, most of the fathers in this study admitted that the main responsible to find solution on child care and the first person making compromises is mother. Motherhood and fatherhood is socially constructed gender roles that parents usually choose to act according to the current and prevalent social norms (Tanuka, 2006: 141). For this reason, women and men prefer to follow the main path so that they do not have to make struggle about the social norms and expectations.

4.3 Social Norms and Expectations

According to Doherty, Kouneski and Erickson, fatherhood is “social construction” based on sociological and historical research. Every era has its own social and cultural expectations and practices. When we look at the differences between generations on fatherhood, not only perception but also fatherhood practices and level of involvement to child care have transformed radically. Expectations from the society, social norms and political conditions play significant role on these changes. In the scope of the study, huge difference between generations on being a father, feeling on fatherhood and practices of fatherhood is mentioned several times by respondents. Even one father did not say that I look like my father or I learned how to be a good father from my own father. They are proud of being different from their own fathers.

Fathers’ point of view can change, but I do not know how. Everything starts with respect to women. I experienced a reverse psychology. I have brothers. We did not see anything related to love and care from our father. We probably took lessons on what he did not do to us³¹. (38 years old, father of one)

They underlined their daily practices and also different approach on fatherhood. The involvement on daily child care practices, from changing diapers to putting to sleep, came into the forefront. Responsibility as meaning of fatherhood starts from day one after the birth and includes the future planning by providing physical and moral support. They also want to be involved in every step of decision making on short and long term planning. However, I have a contradictory finding with the study of Cabrera & Tamis-LeMonda & Bradley & Hofferth & Lamb. They argue that fatherhood practices are very related to their fathers’ practices and experiences. If fathers from previous generation are involved more into child care, when their children become fathers, they are going to be more caring fathers as well (Cabrera et al., 2000:131). My findings in the study show the opposite that none of the fathers say that they have similar attitudes with their father on the child care.

³¹ Babaların bakış açısı değişebilir, ama nasıl bilmiyorum. Her şey kadına saygı ile başlıyor. Ben de ters psikoloji oldu. Benim erkek kardeşlerim var. Biz babamızda hiç öyle sevgi, ilgi gibi şeyler görmedik. Herhalde onun yapmadıklarından ders çıkarttık.

When we consider what is expected from fathers, one cannot deny that it has been changed beyond breadwinner role or just authority figure (Doherty, Kouneski, Erickson, 1998). In the scope of my study, the interviews reflect the difference between generations on fatherhood. They indicated the huge difference on fatherhood between them and their fathers' practices. Based on their claims, there are many examples from daily practices, perceptions and discourse. However, disbelief on applicability of paternal leave, the importance of men career, and mother's role as main caregiver are the fundamental issues showing their traditional approach which could not be transformed based on changing social conditions. Young fathers' understanding and practices of fatherhood are quite different from previous generation, but traditional point of view does not seem disappeared completely. Contradictory answers were received from some of the fathers. As father, their role is not beyond helping to mother for child care. They seem happy for receiving different responsibilities compared to previous generation, but they want to have responsibilities based on their own choices and priorities. This point is very critical when considering the fathers' limited request on paternity leave. They want to be involved in the child care, but not entirely. For this reason, they highlighted the unreplaceable position of mothers for children which makes them "supporters". They are proud of being relatively better and involved fathers compared to previous generations. However, they do not prefer to sacrifice from other roles which makes them much stronger in the society according to the social norms. Motherhood and fatherhood are not regarded as equal, even by the fathers. Fathers prefer to hide away mothers' breasts. Unfortunately, level of education does not change this basic tendency. One of interviewee summarized this point of view very honestly.

It might be very insulting to use paternity leave. No one wants use unpaid paternity leave.³²(38 years old, father of two)

I argue that this generation has a new fatherhood perception and practices compared to previous generations. Nonetheless, there is a lack of demand on more domestic and parental responsibilities which also result in lack of intense demand at the policy

³² Babanın babalık izni kullanması "rencide edici" olabilir. Ücretsiz babalık iznini kimse kullanmaz.

level. Daily basis practices and gendered division of labour in household affect women and men's position in the labour market. Division of labour in household is a multilateral issue that is critical for outside of the home as well (Tazkula, 2007). It is directly linked with the usage of parental leave. During the interviews, division of labour before having a child and after having a child were asked separately. All fathers claimed that they try to do their best for housework. They try to "help" their wives as they help to their wives on child care. They accept traditional patriarchal perception based on rigid social norms and expectations that the main responsible for housework is still regarded as women. Regarding the child care, father's involvement seems much more intense when a baby is born. However, they argued that when the time passes after birth, what they can do is diminishing.

When discussing the applicability of paternal leave, they highlighted the employers' approach. Because the importance of their career is inarguable, they essentially considered the applicability of the policies. Men's career is always important and it cannot be changed under any circumstances. For this reason, employer's approach and how paternity leave is perceived in workplace is very crucial for them. All fathers mentioned the importance of employer's and co-worker's approach on official paternal leave.

Traditional bread winner role has been transformed, but the main financial provider is still men and main care giver is still women according to their approach. Unpaid leave was not mentioned by them, nevertheless fathers suggested the extension of mothers' unpaid leave in both public and private sector.

Break of career put women into weaker position in the labour market and this situation push mothers out of paid employment. On the other hand, men's position is strengthened with better opportunities in the labour market. This closes the circle that men can be away from child care and make prioritization among his responsibilities (Taskula, 2007). I argue that the irreplaceability of men job has been strengthened by the social norms and expectations that unemployment of women is not an issue which should be questioned, but unemployment of men even for a short period is an issue which may undermine the powerful status of men.

Availability and scope of the leave policies affect women employment patterns in all over the world. Various policies in different countries whether there are supportive leave policies or not, especially for mothers, influence labour market participation rate of women (Brewster& Rindfuss, 2000). The Nordic countries are the most successful countries to reunite work and family life for women and women employment rate is the most important indicator of the successful results. These policies are comparatively egalitarian, because there is father's allocation which is non-transferable paternity leave used only by fathers (Lee, Duvander & Zarit, 2016). However, it does not change the fact that the main caregiver for children is women and the division of labour at home is not equal completely, so does leave policies. There are still many things to achieve gender equality while considering parental leave policies.

During the interviews, when I asked questions about division of labour in the household before and after having a child, I received astonishing replies from the interviewees. This part of the interview reflects the current social norms and expectations about families. Although interviewees' level of education is very high, there is a huge gap between their daily practices before and after the marriage. Before they got married, they do not share domestic responsibilities in the household with their parents. Moreover, they did not feel uncomfortable themselves about this arrangement. When they realized that they did not clear the table before they got married, they understand how much effort their mothers made for the continuation of the system which seem very trivial but very demanding. Most of them expect the same treatment from their wives. However, not only domestic life but also professional life is very demanding for women. They have to share all responsibilities in the household, even it is still not equal completely. Thus, social norms and expectations change over time.

Every man should live by themselves before the marriage, especially in Turkey where men cannot reach puberty until their 30s.³³ (38 years old, father of one)

³³ Her erkek evlenmeden önce yalnız yaşamalı. Özellikle bizim memlekette erkek 30 yaşında daha yeni ergenliğe ulaşıyor.

During the interviews, some fathers indicated their opinions on the number of children. There are different approaches on this issue. For some of them, raising a well-educated child is the main goal as a father.

Fathers do not say that I want three, five children. I would rather prefer to have well educated one child. ³⁴(39 years old, father of one)

Some of the fathers highlighted financial sources as the first condition for having more than one child. While asking more questions to find out the reason behind this argument, they indicated the challenges about domestic works.

If I have more than 15.000 TL monthly income, I would have five children. One baby-sitter would look after children and another person would take make housework. ³⁵ (37 years old, father of two)

Based on the findings of the study, elaborations on separate fields should be made while studying fatherhood. I argue that there are two main domains where fatherhood phenomenon exists, which are fatherhood in household and fatherhood outside the household. Moreover, fatherhood outside the household should be tackled as professional life and social life. When considering fatherhood and domestic life, parental responsibilities and division of labour in household are mostly discussed. There are changing patterns in domestic responsibilities. However, we cannot conclude that there is gender equality on parental responsibilities. Paternity leave plays crucial role on ensuring gender equality for child care responsibilities. In this thesis, this issue has been discussed in detail. The gender relations in public and private life are changing, but the traditional roles are not disappeared completely. Women's role in the labour market and the widespread nuclear family structure require re-examination of the role of men and fathers.

I believe that fatherhood outside the household is touched upon less. Professional life and fatherhood include perceptions of employers and colleagues. When looking at statistics on the usage of available leave policies, it is still low rate on taking paternity leave by fathers all over the world, but it is increasing gradually. Concrete support in the working place both from employers and colleagues would increase the

³⁴ Şimdi erkekler üç beş çocuğum olsun demiyorlar. Bir tane olsun iyi eğitilmiş olsun diyorlar.

³⁵ Aylık gelirim 15.000 TLnin üstünde olsaydı 5 çocuk yapardım. Bir bakıcı çocuklara bakacak, başka biri ev işlerini yapacak.

ratio on taking paternity leave (Harrington, Van Deusen, Sabatini Fraone, Eddy, 2014). The reaction towards a father on paternity leave is very effective for the intended fathers in work places. Based on the researches, negative attitudes in the workplace and fear on the possibility of damage to their career are important factor not to use legal paternity leave (Patnaik, 2013). One of the interviewee expressed the cynical reaction from his colleague:

Most of my colleagues say that are you a mother of the child? What are you doing during the leave?³⁶ (37 years old, father of two)

As stated by Connell (1998), there are hierarchical power relations in labour market grounded on men's domination in the gender order. These professional relations legitimize fathers' role as secondary supporters. It is very important to understand the usage of paternity leave patterns in different countries.

4.4 Opinions on The Current Social Policies

In this section, we will analyse fathers' point of view about paternal rights in the scope of the current social policies in Turkey and on-going practices in different countries. I refer any rights associated with fatherhood in a general manner. During the interviews, first of all I tried to understand their general review on relevant social policies in Turkey. Then, I made short briefing that I worked on it before the interviews start and explained current policies in Turkey and best practices in the developed countries as well. This helped me to discuss the subject very broadly. However, it is quite shocking for me to see the level of knowledge about current policies. Even though I made interviews with highly educated fathers working in public and private sector, they do not know their rights as working fathers. When I explained the historical background of the current social policies in public and private sector for both mothers and fathers, they admitted that they do not know current policies, specifically related to paternity leave. I also provided information about other countries' policies. Beyond the current policies in Turkey, best practices in other countries also showed them the applicability of the policies and solid

³⁶ İş arkadaşlarımdan büyük çoğunluğu; annesi sen misin oğlum, ne yapıyorsun izin günlerin boyunca diye sorarlar.

changes regarding the traditional family relations. However, they underlined the cultural differences with other countries, especially with the developed countries while reviewing the parental policies. They believed that even there are paternity leave in Turkey as long as other developed countries, limited number of fathers can use all paternity leave, because of several actors. These actors are employers, colleagues, friends and their parents. Employers do not want them to use paternity leave because they assess these paid or unpaid leave days as workforce loss. Colleagues may reinforce the same point of view by making irritative comments about the unconventional roles at home. Friends who are against the equal division of labour in home, may show discouraging behaviours towards them. Lastly, their own parents may express opposing views by reinforcing accurate position of men in the workplace. These actors work in cooperation to prevent fathers from sharing child care responsibilities equally with their partners.

When we look at the current policies in Turkey, there was no official compassionate leave for fathers in the scope of the labour law. This was one of the much debated and mostly conflicted issue in the scope of the labour rights. There are ten days official leave only for fathers who work in public sector in the scope of the public servant's law number 657 effectuated quite recently in 2011. According to new law which has been published in April 2015 in official gazette, five days official leave for fathers, whose labour status is worker, is introduced under omnibus law.

Among the interviewees, no one benefited from this new law. Half of the fathers used two to three days paid compassionate leave after the birth of their child. There is one important finding which should be highlighted in this study that they are not aware of the fact that there is no official paid compassionate leave for fathers in the labour law. It is used under compassionate leave as general. The other half of the fathers had to use annual leave after the birth. They even could not use compassionate leave because of their company's policy. They were somehow forced to use their annual leave. Based on the statements of the fathers, it is highly related to the attitude of employers. If employer does not support compassionate leave, they should use annual leave.

Although the educational level is very high among interviewees, there is lack of awareness on current policies related to their labour rights. Besides, they are not very concerned about the current situation at the policy level. Although they suggest official paternal leave at the certain level approximately fifteen days, there is lack of demand from their sides. They did not mention about their victimization at the most important period of their life. Even though they suggested certain period of official paternal leave, they immediately started to discuss the working environment, attitudes of employees and also employers in the scope of the applicability of paternity leave. Thus, applicability of the job protected official paternal leave has emerged as another issue during the interviews.

One week leave is ideal for fathers. Our working environment is good. Nobody can say that did you give birth, why you took so long leave. However, there will be no cooperation between co-workers. No one says that he has a baby, he is on leave and I can take care of his works. All five days paternity leave should be used and it should be obligatory. No one will go back to work after three days³⁷. (37 years old, father of two)

I argue that lack of demand is one of the astonishing result based on fathers' claims. Although, they underlined their efforts and valuable contributions for child care at the beginning of the interviews, they tended to take ideal paternity leave limited and turned towards to extension of maternity leave. Care provided by mothers is much more emphasized during the interviews. However, current social policies which do not fulfil the requirements of both parties, fathers and mothers, should be considered while analysing the lack of demands by fathers. I argue that civil society organizations, especially professional organizations should attach importance to this subject and raise awareness among working parents and employers. Their role is crucial to keep the subject on the agenda and provide applicable policy suggestions. Field studies with fathers conducted by civil society organizations in cooperation with universities would make considerable effect to extend the subject beyond motherhood and draw attention to other actor as important as mothers: fathers.

³⁷ Bir hafta izin babalar için ideal. Biz iyi bir yerde çalışıyoruz. Bizde mahalle baskısı olmaz. Sen mi doğurdun, bu kadar işten ayrı kalmır mı denmez. Çalışan arası dayanışma falan da olmaz. Öyle birinin çocuğu olmuş, babalık izindeymiş, ben onun işlerini hallederim falan olmaz. Ama devlet diyecekki 5 gün izin varsa bunun hepsini kullanmak zorunlu. Öyle 3 gün sonra geri döndüm olmayacak.

Feminist Researchers Studying Women's Labour (KEFA), which was founded in 2007, made publications on leave policies in the scope of the women employment. KEFA is the most important civil society organization which makes policy recommendations directly related to the fatherhood, equal division of labour at home and labour market. Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) is another civil society organization which design and implement special programme for fathers. Since 2004, they have been implementing Father Support Programme which aims to raise awareness on child-father relations and more egalitarian environment at home by increasing fathers' involvement to child care. However, there is no strong commitment by the civil society organizations to change social policies towards more egalitarian family structure. This shows us that fatherhood and policies about fathers are not within NGOs field of interests.

When we look at the success of the Nordic countries, we should mention about the history of the state's involvements into child care arrangements in these countries. They had developed special policies decades ago to make a balance between labour market and parenthood (Gupta , Smith, Verner, 2006:12) . Public child care services and parental leave schemes are very comprehensive issues and they require multifaceted attempts at the policy level and execution level. There are various implementations which decrease the burden of mothers on child care. In these countries, policies do not focus only on mothers unlike Turkey. I argue that these implementations influence fathers' and mothers' perspective on parenthood that their expectations from each other and from state are very different. If we ask the same questions to fathers, their policy suggestions would be very different.

4.4.1 Fathers' Policy Recommendations

My main aim is to produce knowledge providing at least a piece of the whole picture for making a difference on women's lives before starting to this study. Because this is multi-sided subject to study, it is very important to consider all parties. This section has a particular importance, because father's suggestions for mothers will be reviewed. As I already mentioned above, although fathers requested the expansion

of legal paternal leave, they suggested new policies related to mothers as well. This section will reflect their approach on current social policies as well. I think that each and every recommendation is very crucial, because it shows us the fathers' approach on current social policies and how they fill the legal gaps by their recommendations.

One of the most recursive suggestion is related to expansion of two years unpaid leave for mothers working in private sector. Different policies for public and private sector employees both for women and men should be removed. Fathers highlighted that even though this whole leave period is not used, it is a very comforting option for mothers. They added the option of utilization in different periods. Thereby, mothers request leave when they have a need for different reasons, such as changes on caretaker, adaptation of kindergarten etc. One of the father explained his idea on women's freedom of choice on employment, shown below:

Although I support to women's labour market participation, after having a child, I started to think that women should have a freedom to back to work or not after baby³⁸. (33 years old, father of two)

Another suggestion is related to expansion of four months paid leave after birth. They think that it is very short period and it should be at least six months. They grounded their advice while highlighting the difficult process of the first few months. Mother's adaptation to a child and a new life is another reason behind their proposal.

Qualified kindergartens are another proposal made by fathers. However, the distance to mother's workplace or home emerged as an important issue, because it should be checked regularly by mothers. I argue that highlighting mother's supervision indicated that this is also mothers' responsibility.

Fathers mentioned the importance of setting a well-designed system for qualified baby-sitters. There should be specific institution which provide certificate to babysitters after standard training system. Mandatory reference check is another crucial point while choosing babysitter. Babysitters should provide reference letters

³⁸ Kadının işgücüne katılımını kesinlikle desteklesem de, çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra, kadının bebekten sonra işe geri dönmeme özgürlüğünün olması gerektiğini düşünmeye başladım.

and contact details about previous employers. Many parents have to request support from their own parents because they do not find reliable babysitter.

These proposals strengthening the mother's role as main caretaker for children. It seems that they accept their limitations and try to extend the area of movement for mothers. However, it is open to discussion whether these suggestions provide a space for women or creating more intimate relation with mother and a child which exclude fathers from the process.

In this section, main findings of the study have been discussed extensively. Four main sub-subject shaped the analysis of the findings. Although repeated answers are mentioned under the relevant sections, different and unique responses are also noted as part of this extensive subject. I argue that above mentioned four issues are quite interrelated to each other. Relevant quotations are used in each of the sections. I believe that these quotations remind us the importance of getting grip of their opinions again.

I believe that essence of the matter is all about women rights and the fight for gender equality in every sphere of life. Parenthood is one of the areas that women struggle. It seems that men prefer not to lose their privileges and protect their zone. Some of them do not do this on purpose, but this way of thinking ingrained their daily practices. No man is egalitarian enough to give up his own well-being, even if he is, he has to put up a serious fight with his environment, including friends, family, co-workers and most probably other members of his social sphere. All these actors work in cooperation to suppress and punish him for being out of circle. Even though some of them start the struggle in good faith, they usually give up. Finally, they become tired of being the do-gooder. His parents, wife and friends compliment him when he changes his child's diaper, feed and make her/ him to sleep, drop her/him to school. There are many other examples which make him very good father, because he makes effort even though it is not his main responsibility. Finally, all the reasons for him to change the traditional structure disappear. He cannot find any reason to change himself.

I argue that when considering traditional roles, women are equally responsible for the continuation of the structure and reproduce the power relations. Some women do not request anything to change the roles and embrace the unequal relations. When we look at the big picture, both women and men should put their hearts and souls and take on responsibility willingly and equally. I believe that this is the only solution for such a change. First of all, they should be enlightened individually, examine the inequality and act together with solidarity to struggle with their families, friends, state and deep-seated institutions. It is a very long and challenging way. However, we should never forget that many issues that cannot be talked a decade ago, are now in the political agenda.

I believe that parental relations reflect the other unequal relations in the society. The pictures about parental relations and gender discrimination in all areas of the society are exactly the same. It is the micro cosmos, not different from the macro picture. Social, cultural and structural reasons support each other and make the subject much more complicated than the one-sided issue which only concerns woman and man in the family.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Paternity leave has been discussed intensely in the last decades. For most of the countries, parental leave has been reconsidered seriously for the last decades. It is not wrong to say that the awareness of the fathers' involvement to child care is increased substantially. Family policies which support the involvement of fathers to child care and parental responsibilities have been revised accordingly. However, there is a long way to go, especially for Turkey. According to İlkaracan, Turkey is a special country, because family has been put in the centre for provision of care services and strong trend towards family support has been occurred contrary to developments in other countries.

Family policies matter for parents and it all affects fathers' current daily experiences and future approaches on child care. Moreover, it is also concerned with the cultural construction of the relations not only in household but also in labour market. There are mutual relations between policies and practices in public and private spheres. Perceptions of employers in the labour market and crucial actors in household such as mothers and grandfathers, determine the strategies on child care and experiences of fathers.

Family policies are highly related with the social inequalities. Social inequalities are the issues investigated in this thesis. Two types of social inequality should be mentioned in the scope of the study. One of them is related to the internal inequalities in the household. The other one is related to the external inequalities outside the household, but within the whole system. Internal inequalities regulate the division of labour and child care specifically in the household. Although traditional division of labour is changing, strong rituals remain and they still underlie the practices. Gender neutrality seems impossible for arranging responsibilities. There are still significant roles that are men work and women care. It is not based on the preferences. If one should have career break after having a child, these are women

unarguably. Although there are emerging supportive family policies, they only support mothers for child care and fathers for continuity of the job in most of the countries. This is the existing structure built upon the paid work for men and unpaid work for women in household. The recent study, “Time Use Research 2014-2015” conducted by Turkish Statistical Institute verified the unequal division of labour in household. The results of the study showed that women spend 3 hours 31 minutes to domestic and care works for family. On the other hand, men spend only 46 minutes to domestic activities³⁹.

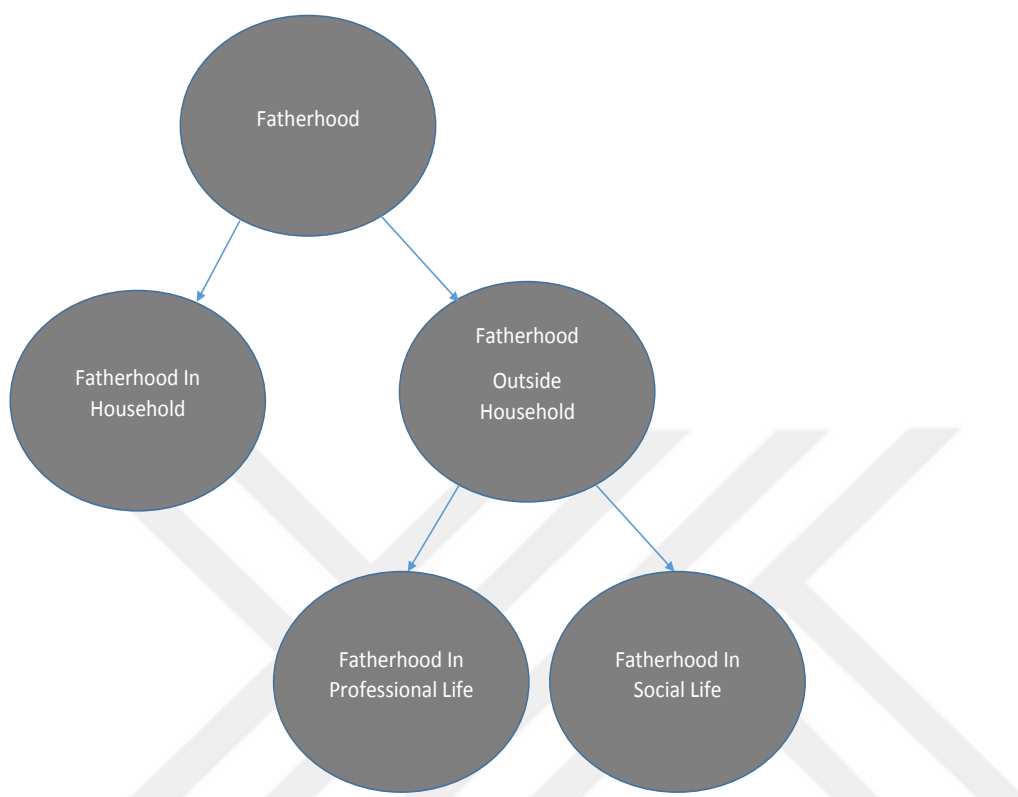
External inequalities are related to the accessible rights for women and men. All the parameters outside home is related to external inequalities. Labour market relations are at the centre of these external inequalities. It is a huge battle area for women and reinforced by the internal inequalities which makes women’s life difficult.

Below figure highlights the changing pattern of fatherhood in different sphere of life. I believe that we should consider fatherhood separately in household and outside household. Different actors inside and outside household may affect the practices of fathers. Even though they share everything with their partners in household, they may not reflect this egalitarian division of labour in household. In traditional societies like Turkey, reaction to men’s involvement to domestic responsibilities including child care may be judgmental if there is anything unconventional. For this reason, men do not prefer to show egalitarian sharing at home which is a defensive strategy for them.

Social norms and expectations are very influential which determine the practices of women and men. We can examine the fatherhood outside home under two areas; professional life and social life.

³⁹ www.tuik.gov.tr

Figure 1: Fatherhood



Professional life is very crucial for men. As stated before, men have a working myth in general. Every arrangement for child care may seem “sacrifices” for men and they do not prefer to make sacrifices. Thus, there is a huge gap between how many workers are provided paternity leave and how many of them use this legal benefit. Supports provided by the employers and colleagues are very crucial to extend the usage of legal paternity benefit. I believe that long term planning on paternity leave policies and legal paternity leave which will be increased progressively would encourage fathers to take leave. However, we should never forget that it is a long process which will affect the deep-rooted division of labour in home and work places among women and men. Therefore, we should foresee long-term goals about more equal gender relations at home and work.

Fatherhood in social life is another dimension that should be evaluated separately. As mentioned by several interviewees, social life pushes them to be the main breadwinner in household and determine fathers' priorities ideally based on the common and well accepted gender construction in the society. For this reason, social life remains barrier for gender equality in household. Even though fathers have individual efforts to make changes in the household, parents, friends, employers and colleagues put pressure on fathers all together not to break out the traditional circle. Several actors in social life have enormous effect on the daily practices and motivation on fatherhood. It is an extensive area which encompasses individual lives of fathers. Their relations with their children and their wives, division of labour in household including participation to child care are important subjects discussed in the social life. Considering the gender equality and masculinity, there is common discourse determining the main roles in household. It is very difficult to struggle these deep-seated ideas and approaches under such social pressure.

I believe that working on men and their practices is very crucial for gender studies. As stated by Egeberg Holmgren and Hearn, 'gender conscious' approach and studying men as part of feminist studies is not very easy. However, involvement of men into gender equality politics is vital to attain a transformation on current deep-seated gender relations in the scope of the family (Egeberg Holmgren and Hearn, 2009). Thus, working with men and field studies to understand their approach and practices are very helpful for gender studies. I believe that this study will make contribution to feminist studies in this respect.

5.1 Social Policy Recommendations:

There are leave policy models which support the involvement of fathers to child care. However, accessibility and applicability of these policies are highly related to socio-economic situation of men. Most of the families have to struggle with the subsequent expenditures which are child care costs and lower salary if fathers use unpaid leave or part-time working option. Moreover, self-employed people and consultants are out of the scope to benefit from leave policies as mentioned in International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research 2007 conducted by Employment Market

Analysis and Research (EMAR). Exercise of choice for fathers plays crucial role when considering the applicability of policies. Thus, existence of leave policies for fathers should be evaluated on the one side and usage of leave rights on the other side. For this reason, highly educated fathers having similar socio-economic backgrounds are interviewed in this study.

In this thesis, daily practices of young Turkish fathers, their perception on fatherhood and current policies have been investigated. Moreover, emerging requirements of fathers about family policies have been identified. If we summarize the main findings of the study:

1. Fathers' level of responsibility is very high after having a child. They attach positive meanings to the fatherhood. They are aware of that fact that irreversible changes will occur. They make efforts to guarantee the future of their children.
2. Mothers' attitudes determine the involvement of fathers to child care. Mother's perfectionism and making "motherhood" as the priority in their life affect the father-child relationship as well. Based on the interviewees' statements, fathers are not allowed by mothers to make any movements about their child in a very general and simple way. Otherwise, they come across the criticisms from mothers. When each move made by fathers confronts with criticism, they prefer much more passive. At the end, they accept the unreplaceable relation between child and the mother. Then, they use it not to be involved into child care much. However, the social pressure felt by mothers to being "perfect mother" should not be ignored when considering their attitudes. Thus, mothers' approach should be divided into two which are mothers' approach on motherhood and mothers' approach on fatherhood. Both approaches reveal significant effects on fatherhood. For this reason, it should be discussed separately without considering that these two approaches are highly related to each other.
3. Differences among generations are reflections of the current social and cultural expectations which determine the practices of fatherhood. Young fathers clearly highlight the huge difference on fatherhood between their own experiences and previous generations' attitudes. Young fathers' engagement cannot be compared

with their fathers. It seems that fathers state this difference very clearly and proudly. Although, parental patterns are changing, social norms and expectations determine the priorities and attitudes for fathers. Fatherhood inside household and fatherhood outside household should be reviewed separately. In the section 4.3, fatherhood has been categorized for making clear analysis.

4. Official paternity leave has been provided recently in Turkey. However, no one among interviewees benefited from this legal paternity leave. Mothers should struggle for work and family life balance. Although fathers stated that there should be more extensive paid paternity leave at least fifteen days, they provided suggestion for mothers, not for themselves and not for more paternal engagement.

I think that disbelief on the functionality or benefit of the paternal leave, the importance of professional careers for men, and the mother's role as main caregiver are the fundamental issues that result in the fathers' traditional approach that could not evolve despite the changing social conditions. We should not underestimate the changing perception on parental responsibilities. Many family related issues that even could not be talked, have been brought into the table in the last decades.

I argue that alternative mechanisms should be offered for men to have more responsibility and remove the one-sided burden for women. Based on the main findings of the study, social policy recommendations are presented below. First of all, socially constructed division of labour need to be transformed by the involvement of fathers. They are somehow affected by the women's conflict between work and family (Fox, 2009:314). Current conditions of labour market require more from men. Although their employment status seems unalterable and irreplaceable, equal sharing of responsibilities should be considered by men as well. They should not provide "support" to women, they should share each responsibility as a partner. Integrated approach should be embraced by policy makers and all family policies should be designed to encourage gender equality on child care. Secondly, employers' perception should be supportive to take advantage of the benefits provided to fathers. In that respect, The Women's Labour and Employment Initiative (KEİG) Platform suggested that at least two months non-transferable paid leave should be provided to

fathers. This kind of implementation may be useful in the transformation period for gender equality which may require more time than expected to diminish the patriarchal society. Additionally, employers should be encouraged to let father for using official paternity leave. At the beginning of the applications, social security expenses of employees may be provided by the state. Support system for employers should be considered carefully. Otherwise, the opposite effect which decrease the women employment rate may arise.

Thirdly, well-structured child care system should be established including early day care centres. Care responsibilities should not be burden on women. This will accelerate the labour force participation of women. Most of the parents have doubts about the quality of services provided in public kindergartens. For this reason, special emphases should be placed for the qualified preschool teachers. Regular implementations of teachers can be improved in-service trainings. Good public kindergartens in each district can ease the whole child care process for parents.

Fourthly, social policies should unify fatherhood in different spheres; both in household and outside household. Social norms and expectations from fathers should be consistent in household and outside household. Cultural structure in the society play crucial role for fathers. Discouraging and derogatory approaches of men towards each other in the social environment may not disappear completely, but it may gradually decrease. Some of the interviewees admitted that they do not talk about the experiences with their children and do not exaggerate their feelings about to be a father unlike mothers. I think that if fathers share their feelings and experiences with their friends who are father as well, cultural norms that force fathers to be strong, calm and distant may change. Fathers' experience sharing is also another encouraging factor for them.

Fifthly, it is important to prepare fathers on the all aspects of being a parent before having a child. Each father has different experiences about this life changing process in many ways. However, there are common issues about child care. Special training for fathers help them to be much more prepared mentally and emotionally (Taşkın & Erkan, 2009). One private hospital in İstanbul deliver training for fathers. This

should be extended and delivered in other provinces. Free parent training programme provided by all health institutions would be very useful.

Sixthly, civil society organizations, should attach importance to this subject. They have power to raise awareness among working parents and employers and to keep the subject on the agenda. Field studies with fathers conducted by civil society organizations in cooperation with universities would make considerable effect to extend the subject beyond motherhood.

Lastly, more generous paid paternity leave and part time work option should be provided to fathers as in Nordic welfare system. There is nothing more encoring than the concrete supportive policies. If concrete social policies are provided to fathers to be more involved in child care, limits on the usage of leave will be disappear gradually. Cultural, social and professional (work related) barriers may be weakened with time.

Consequently, this thesis showed the perception and daily practices of young fathers and their approaches on parental leave policies in Turkey. Changing requirements of labour market is a driving factor for the new social policies aim to involve men into child care responsibilities. As in developed countries, changes on child care, division of labour in household and labour market should be assessed at the same time. Thus, holistic approach is very crucial for family policies.

In this thesis, level of education and socio-economic background is considered. Highly educated fathers from middle or upper middle class were interviewed. This shows us that how daily practices and approaches on fatherhood are shaped by the class position. In the last decades, fatherhood has been discussed more and more in Turkey. For this reason, further studies targeting fathers from different education and socio-economic level should be investigated. Otherwise, suggested policies remain applicable only for the limited group.

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APPENDICES



APPENDIX A: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Demographic Information:

Age:

Education:

Profession:

Marital status:

Number of children:

1. When and how did you decide to have a child?
2. How old is your daughter / son?
3. Did you and your wife used parental leave?
4. What do you think about the meaning of “fatherhood”?
5. As a father, what did you perceive as childcare?
6. Can you please explain your responsibilities about your child? (Which activities, how many hours?)
7. Can you please provide information on the division of labour in your household?
8. Do you have any responsibility regarding the housework? How many hours on a weekly basis?
9. What do you think about the existing social policies on child care?
10. What do you think about the relations between current social policies and role of fathers in household?
11. What kind of changes in the scope of the social policies encourage fathers to be more active in household?

APPENDIX B: HISTORICAL LEGAL STRUCTURE IN TURKEY

Following table shows the relevant national legislations published in the official gazette chronologically.

Table 13: National Legislation for Working Women

Legislation ⁴⁰	Publishing Date	Official Gazette Number	Employment Rate- Women (%) ⁴¹	Employment Rate- Men
Social Insurance and Universal Health Insurance Law	31.12.1960	10700		
Public Servants Law	14.07.1965	12056		
Constitution of Republic of Turkey	09.11.1982	17863		
Labour Act of Turkey	10.06.2003	25134	15.1	60.3
Social Security and General Health Security Law	31.05.2006	26200	16.3	61.7
Law of Obligations	04.02.2011	27836	20.7	63.7
Law To Protect Family and Prevent Violence Against Women	20.03.2012	28239	22	64.3
Occupational Health and Safety Law	30.06.2012	28339		
Regulations on Working Conditions of Women Employees in night shifts	24.07.2013	28717	23.4	64.8
Regulations on Nursing Rooms and Child Care Centres	16.08.2013	28737		
Public Servants Law and Labour Law	29.01.2016	29620		

Source: <http://www.ttb.org.tr/dergi/index.php/msg/article/viewFile/537/514>

⁴⁰ <http://www.ttb.org.tr/dergi/index.php/msg/article/viewFile/537/514>

⁴¹ <http://www.tuik.gov.tr>

Please note that following section explains the laws in detail and all details are taken from www.resmigazete.gov.tr.

Social Insurance and Universal Health Insurance Law- 1960

Sickness and maternity status

ARTICLE 15 - (Amended: 17/4/2008 - 5754/9th Art.)

Sicknesses of the insurance holder, other than work accident or occupational disease and which causes the incapacity to work in the individual are sickness statuses.

Sickness and invalidity statuses of a female insurance holder or spouse of a male insurance holder, a female who receives income or pension due to her own works or spouse of a male insurance holder who receives pension, related with the pregnancy or maternity status, starting from the date of pregnancy up to the first eight weeks or, in case of multi delivery, up to the first ten weeks following delivery, shall be considered as maternity status.

Rights provided from work accident, occupational disease, sickness and maternity insurance (1)

ARTICLE 16 - (Amended: 17/4/2008 - 5754/10th Art.)

Daily temporary incapacity allowance shall be given to the insurance holder, during the temporary incapacity period arising due to sickness or maternity statuses, from the sickness and maternity insurance.

Nursing benefit applicable by the date of delivery, over the tariff determined by the Board of Directors of the Institution and approved by the Minister, shall be payable from the maternity insurance to the female insurance holder or to the male insurance holder due to his not insured spouse giving birth, and, among the insurance holders, to the female insurance holder receiving income or pension or to the spouse of male insurance holder receiving income or pension due to own works, for each new born, provided that the new born lives.

If, among the insurance holders who are granted with the right to receive nursing benefit, the individuals whose insurance status is terminated as per Article 9 have children within three hundred days starting from this date, then female insurance holder or male insurance holder whose spouse will benefit from maternity insurance shall receive nursing benefit, provided that minimum 120 days premium is paid within fifteen months before the date of birth.

Public Servants Law -1965

Based on the public servant's law (law number 657, article 207), "nursing benefit" is defined as "maternity allowance" which is different from employees having SSK and BAĞ-KUR.

Constitution of Republic of Turkey - 1982

B. Working conditions and right to rest and leisure

Article 50. – No one shall be required to perform work unsuited to his/her age, sex, and capacity.

Minors, women, and physically and mentally disabled persons, shall enjoy special protection with regard to working conditions. Rights and conditions relating to paid weekends and holidays, together with paid annual leave, shall be regulated by law.

Labour Act of Turkey- 2003

Unworked periods treated as part of the one-year requirement to qualify for annual leave with pay:

Article 55. In determining the right to annual leave with pay the periods shown below shall be treated as having been worked;

b) Days on which the female employee is not permitted to work before and after her confinement, in accordance with Article 74;

Article 66. Payments for temporary disability which must be defrayed within the period during which benefits for working shorter are paid shall not be more than the amount of the benefit for working shorter. The illness and maternity contributions

foreseen in this Article shall not be paid within the period during which temporary disability benefits are paid.

Time periods reckoned as part of the statutory hours of work:

Article 66 e. the time allowed to a female employee who is a nursing mother to enable her to feed her child.

Work during maternity and nursing leave:

Article 74. In principle female employees must not be engaged in work for a total period of sixteen weeks, eight weeks before confinement and eight weeks after confinement. In case of multiple pregnancy, an extra two weeks period shall be added to the eight weeks before confinement during which female employees must not work. However, a female employee whose health condition is suitable as approved by a physician's certificate may work at the establishment if she so wishes up until the three weeks before delivery. In this case the time during which she has worked shall be added to the time period allowed to her after confinement.

The time periods mentioned above may be increased before and after confinement if deemed necessary in view of the female employee's health and the nature of her work. The increased time increments shall be indicated in the physician's report.

The female employee shall be granted leave with pay for periodic examinations during her pregnancy.

If deemed necessary in the physician's report, the pregnant employee may be assigned to lighter duties. In this case no reduction shall be made in her wage.

If the female employee so wishes, she shall be granted an unpaid leave of up to six months after the expiry of the sixteen weeks, or in the case multiple pregnancy, after the expiry of the eighteen weeks indicated above. This period shall not be considered in determining the employee's one year of service for entitlement to annual leave with pay.

Female employees shall be allowed a total of one and a half hour nursing leave in order to enable them to feed their children below the age of one. The employee shall decide herself at what times and in how many instalments she will use this leave. The length of the nursing leave shall be treated as part of the daily working time.

Regulation for pregnant or nursing women:

Article 88. A regulation to be prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, after taking the opinion of the Ministry of Health, shall specify during which periods and in what types of jobs the employment of pregnant and nursing women is to be prohibited, what conditions and procedures they shall abide by while working on jobs in which they may be employed as well as how the nursing rooms and child care centres are to be established.

Violation of the provisions on organization of work:

Article 104. An employer or his representative shall be liable to a fine of five hundred million liras if he causes employees to work beyond the hours fixed in Article 63 or in the regulation issued in pursuance of this Article, if he fails to comply with the provisions of Article 68 as to rest periods; if he causes his employees to work more than seven-and-a-half hours on night work or fails to alternate night and day shifts contrary to Article 69, if he acts contrary to the provisions of Article 71, if he employs boys under the age of eighteen years or girls or women irrespective of their age on work in which their employment is prohibited by Article 72, if he employs children and young employees on night work contrary to the provisions of Article 73 and the regulation mentioned in that Article or acts contrary to the prohibition mentioned in the first paragraph of that Article, if he causes pregnant or confined women to work in periods before and after birth or fails to grant them leave without pay contrary to the provisions of Article 76, if he fails to keep personnel files mentioned in Article 75, or if he fails to comply with the provisions of the regulation mentioned in Article 76.

The employer or his representative shall be liable to a fine of one hundred million liras for each employee concerned if he acts contrary to the provisions envisaged in Article 64 and 65.

Social Insurance and Universal Health Insurance Law- 2006

Law Number: 5510

Date of Enactment: 31/5/2006

Published on Official Journal Published on Code: Date: 16/6/2006 No.: 26200

Sickness and invalidity statuses of a female insurance holder or spouse of a male insurance holder under items (a) and (b) of paragraph one of Article 4, a female who receives income or pension due to her own works or spouse of a male insurance holder who receives pension, related with the pregnancy or maternity status, starting from the date of pregnancy up to the first eight weeks or, in case of multi delivery, up to the first ten weeks following delivery, shall be considered as maternity status.

Law of Obligations- 2011

The employer may not make any deduction from the term of paid annual leave of the female worker who cannot fulfil obligation of performing her work for maximum three months in a year due to pregnancy or giving birth⁴².

Law to Protect Family and Prevent Violence Against Women -2012

Law No. 6284

Date of Acceptance: 8/3/2012

a) The Constitution of Republic of Turkey, the international agreements to which Turkey is a party, especially the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, and other current regulations shall prevail.

⁴² <http://www.boss.com.tr/en/legislation/48-genel-mevzuat/130-yeni-borclar-kanunu.html>

b) A fair, effective and speedy method, which is based on basic human rights, sensitive to the equality of men and women, applicable to the social state principle, is maintained in providing support and services to the victims of violence.

c) The cautionary decisions taken for the victims and perpetrators of violence are implemented with respect to human dignity and honour.

ç) The special measures taken within the scope of this law to prevent the gender based violence against women and protect the women from the gender based violence cannot be interpreted as discrimination.

Occupational Health and Safety Law– 2012⁴³

Risk assessment, control, measurement and research

ARTICLE 10 – (1) The employer shall conduct an assessment of risks to health and safety of workers or get one carried out, taking account the following points:

d) The situation of female workers and other workers such as young workers, older workers, disabled, pregnant or breastfeeding workers who need specific policies.

Regulations related to occupational health and safety

ARTICLE 30 – (1) The following issues as well as the procedures and rules related to them shall be set out by the regulations to be prepared by the Ministry:

a) With the aim of ensuring, maintaining and improving occupational health and safety by consulting the relevant ministries, the issues that may require specific regulation such as; premises, work equipment, the materials used or produced in every phase of the work, working environment and conditions, work equipment, works and workplaces which involve specific risks, employment of groups which require specific policy, night work and shift work based on the nature of the work done, works that should be done for shorter time due to health reasons, working

⁴³http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms_202369.pdf

conditions of pregnant and nursing women, establishing breast feeding rooms and day-care dormitories or having external services as well as notifications and permits related to them and other issues with regards to implementation of this Law.

Regulations on Working Conditions of Women Employees in night shifts -2013

After a woman's pregnancy has been diagnosed and report she cannot be put into night shift until giving birth. (2) A woman that gave birth cannot be put into a night shift for a duration of one year starting from the delivery. If it is found unfit and supported with a medical report for the woman's health and safety, she cannot be put on a night shift for a duration dictated by the medical report.

Regulations on Nursing Rooms and Child Care Centres -2013

A nursing leave is given to a female public servant three hours per day for a duration of six months starting after the end of the maternal leave period. The nursing period is one and a half hour for the following six months. The use of this nursing leave is to be decided by the mother.

Public Servants Law and Labour Law -2016

Maternity Leave

- a) Maternity leave including eight weeks before the delivery and eight weeks after the delivery is provided to public servants.
- b) For multiple pregnancy, ten weeks maternity leave before the delivery is provided.

2) Maternity Leave Application

- a) Maternity leave can be used only by female public servants, except the death of the mother.
- b) Maternity leave should be used continuously.

B) Nursery Leave

After maternity leave period, three hours nursery leave for the first six months per day, one and a half hour nursery leave for the second six months per day are

provided to female public servants. Public servants can prefer how they are going to use nursery leave. On the other hand, half day leave without nursery leave, is provided to female public servants under special conditions.

1) Unpaid Leave

- a) Female public servant that gave birth and male public servant whose wife gave birth can use 24 months (maximum) unpaid leave.



APPENDIX C: TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

GİRİŞ

Bu tezin temel amacı Türkiye’de kırk yaş altındaki babaların, babalık ve babalık izinleriyle ilgili yaklaşımını ve gündelik yaşam praktiklerini anlamak, mevcut sosyal politikaların babaların ihtiyaçlarını karşılayıp karşılamadığını belirlemektir.

Babalık konusuna, özellikle sosyal politika bağlamında hem uluslararası hem Türkiye’deki literature bakıldığında, oldukça az çalışma yapıldığı görlmştr. Babalık konusu, mevcut nfus hareketleri ve son zamanlarda azalmakta olan doęum oranı nedeniyle, Avrupa ve İskandinav lkelerinde oldukça nem verilen bir konu haline gelmiřtir. Dolayısıyla, destekleyici aile politikaları pek ok lke iin nemli bir konu olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. İř gc piyasasının deęiřen talepleri de aile politikaları konusunda yeni yaklařımlar geliřtirmeyi gerektirmektedir. Kadınların iř gcne katılımı kenara atılacak bir konu deęildir ve sadece kadınları hedefleyen politikalar yeterli olmamaktadır. Kadınlarla ilgili mevcut politikalar yeniden deęerlendirilmeli ve erkekleri de ocuk bakımı ve ev iřlerine dahil edecek yeni politikalar geliřtirilmelidir. Kadınlar zerindeki yk azaltılmalı ve iř-zel hayat dengesinin sadece kadınlar tarafından saęlanamayacaęı dikkate alınmalıdır.

Son yıllarda, batılı lkelerde bakım hizmetleri srecindeki yeniden yapılanmaya paralel olarak, aile hayatı ve ocuk bakımıyla ilgili nemli deęiřiklikler yařanmaktadır. Ortaya ıkan bu nemli deęiřimler nedeniyle ebeveyn izni ve ocuk bakımıyla ilgili sosyal politikalar yeniden deęerlendirilmektedir. Pek ok geliřmiř lkede ocuk bakımı, ev ii iř blm ve bunlarla ilgili sosyal politikalar eř zamanlı olarak ele alınmaktadır.

Trkiye’de de ocuk bakımı ve ev ierisindeki iř blmyle ilgili nemli deęiřimlere tanık oluyoruz. Ancak ebeveyn izni ile ilgili mevcut sosyal politikalar, iř gc piyasasının taleplerini karřılayamamaktadır. Hem anneler hem de babalar giderek zorlařan iř yařamı ve istihdam kořullarından etkilenmektedirler. Ancak, ebeveyn izni

ile ilgili politikaların uyumlaştırılması konusunda devletin daha fazla giriřimi olmalıdır. Çocuk bakımı ve iřle ilgili sorumlulukların birleřmesi, ebeveynlerin sadece kamusal alanını deęil, özel alanını da etkilemektedir. Bu durum, ebeveynleri, daha dikkatlice deęerlendirilmesi gereken dezavantajlı bir konuma sokmaktadır ve çocuk bakımı ile ilgili politikaların yeniden deęerlendirilmesini gerekli kılmaktadır. Mevcut düzenlemeler ebeveynleri aile ile ilgili sorumluluklarına baęımlı kılmaktadır. Özellikle kadınlar cinsiyetçi olarak düzenlenmiř ev içi sorumluluklarla mücadele etmek ev aile hayatı ile iř hayatı arasında denge kurmak zorunda kalmaktadırlar.

Türkiye’de, doğumdan sonar ücretli iznin uzatılmasıyla kadının iř gücüne katılım oranını artırmayı hedefleyen mevcut politikalar tartışılmaktadır. Bu politikaların kadın istihdamını olumlu yönde etkileyip etkilemeyeceęi oldukça řüphelidir. Bir tarafta, annelik izni ile kadının iř gücü piyasasına katılımını arttırmayı hedefleyen giriřimler vardır. Dięer taraftan, insanın hayatını çok ciddi etkileyen bir deęiřim olan çocuk sahibi olmanın parçası deęillermiř gibi, babalarla ilgili çok kısıtlı politikalar yer almaktadır. řu anda beř gün özel sektörde çalışan babalar için, on gün de kamu sektöründe çalışan babalar için ücretli babalık izni mevcuttur. Ev içerisindeki eřiřsizlięin azaltılmasını saęlayacak yeni politikalar için, bu konu üzerinde daha fazla çalışma yapılması gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma kapsamında, babaların yaklaşımının ortaya çıkarılması ve onların ihtiyaç ve önerilerinin duyurulmasına yardımcı olmasına çalışılacaktır.

Bu tez çalışması kapsamında ařağıdaki araştırma sorusu incelenmiřtir:

Türkiye’deki kırk yař altı babaların babalık ve babalık izinleriyle ilgili yaklaşımı nasıldır?

Hayatlarının dönüm noktası olacak bu deęiřimi kendi sözcükleriyle dinlemek, baba olmakla ilgili süreci anlamak için oldukça kritik önemdedir. İkinci aşamada, bu görüşmeler, babaların sosyal politikalarla ilgili görüşlerini, mevcut politikalarla ilgili deęiřim ihtiyaçı olup olmadıęını ortaya çıkaracaktır. Ayrıca bu araştırma konusu, çalışmanın analiz sürecinin de nasıl planlanacaęı konusunda yardımcı olmuř,

babalıkla ilgili tecrübeler, mevcut aile politikalarının değerlendirilmesi, daha farklı politika önerileri ve bunlar arasındaki ilişkilerin değerlendirebilmesini sağlamıştır.

Saha çalışmasına ve babalarla görüşmelere başlamadan önce çalışmayla ilgili üç varsayım belirlenmiştir. Bunlardan birincisi, genç ve eğitim seviyesi yüksek babaların çocuk bakımı ile ilgili bütün sorumlulukları eşleriyle paylaşıyor olmalarıdır. Bu babalar, çocuk bakımı ve evle ilgili işlerin sadece kadınların sorumluluğu olmadığına bilincindedirler. Bu nedenle, babaların gündelik yaşam pratikleri ve çocuk bakımı ile ilgili yaklaşımları bağlamında nesiller arası bir fark mevcuttur.

İkinci varsayım, babaların mesleklerini her şeyden daha önemli hale getiren bir çalışma miti olmasıyla ilgiliydi. Bu nedenle, babalar kasıtlı olarak anne ve çocuk arasındaki bağın çok özel olduğunu ve babaların bu seviyeye erişemeyeceğini kabul etmektedirler. İlk üç yıl bebeklerin fiziksel, psikolojik ve zihinsel gelişimi çok kritik bulunduğu için annelerin çocuklarıyla ilgilenmesi gerektiği düşünülmektedir.

Son varsayım da farklı kurumlar tarafından çocuk bakımıyla ilgili sunulan kamu hizmetleriyle ilgili olarak, çocuk bakımı ile ilgili mevcut sosyal politikaların ebeveynler için yeterince destekleyici olmadığıdır. Mevcut politikalar, ebeveynlerin çocuk sahibi olma konusunda verdikleri karar üzerinde etki yapmamaktadır. Bu nedenle, genç ebeveynler tüm süreci kolaylaştıracak yeni politika taleplerinde bulunmaktadır.

Çalışma kapsamında annelik izni, babalık izni, ücretli ve ücretsiz izin, ev içi iş bölümü gibi temel kavramlar açıklanmıştır.

Uluslararası literature bakıldığında babaların çocuk bakımına katılımı ve çocuk yetiştirme ile ilgili çalışmalar yer almaktadır. Ancak bu konu, babalık izni ve sosyal politika bağlamında ele alınmamıştır. Türkiye’de babalar ve babalık ile ilgili kısıtlı sayıda çalışma vardır. Bunların çoğu, babaların çocuk bakımına katılımının çocuk gelişimine olan etkileri üzerinedir. Bu çalışma, babaların çocuk bakımına katılımını doğrudan etkileyen babalık izni konusuna odaklanacak ve Türkiye’deki literature katkıda bulunacaktır.

Bu çalışmanın bir diğer önemi, hedef gruptan kaynaklanmaktadır: genç babalar. Türkiye’de yeni nesil babaların yaklaşımlarını ve tecrübelerini yansıtmak oldukça önemlidir. Ayrıca bir araştırmacı olarak genç babalarla görüşme yapmak ve onların kendi hikayelerini ve görüşlerini aktararak katılım yapmaları kritik önemdedir.

Sosyal Bilimlerde, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ile ilgili pek çok konu yer almaktadır. Kadınlar bu çalışmaların ana öznesidir. Ancak, erkekler de bu alanda önem taşımaktadır ve bu bağlamda ilgi gösterilmelidir. Bu çalışmada görüşülen baba sayısı kısıtlı olsa da, babalıkla ilgili farklı görüşlerin yansıtılması hedeflenmiştir. Pek çok çalışmada, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğiyle ilgili tanımlamalar yapılmakta ve gerçekler betimlenmektedir. Ancak, her bir çalışma gerçekliğin başka bir parçasını ele alınmaktadır. Bu nedenle, babaların seslerinin duyurulmasını sağlamak toplumsal cinsiyet ile ilgili literature katkı sağlayacaktır.

Sadece araştırmacı olarak değil, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ile ilgili meseleleri ile yaklaşık yirmi senedir ilgilenen bir kadın olarak, anneliğin anne olmayan kadınlar da dahil, tüm kadınlar için oldukça zorlu olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmaz. Anne olmayı seçmemiş bir kadın da bu seçimiyle ilgili pek çok sorgulamayla karşılaşmaktadır. Pek çok kişi için anne olmamayı seçmek, kabul edilebilir değildir. Eğer fiziksel bir engel yoksa, sosyal ve kültürel olarak anne olmamayı seçmek kabul edilemez bir olgudur. Türkiye gibi geleneksel ülkelerde, kadının varoluşu, hangi eğitimde olursa olsun, nasıl bir kariyere sahip olursa olsun annelik üzerine kuruludur. Anne olmak, sorulanamaz bir şekilde kadınların ilk ve en önemli görevidir. Bu nedenle kadınlar, çocuklardan sorumlu esas kişidir. Hayatlarını, bu kimseye devredemeyecekleri sorumluluk üzerine düzenlemelidirler. Dünyadaki en kutsal rol onlarındır: anne olmak. Tüm erkekler ve kurumlar kadınları bu pozisyona hapsedmektedir. Ancak, mevcut sosyal politikalar kadınları bu sorumluluklara daha da gömmektedir. Bu nedenle, politikalar destekleyici olmaktan çok, dışlayıcıdır. Bu çalışma, doğrudan kadınlar ve kadınların toplum tarafından belirlenmiş sorumluluklarıyla ilgilidir. Eğer erkekleri, iş ve evde bütün sorumlulukları paylaşan bireyler olarak değerlendirirsek, daha eşitlikçi bir bakış açısı geliştirmiş oluruz. Bu çalışmada erkeklerin ev içi sorumluluk paylaşımı, çocuk bakımı, ebeveynlikle ilgili sorumluluklar ve nesiller

arasındaki farklılıklar ile ilgili görüşleri yer almaktadır. Bu konular kişisel seçimler ve kadınlar ile erkeklerin sahip olduğu eşit fırsatlarla yakından ilgilidir. Dolayısıyla, çalışmanın toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ve kadın çalışmaları literatürüne katkı sağlaması beklenmektedir.

LİTERATÜR TARAMASI:

Babalık ile ilgili çalışmalar ilk olarak 1970li yıllarda başlamıştır ve 1990larda babalık ile ilgili çalışmalar yaygınlaşmaya başlamıştır. Kadınlar 1970lerde iş gücü piyasasına dahil olmaya ve hane içi gelire katkı sağlamaya başlamışlardır. Ancak yinede kadınlar halen çocuk bakımından ve ev işlerinden esas sorumlu kişilerdi. Ancak daha sonra erkeklerin rolleri sorgulanmaya başladı. Babalık konusu ve erkeklerin rolleri akademide çalışmaya başlandı. Marsiglio ve arkadaşlarına göre, babalık çalışmaları dörde ayrılabilir: kültürel temsil olarak babalık, babaların çocuk bakımına katılımıyla ilgili kavramsallaştırma, baba ve çocuk arasındaki ilişkinin analizi ve anne, çocuk ve diğer aktörlerle etkileşim halinde olan babalık kimliği.

Tingting Tan babalık pratiklerinin değişimi ve bunun sebepleri üzerine değerli bir analiz çalışması yapmıştır. Buna ek olarak, İsveç, Amerika, Japonya ve Çin'deki babalık pratiklerinin değişimiyle ilgili karşılaştırmalı bir analiz sunmuştur. Bu çalışması babalık literatürü içinde önem taşımaktadır. Ülkeler arasında karşılaştırmalı analizin yapıldığı, farklı sosyal ve kültürel dönüşüm sürecinin incelendiği çalışmalar yaygın değildir. Farklı ülkelerdeki değişim sürecine bakmak oldukça aydınlatıcıdır.

Beşpınar'a göre, Türkiye'de babalık çalışmaları psikolojik yaklaşımı benimsemekte ve çocukların aile içinde değişen değerlerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu nedenle Türkiye'deki çalışmalar uluslararası literatürden oldukça farklıdır. Bu tez kapsamında, Türkiye'de yapılmış çalışmalar incelenmiş ve değerlendirilmiştir.

Çalışma kapsamında, farklı ülkelerdeki mevcut politikalar değerlendirilmiştir. İlk olarak, ülkelerin gelişmişlik seviyesiyle ilgili çalışma yapılmış, İnsani Gelişmişlik Endeksi, istihdam oranı, kadınların işgücü piyasasına katılım oranı ve eğitim ile ilgili göstergelere bakılmıştır. Bu göstergeler, babalık izni konusunda daha ayrıntılı incelenecek olan ülkeler için temel oluşturmuştur. Farklı ülkelerdeki yasal çerçeve

incelenmiş ve gelişimsel süreci göz önüne alınarak, Kanada, Slovenya, Finlandiya, İzlanda ve Almanya iyi uygulama örneklerinin yer aldığı ülkeler olarak ayrıntılı şekilde değerlendirilmiştir.

Türkiye’de çalışan kadınlar ve annelik izni ile ilgili yasal düzenleme, ilk kez 1930 yılındaki Kamu Sağlığı Kanunu’nda belirtilmiştir. Türkiye, dünyada kadın istihdamı ile ilgili gelişmeler dikkate alındığında olağanüstü bir örnek olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Dünyada kadın istihdam oranında yükselen bir eğilim varken, Türkiye’de bu oran 1988 ve 2007 yılları arasında yüzde 33’den yüzde 27’ye kadar gerilemiştir. Kadın istihdamı ve bakım hizmetleri arasında doğrudan bir ilişki mevcuttur. Kadın istihdam oranı yükseldiğinde, bakım hizmetleriyle ilgili talep de yükselmekte ve devlet tarafından yeni yasal düzenlemelerin yapılması ihtiyacı ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Kadınlar, çocuk bakımı konusunda Türkiye’de yalnız bırakılmaktadırlar ve çalışan anne ya da evde çocuk bakan anne olmak arasında seçim yapmak zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Bu noktada, özellikle ilk üç yıl için sunulacak çocuk bakım hizmetleri büyük önem taşımaktadır. Ücretli ve ücretsiz izin annelerin kararında oldukça etkili olmaktadır. 2015’de yapılan yasal düzenleme kapsamında, ücretsiz izin her iki ebeveyn için de gündeme gelmiştir. Ancak yasanın uygulanabilirliği net değildir. Soyseçkin’in orta sınıf kadınlarla ilgili yapılan çalışmasına göre, kadınlar yetersiz çocuk bakım hizmetleri nedeniyle, iş ve ev arasında denge kurmakta zorluk çekmektedirler. Başka bir aile üyesinin desteğine ya da profesyonel bakıcıya ihtiyaçları olmaktadır. Sorumlulukların paylaşımı konusunda, eşlerine bel bağlamamaktadırlar.

METODOLOJİ:

Çalışmanın temel amacı, Türkiye’de kırk yaş altındaki yeni nesil babaların babalık ve babalık izni ile ilgili yaklaşımını anlamaktır. Bu konuyla ilgili uluslararası literature ve Türkiye’de yapılan çalışmalara bakıldıktan sonar araştırmanın temel sorusu yeniden düzenlenmiştir.

Niteliksel çalışma methodunun parçası olarak, bu çalışmada yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Nisan 2014 ve Aralık 2015 tarihleri arasında tüm görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Öncelikle beş baba ile pilot çalışma gerçekleştirilmiş ve daha sonar hedef grup ve görüşme soru formu yeniden düzenlenmiştir. Pilot çalışma sonrası, babaların eğitim düzeyi de görüşmecilerin hedef profiline eklenmiştir.

Pilot çalışma öncesinde hazırlanan soru formu babaların kendi görüş ve deneyimlerini açıkça ifade edebilmeleri amacıyla açık uçlu sorulardan oluşmaktadır. Sorular tematik olarak; babalığın anlamı, gündelik pratikler ve ev içi iş bölümü, çocuk sahibi olma ile ilgili karar süreci, ebeveyn izni ile ilgili görüş ve tecrübeler, çocuktan sonra yaşanan değişiklikler ve sosyal politika alanında çocuk bakımı ile ilgili önerileri kapsamaktadır.

Görüşme yapılan babalara kartopu yöntemi kullanılarak ulaşılmıştır. Görüşmelerin çoğu, babaların uygun gördüğü zamanlarda haftasonları yapılmış ve yaklaşık bir saat sürmüştür. Görüşmecilerin rahat ulaşımı için kendi belirledikleri yerlerde görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Çalışma, Türkiye’de sosyal politika bağlamında babaların babalık ve babalık izni ile ilgili görüşlerini yansıttığı için ve literatürde benzer çalışmalara pek rastlanmadığı için büyük önem taşımaktadır. Sadece çalışma kapsamında görüşme yapılan babaların profiline değil, annelerin eğitim düzeyi, mesleği, ailedeki çocuk sayısı ve çocuk bakım süreci gibi konulara da yer verilmiş, yapılan analizin kapsamı geniş tutulmaya çalışılmıştır.

TEMEL BULGULAR- BABALIK ALGISI

Babalık İle İlgili Yaklaşım ve Babalığın Anlamı:

Görüşmeciler çok farklı şekillerde babalığın tanımını yapmışlardır. Her babanın kendi tanımlarını belirtmesi çalışmanın zenginliklerinden biri olmakla birlikte, sorumluluk duygusu ve geleneksel olmayan babalık vurguları tespit edilmiştir. Neredeyse görüşme yapılan tüm babalar babalığı sorumluluk duygusu ile özdeşleştirmişlerdir. Bu kapsamda çocuğun geleceğini garanti altına alma

sorumluluğu ve çocukların geleceğini manevi düzeyde değiştirecek rolde olma sorumluluğu ifade edilmiştir.

Görüşme yapılan babalar, babalık tecrübesinden sonra yaşam biçimlerinin tamamen değiştiğini, sorumluluklarının arttığını ifade etse de, babalığa hep olumlu yönde atıf yapmışlardır. Bu olumlu vurgu bağlamında, baba olma kararında kendi iradelerinin etkili olduğu düşünülmektedir. Görüşmelerin başında, çocuk sahibi olmaya nasıl karar verdikleri sorusuna, eşleriyle birlikte ortak karar aldıkları şeklinde yanıt vermişlerdir. Baba olma konusundukları istekleri, yalnızca babalıkla ilgili görüşlerini değil, gündelik pratiklerini de olumlu yönde etkilemiştir.

Diğer bir önemli nokta, babaların kendilerini geleneksel olarak görmemeleri ve daha önceki nesil ile, özellikle kendi babaları ile aralarına mesafe koymaları ile ilgilidir. Babalığa yükledikleri anlam ile çocuk bakımı konusundaki uygulamaları kendi babalarından oldukça farklıdır ve bunu gururla ifade etmektedirler. Görünen o ki, yeni nesil babalar, kendi babalarının hatalarından pek çok şey öğrenmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda, on yıllar önce aklımıza getiremeyeceğimiz yeni bir bakış açısından ve yeni tecrübelerden söz etmekteyiz. Ailede yaşanan sosyal değişimler uzun zaman almaktadır. Ancak bu durum, mevcut değişime ayak uyduracak sosyal politikaların geliştirilmesi gerekliliğini de ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra, evlilikteki bazı dinamiklerin değişiyor olması babalar tarafından ifade edilen başka bir konu olmuştur. Hatta çocuk sahibi olmanın evliliğe etkileri, yaşanan tek negatif durum olarak belirtilmiştir. Ev içi artan sorumlulukların ve gündelik işlerin kadın üzerindeki etkisi, çarpan etkisi yaratmaktadır. Fiziksel ve psikolojik olarak artan sorumluluklar çiftler arasındaki ilişkileri önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir.

Babalık, çaba gösterildiğinde öğrenilen bir şey olarak tanımlanmıştır. Daha fazla emek sarf edildiğinde, daha fazla farkındalık geliyor ve çocukla daha güçlü bağlar kuruluyor. Bu yaklaşım, eğitimli orta sınıf babalar arasındaki daha ilgili babalık modelini açıklamaktadır.

Babaların Annelerin Yaklaşımı ile İlgili Görüşleri:

Babalık annelikten bağımsız olarak değerlendirilmemektedir. Babalık değerlendirilirken karşılaştırma yapılacak nokta annelik olmaktadır. Bu babalığı bağımsız olarak çalışmaya dahi izin vermeyen bu bağımlı ilişki hegemonik ataerkil bakış açısının göstergesidir. Annelerin beklentileri ve yaklaşımları babaların çocuk bakımına dahil olması üzerinde çok etkilidir. Bazı anneler çocukları hayatlarının merkezinde tutmaktadırlar. Bu nedenle onların yaklaşımı baba-çocuk ilişkisi için kritik önemdedir. Bu çalışmadaki babalar da annelerin çocuk bakımı konusundaki hassasiyeti ve mükemmeliyetçiliğinden bahsetmişlerdir. Bu noktada Beşpınar'ın çalışmasına bakarsak, anne olmanın orta sınıf kadınların kimlik inşasında tam da merkezde yer aldığı bulgusu ile karşılaşırız. Bu annelerin profesyonel çalışma ilgili tercihleri, profesyonel hayatlarının çocukları üzerindeki negatif ve pozitif etkileri ile ilgilidir. Katılımcıların ifadelerine baktığımızda, annelerin mükemmeliyetçiliği, babaların çocuk bakımına dahil olmalarını zorlaştırmaktadır. Babalar bütün sürece daha çok dahil olmak isteseler de, annelerin idealizminin engel teşkil ettiğini belirtmişlerdir. Doğumdan hemen sonra, nüfus cüzdanının çıkartılması, sigorta işlemlerinin yapılması, evin bebeğin olası ihtiyaçları için düzenlenmesi gibi, babaların yapacağı pek çok şey bulunmaktadır. Ancak daha sonra babaların rolünün giderek azaldığı görülmektedir. Babalara olan ihtiyacın azalması, babaların babalık izni ile ilgili olan görüşlerini etkilemektedir. Hane içinde mevcut iş bölümünü mazur gösteren anne çocuk arasındaki ilişkinin önemini vurgulamak, yeni nesil babaların var olan geleneksel bakış açısını yansıtmaktadır. Ancak bu konu görüldüğünden daha karmaşıktır. Anneler babalar için sınırları belirlese de, mükemmel anne olmak konusundaki sosyal baskı göz ardı edilmemelidir. Bu durum, annelerin hata yapmama konusundaki takıntılarını artırarak, babalar için belirledikleri sınırı etkilemektedir. İyi anne olmak ile iyi baba olmak konusundaki sosyal baskı birbiriyle kıyas edilemez. Ancak bu durum, annelerin baba ile çocuk ilişkisindeki belirleyici rolünü değiştirmemektedir.

Sosyal Norm ve Beklentiler:

Her dönemde farklı sosyal ve kültürel beklentiler ve uygulamalar yer almaktadır. Babalıkla ilgili nesiller arası farklılıklara bakarsak, sadece yaklaşımın değil, gündelik pratiklerin ve çocuk bakımına dahil olma seviyesinin ciddi boyutta dönüştüğünü görürüz. Bu çalışmada katılımcılar nesiller arasındaki farklılıkları defalarca belirtmişlerdir. Babalarından farklı olmalarını gururla ifade etmişlerdir. Yeni nesil babalar, çocukların altını değiştirmekten onları uyutmaya kadar, çocuk bakımının pek çok aşamasına dahil olmuşlardır. Baba olarak hissettikleri sorumluluk duygusu doğumdan sonra başlamakta ve sağlayacakları fiziksel ve manevi destek ile gelecek planlamasına kadar gitmektedir. Ayrıca kısa ya da uzun vadeli her türlü karar alma sürecine dahil olmak istemektedirler.

Babalardan ne beklendiğine baktığımızda, sadece ailenin geçimini sağlayan ve otorite figürü olan babadan farklı olduğunu inkar edemeyiz. Bu çalışmaya katılan babalar da bu değişimi pek çok kez ifade etmişlerdir. Ancak, babalık izni uygulamasıyla ilgili şüpheleri, kariyerlerinin önemi ve annelerin rolünü halen çocuk bakımından sorumlu esas kişi olarak görmeleri, değişen sosyal koşullara rağmen, tamamen dönüşmeyen geleneksel bakış açısının kanıtlarıdır. Genç babaların babalıkla ilgili yaklaşımları ve uygulamaları bir önceki nesilden tamamen farklı olsa da, geleneksel bakış açısının tamamen ortadan kaybolmadığı görülmektedir. Baba olarak roller anneye yardım etmekten öteye geçmemektedir. Farklı sorumluluklar almaktan memnun görünse de, kendi seçimleri ve öncelikleri doğrultusunda sorumlulukları olmasını istemektedirler. Bu nokta babaların, babalık izni ile ilgili sınırlı talepleri açısından çok kritiktir. Bu nedenle onları sadece “destekleyeci” yapan, annelerin yeri doldurulamaz konumlarını vurgulamaktadırlar.

Babaların Politika Önerileri:

Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, babaların babalık izni ile ilgili sınırlı öneri vardır. Katılımcılar babalık izninin uzatılmasını talep etmekle birlikte, annelerle ilgili yeni önerilerde bulunmuşlardır. En çok tekrarlanan önerilerden biri, özel sektörde çalışan annelere için iki yıl ücretsiz izin verilmesidir. Kamuda ve özel sektörde çalışanlar

için farklı uygulamaların ortadan kalkması gerektiğini vurgulamışlardır. Ayrıca babalar, tüm izin süreci kullanılsa da, bunun anneler için oldukça rahatlatıcı bir seçenek olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca bu izin farklı dönemlerde kullanılabilmesi seçeneğini eklemişlerdir. Diğer bir öneri, doğumdan sonra dört aylık ücretli iznin uzatılmasıdır. Bu sürenin çok kısa olduğu ve en az altı ay olması gerektiği belirtilmiştir.

Kaliteli kreşlerin olması babaların bir başka talebidir. Ancak eve veya iş yerine yakın olmasının önemi vurgulanmıştır.

Çocuk bakıcılarıyla ilgili iyi planlanmış bir system talebinde bulunulmuş ve bu bakıcılara standart bir eğitimden sonra belge verecek bir kurum önerisinde bulunulmuştur. Ayrıca bakıcıların daha önce çalıştıkları yerlerden aldıkları referans mektupları sunmaları gerekmektedir. Pek çok ebeveyn, güvenilir bakıcı bulamadıkları için ailelerinden destek almaları gerektiğini belirtmişlerdir.

Belirtilen önerilerin büyük çoğunluğu annelerin çocuk bakımındaki esas rolünü güçlendirici niteliktedir. Bu önerilerin annelere alan yaratıp yaratmayacağı ya da annelerin çocuklarıyla daha bağımlı bir ilişki oluşturup oluşturmayacağı tartışma konusudur.

SONUÇ

Babalık izni son yıllarda çok tartışılan bir konu haline gelmiştir. Pek çok ülkede, babalık izinleriyle ilgili yasal düzenlemeler tekrar gözden geçirilmektedir. Babaların çocuk bakımına dahil olmalarında ciddi bir yükseliş yaşandığını söylemek yanlış olmaz. Ancak, daha gidilmesi gereken uzun bir yol var, özellikle Türkiye için. Aile politikaları ebeveynler için oldukça önem teşkil etmektedir ve bu politikalar babaların çocuk bakımıyla ilgili yaklaşımını ve gündelik pratiklerini etkilemektedir. Ayrıca, sadece ev içerisinde değil, iş gücü piyasasında da kültürel ilişkilerin yapılandırılmasını da etkilemektedir.

Aile politikaları sosyal eşitsizliklerle doğrudan ilgilidir. Bu çalışma kapsamında incelenen sosyal eşitsizliklere baktığımızda iki tür eşitsizlik ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu

eşitsizliklerden biri hane içinde yaşanan eşitsizliklerdir. Diğer eşitsizlik ise hane dışında yaşanan eşitsizliklerdir. Ev içi eşitsizlikler, ev içi iş bölümü ve çocuk bakımıyla ilgili düzenlemeleri kapsar. Ev içerisinde geleneksel iş bölümü değişiyor olsa da, bazı kökleşmiş alışkanlıklar halen devam etmektedir. Ev içerisinde halen kadın ve erkeğe biçilmiş, tercihe dayalı olmayan temel roller bulunmaktadır. Çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra kariyerine ara vermesi gereken biri varsa, bu şüphesiz ki annedir. Bazı destekleyici aile politikaları olsa da, bu politikalar anneyi çocuk bakması, babayı da işine kesintisiz devam etmesi yönünde desteklemektedir.

Ev dışındaki eşitsizlikler kadın ve erkeklerin haklarıyla doğrudan ilgilidir. İş gücü piyasası, ev dışındaki eşitsizliklerin merkezinde yer almaktadır. Bu durum, kadınlar için bir mücadele alanı oluşturmakta ve bu alan ev içi eşitsizliklerde de desteklenerek kadının hayatını daha zor kılmaktadır.

Babalığın ev içinde babalık ve ev dışında babalık olmak üzere iki şekilde incelenmesi gerektiği, bu çalışmanın önemli sonuçlarından biridir. Ev içinde ve dışındaki pek çok farklı aktör babaların gündelik uygulamalarını etkilemektedir. Türkiye gibi geleneksel ülkelerde erkeklerin, çocuk bakımı dahil ev içerisindeki işleri yapması şüpheyle yaklaşılan bir durumdur. Bu nedenle erkekler de evde eşit bir iş bölümü olduğunu göstermek istemezler. Sosyal norm ve beklentiler kadın ve erkeklerin yaklaşımını ciddi ölçüde etkilemektedir.

Ev dışındaki babalığı, sosyal hayat ve profesyonel hayat olmak üzere iki ayrı alanda inceleyebiliriz. Profesyonel hayat erkekler için büyük önem arz etmektedir. Bu nedenle çocuk bakımı için yapılacak her düzenleme, erkekler için fedakarlık olarak algılanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, babalara babalık izni hakkı tanınmış olsa da, bu hakkın tanındığı baba sayısı ile babalık iznini kullanan baba sayısı arasında büyük bir fark vardır. Hem işverenlerin hem diğer çalışma arkadaşlarının babaları desteklemeleri oldukça önemlidir.

Sosyal hayat, babaları evin geçimini sağlayan esas kişi olmaya ve toplumdaki yerleşmiş ve herkes tarafından kabullenilen cinsiyet rollerine göre babaların önceliklerini belirlemeye itmektedir. Bu nedenle sosyal hayat da ev içinde toplumsal

cinsiyet eşitliği sağlanması önünde bir engeldir. Babaların bireysel çabaları olsa da, kendi ebeveynleri, arkadaşlar, işveren, çalışma arkadaşları babalara bu geleneksel döngüyü kırmamaları yönünde baskı yapmaktadırlar. Bu yerleşmiş yaklaşım ile mücadele etmek oldukça zordur.

Sosyal Politika Önerileri:

Bu çalışma kapsamında yeni nesil babaların babalık ve babalık izni ile ilgili yaklaşımı incelenmiştir. Babalık izni uygulamalarıyla ilgili şüpheler, erkeklerin kariyerlerinin önemi, annenin çocuk bakımından esas sorumlu olan kişi olması, değişen sosyal koşullara rağmen mevcut olan, babaların geleneksel yaklaşımın arkasındaki temel sebepleri oluşturmaktadır. Ancak ebeveynlikle ilgili yaklaşım değişikliğini göz ardı etmemek gerekmektedir. Erkeklerin daha çok sorumluluk alması ve kadın üzerindeki yükün azaltılması için alternatif mekanizmalar geliştirilmelidir. Bu çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlara göre bazı sosyal politika önerilerinde bulunmaktadır. İlk olarak, ev içerisindeki iş bölümü, erkeklerin daha çok sorumluluk alması sağlanarak dönüştürülmelidir. Erkekler sadece destek olmamalı, ev ile ilgili her işi paylaşan kişi konumuna gelmelidirler. Bu nedenle politika yapıcılar tarafından, çocuk bakımında toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini cesaretlendirecek bütünsel bir yaklaşım izlenmelidir. İkinci olarak, işverenlerin, babaların babalık izninden faydalanmalarını destekleyici yaklaşımı benimsemeleri gerekmektedir. Bu noktada, iş verenlerin yaklaşımını değiştirecek uygulamalar yapılmalıdır. Uygulamanın başında, çalışanların sigorta ücretleri devlet tarafından karşılanabilir. Üçüncü olarak, iyi tasarlanmış bir çocuk bakım sistemi kurulmalıdır. Bu sistem kadınların işgücüne katılımını hızlandırabilir. Pek çok ebeveynin kamu kreşlerinde sağlanan hizmetlerle ilgili şüphesi bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle okul öncesi öğretmenlere ayrı önem verilmelidir. Uygulanacak hizmet içi eğitimlerle öğretmenlerin uygulamaları geliştirilebilir. Her mahallede kurulan iyi kalitede kamu kreşleri çocuk bakım sürecini oldukça kolaylaştırabilir. Dördüncü olarak, sosyal politikalar aileyi ev içi ve dışında bütün olarak değerlendirmelidir. Babalarla ilgili sosyal norm ve beklentiler ev içinde ve dışında da aynı olmalıdır. Babaların kendi tecrübelerini aralarında paylaşacağı bir kültürel ortam oluşturulmalıdır. Böylece

babaların sürekli sert, sakın ve mesafeli olmasını bekleyen normlar ortadan kalkabilir. Beşinci olarak, babaların çocuk sahibi olmadan önce ebeveynlikle ilgili tüm sürece hazırlanması gerekmektedir. Her baba bu süreci farklı tecrübe etse de, bazı ortak noktalar bulunmaktadır. Babalar için özel bir eğitim programı babaların zihinsel ve duygusal olarak sürece hazır olmalarına yardımcı olabilir. Altıncı olarak, sivil toplum örgütlerinin bu konuya özel ilgi göstermeleri gerekmektedir. Çalışan ebeveynler ve iş verenler arasında farkındalığın artmasını ve bu konunun gündemde kalmasını sağlayabilecek güze sahipler. Sivil toplum örgütlerinin üniversitelerle işbirliği içerisinde babalarla yapacakları saha çalışmaları, bu konunun anneliğin ötesine geçmesinde etkili olabilir. Son olarak, İskandinav ülkelerinde olduğu gibi daha uzun bir ücretli babalık izni ve babalar için de yarı-zamanlı çalışma seçenekleri sunulmalıdır. Somut sosyal politikalardan daha destekleyici hiç bir şey yoktur. Eğer babalara çocuk bakımına daha çok dahil olmaları için politikalar oluşturulursa, bu izinlerin sınırlı şekilde kullanılması da yavaş yavaş ortadan kalkabilir. Kültürel, sosyal ve iş hayatıyla ilgili profesyonel engeller zamanla ortadan kalkabilir.

Bu çalışma Türkiye’deki genç babaların, babalık ve babalık izni ile ilgili yaklaşımını ortaya koymuştur. İş gücü piyasasının değişen talepleri, babaların çocuk bakımı sorumluluğuna dahil edilmesi için önemli itici faktörden biridir. Gelişmiş ülkelerde olduğu gibi, çocuk bakımıyla ilgili değişimler, ev içi iş bölümü ve iş gücü piyasası aynı anda değerlendirilmelidir. Bu nedenle bütünsel bir yaklaşım aile politikaları için çok önemlidir.

Bu çalışmada babaların eğitim seviyesi ve sosyo-ekonomik özellikleri dikkate alınmıştır. Bu kapsamda orta ve yüksek orta sınıftan eğitilmiş babalarla görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu özellikler, babaların gündelik yaşamlarını ve yaklaşımlarını etkilediğini bize göstermiştir. Son yıllarda babalık Türkiye’de daha çok tartışılan bir konu haline gelmiştir. Bu nedenle farklı eğitim seviyesi ve sosyo-ekonomik özelliklere sahip babalarla yapılacak çalışmalara ihtiyaç vardır.

APPENDIX D: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Sumer Tanyeri

Adı : Feyza

Bölümü : Sosyal Politika Ana Bilim Dalı

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

PERCEPTION ON FATHERHOOD AND PATERNAL LEAVE IN TURKEY

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: