BOUNDARY STRUGGLES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: EXPERIENCES OF REMOTE/HYBRID WORKING WOMEN IN ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

BANU TOPAKTAŞ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

NOVEMBER, 2024

Approval of the thesis:

BOUNDARY STRUGGLES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: EXPERIENCES OF REMOTE/HYBRID WORKING WOMEN IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

BOUNDARY STRUGGLES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: EXPERIENCES OF REMOTE/HYBRID WORKING WOMEN IN ANKARA

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November 2024, 213 pages

This thesis examines the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic through the lens of Social Reproduction Theory (SRT), focusing on the boundary struggles between women's paid and unpaid labour. The study examines the interaction between paid and unpaid labour within the capitalist system and highlights how the pandemic has intensified and exposed these boundary struggles. During the COVID-19 pandemic, in-depth interviews were conducted with 18 women working in the Information Technologies, Banking/Finance, and Education sectors in Ankara. The analysis reveals that COVID-19 has exacerbated the care crisis inherent in capitalism and exposed the deep-rooted conflict between production labour and social reproduction labour. The study presents data across five themes, emphasizing three critical components of social reproduction labour: household chores, care labour, and social relations. The findings highlight the necessity of addressing the care crisis as a fundamental consequence of capitalist structures and reveal that this issue transcends individual work-life conflicts and originates from more profound structural difficulties. It is thought that this thesis will contribute to the discussions on the care crisis by showing that the problems women face during the pandemic are not only a

matter of work-life balance but also reflections of structural inequalities inherent in the capitalist system. Moreover, the research's findings can add to the debates about remote and hybrid working models.

Keywords: Social Reproduction Theory, COVID-19, Work-Life Balance, Care Crisis, Remote Work

ÖZ

COVID-19 PANDEMİ DÖNEMİNDE SINIR MÜCADELELERİ: ANKARA'DA UZAKTAN/HİBRİT ÇALIŞAN KADINLARIN DENEYİMLERİ

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Kasım 2024, 213 sayfa

Bu tez, COVID-19 salgınının etkisini Toplumsal Yeniden Üretim Teorisi (TYÜT) merceğinden, kadınların ücretli ve ücretsiz emekleri arasındaki sınır mücadelelerine odaklanarak incelemektedir. Çalışma, kapitalist sistem içinde ücretli ve ücretsiz emek arasındaki etkileşimi incelemekte ve pandeminin bu sınır mücadelelerini nasıl yoğunlaştırdığını ve açığa çıkardığını vurgulamaktadır. COVID-19 salgını sırasında Bilgi Teknolojileri, Banka/Finans ve Eğitim sektörlerinde çalışan ve Ankara'da yaşayan 18 kadınla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Analiz, COVID-19'un kapitalizmin doğasında var olan bakım krizini şiddetlendirdiğini ve üretim emeği ile toplumsal yeniden üretim emeği arasındaki köklü çatışmayı açığa çıkardığını ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışmada veriler beş tema üzerinden sunulmakta ve toplumsal yeniden üretim emeğinin üç kritik bileşenini vurgulanmaktadır: ev işleri, bakım emeği ve toplumsal ilişkiler. Bulgular, bakım krizini kapitalist yapıların temel bir sonucu olarak ele alma ihtiyacının altını çizmekte ve bu meselenin bireysel olarak deneyimlenen iş-yaşam çatışmasının ötesine geçerek daha derin yapısal sorunlardan kaynaklandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu tezin pandemi sırasında kadınların karşılaştığı zorlukların yalnızca iş-yaşam dengesi meselesi olmadığını, kapitalist

sisteme içkin yapısal eşitsizliklerin yansımaları olduğunu göstererek bakım krizi tartışmalarına katkıda bulunacağı düşünülmektedir. Ayrıca araştırmada elde edilen veriler uzaktan ve hibrit çalışma modellerine dair tartışmalara da katkı sunabilecek niteliktedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal Yeniden Üretim Teorisi, COVID-19, İş-Yaşam Dengesi, Bakım Krizi, Uzaktan Çalışma

To all who envision another world yet live in the current...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Assoc. Dr. Asuman Göksel, for her invaluable guidance and patience. I would also like to express my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emel Memiş Parkmaksız and Assoc. Prof. Dr Kürşat Çınar for providing enlightening evaluations about my thesis and taking the time to analyse it.

The process of writing my thesis was fraught with unforeseen highs and lows. I am sincerely grateful to my initial thesis advisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Reşide Ömür Birler, for her evaluations and contributions at the beginning of this journey. I also extend my special thanks to Dr. Ali Bayramoğlu, with whom I crossed paths towards the end of the process and who introduced me to the concept of "behavioural stretching," for his valuable guidance. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Zeynep Kurnaz for her presentation of instructive videos on MAXQDA.

I would like to thank Pınar İlaslaner Terzi and Kadriye Akdemir Yılmaz for their support in overcoming the obstacles I encountered during this process; I would be incomplete without their friendship. Additionally, I am grateful to Seda Mohul, Işıl Yurtseven, Seda Yavuz, Hasan Özdemir, Merve Manap Dereci and Hanifi Ergün for their contributions and support.

My heartfelt thanks go to all the interviewees who agreed to participate despite their busy schedules.

Finally, I want to say I cannot repay my beloved mother Nurten Topaktaş for her efforts. She has been with me patiently throughout my long and varied education life; thank you for everything. I would also like to express appreciation and honour the deceased Metin Çulhaoğlu, from whose intellectuality and humanity I greatly learned.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SRT: Social Reproduction Theory

SRFs: Social Reproduction Feminists

ILO: International Labour Organization

UN: United Nations

BIH: Bosnia and Herzegovina

WHO: World Health Organization

TYÜT: Toplumsal Yeniden Üretim Teorisi

TYÜF: Toplumsal Yeniden Üretim Feministleri

EBA: Eğitim Bilişim Ağı (Educational Informatics Network)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The outbreak of COVID-19 in March 2020 led to a global health crisis unprecedented in modern times. As governments worldwide grappled with controlling the spread of SARS-CoV-2, they implemented various measures to mitigate the impact of the pandemic. A notable phenomenon is that only about 3% of the global workforce worked remotely before the pandemic. However, due to the impact of the pandemic, this proportion dramatically increased to approximately 17.4% in the second quarter of 2020 (ILO, 2021a; ILO, 2021b). This abrupt transition to remote work not only reshaped traditional work environments and practices but also introduced new challenges, particularly in the context of work-life balance.

Remote work is often hailed for its potential benefits, such as reducing commuting time and costs, lowering stress levels, and alleviating work-family conflicts (Orr & Savage, 2021). However, it also presents several drawbacks, including increased isolation, potential negative impacts on career advancement, and diminished performance due to insufficient technical support (Bailey & Kurland, 1999; Kelly, 2020). A particularly pointed attention issue about remote work's disadvantages is role blurring, where the boundaries between work and home responsibilities become increasingly indistinct (Deloitte, 2011). It has been determined that this issue disproportionately affects women, often due to their greater responsibility for household chores (Mascherini & Bisello, 2020). This thesis addressed the issue of role blurring through the concept of boundary struggles conceptualisation of the SRT (Social Reproduction Theory) (Fraser, 2016; 2022). The increase in labour time women spend at home due to the needs that already exist at home and that have recently emerged or increased during the COVID-19 pandemic, and the inability to

postpone meeting these needs shows that women's unpaid labour is the basis of the capitalist social order. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the disruption of services purchased from the market to alleviate unpaid labour in the home and the significantly reduced support provided by the welfare state have shattered the illusion that middle-class women living in urban have been freed from unpaid labour (Başaran, 2020). the profit-oriented nature of the capitalist system and the commodification of even basic human needs in the neoliberal era have made it problematic for capitalist societies to sustain human life, biological ties, and social connections, especially during times of crisis.

There are two main schools of thought that establish a relationship between labour and the oppression of women. The first school is offered by dual and triple system theorists (Delphy, 1988; Hartmann, 1979; Crenshaw, 1989; Walby, 2021), who fundamentally explain the oppression of women as a result of the interplay between capitalism, patriarchy, and race/ethnicity. The second school is Social Reproduction Theorists. These two schools of thought differ in their positioning of unpaid labour within capitalism. While dual and triple system theorists link the oppression of women to patriarchy and capitalist exploitation (and race/ethnicity), Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) argues that patriarchy (and other identities) is not an autonomous phenomenon separate from the capitalist system. Social Reproduction Theorists say that women's domestic labour is essential for the maintenance of the capitalist system, suggesting that capitalism functions as a whole (Fraser, 2016; 2017; 2022; Arruzza, 2016; Bhattacharya, 2017).

SRT posits that social reproduction encompasses three fundamental components: the biological reproduction of the species, the reproduction of the labour force, and the reproduction of provisioning and caring needs (Arruzza, 2016). This broader conceptualisation allows for an examination of social reproduction beyond mere biological factors, incorporating the critical roles of social institutions and processes (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018). A key insight from SRT is the "boundary struggle" between foreground conditions (economic production) and background conditions (social reproduction), which often leads to crises inherent to capitalism's focus on endless accumulation (Fraser, 2014; 2022).

This thesis explores the boundary struggles between unpaid labour and paid labour of women in times of the COVID-19 pandemic through the lens of Social Reproduction Theory (SRT), as articulated by Fraser (2016; 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic and measures taken against the pandemic perform a magnifying lens function to bring forth this conceptualisation. SRT provides a framework for understanding how capitalism's demands extend beyond the workplace, impacting various aspects of social reproduction, including caregiving and household responsibilities. By examining the experiences of women working remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic, this study aims to illuminate the boundary struggles inherent in the intersection of paid and unpaid labour.

Social Reproduction Theory (SRT) refers to conflicts between the conditions necessary for capitalism and what it terms "background conditions" through the concept of boundary struggles. Fraser (2016, 2022) argues that structural features of capitalism inherently involve boundary struggles between production and reproduction, the economy and the polity, and human and non-human nature. According to Fraser (2022), capitalism's focus on unlimited accumulation leads to a contradiction, or an "ouroboros", as background conditions do not directly contribute to this accumulation, thereby threatening capitalism's own existence. Although SRT's concept of boundary struggles encompasses a broad range of conflicts, this study focuses specifically on the struggles between production and reproduction. More concretely, the thesis examines how women experienced difficulties in balancing their paid work with domestic and care work during the COVID-19 pandemic.

This study will examine the experiences of boundary struggles faced by women in Türkiye, particularly in Ankara, during the widespread adoption of remote work amid the COVID-19 pandemic, through the perspective of Social Reproduction Theory. The main questions of the research are:

- How did women working remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic experience this process? / How did women working remotely experience the boundary struggle between production and reproduction, as Social Reproduction Feminists claim to be in capitalist societies?

- In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, what is the meaning of the increase in unpaid labour performed by women for social reproduction within the capitalist system?

This thesis employs qualitative research methods to explore these boundary struggles, specifically in-depth interviews with 18 women from Ankara working remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic. The sample for the study was selected from women in the sectors where remote work is most prevalent (OECD, 2021c): Information Technology (I.T.), Bank/Finance, and Education. The sample of this thesis supports Kandiyoti's assertion (Başaran, 2020) that the notion of middle-class urban women getting free from unpaid labour has been discredited due to COVID-19, the qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic are to provide a concrete example of the care crisis and boundary struggles described by SRT. Five interviewees were from the field of Information Technologies: five from the field of Bank and Finance, and eight from the field of Education. Four of these women were single and the rest were married, and only two of the married did not have a child.

The findings of the research will be presented under five themes: Perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender; the State of Paid Work; Domestic Labour, Care Labour, and Societal Reproduction Labour. The first two themes and their sub-themes aim to better understand and present the interviewees' perspectives and experiences in their paid work. The latter three themes are explored through the lens of Social Reproduction Theory's conceptualisation of societal reproduction (Brenner & Laslett, 1989; Fraser, 2022; Aruzza, 2016), to reveal and share the interviewees' contributions to social reproduction labour.

In summary, this research addresses the intersection of paid and unpaid labour during the COVID-19 pandemic, highlighting how the boundary struggles between these spheres are intensified in a neoliberal context. The findings aim to enrich our understanding of the structural care crisis within capitalism and offer constructive perspectives on the relationships between productive labour (thing-making) and reproductive labour (life-making) (Bhattacharya, 2020). The research aims to gather

data from a period when the effects of COVID-19 measures were still unfolding. The COVID-19 pandemic as a concrete and acute example of Social Reproduction Theory's concepts of boundary struggles and the care crisis, to contribute to the literature is viewed this scrutiny.

This study offers a significant contribution to the literature by establishing a link between individual experiences and broader global phenomena, particularly in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Employing a qualitative approach from the perspective of SRT it collects qualitative data through interviews with women from diverse sectors and varying marital statuses, thereby enriching discussions on gender and labour relations. The pandemic period underscored the care crisis, revealing the inadequacies of public services and the resultant reliance on families and local solidarity groups. This research highlights not only who meets care needs but also the critical importance of institutional support. It also examines how individuals move between paid and unpaid labour in this process, their experiences of boundary struggles between production and reproduction labour, and their development of coping mechanisms to deal with conflicting demands. By addressing these dynamics, the study contributes valuable insights into the ongoing discourse surrounding gender and labour, emphasizing the necessity of recognising and supporting the complexities of care work.

This thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 will discuss theoretical perspectives that establish the relationship between labour and the oppression of women. It will present the arguments of Dual and Triple System theorists and Social Reproduction Theory, and address the criticisms made by Social Reproduction Feminists. This chapter will also explain the reasons for the distinctions between these two theoretical schools.

Chapter 3 will explore changes in work and life during the COVID-19 pandemic through topics such as unpaid labour, remote work, and the care crisis, using research data from before and during the pandemic.

Chapter 4 will provide details on the research design, including information about the research method, sample, and data collection.

Chapter 5 will present findings obtained from interviews with the research sample, analyse them through five themes, and relate them to the Social Reproduction Theory perspective.

The final chapter, Chapter 6, will be the Conclusion. It will summarise the previous sections of the thesis, offer recommendations based on the findings, and discuss the limitations identified during the study.

CHAPTER 2

THE APPROACHES TO GENDER INEQUALITY

Gender and labour appear as two distinct phenomena. The conceptualisation of "gender" has proven useful for highlighting roles and norms associated with specific genders, rather than merely focusing on individual bodily differences. Feminist schools that address societal inequalities through the lens of gender (such as Radical Feminism, Liberal Feminism, Dual-System Theory, Marxist Feminism, Black Feminism, Eco-Feminism, and Queer Feminism) [1] have provided various explanations for the emergence of these issues. The arguments developed by these feminist schools regarding the origins of gender inequality differ according to their ideological positions and priorities. Two of these schools (Marxist Feminism and Dual-System Feminists) conceptualise the origins and manifestations of gender inequality concerning labour.

In these theoretical frameworks that conceptualise gender inequality through the lens of labour, researchers critique the capitalist system and highlight that these inequalities have emerged historically. They also address a broad range of topics related to both paid and unpaid labour. From these perspectives, scholars examine inequalities experienced by women (and LGBTQ+ individuals) in paid labour, focusing on issues such as the glass ceiling, wage equality, and leave rights. They also highlight the unpaid labour performed by women, which is often attributed to gender norms, and the responsibilities assigned to them due to these norms. In this chapter, firstly, different explanations presented for women's oppression in the labour context will be discussed. Although there are a variety of approaches to women's oppression and the unique grounding of each approach, the argumentation of dual

[1]To gain an understanding of the fundamental frameworks of these theoretical schools, consider

and triple system feminists and Social Reproduction Feminists (SRF)[2] will be presented in this chapter. Since this thesis is related to labour relationships and gender, the views of dual and triple-system feminists and SRFs will be compared in this regard in this chapter.

Firstly, under the subheading "Dual and Triple Systems of Gender Inequality," the ideas of key dual system feminists such as Delphy, Hartman, and Walby regarding the oppression of women will be reviewed. Following this, in the subheading "Critiques of Dual and Triple Systems from the Perspective of Social Reproduction Theory," some criticisms of these feminists from within the dual system will be presented. Subsequently, the section will address Crenshaw's conceptualization of intersectionality, representing one of the perspectives within the triple system. Next, in the subheading "The Fundamental Characteristics of Social Reproduction Theory," the discussion will shift to Social Reproduction Theory (SRT), highlighting its different aspects compared to dual and triple system approaches, and outlining the main features of critiques offered by social reproduction theorists.

Following the discussion on these approaches to the oppression of women, the subheading "The System as a Whole and Boundary Struggles" will address the fundamental assumptions of SRT. This will be followed by an examination of the concept of social reproduction and its critique of the capitalist system as a whole, presented under the subheading "The Concept of Social Reproduction." In the subheading "Three Regimes of Capitalism from the Perspective of Social Reproduction Theory," SRT's periodization of capitalism will be discussed, focusing on how changes in production and reproduction fields mutually impact each other. Finally, in the subheading "Care Crisis in Regard to Social Reproduction Theory," the conceptualization of the care crisis, resulting from the structural contradiction between social reproduction and the production field within the capitalist system, will be elucidated.

[2] Both social reproduction theorists and feminists focus on reproductive labour when analysing inequalities in capitalist societies. They consider social reproduction crucial for the capitalist process of surplus value accumulation. Furthermore, they emphasize the gendered dimensions of reproductive labour when examining the relationship between value production and reproductive activities. In this thesis, due to the emphasis on the gendered aspects of social reproduction, the terms 'social reproduction theorists' and 'social reproduction feminists' are used interchangeably.

2.1. Dual and Triple Systems of Gender Inequality

Inequalities in society owing to race, gender, or class have been explained in different ways. Although some assessments about them have the same ideological perspectives, they diverge about the source and solutions of problems. An overall observation could tell us that while some theorists consider these causes of inequality as related but autonomous, others, who generally have a Marxist perspective, claim that these discriminations are based on the capitalist system.

This difference is also valid regarding the approaches to analysing women's oppression. Some feminists, whose ideas will be discussed below, such as Delphy (1988), Hartmann (1979), and Walby (1991) improve this subject by depending on the dual system which includes patriarchy and capitalism, or some others like Crenshaw (1989), explain gender inequality by the triple system which covers race, gender, and class. As told by Acar Savran (2020), dual and triple systems try to explain almost the universal use of power by men over women through the power relationship articulated with capitalism. It can be generally stated that these approaches assert co-substantial sources of oppression, as will be referred to below.

Walby (2021, p. 19) defines dual systems theories as "the synthesis of Marxist feminism and radical feminism". When discussing gender inequalities, dual systems theories do not focus on patriarchy or capitalism alone. They think that the coexistence of these two systems causes inequalities between the sexes. However, these thinkers have no consensus about how these systems work. For instance, Eisenstein (1977) argued that patriarchy and capitalism are united in a single system as capitalist patriarchy, whereas Mitchell (2000) says that the unconscious area is regulated by the laws of patriarchy and the economic level operates according to capitalism. Due to this diversity, the ideas of the prominent dual and triple system thinkers need to be presented in detail in a way to states the basic features of their perspectives.

Delphy (1980), who aims to provide a materialist explanation of women's oppression, states that all societies are based on women's unpaid labour in raising

children and providing domestic service. Contrary to those who argue that women's domestic labour does not enter this market (e.g., Benston (1969), Delphy (1980) thinks that unpaid labour does. According to her, domestic activities that are called "unproductive" have potential exchange value. To explain this, Delphy (1980, p. 29) gives an example of a farming family raising pigs: "The pig which is eaten could have been sold on the market and would have had to be replaced by its equivalent in food purchased".

Delphy (1980, p. 32) states that with industrialisation, family production became limited to the house, and the work done by women in this area was called housework. In this vein, domestic labour, which is the most radical form of exploitation, includes all work done for someone else complimentarily (Delphy, 2003, pp. 5-6). Therefore, domestic responsibilities go far beyond listing specific jobs. As it can be deduced from this, according to her, there are two types of production: industrial production and domestic production. Delphy (1988, p. 261) articulates that the latter developed within the framework of patriarchal relations, and she explains this situation as follows: “Since 1970, then, I have been saying that patriarchy is the system of subordination of women to men in contemporary industrial societies, that this system has an economic base, and that this base is the domestic mode of production.”

According to Delphy (1980; 1988), in a class viewpoint shaped only through the capitalist mode of production, women cannot be included in any class because they are kept away from paid jobs. She argues that to understand the material causes of women's oppression and make class analyses, it is necessary to understand the processes of patriarchal exploitation. According to her, patriarchy includes not only the relationship of domination between men and women but also the relationship of exploitation (cited from Özpınar, 2020). For this reason, according to Delphy (1988), men and women are two irreconcilable classes. To understand the place of women in stratification, Delphy (1988; 2009) cites studies that look at the class position of women's husbands. Noting that this was not a methodological error, she argued that it was a theoretical guess. According to her, we see that “the environment in which women come from is more important than their profession” (Delphy, 2009, p. 343).

Molyneux (1979) opposes Delphy's arguments that associate women's stratification with the class status of their husbands and thus picture women as a separate class from men. According to her, first, it is problematic to universalize the form of marriage. In addition, Molyneux (1979) claims that Delphy borrows the concept of exploitation from Marxism, but its conceptualization of class developed through production relations was reduced to Delphy's "appropriation of surplus-labour." Moreover, she asserts that classes "cannot be derived from empirical observation of the relations between human subjects" (Molyneux, 1979, p. 17).

Another crucial criticism Molyneux (1979) brings to Delphy's perspective is that Delphy sees patriarchal production and capitalist modes of production as utterly autonomous from each other. According to Delphy, patriarchal production in the household is autonomous from capitalism. According to her, since both a wife of the bourgeois and a wife of the proletarian are in production at home to meet needs, physical or social, all women are in the same class, regardless of their strata. Molyneux (1979) disagrees with the patriarchal mode of production being completely autonomous from capitalism. In her opinion, productions in the so-called capitalist way of production such as technological developments, education, and health affect the labour of women at home (Molyneux, 1979, p. 18).

Another dual system feminist, Hartmann (1979), evaluates the women's issue as a "feminist problem" and aspires to develop a new explanation by criticizing the approaches of both radical feminists and Marxist feminists. Radical feminists, while evaluating the women's issue, set an explanation through the "dialectic of sex" that the power struggle between women and men, which men are trying to exert power over women. According to Hartmann, this perspective of radical feminists is an essential insight for understanding today. However, Hartmann (1979, p.10) criticizes the statements of radical feminists in this framework as “they are limited to psychological explanations and become blind to history.” Alongside the views of radical feminists, Hartmann (1979, p.2) also criticizes the way Marxist thinkers deal with the women's issue arguing that early Marxists (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Kautsky) did not focus on the differing experiences of men and women and thought that the sexist division of labour would disappear as capitalism included women in the paid

workforce. According to her, since capital and private property are not the cause of women's oppression as women, their end alone will not result at the end of women's oppression (Hartman, 1979).

Hartmann (1979) states that Zaretsky, whom she describes as a Marxist exemplifying the school of everyday life, accepts that sexism existed before capitalism and that housework, which is hard work, is necessary for capital, following Marxist feminist general acceptances. According to Zaretsky (cited from Hartmann, 1979), while capitalism excludes women from the sphere of paid work, it confines them to the home sphere to ensure the reproduction of the labour force at home. As can be understood from this reasoning, the exploitation of women by capital is emphasized within the scope of what Hartmann (1979) calls the second Marxists. However, Hartmann (1979, p.5) asks why women are positioned at home and men in the paid work sphere if capitalism created the private sphere and claims that this problem cannot be explained without the concept of patriarchy. Moreover, Hartmann (1979) objects to Zaretsky's view that although men seem to exploit women on the surface, they are actually exploited by capital. According to her, there is no distinction between appearance and reality, she argues that it is men who exploit women in reality as well as in appearances (Hartmann, 1979).

While examining the treatment of women's issues from a Marxist perspective, Hartmann (1979) mentions thinkers who looked at the structure of housework and placed the feminist war within the class war through it. In this context, it is clear from the following sentences of Dalla Costa (1975), whose views Hartmann (1979) criticizes, that women are exploited by capital through men: "What we wish to make clear here is that by the non-payment of a wage when we are producing in a world capitalistically organized, the figure of the boss is concealed behind that of the husband" (Dalla Costa & James, 1975, p. 19). Extending the wage relationship beyond contact between employer and wage worker to the power relationship between waged worker and non-wage worker, James (2012) considers that this -wage relation- is the material basis of inequality between men and women. According to James (2012, p.151), women are compelled to sell their labour through another worker – men.

As clearly seen in the last approach, the Marxist perspective generally remarks capital that actually exploits women and causes them to be oppressed, despite being exploited by men in appearance. Considering these arguments faulty, Hartmann (1979) states that, these views, which only focus on capital, hide the underlying reasons for men's oppression of women – what she calls patriarchal relations. She defines patriarchy as:

> A set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women. The material base of patriarchy is men's control over women's labor power. That control is maintained by denying women access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting women's sexuality. Men exercise their control in receiving personal service work from women, in not having to do housework or rear children, in having access to women's bodies for sex, and in feeling powerful and being powerful. (Hartmann, 1979, p. 14)

For this reason, which does not consider patriarchal relations, Marxism is gender-blind for her, while radical feminism is inadequate because it does not view it from a historical perspective (Hartmann, 1979, p. 22). In order to explain women's oppression, it is necessary to look at both from a gender-centered and historical perspective. This perspective is possible from the point of view conceptualized as "patriarchal capitalism". Another dual-system feminist Walby (2021) differs from other dual-system thinkers by considering that current dual systems do not include all patriarchal structures. According to Walby (2021, p.40), who depicts patriarchy as "the system of social structures in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women", patriarchy consists of a combination of six structures: patriarchal mode of production, wage labour, the state, male violence, sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural structures. From her standpoint, other dual system views cannot fully explain women's oppression because they do not consider these six structures together. According to her, explaining the oppression of women through six structures, rather than explaining it on a single basis, is necessary in order to avoid reductionism and essentialism (Walby, 2021, p. 41).

As seen, dual-system feminists basically consider the inequality between men and women to be related to class and gender, although there are differences in emphasis and priority topics among them. It has been criticized by triple-systems feminists that

dual systems approaches try to understand inequalities in society only from the perspectives of class and gender. According to these criticisms, inequalities in society are based on the intersection of at least three situations, and to understand these inequalities, it is necessary to evaluate class, gender, and race/ethnicity together. This approach, called intersectionality, is a conceptualization that emerged when the American black lawyer Kimberlé Crenshaw drew attention to the multiple oppression of women of different races on the grounds of racism, class, and gender. This concept is now used by including situations such as disability, ethnicity, and immigration. The idea of intersectionality does not only correspond with making social due diligence. At the same time, it aims to unite the struggles of oppressed people in multiple forms in society but who cannot find the opportunity to oppose all of these oppressions within the existing social movements. For this reason, as Özkazanç (2018, p.25) states, the debates on intersectionality are on the one hand related to how social distinctions and borders are established; and on the other hand, they are about how to overcome them through collective solidarity.

However, the concept of intersectionality is not used based on total consensus. In other words, the content of this conceptualization, like every concept, varies according to the general thought-ideology of the person using it. Ferguson (2016, p.41) states that Yuval-Davis transferred the advocates of feminism intersectionality to two camps. According to this distinction, the first camp is based on the idea that existing pressures intersect under specific historical conditions to create a "very charged" subject and includes the approach of being attached to an "additive" or "cumulative" model (Ferguson, 2016). Crenshaw's "intersecting paths" analogy to explain intersectionality is an example of this (Crenshaw, 1989). According to this analogy, “colonialism and patriarchy” intersect for women from the minority group.

Ferguson (2016, p. 42) considers that the explanations in this camp “rarely ask why and how oppressive relations take shape” and that “the social whole ultimately regresses to a neutral space that contains only a container or the sum of intersecting discrete parts.” One of the sides in which Uz and Özpınar (2020) stated that they saw this approach in the first camp as problematic is similar to Ferguson's (2016) assessment. As in Crenshaw's spatial metaphor, there is a meeting of separate identities on the

same subject at one place and at a time. Uz and Özpınar (2020, p. 82-83) also pointed out that any hierarchy or relationality between these categories is ignored.

The second side of the idea of intersectionality is opposed to seeing these oppressive relations as gender, race, and class as autonomous/separate from each other, even though they are together. It is also included by Patrica Hill Collins (2016), who states that "gender, age, race, citizenship in the intersectional frameworks complex reveals how it produces economic inequality" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 16). This explanation of Ferguson (2016, p.43), which can be evaluated within this camp, summarizes the points that differ from other intersectionality thinkers: "Race, gender, sexuality, and class, among other categories, are produced through each other, securing both privilege and oppression simultaneously. They do not pre-exist in any fixed form but are continuously (re)inventing themselves in relationship with each other." Thus, unlike the first camp of intersectionality thinkers, in this approach, instead of taking the experiences of oppression as the sum of different identities articulated on each other, the way to think in relation to each other is opened.

In other words, instead of the ontological coexistence of oppression patterns in different images, there are experiences whose existence is intertwined, existing as a whole, and constantly changing. For this reason, it is necessary to look at the intersection to understand the inequalities in society because, as Eisenstein (2014) stated, "Capital is intersectional. It always intersects with the bodies that produce the labour. Therefore, the accumulation of wealth is embedded in the racialized and engineered structures that enhance it." Moreover, in this regard, it can be said that the second camp of intersectionality is akin to SRT's concept. In the next part, SRT's criticisms against dual and triple system ideas will be elaborated.

2.1.1. Critiques of Dual and Triple Systems from the Perspective of Social Reproduction Theory

As seen, dual and triple systems scholars[3] consider different kinds of inequalities. In these perspectives, the explanations of how these phenomena that cause inequalities

[3] This study is conducted from the perspective of Social Reproduction Theory, and to that end I addressed the critique of the Social Reproduction Perspective on dual-triple systems. I have not

coexist in society and their relations with each other differ. Nevertheless, it can be stated that these explanations generally cannot put forward a relationship between these phenomena. Moreover, each phenomenon is usually favoured independently from others in these approaches. Social Reproduction Feminists also, of course, consider the different categories such as gender, race, or sexual orientation similar to dual and triple system thinkers to shed light on inequalities in societies. The difference between these feminist schools lies in their approaches to evaluating inequalities, whether they are gendered, sexual, or racial, and in understanding their interrelationships. In other words, while both schools analyse similar phenomena related to societal inequalities, they differ in how they explain the relationship between gender and other factors, as well as the underlying roots of these inequalities.

Vogel (2013, p.81) states that socialist feminist theories, called dual systems, have failed to develop theoretical foundations suitable for the strategy of overcoming women's differences such as class, race, age, and sexual orientation, and unifying them. According to her, the woman-issue approach used by socialist feminists "in fact covers the problem of reproduction of labour-power in the context of general social reproduction" (Vogel, 2013, p. 208). Therefore, in the opinion of Vogel (2013), a theory should be developed through social reproduction in order to understand the oppression of women and the conditions of their emancipation.

Vogel's framework for social reproduction will be particularly talked about in the upcoming section. However, for now, I think it is appropriate to mention the following statement in terms of the basic idea which constitutes grounds for SRT's criticisms towards dual systems: According to Vogel, the gender issue is the generational renewal of the labour-power carriers, i.e., humans. Therefore, the biological difference between men and women is critical to social reproduction (Vogel, 2013, p. 213).[4] Besides, according to her, only the exploited classes

mentioned any review of multiple systems' social reproduction theory. For that, you may check out these studies: Yaman, 2020; Acar Savran, 2020. Moreover, for a detailed discussion about these perspectives: Dildar, 2021.

[4] Vogel and the Social Reproduction Feminists have been criticized for developing a "biological determinist" approach. Here, however, Mc Nally and Ferguson (2013, p.26) pointed out that it is not

constitute the labour-power. According to Vogel (2013), in socialist-feminist debates—as we saw with Hartmann and Delphy—expanding the renewal of the labour-power to include everyone overlooks the essential difference between the exploiting and exploited classes. The definitive factor in this discussion is whether the labour given is necessary labour. Hence, the generational renewal of labour-power, a dimension of necessary labour, forms the root of the oppression of female members of the subordinate class (Vogel, 2013, pp. 147-150).

By benefitting from Vogel's argumentation, Arruzza (2016, p.13) affirms that the perspectives of dual or triple systems present "a fragmented perception of the social world". In these approaches, like the views of Hartmann, Delphy and Crenshaw, class has the same substance as gender, and race when social inequalities are analysed. Nevertheless, the dual and triple systems do not clarify why and how these substances set up relations with others (Arruzza, 2016). On the other side, since it refrains from supplement logic and vague conceptualizations of power for a more systemic and concrete representation of the social, social reproduction feminism can explain causes of oppression by focusing on how and why disparate experiences of oppression are integral to the social whole (Ferguson S. , 2016, p. 55). Hence, the interconnectedness between production and reproduction makes such struggles an integral part of class struggle – in struggles for equality regarding issues such as gender, race/ethnicity, or for fundamental rights such as housing and health care.

Social Reproduction Feminists such as Vogel, Bhattacharya, Fraser, Ferguson, and Arruzza set out these inequalities by means of dialectically understanding the unitary system (Özpınar, 2020). According to SRFs, the domination of women certainly existed in pre-capitalist class societies. However, from their perspective, capitalism created new, modern forms of sexism and supported it with its institutional structures. It did this by separating the making of people from the making of profit, assigning the former as the duty of women, and placing women in a secondary position in the other (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, pp. 20-21). This

biology alone that causes women's oppression, but the social reality. The social reality emerges from capital's dependence on biological processes specific to women (such as pregnancy, and breastfeeding) due to the need to reproduce the working class.

statement by Ferguson is also important to grasp the difference of Social Reproduction Theory from those who look at the cause of women's oppression from a dual or triple systems perspective: “It is this essential relationship between the productive and reproductive needs of a capitalist social formation and not a transhistorical patriarchal impulse, then, that forms the critical socio-material condition making women's oppression possible and probable under capitalism” (Ferguson, 2016, p. 50).

The sentences of Arruzza (2016) also shed light on the differences between SRT and dual or triple-system:

> It [social reproduction theory] pays attention to the fact of biological reproduction and to the differential role that the sexes play in it, not because it sees in them a source of social meaning, but because of the way capitalism sets limits and constraints on them; in other words, because of the specific way intergenerational reproduction is socially organized within capitalism (Arruzza, 2016, p. 23).

In the entire perspective of SRT, the explanation developed by clarifying how production and gender are intertwined in capitalist society renders the question of whether class or gender is more important, and meaningless (Bhattacharya, 2017a, p. 5). SRT enables us to comprehend the mutual relationship between oppression and exploitation in history (Jaffe, 2020a). In other words, social reproduction feminism redevelops this diversity by developing the conceptual apparatus for understanding labour which is differentiated but shared experience as a concrete, diverse unity (Ferguson, 2016, p. 51). Consequently, SRT provides a cohesive basis for advancing anti-capitalist struggles in different fields and understanding their interrelationships.

Finally, it would be appropriate to summarize the difference between the dual perspective and the social reproduction perspective, in Vogel's (2013, p.135) own words:

> While the dual-systems perspective begins with empirically given phenomena whose correlations are interpreted by means of a chain of plausible inferences, the social-reproduction perspective starts out from a theoretical position – namely, that class-struggle over the conditions of production represents the central dynamic of social development in societies characterised by exploitation. In these societies, surplus-labour is appropriated by a dominant class, and an essential condition for production

> is the constant presence and renewal of a subordinated class of direct producers committed to the labour-process. Ordinarily, generational replacement provides most of the new workers needed to replenish this class, and women's capacity to bear children therefore plays a critical role in class-society. (Vogel, 2013, p. 135).

Briefly, the perspective of social reproduction has criticized the explanations of dual and triple system thinkers through establishing eclectic relations with each other by considering each inequality/oppression phenomenon one by one. Instead, SRFs try to explain the holistic relationship between these phenomena within the capitalist system "by paving the way for a more comprehensive materialist model of production and reproduction" without falling into economic determinism (Ferguson S. , 1999, p. 7).

As I understand, a "descriptive" understanding of these phenomena is dominated by the dual-triple systems, whereas the interpretation of SRT can be considered as focusing on the story rather than looking at the side-by-side photographs. Thus, in my opinion, the perspective of SRT can better clarify the situation of subjects who experience different types of oppression and processes such as mutual formation and change. In the following part, the main features of SRT will be explained so this claim may be more evident.

2.2. The Fundamental Characteristics of Social Reproduction Theory

This section aims to enhance the understanding of the concepts of SRT by presenting its core concepts and interpretations. The first subsection will elucidate how SRT assesses capitalism as an integrated whole and conceptualises the boundary struggles between various domains within this system. Subsequently, the concept of social reproduction, which is central to this thesis, will be examined. This part will present the conceptual framework and foundations of SRT's understanding of social reproduction. The following section will introduce Nancy Fraser's periodisation of capitalism to illustrate boundary struggles between areas of paid labour and unpaid labour within the system. Additionally, this section will outline the characteristics of the three distinct phases of capitalism to provide a framework for evaluating the experiences of the sample in the context of the study.

2.2.1. The System as a Whole and Boundary Struggles within It

In general understanding, capitalism is mostly considered through productive labour. Since it provides meta-producing in exchange for wages, productive labour is detrimental to the analysis of capitalism and some approaches in the Marxist tradition primarily focus on this. However, SRT criticises this approach. Given SRT's perspective, capitalism progresses in totality and commodification is not ubiquitous in the capitalist system, unlike considered (Fraser, 2022, p. 19). Accordingly, commodity production is mandatorily interconnected with labour in non-commodification areas.

Fraser (2014a) considers the determination that commodity production is based on a non-commodity background in capitalism lays the groundwork for declaring the views that capitalism tends to commodify everything and, in this context, ignores the possibilities of liberation. According to her, conditions that are not directly subject to commodification such as gardening, mutual aid or state aid, play an important role in the livelihood of many households (Fraser, 2014). Hence, it can be asserted labour power which is vital for the market needs non-market relations to be created and maintained.

This approach is important in terms of seeing the contradictions within capitalism and not reducing it to the economy. In other words, SRT enables us to comprehend the unity of class despite all differences in it. In this way, it becomes different from the perspective which includes just waged factory workers as being class (Mohandesi & Teitelman, 2017). That is, social reproduction feminism reconstructs this diversity by developing the conceptual apparatus for comprehending labour as a differentiated but shared experience, a concrete, multifarious unity (Ferguson, 2016, p. 51).

SRT asserts that “human labour as a whole creates everything” (Bhattacharya, 2017a). In this context, it criticizes the capitalist understanding that sees labour as valuable only when it produces commodities for the market. It realizes labour as a factor that generates and maintains the labour power and the society that formed it. These evaluations are important for us to understand the coexistence of two

processes - life-making and thing-making - that progress together in capitalism. For SRT, there is a holistic relationship between labour in the field of commodity production and the production of labour-power that provides commodity production. In other words, "Marx manifests how the meta is produced by depending on transforming labour-power to wage worker, while Social Reproduction Theory focuses on how the worker is produced" (Bhattacharya, 2017b).

SRT tries to grasp the relationship between the labour spent to produce commodities and the labour distributed to produce people within the systematic integrity of capitalism. In Fraser's words, “Marx focused on the secrets of capitalist operation hidden in the production part”; however, she questions the non-economic conditions that make economic production possible, forming its background (Fraser, 2014a). Three main factors make up the non-economic background: nature, political power and social reproduction. These conditions that enable capitalism to exist are non-economic but inherent processes. If needed to say directly by Fraser’s words, they are “extra-economic but intra-capitalist” (Fraser, 2014a).

With their explanations of social inequalities by focusing on the relationship with capitalism, SRF differs from the feminists who make explanations through dual or triple systems. They also gain a unique place in Marxist thought by not limiting "production" by means of labour to economic production, but also expanding it to the field of social reproduction. Bhattacharya (2017a, p.2) states “Social reproduction theorists perceive the relation between labour dispensed to produce commodities and labour dispensed to produce people as part of the systemic totality of capitalism.” In other words, from the perspective of SRT, labour power occurs not only in capital but also in capitalist societal relations (Jaffe, 2020a). Therefore, dualities such as production versus reproduction, as presented by dual and triple system thinkers, make it difficult to grasp the holistic structure of capitalism.

In SRT's viewpoint, capitalism is a system that operates as a whole and is not limited to the economic sphere where surplus value is produced and accumulation is achieved. In this understanding of capitalism, Fraser (2014a, p.11) declares “‘economic’, foreground features depend on ‘non-economic’ background conditions,

which are respectively social reproduction, Earth's ecology and political power." These background conditions are not totally commodified in capitalist society; even, some activities in the background areas have opposite features from economic areas. Fraser (2014a, p. 12) gives an example for explaining this situation that it is expected solidarity in social reproduction, contrary to production. This aspect, which defined capitalism as being an "institutionalized societal order premised on such separations", also enables us to consider that social inequalities such as related to gender, race or policy, or ecological detrition are not accidental; in contrast, they are structural and intertwined with capitalism.

According to Fraser (2014a; 2016), in order to better understand these fore and background relations of capitalism, three issues must be considered. First, the existence of non-economic fields is necessary for the existence of economic fields, and they serve these fields. Second, non-economic spaces provide opportunities for anti-capitalist struggle. SRF representatives Aruzza, Bhattacharya and Fraser, inspired by the 2017 and 2018 international feminist and women's strikes, wrote Feminism A Manifesto for 99%. This book aimed to unite feminist movements with the anti-systemic movements by pointing out this second issue, namely the possibilities of anti-capitalist struggle that these actions inherently carry (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 13).

It provides a deep understanding of different experiences in the working class and struggles in both workplaces and outside of them. Fraser's formulation expresses this, and the work of SRT feminists explains how this unity is possible. The approach of Social Reproduction, consequently, has enormous possibilities both in explaining the oppression of women and in constructing a holistic analysis of society (Yaman, 2020). Thus, as Jaffe (2020a, p.3) emphasizes, "the SRT provides a theoretical framework that emerges as needed because it offers an anti-capitalist way of recognizing and valuing different motivations for struggle but broad enough to combine them, but not reductionist.".

The third issue for comprehending the relationship between foreground and background conditions of capitalism is that non-economic and economic fields are

integral parts of capitalist societies. Based on these determinations, Fraser (2014a; 2016) concludes that the relations between the fore and background areas contain instability for capitalist societies. Capitalism focuses on endless accumulation in the field of economy; on the other hand, it is obliged to non-economic fields, which can include tendencies opposite to this tendency in the field of economy. This contrast between fields causes crises in capitalist societies. More clearly,

> While capital strives systemically to increase profits, working-class people strive, conversely, to lead decent and meaningful lives as social beings. These are fundamentally irreconcilable goals, for capital's share of accumulation can only increase at the expense of our share in the life of society (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 71).

In this perspective of SRT, on the one hand, these fore and background fields are in a relationship of interdependence; on the other hand, there is a dire opposition between them. This determination gives rise to the concept of "boundary struggles". There are always boundary struggles between these foreground and background conditions -i.e. production and reproduction; economy and polity; human and non-human nature. The boundary struggles between them have determined the structure of capitalist society (Fraser, 2022, p. 21). Furthermore, in her opinion, this distinction is not stable and the same at all times; on the contrary, it alters in consistency with the features of the capitalist operation of the era.

To sum up, from SRT's perspective, capitalism possesses background and foreground conditions. Foreground conditions are related to the economic area where there is surplus value and accumulation, while background conditions which are nature, polity and social reproduction provide labourers to produce them. These are critical parts of capitalism and are indispensable. Besides, there are always boundary struggles between them.

These struggles determine the capitalist system and things at the side of the boundary are changeable according to the capitalist eras. In this thesis, the events that occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic are also considered a period in which capitalism in its neoliberal phase is functioning as a whole, while at the same time, the struggles over the boundaries between production and reproduction have become more pronounced.

In the next part, only social reproduction, which is one of the background conditions, will be explained because it is related to the subject of this thesis. Then, in order to illustrate this perspective, the changes in production and social reproduction at the three periods of capitalism will be mentioned. Afterwards, on account of the fact that the subject of the thesis is the care crisis during the COVID-19 pandemic, the definition of the care crisis from the SRT aspect will be clarified.

2.2.2. The Concept of Social Reproduction

The concept of social reproduction has been important to understanding women's inequality situation in societies. As can be seen in the previous part, the fact of who social reproduction is supplied to and used by has been contested. Besides, the quality of this social reproduction labour -i.e. whether it is productive labour or not- is debatable. In this chapter, to clear up the SRT, the conceptualization of it by SRFs is presented.

Social Reproduction theorists care about Brenner and Laslett's (1991) definition of social reproduction. Their definition of social reproduction states that:

> … the activities and attitudes, behaviours and emotions, and responsibilities and relationships directly involved in maintaining life on a daily basis and intergenerationally. It involves various kinds of socially necessary work - mental, physical, and emotional- aimed at providing the historically and socially, as well as biologically, defined means for maintaining and reproducing populations. Among other things, social reproduction includes how food, clothing, and shelter are made available for immediate consumption, how the maintenance and socialization of children is accomplished, how care of the elderly and infirm is provided, and how sexuality is socially constructed (Brenner & Laslett, 1991, p. 314).

As can be seen in the definition, Brenner and Laslett (1991) do not only understand biological reproduction from the concept of social reproduction, but they also reckon the reproduction of social systems, which they call societal reproduction. According to their words, "Social reproduction is more than procreation. Social reproduction refers to the perpetuation of entire social systems, that is, to societal reproduction" (Brenner & Laslett, 1989). This determination is crucial because it implies that particular class relationships also establish the circumstances required for social reproduction (Arruzza, 2016, p. 10). This subject argued especially by Marxist and

socialist feminists covers “the forms of provisioning, caregiving, and interacting that produce and maintain social bonds” (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, p. 52).

Social reproduction has a critical significance for societal reproduction. Social reproduction includes three key components, namely “the biological reproduction of the species,” “the reproduction of the labour force,” and the “reproduction of provisioning and caring needs” and then, these components support the necessities for reproducing the whole system, which is a societal system (Arruzza, 2016, p. 10). The shape of understanding capitalism is critical at this point as regards to SRT. According to SRT, capitalism is not only an "economic system" but also has a variety of social processes. As detailed in the previous part, capitalism needs some prerequisites to produce surplus values and provide accumulation. These are called "background conditions" by SRFs and ensure to occur "productive labourers". Hence, background conditions, which are "society, polity and nature, are not outside of capitalism and as innately antithetical towards it" in the aspect of SRT (Fraser, 2022, p. 22). This view affords to centrally scrutinize the social reproduction activities when criticizing capitalism. In the opinion of SRT, social reproduction includes not only the reproduction of labour-power but also "the creation, socialisation, and subjectivation of human beings more generally" (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, p. 53). In this regard, social reproduction occurs through institutions such as neighbourhoods, civil society associations, marketized areas, and state agencies such as hospitals and schools.

At this point, it should be emphasized that the family/household also has an important place in the subject of gender inequality. Vogel (2013, p.220) declares that the families of the oppressed class became the main social spaces for the maintenance and renewal of necessary labour and that this was one of the sources of the gendered division of labour between men and women. With other institutions or relationships about social reproduction, household/family is privately attached importance because, as challenged by Brenner and Laslett (1989), the households/family are assessed as not being passive sociohistorical agents and so the conceptualisation of the family is vital for the understanding complex process of social reproduction (Brenner & Laslett, 1986, p. 117). The family/household is an

active subject in the boundary encounters of production and reproduction areas, as also viewed through Fraser's classification of the capitalist regime. During the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been a significant decrease in access to areas that enable social reproduction, and households have become the primary bearers owing to marketized provision of social reproduction services. Therefore, it can be considered the evaluation of the conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic is essential concerning this perspective. For this reason, the family/household has the central position in this thesis.

Now, firstly, based on this conceptualization of social reproduction by SRT, the periodization of capitalism and the change in the field of social reproduction according to these periods will be discussed. Next, the conceptualization of the care crisis will be addressed.

2.2.3. Three Regimes of Capitalism from the Perspective of the Social Reproduction Theory

As explained above, SRT alleges the process of the capitalist system as a whole, and so it should be analysed by considering background and foreground conditions, which are production and reproduction; economy and polity; and human and non-human nature. These conditions are both affected by the other and respond to the other. They dialectically alter vis-a-vis in the capitalist system. If needed to say more clearly in the context of this thesis study, the changes in production and reproduction areas are correlatively determined to another side. The line between background and foreground conditions of capitalism is determined according to the accumulation regimes of the period (Fraser, 2022, p. 20). Therefore, SRFs allege that each period of capitalism creates certain norms in the field of production and social reproduction.

Fraser (2016, p.5) divides capitalist history into three periods: liberal capitalism (19th century), state-managed capitalism (20th century), and the neoliberal era that covers the current period According to her, the conditions of each regime within capitalism have given rise to distinct social norms related to social reproduction in capitalist production. These norms are respectively ‘separate spheres’, ‘the family wage’ and

the ‘two-earner family' (Fraser, 2016, p. 6). In the 19th century competitive capitalist regime, while political administrations left the social reproduction of workers to their own autonomy, they created a bourgeois home imagination in which women were identified with the domestic sphere, which was separated from the sphere of production (Fraser, 2016, p. 5).

After the Great Depression and the Second World War, capitalism tried to guarantee social reproduction activities and to stabilize them (Fraser, 2022, p. 65). In this period, labelled as "state-managed capitalism", states in the core have taken some responsibilities to continue social reproduction. In the state-managed capitalism of the 20th century, industrial production and domestic consumerism in the core were widespread, while colonial operations were maintained in periphery countries (Fraser, 2016, p. 5). According to Brenner and Laslett (1991, p. 315), the new organization of social reproduction at the turn of this century caused a new focus on nuclear family relations. Although the rate of participation of women in employment and their level of education have increased in this period, women with children have had to be dependent on men who have been seen as breadwinners because they have possessed some difficulties in coping with both domestic work, and paid work responsibilities (Brenner & Laslett, 1991, p. 316). While men are seen as being "breadwinners", women are considered as being providers to dependents. On account that in the capitalist system, money is the main tool, "breadwinners" are more important than women. Thus, men do not need to take any emotional or physical responsibilities for dependents, care requirements and domestic work are handled by women.

This distinction between production and reproduction areas triggered the enlargement of the gap between men and women. In capitalist societies where money is the primary power, the transfer of the labour required for social reproduction to the household and the invisibility of the non-payment of wages required women to be subjected to wages. Mohesendi and Teiltelman (2017, p.56) show that women whose husbands were employed in paid jobs were expelled from their own paid jobs during the New Deal era in America. As a result of this process, the family wage was formalized and the hierarchical structure in the division of labour between women and men among the working class was supported. Briefly, the separation of

commodity production and social reproduction and dependence on wages resulted in inequalities which favour men over women (Fraser, 2014a, p. 8; Mohandesi & Teitelman, 2017, p. 43). However, the separation between these areas is only an apparent split at a glance on the account that "there is no labour in modern society entirely outside of the capital, and no capital outside of (socially differentiated [re]productive) labour" (Ferguson S. , 2016, p. 56).

The rise in wages and the acquisition of fringe benefits during the welfare state period allowed the mass transformation of the working class into a mass of consumers. Technological products developed mostly for domestic work, such as vacuum cleaners and dishwashers, became widespread among the working class. Thus, social reproduction works, though unpaid, were integrated into capitalist relations (Mohandesi & Teitelman, 2017, pp. 61-62). At this point, the warning of Mohasendi and Teiltelman (2017) is important for our understanding of the relationship between labour performed in the field of social reproduction and capitalism: "capitalism cannot commodify all work in the field of social reproduction, and all paid social reproduction work cannot replace unpaid reproduction work". The point to be noted here is that capitalism organizes social reproduction works by transforming it into a paid one or not by shaping the conditions for the realization of unpaid labour. This determination leads to the conclusion that the activities in social reproduction are not free from the capitalist mode of production and that it also has its area apart from commodity production. In my opinion, this is an important conclusion that can show the distinction of SRT from the statements of Delphy (1988) and Hartmann (1979), who assume two different modes of production.

To sum up generally, in addition to corporations, states have mainly fulfilled some responsibilities passed from families to states in state-managed capitalism (Brenner & Laslett, 1991, p. 391). In the state-managed capitalism era, the understanding has rooted gendered heteronormative families which cover breadwinner males and homemaker women. Applied policies and investments in this period have underlined these gender norms (Fraser, 2022, p. 66). On the other hand, towards the end of the period, to maintain the raised life standard when men’s wages were insufficient,

women had to work for paid jobs. In this situation, in addition to the reduction in the number of family members, certain technological tools have made it easier for women to perform domestic tasks.

Until the recession in 1973, there was an interventionist state that cared about social welfare between capital and the working class. However, after the economic crises of this period, a different path was sought, and the practices that came into effect after Thatcher's election in England at the end of the 1970s gained symbolic meaning in terms of neoliberal policies that responded to this search. In Harvey's words, neoliberal policies added new ones to capitalism's ways of accumulation by dispossession. To summarize this process in his own words:

> The reversion of common property rights won through years of hard class struggle (the right to a state pension, to welfare, to national health care) into the private domain has been one of the most egregious of all policies of dispossession pursued in the name of neoliberal orthodoxy. (Harvey, 2007, p. 36)

As a result, the responsibility for the social expenditures previously made by the states, which increases social welfare, has to be transferred to individuals and families.

During the neoliberal period, which is the last periodization by Fraser (2016), associated with globalization and financialization, there have been significant changes in the field of paid work and social reproduction compared to the previous periods. Paid production facilities were moved to peripheral countries where fringe benefits are less, and wages are lower. Although this situation was sometimes evaluated positively because it increased women's participation in employment, their concomitant low wages and poor working conditions did not offer opportunities for women to increase their living standards (Moghadam, 1999, p. 135). Nevertheless, as stated by Mohasendi and Teiltelman (2017), as a result of neoliberalism causing regressions or cessation of workers' fringe benefits (such as family assistance, and insurance), women in the welfare state period have shifted from being unemployed to compulsorily being working. Along with the emergence of the “two-earner family” norms addressed by Fraser (2016, pp. 5-6), women created a reserve army of labour that was vulnerable and easily exploited (Mohandesi & Teitelman, 2017, p. 64).

From this, it can be concluded that restriction of state support in the field of social reproduction due to neoliberalism has changed the wage employment conditions of the working class, and women of this class particularly. They are forced to become waged labourers on account of policies applied to both social reproduction and production spheres in the process, so the “two-earner family” norm reveals itself in the neoliberal era. Like previous periods, the separation between production and social reproduction is set on the gendered ground. Nevertheless, apart from them, prominent thought of this period is "liberal individual and gender egalitarian" (Fraser, 2022, p. 69). In contrast to the general assumption, this does not enable them to be free; on the contrary, women are exposed to more exploitation in the capitalist system (Stanislav, 2020). As a result, it can be said, while families and communities obtain almost no support from the states for social reproduction, it is the responsibility of women to meet these requirements in the field of reproduction. The production capacity of women in this field is reduced on the one hand, as they are also exploited in their paid jobs.

After the shrinking of the welfare state, households, and especially women in households, have been burdened with meeting requirements about social reproduction on account of neoliberal policies. Social reproduction is organized in a dual way in this era: it is commodified for those who can pay for their needs in this area and privatized for those who cannot (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 79). Those who have the purchasing power have responded to their needs in the field of social reproduction, such as the services provided by private nurseries and elderly care institutions, the use of ready meals and takeaway meals, with these commodified services (Lombardozzi, 2020, p. 318). On the other hand, individuals who cannot purchase their needs from the market have to either work in waged jobs to ensure provision of them or perform those tasks themselves.

As seen in these three regimes of capitalism, social reproduction ways have changed according to the accumulation mode of the periods. Ultimately, capital assaults in binary ways by reorganising the conditions of both production and social reproduction (Bhattacharya, 2017b, p. 90). Nonetheless, this situation is not problem-free for capitalism which processes as a whole. The SRFs defend that the capitalist

system encompasses internal contradictions. Care crisis, as will be seen in the next section, is a specific and inherent part of this contradiction.

2.2.4. Social Reproduction Theory and Care Crisis

To deem the care crisis from SRT's perspective, firstly, the distinctive features of capitalism should be understood. From a Marxist analysis of capitalism, Fraser (2014) declares that capitalism has four main peculiar features. The first of these is the existence of “private property”, which brings about capitalism to distinguish between producers and owners. Second, there is “free labour” instead of slave labour. For this reason, free labour can only meet their basic needs of living by working. The third feature is the unlimited tendency of capital to expand under capitalism. Due to this feature, capital gains central importance in shaping the functioning of the capitalist system.

The final feature is that the transformation of productive inputs into commodities under capitalism is based on a non-commodity background and capitalism determines how society will generate surplus value. How the surplus value is created and used determines the remaining activities which are not directly associated with the economic sphere of the society, such as family life, and leisure time, and how they are associated with paid jobs. This approach enables the SRFs to define capitalism as being an "institutionalized societal order". According to them, commodification is not ubiquitous in the capitalist system. Conversely, when it does exist, it must rely on non-commodification zones for its continued existence, which capital cannibalises systematically (Fraser, 2022, p. 18). In the opinion of the SRT, the crises in the capitalist system occur owing to this critical situation. Within the capitalist system, on the one hand, the tendency towards commodification is the fundamental defining feature of the system; but on the other hand, non-commodified spaces are needed for this to happen.

This last feature plays a crucial role in the Marxist Feminist perspective to analyse women's oppression because it enables us to understand the relationship between paid and unpaid labour. Placing women's oppression in the context of social

reproduction and reproduction of labour-power, Vogel (2013, p.210) states that every social production process is also a reproduction process and that social reproduction also necessitates the reproduction of production conditions. For social reproduction, the supply of labour-power must always be ready. However, the readiness of labour-power, that is, people who potentially carry labour-power, to enter labour processes depends on social reproduction processes.

In this sense, social reproduction processes are historically determined to produce "workers" in a broader framework, rather than processes in which individual needs are met, and consumers eventually come into existence. In capitalist societies, the social formation - many social relations and daily and generational reproduction processes - is shaped according to capital's accumulation and profit logic due to mandatory dependency on wages (Ferguson S. , 1999, p. 5). Even if these relationships and processes occur outside the market, they are dominated by capitalism (Ferguson S. , 2016, p. 56). Although it seems to be relatively free from the direct control of capital in modern societies, social reproduction and the labour performed in this field are also inherent in capitalist formation.

Fraser defines (2014, p. 7) "social reproduction" as that:

> … the forms of provisioning, caregiving and interaction that produce and maintain social bonds. Variously called 'care', 'affective labour' or 'subjectivation', this activity forms capitalism's human subjects, sustaining them as embodied natural beings, while also constituting them as social beings, forming their habitus and the socio-ethical substance, or Sittlichkeit, in which they move.

This approach manifests two points. Firstly, labour-power in capitalist societies exists and occurs outside of markets like households, and schools, which are called "extra-economic but intra-capitalist" areas by Fraser. Namely, the social whole is revealed by numerable social relations between workplaces, households, schools, and hospitals (Bhattacharya, 2017b, p. 74). Secondly, these areas which are not directly dependent on capitalist relations are extremely vital for being capitalist relations in the sense of incorporating commodity production.

Although Fraser (2016, p.4) states that these "extra-economic but intra-capitalist" areas are the basic conditions that enable capitalism to exist, she thinks that there are

conflicts between these conditions and the basic features of capitalism. Unlike previous economic systems, capitalism focuses on continuous endless accumulation. This feature of economic production, which is commodity production, causes structural contradictions between it and social reproduction that enable it to exist. These non-economic activities, ideas, or norms such as ‘care, solidarity, democratic participation' might be examples of opposite tendencies in these spheres (Curty, 2020, p. 1333). Based on these basic determinations, Fraser (2014b) deduces that capitalism works as a whole; however, it encompasses all contradictory tendencies. While capitalism is dependent on social reproduction for its existence, it also jeopardizes the conditions of its own existence and destabilizes social reproduction processes due to its focus on endless accumulation (Fraser, 2016).

While social reproduction is crucial for capitalism; one of the basic features of capitalist production is unlimited accumulation. This aspect causes social reproduction to be unstable. In other words, according to the SRT Feminists, capitalism's treatment of social reproduction is contradictory. For example, a woman's paid working hours may cause spending less time caring for her child. This dual burden of paid employment and reproductive work threatens capital from the field of social reproduction (Rao, 2021, p. 42). “On the one hand, the system cannot function without this activity; on the other, it disavows the latter's costs and accords it little or no economic value” (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 73). In this understanding, this crisis is not accidental in capitalism; on the contrary, all eras of capitalism tend to be exposed to that crisis.

The SRT presents that capitalism possesses contradictions between parts which are composed of it. According to the SRT, there are contradictions between the economic system and background conditions which are not economic but intra-capitalism. Namely, there are intrinsic conflicts between nature and society, production and social reproduction, polity and economy and exploitation and expropriation. Therefore, the society, that reveals these contradictions, creates boundary struggles between these background and foreground conditions areas (Fraser, 2022, p. 24). Fraser (2017) conveys that “this crisis [care crisis] as one

strand of a general crisis that also encompasses other strands—economic, ecological, and political, all of which intersect with and exacerbate one another".

In this respect, the COVID-19 period constitutes a cross-sectional presentation that reveals the intersection of the general crisis spreading to different areas. The prominent explanation for the emergence of COVID-19 is that bats living in wildlife enter the habitats of humans as a result of the shrinkage of their habitats, thus transmitting the SARS-CoV-2 virus from these wild animals to humans (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health). The reasons for the disappearance of intermediate hosts and wildlife habitats are global warming, the cutting down of tropical forests and the destruction of wildlife habitats for profit-oriented activities such as mining and tourism. For this reason, Fraser (2021) defines the COVID-19 period as "the intersection of capitalist irrationalities and injustices". The ecological crisis, the effects of which have recently been felt more strikingly through the climate, causes the emergence of multiple crises in countries by increasing phenomena such as migration and poverty (Mosler Vidal, 2023). Regarding this, it can be considered that the crisis of care is structural and is only part of the broad and general crises of contemporary capitalism for the SRT feminists. Fraser (2016) claims the 'crisis of care' means the contradictions of social reproduction of financialized capitalism. Accordingly, the care crisis goes beyond the work-family balance and covers issues such as housing, health services, and food security (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 79).

The SRFs consider social reproduction activities to be indispensable activities for society such as raising children and caring for the household, maintaining community, and feeding friendships (Fraser, 2022, p. 53). However, especially in the neoliberal era of dual-earner family norms, the time and labour of individuals are captured to produce surplus value for companies. When it is considered that care works enable the capitalist system to achieve paid workers, this subject related to distributed time and labour displays that the care crisis is a crisis of the system's ability to reproduce itself (Bhattacharya, 2017a, p. 12). This is much more at the regime form of capitalism today. In the present era, neoliberalism causes the reduction of individual capacities and complicates sustaining social bonds (Arruzza,

Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 73). Consequently, the norm of the neoliberal era is the most important cause of the current social reproductive crisis (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 74).

Briefly, the care crisis is a problem related to the system's capacity for self-reproduction in the SRT's framework. This situation is not accidental in capitalism. On the contrary, the primary feature of capitalism, which enables capitalism to differentiate from previous production systems, is completely opposed to its ontological conditions. Capitalism focuses on producing much more surplus value; hence it discards all of the expense which causes it to decrease this.

In this chapter, on account that the research question focuses on women and their class experiences, firstly, the main approaches to the relationship between gender inequality and class have been explained. Then, the critiques of the SRT to these approaches have been mentioned. Following this, the main features of the SRT which is also framing this study have been represented. As highlighted by Jaffe (2020b), the times of the COVID-19 pandemic have become an example of capitalism's inherent tendency to produce crisis. In the following chapter, changes at work and life during the COVID-19 pandemic will be scrutinised and assessed from the lens of the SRT.

SRT provides a significant framework for evaluating capitalism as a whole, particularly in assessing women's paid and unpaid labour. This framework allows for the recognition that, despite appearing temporally, spatially, and in terms of beneficiaries as distinct, these two forms of labour actually belong to the same overarching system. SRT’s conceptualization of boundary struggles addresses criticisms that might suggest it is incorrect to evaluate these seemingly disparate areas within the same framework. In other words, the concept of boundary struggles and the related notion of "extra-economic but intra-capitalist" play a critical role in understanding the relationship between these two forms of labour within the capitalist system. As illustrated by Fraser’s periodization of capitalism, boundary struggles between production and reproduction areas lead to variations in social norms. Furthermore, the concept of boundary struggles is crucial for understanding

the structural nature of crises within capitalism. This thesis will examine the care crisis, which is structural within capitalism and arises from the boundary struggles between production and reproduction, in the context of its manifestation during COVID-19. Fraser's observation that the marketisation of care and the normalization of addressing social reproduction needs through the market in the neoliberal era is also noteworthy for understanding women's paid and unpaid labour. The following section will address the key topics of unpaid labour, remote work, and the care crisis, within the comprehensive framework provided by SRT

CHAPTER 3

CHANGES IN WORK AND LIFE DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The COVID-19 pandemic may have affected all people, but it differentially affected them. The probability of being infected with the COVID-19 pandemic varied according to inequalities in society: the probability of being infected in crowded homes and those living in crowded workplaces such as factories was usually more probably than for those living in sheltered communities, and employees in places such as plazas where almost everyone had at least a separate table -perhaps a separate room. As the UN secretary said “COVID-19 is shining a spotlight on this injustice” (Guterres, 2020). Maybe, "we were all in the same boat during the COVID-19 pandemic", as stated by several leaders to keep society together and call for solidarity during the epidemic. However, not everyone on the ship was affected by the waves in the same way: some managed to live as far from the waves as possible on the upper decks, while others had to remain on the deck or in the engine room.

The way in which individuals relate to the measures taken against the COVID-19 pandemic also differed according to these inequality situations in society. Within the scope of the COVID-19 measures, full shutdown measures were implemented at varying times worldwide. While some people who were named as "essential workers" continued to work, others, within the scope of this policy, were obliged to work from home rather than in the workplaces in eligible sectors. In addition, places such as cafes and restaurants were closed down to reduce physical contact. This situation not only reduced social interaction but also led to the household becoming the sole option for meeting needs such as food and drink, which could be purchased from outside. In addition, the fact that the requirements such as cleaning and childcare could not be bought from the market, especially during the shutdown

periods, made it necessary to increase the time allocated to the domestic labour required for reproduction within the home.

It simultaneously led to the realisation of production and reproduction activities within the house. The temporal and spatial intertwining of production and reproduction activities could be considered through the SRT's conceptualisation of “boundary struggles”, connected with this, care crisis. In this section, changes at work and in life owing to the COVID-19 pandemic will be elaborated. For this reason, firstly, the change in unpaid labour within the scope of the measures taken during the COVID-19 pandemic will be explained with empirical data. Then, in this period, the experiences and effects of remote work will be introduced. Lastly, the COVID-19 process will be discussed from the care crisis perspective, as a conceptualization offered by the SRT.

3.1. Unpaid Labour and COVID-19 Pandemic

For a long time, unpaid labour had been invisible owing to debates about qualitative features. The mainstream economists (Smith, 1977; Mankiw, 1998; Marshall, 1997) have claimed labour in households is not productive labour therefore it cannot be argued via economic terminology. Labour in households generally put by women, which produces use-values, has largely been ignored while exchange-value production labour has taken centre stage. However, as can be seen from the SRT's perspective, capitalism functions as a whole. Unpaid labour reveals the workers who generate meta, or exchange value. Furthermore, as was already indicated, the density of unpaid labour has changed by the regulation forms of unpaid labour or women's participation in employment under the three regimes of capitalism explained by Fraser (2016). Since private production and overall production are directly correlated, household unpaid labour is necessary to keep the system operating (Benston, 1969). Consequently, despite that it is not meta production, this production is crucial for producing meta, which possesses exchange value.

Recognising that women perform housework "voluntarily" or "by nature" allows for the unseen character of household labour. Feminists have proposed a variety of

approaches in the past to make it visible. The "Wages for Housework" campaign[5], spearheaded by James, Federici, and Dalla Costa (1975), has been more prominent in these approaches. In capitalism, "money became a primary medium of power" (Fraser, 2022, p. 56); therefore, despite debates over this endeavour, it has provided that unpaid labour is considered in the economic framework which is essential in a capitalist system. Thanks to the point made by this campaign, the relationship between reproductive labour in houses and meta-produced labour has been discussed more.

Today, women perform these works to meet a need, and in this context, evaluating these types of labour as work in the economic sense has been the result of a long process. This admission has changed by expanding the definition of work. It now means that "work can be carried out in any economic unit and the product produced or service provided can be for others or oneself" (ILO, 2023). This dramatic change in the definition of work has been a significant turning point in overcoming these debates. This has enabled the labour performed to meet the needs that are invisible and mostly met by women in the household to be counted as a category of work.

According to OECD (2021c), "routine housework, shopping, childcare, adult care, childcare, volunteer work, travel related to household activities, care for non-household members, and other unpaid activities" constitute unpaid work. These unpaid works are like "subsidies to public sector provisioning" (Antonopoulos, 2009, p. 8). When these activities are considered, it may be claimed that they support the sustainability, health, and well-being of the family and society. Therefore, unpaid work is similar to air; each of them is both invisible and vital for individuals.

The time spent on unpaid work for all individuals takes an important place in their lives. As demonstrated in Table 1, one-third of all work-related time has been spent on unpaid labour in five of the largest economies: the United States, China, Germany, Japan, and India (IMF, 2023). In Türkiye, which ranks 15th regarding the time spent on unpaid work, the amount of time spent on paid and unpaid work is

[5] For more information about this campaign, can see *The Power of Women & the Subversion of Community* (Dalla Costa & James, 1975); Wages Against Housework by Silvia Federici and The History of Wages for Housework by Dengler (2024).

nearly equal. In Türkiye, the time spent on total work is 398,4 minutes per day, while 198,7 minutes of it are dedicated to unpaid work and 199,7 minutes is paid work.

Table 1. Time Use in Paid, Unpaid, And Total Work by Gender

Age Group		15-64																									
Time		Latest year																									
Indicator		Time spent in unpaid work, by sex								Time spent in paid work, by sex								Time spent in total work, by sex									
Sex		All persons	Men		Women			All persons	Men		Women			All persons	Men		Women										
Unit		Minutes per day								Minutes per day								Minutes per day									
Country				i		i				i			i					i			i						
Mexico			269,8		131,4				358,6		478,3			236,3			628,4			609,8			567,6				
Australia			243,2		171,6				238,2		304,1			172,0			483,3			475,7			483,0				
Slovenia			230,7		166,5				264,6		299,8			234,2			495,3			466,3			520,4				
Poland			226,1		158,8				218,1		314,8			203,2			444,1			473,6			498,2				
Portugal			222,5		96,3				295,0		372,3			231,3			517,6			468,6			559,4				
Italy			219,0		130,7				328,2		306,3			176,7			395,7			351,5			439,5				
Spain			216,7		145,9				289,1		202,0			166,8			418,7			382,1			455,9				
Denmark			216,6		186,1				242,8		224,8			260,1			441,4			446,2			437,4				
Ireland			212,6		127,0				292,5		270,6			340,8			483,2			467,8			487,4				
Belgium			210,9		144,2				237,3		190,9			273,7			401,7			417,9			436,6				
Estonia			207,7		160,2				249,2		255,6			264,1			463,3			424,2			494,1				
New Zealand			204,0		141,0				264,0		270,0			338,0			474,0			479,0			469,0				
Austria			202,0		135,3				269,2		306,4			364,8			508,4			500,1			517,9				
Hungary			200,1		162,3				293,8		277,2			272,7			477,3			435,0			496,3				
Türkiye			198,7		67,6				305,0		199,7			358,3			398,4			425,8			439,0				
United States			197,4		165,8				271,3		289,5			331,7			486,9			497,6			518,3				
Finland			196,9		157,5				235,8		229,1			248,6			426,0			406,0			445,7				
Sweden			196,3		171,0				220,2		274,2			313,0			470,6			484,0			495,3				
Latvia			196,1		129,7				253,3		329,9			376,9			526,0			506,7			541,7				
Norway			196,0		168,5				227,4		241,3			277,4			437,2			445,9			427,4				
Germany			195,9		150,4				242,3		247,9			289,5			443,8			440,0			447,7				
United Kingdom			194,5		140,1				248,6		262,3			308,6			456,8			448,7			464,8				
Greece			193,0		95,1				259,5		181,9			274,3			374,9			369,4			444,0				
Netherlands			192,8		145,4				224,9		280,7			284,9			473,5			430,4			426,4				
Non-OECD Economies	India		191,1		51,8				351,9		295,0			390,6			486,1			442,3			536,6				
Canada			186,0		148,1				223,7		304,6			340,5			490,6			488,7			491,9				
Non-OECD Economies	South Africa		182,3		102,9				249,6		240,6			294,2			422,9			397,1			444,6				
France			181,1		134,9				224,0		204,2			235,1			385,3			370,1			399,4				
Non-OECD Economies	China (People's Republic of)		163,9		91,0				234,0		339,8			390,0			503,7			481,0			525,0				
Korea			135,8		49,0				215,0		348,2			419,0			484,0			468,0			484,4				
Japan			132,0		40,8				224,3		362,7			451,8			494,7			492,6			495,8				
Lithuania			..		151,6				292,0		..			354,3			..			505,9			571,2				
Luxembourg			..		121,1				239,6		..			330,0			238,9			451,1			478,5				
OECD - Average			..		136,5				263,4		..			317,8			217,7			454,3			481,1				

Source: OECD Stat (2023)

When analysing who engages in unpaid labour based on time use surveys, Table 1 unsurprisingly shows that women work more than men do across all countries. In Türkiye, the average amount of time women spend on unpaid labour each day is 305 minutes, compared to 263,4 minutes for women in the OECD. As a result, Türkiye is currently placed sixth among these countries in terms of the duration of unpaid labour that women engage in. On account that time-use surveys not only increase visibility but also specify which activities constitute unpaid labour, reviewing the relevant data in a more detailed way is required.

To examine unpaid work in greater depth and to gain a comprehensive understanding of it, time-use surveys made in 18 countries between 2008 and 2015 can be analysed6. First of all, as seen in Figure 1, it is remarkable that women in every country devote a greater amount of time to these duties than men when it comes to handling household and family care duties. The other remarkable aspect is that women in Türkiye spend a full three hours and 16 minutes more on those responsibilities than men do, and this is the largest gender gap among these countries.

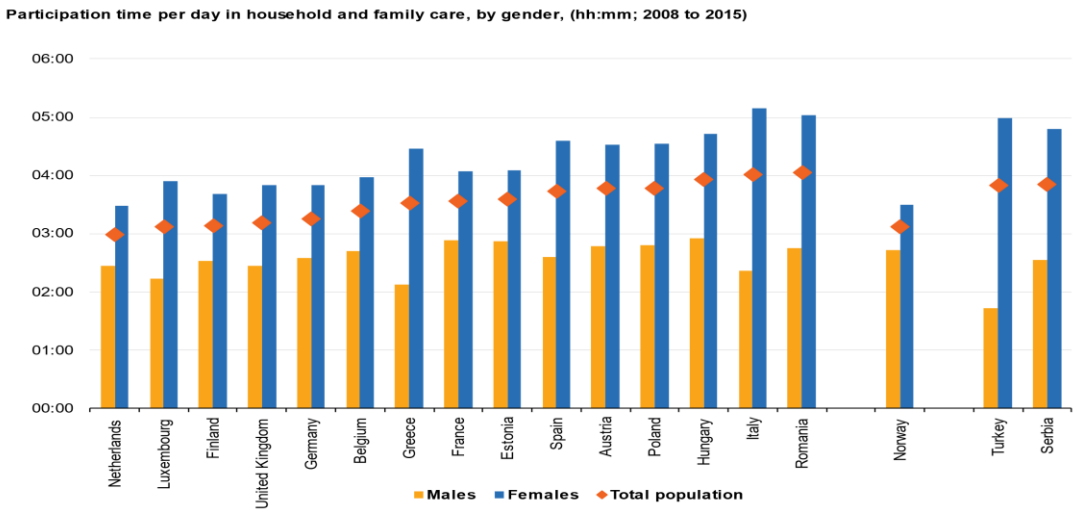

Figure 1. Participation time per day in household and family care, by gender, (2008 to 2015)

Source: Euro Stat, 2016

[6] Harmonised European Time Use Surveys (HETUS) which are made approximately every ten years are inspiring because they enable researchers to compare countries. The last report of HETUS covered between 2008 and 2015, while it remarks that HETUS 2020 is studying the current process (Euro Stat, 2016).

Figures 2, 3, 4 and 5 show the percentages of men and women who participate in different household work and childcare. When these figures are delicately analysed, women's rate of participation is higher in almost all works and countries.[7] When the organized styles of the capitalist system explained by the SRFs are considered, this is not surprising. The majority of the labour involved in social reproduction is performed by women.

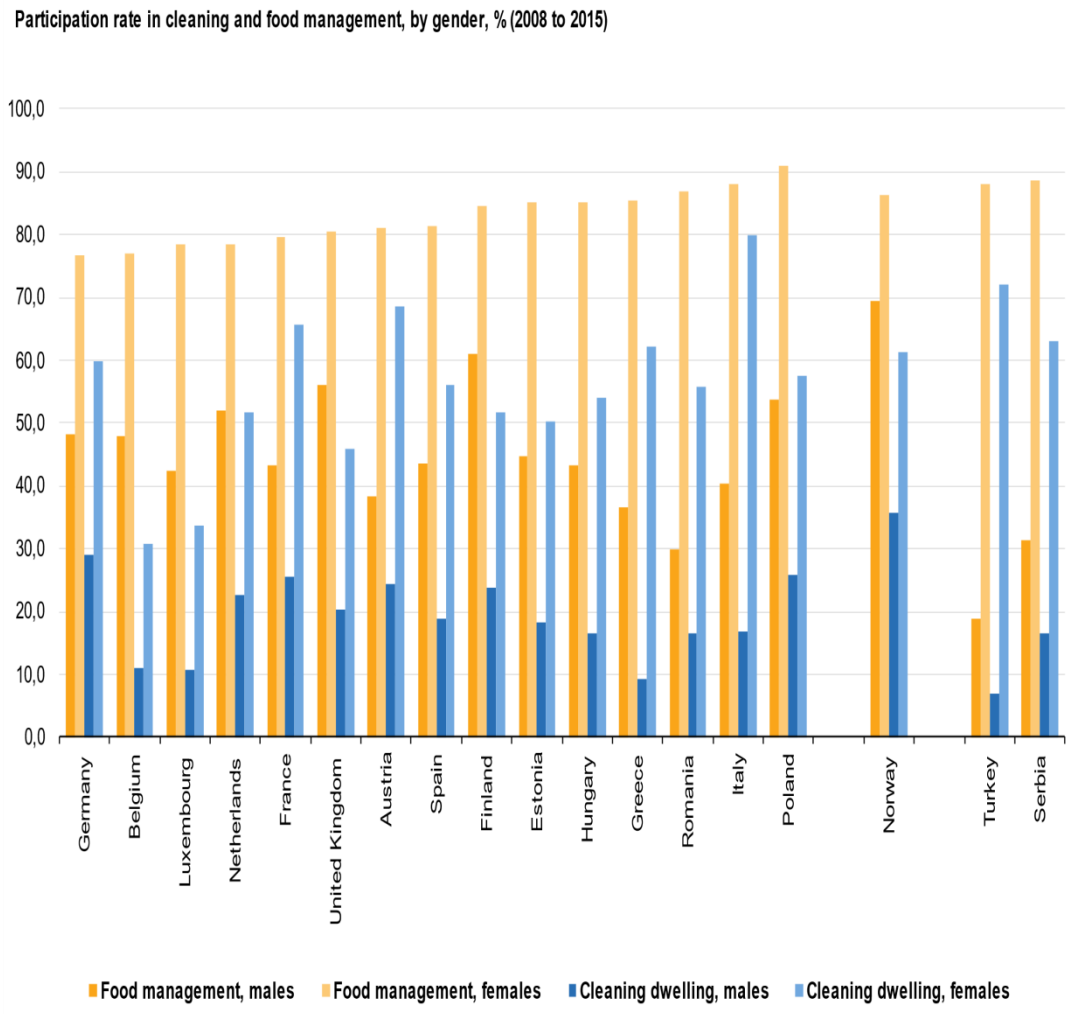

Figure 2. Participation rate ın cleaning and food management, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)

Source: Euro Stat, 2016

[7] The exceptional data in this report relates to services and shopping in Türkiye. To do shopping and services, men perform 0.4 per cent more than women in Türkiye. Since this time is nearly equal, it may actually be ignored. However, in my opinion, it can be significant on account that this data is distinct from others.

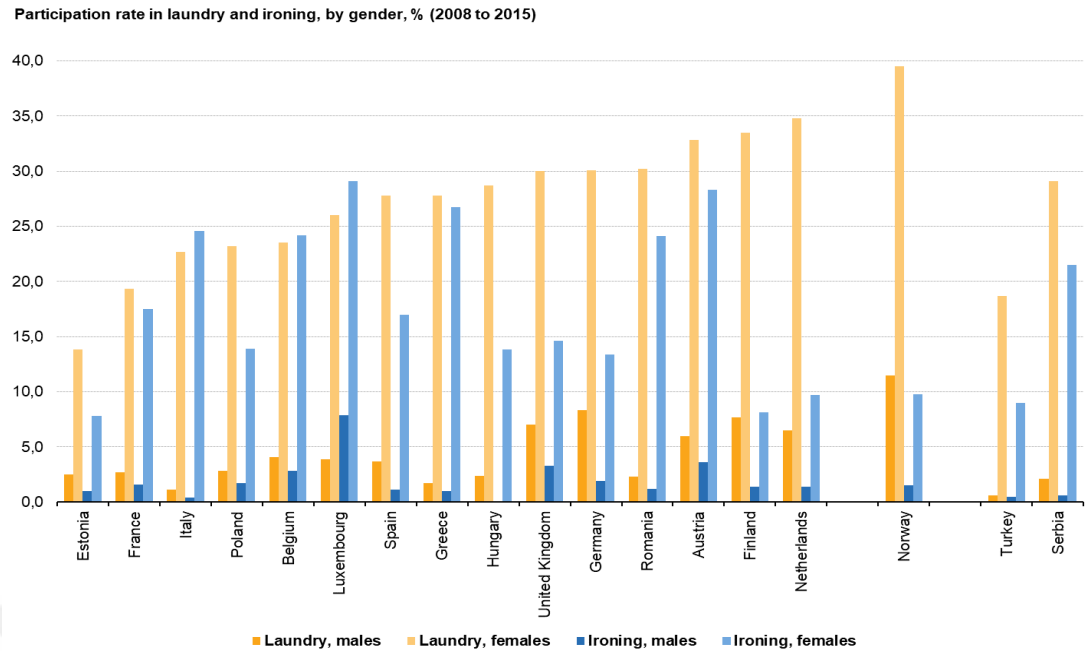

Figure 3. Participation rate in laundry and ironing, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)

Source: Euro Stat, 2016

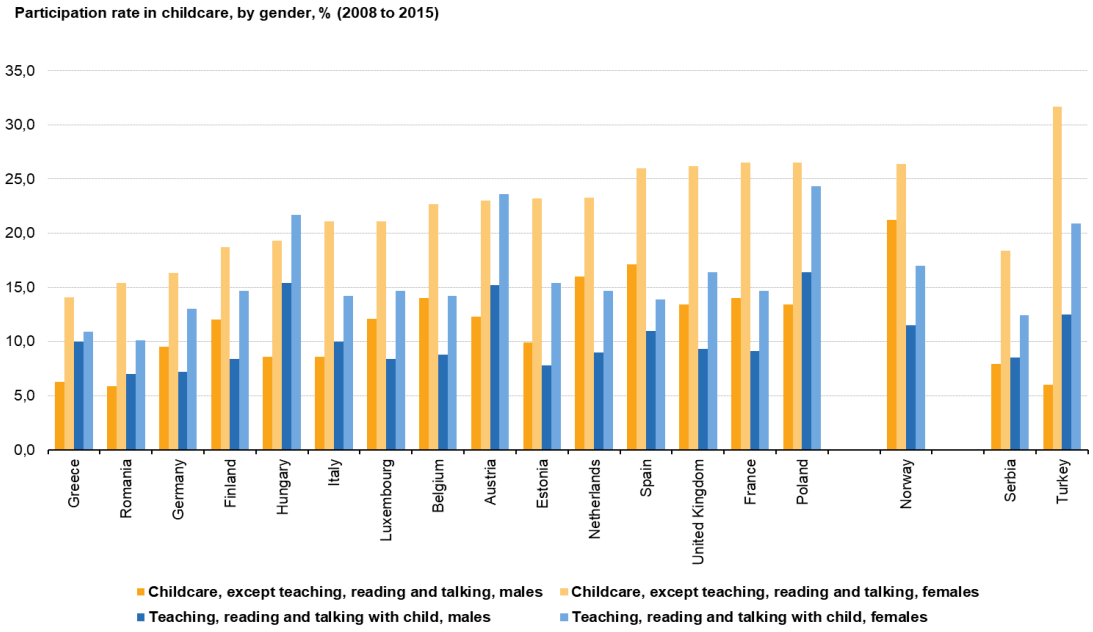

Figure 4. Participation rate in children, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)

Source: Euro Stat, 2016

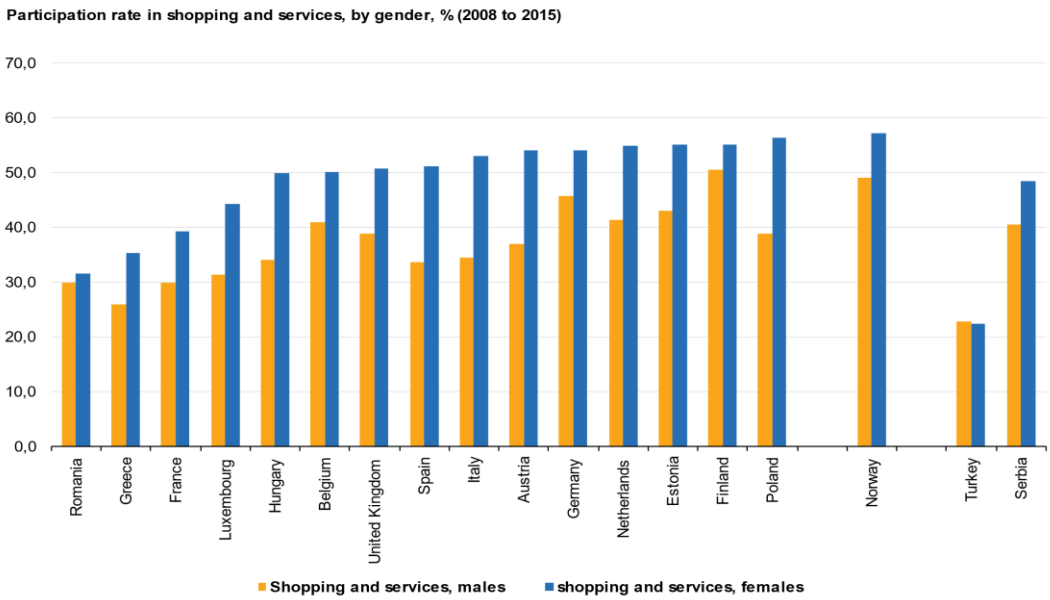

Figure 5. Participation rate in shopping and services, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)

Source: Euro Stat, 2016

As seen via these figures, the gender gap in spending time on household responsibilities and family care is differentiated according to countries and duties and the rate of participation is higher to the detriment of women. Nevertheless, when looking at the overall situation including both women and men, it is observed that the averages of both of them are seriously high. As demonstrated in Table 2, when calculated from the EuroStat data, the average percentages of women and men participating in household duties and family care are, respectively, 96,1% and 81,4%. This data displays that people spend crucial time on unpaid labour in capitalist society.

Table 2. Participation Rate in Household and Family Care, Main Activity, %, By Gender (2008 To 2015)

	Household and family care, males	Household and family care, females
Luxembourg	80,8	94,2
Greece	71,6	94,6
Spain	77,2	94,8

Table 2 (continued)

France	82,1	94,8
Italy	69,7	95,4
Belgium	86,5	95,6
Estonia	83,1	95,7
Germany	88,5	96,3
Netherlands	88,8	96,3
Romania	78,9	96,3
Austria	81,5	96,4
United Kingdom	88,9	96,8
Finland	93,0	97,3
Hungary	85,9	97,4
Poland	86,4	97,9
Norway	91,8	98,3
Turkey	53,4	95,0
Serbia	77,5	96,6

Source: Euro Stat, 2016

During the COVID-19 pandemic period, various measures were taken to prevent the spread of the virus all over the world. Within the scope of these measures, it was aimed to switch to working from home for feasible sectors, close schools, close

places such as cafes and restaurants, and reduce social activities that can be carried out outside the home. As a result of the measures taken during the COVID-19 pandemic, it has been more clearly seen that the house is inextricably linked to all other places and processes through the activities of our daily life provided by the unpaid labour processes that take place inside the house.

Accordingly, the amount of unpaid labour has increased for both men and women in many countries during COVID-19. To illustrate, according to the report included the five countries by OXFAM, both women and men in Kenya, Philippines, Great Britain, USA and Canada participated in unpaid work more during the COVID-19 (Bolis, et al., 2020, pp. 9-10). A similar situation was observed in Australia. According to a survey conducted by Craig and Churchill (2021, p.71) with 1536 married couples with dual-earners in Australia, women dedicated an additional hour to housework during the COVID-19 shutdown, while male respondents dedicated 45 minutes more to those same tasks. It has also been shown for Türkiye that men's time spent on unpaid labour rose throughout the COVID-19 period. According to İlkkaracan and Memiş's research (2021, p. 295), surprisingly, women spent twice as much time on unpaid work, while men spent four times more time in the COVID-19 period than in the pre-COVID-19 period. All of these studies do, however, also note that women have continued to put in more time than men doing this unpaid labour. This fact is presented in the Figure 6 below.

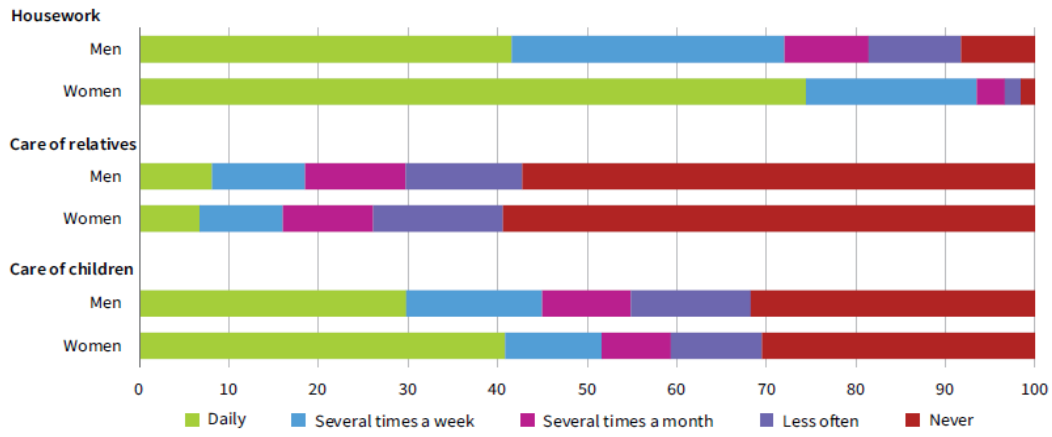

Figure 6. Frequency of unpaid work activities, by gender, EU27 (%)

Source: Eurofound, 2022, p. 82

While due to measures during the COVID-19 pandemic, the time of unpaid labour has increased, some new forms of unpaid work have also appeared. These can be listed as follows in a general way: owing to school closure, the following, encouraging, controlling and feedback on the distance education processes of the children living in the household; care, shopping, management and organization of hygiene conditions for family members and relatives; because of lack of market substitutes and precaution against infestation, an increase of preparing meals at home and keeping track of the expiration date and stock of foods; increased responsibility for hygiene and sterilization (Alpar, 2020, p.176; İlkkaracan & Memiş, 2021, p.289). In this regard, specific to Türkiye, various unpaid work during the COVID-19 pandemic will be explored on the basis of research at this period.

The first COVID-19 case in Türkiye was identified on 11 March 2020. Afterwards, schools were shut down from 12 March 2020 to 6 September 2021 and education was conducted utilizing digital tools. Although worldwide there have been an average of 95 instruction days during which schools have been completely closed between March 11, 2020, and February 2, 2021, this duration in Türkiye was approximately 129 days (UNICEF, 2021). When looking at the duration of schools partially closed, the average of the countries was 40 days, it in Türkiye was 41 days (UNICEF, 2021b). In addition to the school closure, on March 16, 2020, some social activity spaces such as cafes, cinemas, theatres and sports saloons were totally closed in Türkiye until June 1, 2020 (BBC News, 2020).

For these reasons, it became mandatory that the education and care of children be provided in the household, and accordingly, the closure of schools caused an increase in unpaid labour in the household (Bahn, Cohen, & Rodgers, 2020). The UN Women Report (2020a), which covered 16 countries and territories and was completed between April and May 2020, states that women in these regions dedicated more time to nearly all childcare-related tasks. During this time, men in other areas—aside from Georgia and Azerbaijan—primarily focused on instructing and teaching children (Figure 7)[8]. However, mothers reported spending more time caring for children across all domains (Figure 8).

[8] Abbreviation BIH refers to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

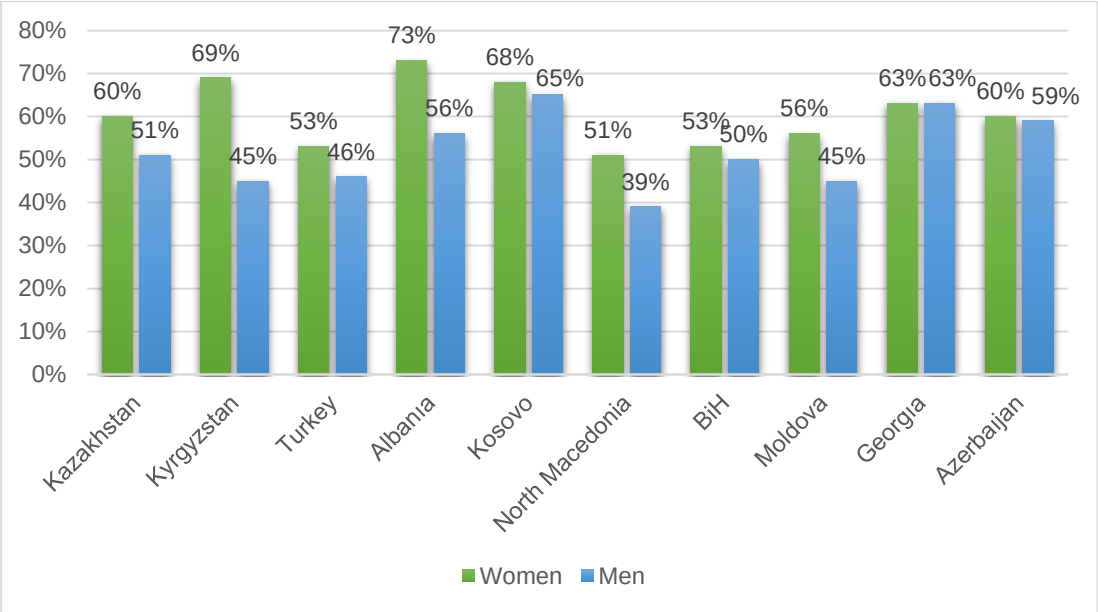

Figure 7. Proportion of respondents spending increased time on instructing and teaching children, by sex

Source: UN Women Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia, 2020a

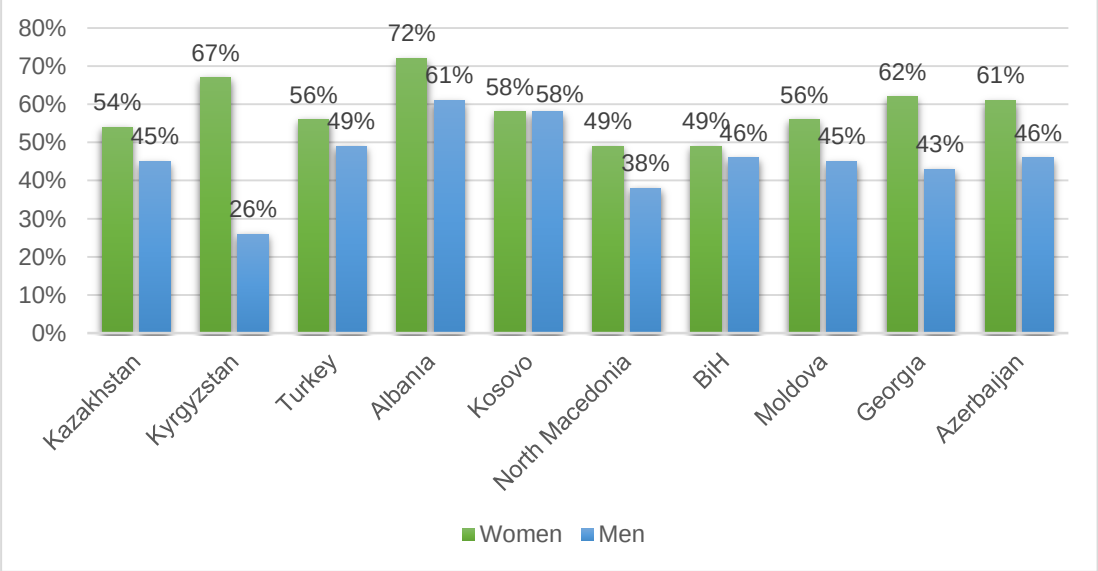

Figure 8. Proportion of respondents spending increased time on caring for children, by sex

Source: UN Women Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia, 2020a

Upon closer examination of fathers' childcare time during the pandemic in Türkiye, it becomes evident that they were spending more time with their kids than they did in the pre-pandemic era—mostly playing games (Figure 9). Nonetheless, restricting

access to childcare services affected more women than men during the pandemic (Memiş & Kongar, 2020, p. 11).

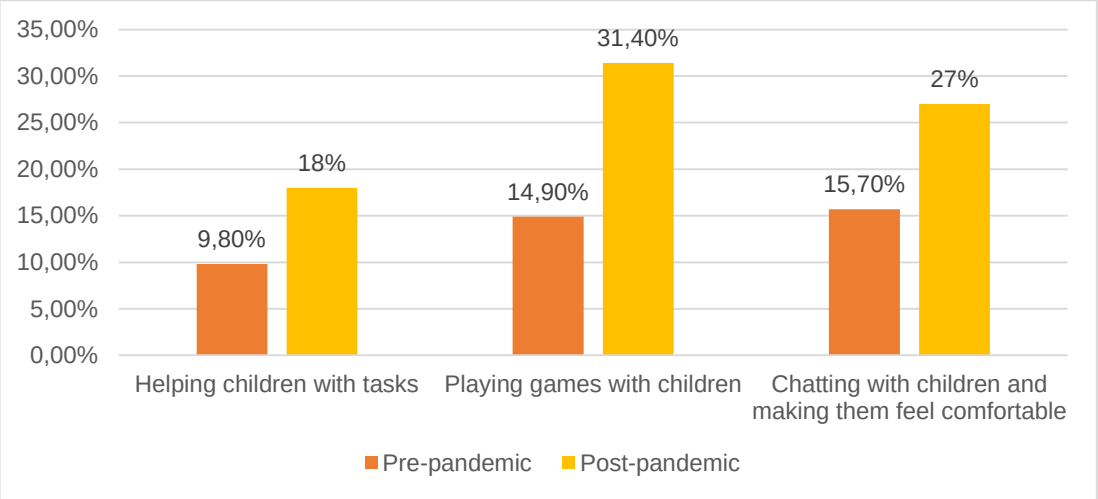

Figure 9. Childcare of Fathers in the pre-pandemic and pandemic period in Türkiye

Source: Eroğlu & Gençay, 2020

Care burdens are a component of caring for the sick, elderly, and disabled in addition to childcare. The epidemic has made these vulnerable groups more in need of care, but this is not the only reason for the rise in the time spent on care. The relatives' assistance or paid assistance for the care of these groups has been restricted as a result of the COVID-19 regulations. This has been a critical problem for especially dual-earner families. According to a published report, in this dimension of unpaid labour, the effort spent helping the elderly and sick relatives increased for both men and women, 21% and 20%, respectively (UN Women; Women Count, 2020b, p. 5). In Türkiye during this period, the support taken for the care of these groups fell from 4,1% to 1,6% (Eroğlu & Gençay, 2020, pp. 63-64).

During the pandemic, elderly care has become a critical need around the world, and women of all ages have taken on elderly care (UN Women, 2020c). So as to prevent coronavirus transmission, people aged 65 and over and those with chronic diseases were prohibited from going out in Türkiye between March 21 and May 10 (Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2020). Following the May 10th decision, these groups were granted permission to leave the house for four hours each day

within specific hours (BBC News, 2020). Their relatives were primarily responsible for taking care of their basic requirements, which included grocery shopping, pharmaceutical supplies, and getting a salary. Although, as stated above in the UN Women's Report, the requirements of the elderly were met by men in this urgent situation, the patterns of capitalist organized society persisted, with women also providing important services during the pandemic. In a study conducted with 1508 people in Türkiye during the early period of the pandemic, it was proposed that 28.7% of women spend more time with the elderly, whereas 29% of men spend on it (Kalaylıoğlu, 2020a).

In addition to these, routine housework such as cleaning, meal preparation, and laundry increasingly continued during the pandemic on account that the members of households were obligated to stay at home. Especially during shutdowns, time spent on these works increased for both men and women. Nevertheless, the time spent by women performing domestic work was more than men's during the pandemic, too (Croda & Grossbard, 2021). According to the comprehensive study spanning 16 countries and territories presents that 31% of men stated spending more time for cleaning and house chores, whereas it was 53% of women (UN Women Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia, 2020a). Moreover, while 16% of men reported preparing more meals, 43% of women stated the time spent on this work was raised during the COVID-19 pandemic. With 60% of women, Türkiye ranks number two in these 16 regions (UN Women Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia, 2020a, p. 24). The proportion of women who reported spending four hours or more on housework during the pandemic increased by 25.9% compared to the pre-pandemic period in Türkiye (Eroğlu & Gençay, 2020, p. 66).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the overall workload for women increased significantly. Women who were uninterrupted in the workplace throughout the pandemic worked more total hours (with a total of 10.09 hours) compared to their male partners and women who were able to work from home (İlkkaracan & Memiş, 2021). The second-highest total working hours were recorded by women who worked remotely during the pandemic with a total of 8.65 hours (İlkkaracan & Memiş, 2021). The inability to purchase commodified reproduction activities caused

educated and high-income women to depart from the “normal”. The fact that women could not buy the services from the market that cover the domestic part of social reproductive activities—for example, cleaning, cooking, and childcare support—also led to the destruction of the “illusion of the modern woman” during the pandemic period (Duvar, 2020).

As noted obviously via the quotation of Vogel (2013) and Fraser (2014; 2017) above, women already perform these necessities related to social reproduction within the organization of the capitalist system. Women have continued to provide unpaid work increasingly during the COVID-19 pandemic. Even if men spent more time on care and domestic chores, taking care of children through unpaid activities brought women to the forefront. On the other hand, women spent more time on unpaid work in emergencies such as a pandemic. Hence, it can be asserted that traditional gender roles have become prominent for women during the pandemic. Some women improved their strategies, which were to buy household appliances, to deal with increased domestic chores (Hazarika & Das, 2021, p. 436). This also shows that unpaid work areas are not totally outside of capitalism. In other words, unpaid work in the field of social reproduction is also shaped by technological tools within capitalism, as the SRFs have argued.

The change in unpaid labour during the COVID-19 pandemic is the main topic of this section. In the next section, within paid work, remote work, which became the work practice in every possible sector during the pandemic, will be analysed.

3.2. Remote Work and COVID-19 Pandemic

Since the Industrial Revolution, people generally worked in the workplace. Indeed, this situation is a distinctive significant feature of the Industrial Revolution from previous economic activities. Nonetheless, firstly thanks to technological improvements, this has altered and working outside of the workplace, which is called generally "remote work", has been widespread. ILO (2020) states that remote work can be defined as follows:

> Remote work can be described as situations where the work is fully or partly carried out on an alternative worksite other than the default place of work. Remote work can be performed in a variety of possible locations, all of which can be viewed as an alternative to the location where the work could typically be expected to be carried out, taking into account the profession and the status in employment. (ILO, 2020, p. 5)

Remote work spread during the course of the COVID-19 pandemic has been a preparation process since 1975. In 1975, it was targeted to increase productivity in the teleworking model, which emerged in Los Angeles by reducing commuting times (Bilginoğlu, 2021, p. 1103). Thanks to technological advancement- especially internet development- it has been possible to carry out paid jobs outside the workplace (Johnson, 1997; Dambrin, 2004, p. 359). The trend in remote work has drastically changed from year to year in the United States, as demonstrated in the graph[9] below (Barrero, Bloom, Buckman, & Davis, 2021, p. 6)

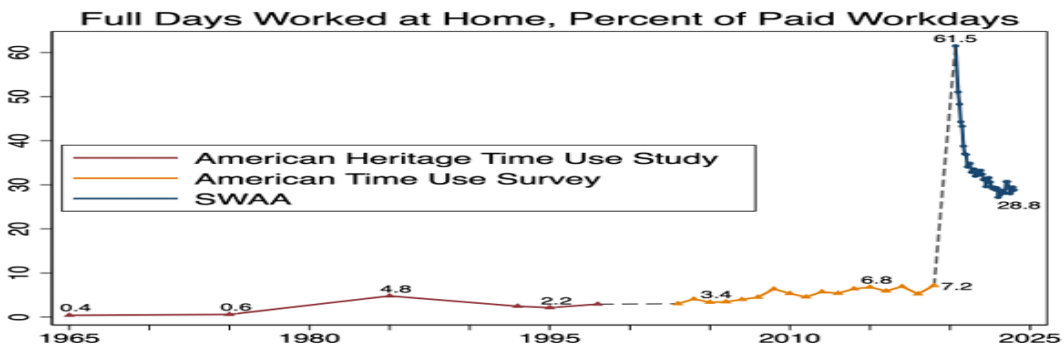

Figure 10. Full Days worked at home, per cent of paid workdays

Source: Barrero, Bloom, Buckman, & Davis, 2021, p. 6

There is a controversy about the pros and cons of remote work. Among the advantages of it is the possibility for employees to offer benefits, such as reduced commuting time and costs, minor stress and lowered work-family conflict (Orr & Savage, 2021). These advantages are also shown in the research, providing a meta-

[9] Since 2020, this study has been conducted regularly monthly, targeting U.S. residents aged 20-64 who earn at least $10,000 annually. With 21,129 participants, the study identified finance and insurance, information (including parts of technology), and professional and business services as the top three occupational sectors where remote work is most prevalent (Barrero, Bloom, Buckman, & Davis, 2021, p. 10). Although the graph is titled "Work from Home" and the literature differentiates between "work from home" and "remote work" based on various job types such as piecework, the prevalence of remote work in the represented occupational sectors suggests that the graph may also indicate trends in remote work.

analysis of 46 studies involving 12,883 employees (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). In addition to better satisfaction with work and productivity, and a lower rate of turnover, that research presents that remote work enables employees to possess a more harmonic relationship between work and family. Although, particularly, remote work's effects on family relationships are a debatable issue, the ILO report about T/ICTM10 workers in 2017 also states that this form of work has supported a better work-family balance for some(Eurofound;the International Labour Office, 2017, p. 33).

In contrast with these advantages, some disadvantages of remote work are also reported. The first of these is about isolation (Molino, 2020)Even though communication technology is enhanced, employees may feel the absence of face-to-face communication. Remote working may result in less social interaction (Kelly, 2020). Secondly, the interruption of communication with colleagues and the narrowing of networking opportunities during teleworking may hinder the career development of employees (Simenenko & Lentjushenkova, 2022). In addition, not being able to benefit from technical support in case of need as easily as in the office environment can also negatively affect the performance of the employee (Bailey & Kurland, 1999).

Last but not least, remote work can lead to more hours of paid work. The fact that the hours of paid work become vague may give rise to work intensification and work-family conflict (Eurofound;the International Labour Office, 2017, p. 21). Clearly, although employees can work at any place desired, they are open to work any hour during the day due to these technological vehicles. Owing to remote work, work shifts may become blurred; consequently, employees may experience "role blurring" between domestic and work roles (Deloitte, 2011, p. 40). This role blurring is affected beyond the individual context, of course, by regulative institutional factors (Piszczek & Berg, 2014, p. 18). Legalisation of the right to disconnect[11] can be favourable.

[10] T/ICTM is the term for using information and communication technology (ICT)—such as laptops, tablets, mobile phones, and desktop computers—for work-related activities away from the employer's location (Eurofound;the International Labour Office, 2017, p. 1).

[11] "The right to disconnect refers to a worker's right to be able to disengage from work and refrain from engaging in work-related electronic communications, such as emails or other messages, during

The "roles blurring" of complications experienced in this process are mainly due to the boundary struggles between the two fields of labour that are supposed to be independent of each other. These spatially separated spheres are actually united in the theoretical and operational sense (Bhattacharya, 2017b, pp. 74-75). In some forms of work, productive and reproductive labour also spatially naturally coexist. Like the school example given by Bhattacharya (2017b), domestic workers are a sample of this situation. Namely, both labour related to economic areas and social reproduction labour related to human basic needs such as care and socialization are in the same sphere in these samples and performed by the same persons. A day of home-based workers, also, more than other types of work, reflects how the division of production and social reproduction are becoming difficult to define separately (Mitchell, Marston, and Katz 2004 as cited from Boeri, 2016, p.110). Thanks to the conceptualization of the "boundary struggle" between production and social reproduction presented by the SRT, the COVID-19 pandemic can be analysed as an eye-opening practice as an example.

The COVID-19 pandemic provides an extreme but significant case for evaluating the pros and cons of remote work above. The way of working from home has become the norm during the COVID-19 pandemic period. During this period, the majority of the world population performed economic production in their household, while they also performed reproduction activities for producing labour-power within the very limits of the same household. In this period, according to an OECD report (2021c), managers, lawyers, IT workers have been easily adapted to remote working. The same report also reveals that although not valid for all sectors, women tend to have occupations suitable for teleworking more than men.

The impacts of remote work may vary concerning multiple factors. The effects of remote working, for example, vary according to the support provided by workplaces to their employees, the gender of the employees, the size of the employees' household, how many people live in the household, and whether the people in the

non-work hours" (Eurofound, 2021). This right is aimed at mitigating excessive workloads and thereby facilitating a better work-life balance for employees (Lerouge & Trujillo Pons, 2022). Additionally, see: Eurofound;the International Labour Office, 2017; ILO, 2022

household need it to care or not (Uşen, 2020, pp. 11-14). Owing to the measures taken during the COVID-19 process, it was decided to work from home in all possible sectors, and thus, a rapid and massive transition to remote working occurred around the world. While examining the conditions of remote working even before an emergency such as COVID-19, the characteristics of the household mentioned have been more determined during the COVID-19 period. As mentioned above in the unpaid labour section, the developments experienced in this period led to an increase in the activities required for reproduction, and due to the lack of public needs-satisfying services in this field, these requirements were left to the women who already carried out social reproduction activities within the capitalist organization. For this reason, it is important to evaluate remote working from a gender perspective during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Research conducted on parents who worked from home during the COVID-19 pandemic has shown that mothers experience more problems because their paid work and unpaid work intersect in the same place and at the same time (Cummings, 2020). Mothers stated that having to do childcare or housework while performing their professional work was distracting for them (Anderson & Kelliher, 2020). This situation has also been discussed in studies as the absence of work-family balance. A study conducted with 400 working women from nine countries to investigate the impact of the pandemic reveals that 41% of the participants stated that the pandemic process caused a lack of work-life balance (Deloitte, 2020). Teleworking was evaluated as a strategy for establishing a work-life balance for maternity, parental leave, and childcare before it became compulsory due to the COVID-19 pandemic. After being mandatory, it is doubtful that it will provide such a function with the closure of schools and the inability to purchase outsourced services (OECD, 2021; Jessen, Spiess, Waights, & Wrohlich, 2021, p. 14).

As of March 15, 2020, some institutions in the private sector in Türkiye have directed their employees to work remotely. For those working in public institutions, flexible working started on March 22, 2020, and continued until June 1, 2020 (Akca & Tepe Küçükoğlu, 2020). In the research conducted by UN Women in Türkiye on 19-25 April 2020, the rate of women stating that they work from home was higher

than men, 18% and 14% respectively (Kalaylıoğlu, 2020a). Three times as many women as men work in households and provide care worldwide, while this figure is about five times higher in Türkiye (United Nations, 2020). Women who work from home often put in significantly longer work hours because they attempt to balance home during the COVID-19 pandemic is an extremely challenging process for women, given that women in Türkiye tend to take on greater care responsibilities. Indeed, it is thought the total weekly work hours of women reached 80 hours (T24 Bağımsız İnternet Gazetesi, 2020).

Except when stuck between paid work and unpaid labour, it has been observed that employees have concerns about taking leave and being unemployed during remote work. It is supposed that this fragile state of employment may deepen the gender divide against women in the realisation of unpaid domestic labour in heterosexual households (Anderson & Kelliher, 2020), especially with rising domestic workloads during the pandemic (Dattani, 2020). One-third of women and one-quarter of men took leave (paid, partially paid or unpaid). Additionally, more than half of the women took unpaid leave. Working women took unpaid leave at a rate of 15.7%, which is greater than working men's average of 11.2% (Kalaylıoğlu, 2020b, p. 7). Furthermore, it is now remarked that the governments should have reconsidered their policy, and that public childcare or financial support should be supplied so that women could be freed from the burden of childcare (OECD, 2021c, p. 56).

Government policies are also crucial for preventing from being fired of parents in a crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, as explained in the following part, the reason for the problem is more holistic and rooted. Therefore, it will be argued that more fundamental reforms are required, rather than attempting to lessen the burden of women by enacting reformist policies on achieving work-life balance in order to avert these inequalities in future crises.

3.3 Beyond the Discussion of Work-Life Balance: The Situation of Paid and Unpaid Labour During COVID-19 as A Case Study of The Care Crisis

With industrialisation, most of the production activities took place in factories where people outside the household, who were not from the same family, made mass

production. In other words, with this change in capitalist commodity production, it is considered that there is a separation between production and reproduction, work and family (Parsons, 1949). In this context, the interest in the work-life relationship, which has a long history, has increased with the boost in the number of dual-income families (Duxbury, Lyons, & Christopher, 2007). The relationship between these lives, maintained in two different places and times, is discussed from two different perspectives with similar assumptions: work-life balance and work-life conflict.[12]

In the discussions on work-life balance, definitions emphasising different aspects have been developed. For instance, Guest (2001, p.263) defines it as "sufficient time to meet commitments at both home and work". In a similar context, Clark (2000, p. 751) also defines work-family balance as "satisfaction and good functioning at work and home, with a minimum of role conflict", whilst Pichler (2009, p.450) adds the definition to meet individuals' requirements for well-being. As can be noticed, these definitions include the recognition that work, family life, and personal life exist in interrelated but separate spheres.

Work-family conflict has been identified as "a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). It has been disputed that women have more work-family conflict due to activities described as women's gender roles and which are actually social reproduction activities in the sense discussed above (Jennings & McDougald, 2007; Duxbury, Lyons, & Higgins, 2008). Among the gender roles, in addition to workloads such as cleaning and cooking in the house, they also have tasks such as maintaining social relations and providing childcare for women with children.

When looking at the definitions made from the perspectives of both work-life balance and conflict, it can be seen that there is an acceptance that these two lives are completely separate processes. Accepting work and family as two separate fields and evaluating this acceptance has also been criticized in this literature, apart from the

[12] For a detailed explanation and the approaches developed, see: Kapız Özen, 2002 and Ünlütürk Ulutaş, 2015.

above-mentioned perspective of SRT. Kanter (1999, p.78) represents the separation of these two fields as “the myth of separate worlds”. In her opinion, this myth is not entirely false, but “the total picture is far from seeing" (Kanter, 1989, p. 78). Moreover, dual system thinkers have demonstrated that these domains do not operate entirely independently of one another, despite their incomplete understanding of it.

Dual system theorists have demonstrated that the assumption that both of these realms are unrelated to one another is incorrect at least for women, by analysing the work-life link through the lens of working women. They emphasize gender roles and paid jobs are interacting with each other. Especially with globalisation and technological developments, while women are included in the workforce in third-world countries (Ecevit, 1998), the education rate of women in developed capitalist countries has increased; hence, they have started to be employed in business lines that require professionalism. In this continued process, “women became increasingly responsible for earning a wage, performing housework, and serving as mothers” (Jaffe, 2020c). This situation, where women provide both the production of surplus value and the reproduction of labour, is evaluated as being a double shift of women.

The way women relate to gender roles and the responsibilities that these roles impose on them varies according to some of their characteristics**.** In this context, the following can be regarded as deterministic characteristics: marital status, the number of people with whom they share the household, the number of children and the age of their children, and their support for domestic work and care services. Those affect the social reproduction activities and intensities of women in these activities. For example, in the study conducted by Başak et al. (2013, p. 52) (it was found that working women with children have a significantly higher domestic workload than those without children. In addition, in the same study, it is stated that as the personal and household incomes of working women increased, their domestic workload decreased, and the reason for this could be considered paid assistant support (Başak, Kıngır, & Yaşar, 2013, p. 55)

In addition, sometimes cultural codes can affect women's workload due to compelling women to gender roles accepted in society. Hennesey (2009) points out

that "intensive mothering of middle-class mothers, the devotion to family schemas of professionally successful women (Blair-Loy, 2001), or strategies of working-class women to remain “good mothers” are significant examples of such cultural codes (Hennessy, 2009). In the interviews made by Soyseçkin (2016), the interviewees expressed that they were shy about allocating time for themselves, referring to the image of "good motherhood".

Studies mostly conducted from a dual system perspective and presenting the daily life equivalents of concepts such as double shift and gender roles have been very useful in revealing the stuckness of women between paid and unpaid work. However, these determinations are depended on empirical data from evaluating the system in parts. In other words, these approaches present fragmental information about women’s labour. As can be remembered from the SRT's criticisms about the dual system mentioned above, the SRFs consider capitalism as the whole and require set relationships between different areas. The dichotomy offers an incomplete framework for understanding women's labour within capitalism, such as unpaid/paid work and work/family. There are contradictions between some spheres in this whole system, and these contradictions are structural. In this view, the SRFs would develop a perception that provides basic needs such as “beyond work-family balance, shelter, health, food security” (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 79). To analyse the relationship between women’s paid work and unpaid work in a holistic aspect, the conceptualisations of boundary struggles between production and social reproduction and care crisis could be more useful notions.

To understand what the boundary struggle means within the SRT, it is necessary to apprehend how value production takes place in capitalism for the SRFs and then what is meant by social reproduction and its relation to wage labour. Previously, Marxist Feminists have called attention to the significance of women's unpaid work and social reproduction to produce surplus value in the capitalist system (Dalla Costa & James, 1971; Federici, 1975; Vogel, 2013; Brenner & Laslett, 1989 etc.). As stated in the SRFs' Marxist analysis of capitalism, the relationship between production and social reproduction has not been sufficiently developed, and epistemic shifts are needed to ensure this conceptualisation. Like the Marxist Feminist thinkers, they deal

with the concept of social reproduction in a broad context. Fraser, who is one of the pioneering thinkers of SRT, defines social reproduction as "the creation, socialisation and subjectivization of human beings; including making and remaking of culture, intersubjectivity solidarity, social meanings and value horizons", by using social reproduction interchangeably with care (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, p. 32).

As discussed above, according to the SRT, the production of surplus value under capitalism depends on conditions outside the sphere of production of wage labour. If there is the absence of housework, child-raising, schooling, affective care, and a host of other activities that produce new generations of workers, replenish existing generations, and maintain social bonds and shared understandings; wage labour, which exists and is exploited, is not possible (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, p. 52). Fraser (2016, p.3) calls these conditions background conditions, and according to her, these conditions are social reproductive activities, which are outside the economic subsystems of capitalism but on which these systems are based. For this reason, like original accumulation, social reproduction is crucial for capitalist production (Fraser, 2014a, p. 6; Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, p. 52).

The SRT asserts that capitalism cannot be reduced to just wage labour and even relies heavily on care work performed by women (Kalk, 2020). Although social reproduction, which takes place mostly in areas outside the market and is performed by women, is a necessary condition for capitalism, as a result of this apparent division between these two areas, social reproduction activities have been mostly left to the private domestic sphere. This has veiled the importance of reproductive labour in a world where money is the main power. Consequently, although reproductive labour is critical for wage labour, it has led to it being undervalued and mostly unwaged (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, pp. 54-55). In this context, the subordination of women in modern capitalist society is based on the split between productive waged work and reproductive labour (Fraser, 2014a, p. 8).

Social reproduction is “fleshy, messy, and indeterminate stuff of everyday life” (Katz, 2001, p. 711). As can be noticed in Fraser's definition, besides the renewal of individuals as labour-power and the renewal of the generation, it covers the

maintenance of social relations. It draws attention to the importance of the social sphere for this. This determination forms the basis for the SRT's assertion that the struggle against capitalism should not be restricted to the demands of workplaces and paid jobs but should contain "the places where the working-class sleep, play places, and the schools they go to" (Bhattacharya, 2017b, p. 91). So as to make this more discernible, it is necessary to explain how the social reproduction activities within the capitalist system led to the realisation of production.

Mezzadri (2021) stated that there are three ways that reproduction areas and activities can participate in value production. Citing the example of the "dormitory labour regime" in China, she states that the first way is its role in strengthening labour control in areas of the daily social reproduction of labour. Hence, capital can control labour power in the wage-labour process and beyond according to industrial needs (Mezzadri, 2021, p. 1196). The second way is through their role in absorbing the externalisation of costs for the social reproduction of labour. The reproduction of the workforce required for production is provided by the “informal care economies” in rural areas with the opportunity offered by patriarchy and racism. The third way is to move the labour, which includes the sub-sections of the informal sector and housework, to the formal area (Mezzadri, 2021, p. 1197).

Among the ways Mezzadri (2021) mentioned, especially the second one points out the significant role played by the family/household in this boundary conflict, which is also directly related to the subject of this study. The family/household provides the continuity of productive work by ensuring that the society is reproduced both biologically and culturally as the primary tool that fulfils the day-to-day care of both the dependent and the independent (Brenner & Laslett, 1986, pp. 116-117). Thus, the family forms the link between reproduction and production. This link is clearly explained in the following words by Luxton (1980):

> Domestic labour is one of the central labour processes of industrialism. It is this particular and indispensable labour that converts the wages of the paid workers into the means of subsistence for the entire household, and that replenishes the labour-power of household members again and again so that it can be re-sold the next day, the next day, the next generation. (Luxton, 1980, p. 14)

Families/households develop various strategies to cope with the tension between commodity production and reproduction activities. These strategies aim to decide who will meet the labour required in these two areas according to features such as age and gender (Brenner & Laslett, 1986, p. 123). For example, in a study conducted by B. O'Laughlin (2021, p.16-17) in Southern Africa, it was found that women whose husbands had migrated to another place for paid work generally worked on farms. Besides, she states their low-paid jobs there, and they took on tasks such as eating, dressing, and making plans for their families to sleep (O'Laughlin, 2021, pp. 16-17). In a study conducted in India, looking at the experiences of migrant workers, it is stated that when they migrated for paid work, their relatives kept the household running and tended the livestock, thus helping to make sure that the migrant had something to return (Shah & Lerche, 2020).

The family plays a crucial role in carrying out pivotal social reproduction activities in the boundary struggles between these two fields. In fact, within these contradictions that deepened with the neoliberal period, the "family" formed in a woman-centred household life assumes the complementary role of the market (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, p. 125). As a matter of fact, in a study conducted with cocoa workers, the researcher (Gore & LeBaron, 2019) found that women also perform social reproduction work in addition to their paid work. Therefore, the labour of migrant women workers in production and reproduction areas often spatially and temporally overlap in the context of a woman's working day (Gore & LeBaron, 2019). As can be seen from this study, Akkan (2021) also remarks that boundary struggle can be thought of not only on institutional boundaries but also spatially.

Although the tension between these areas is tried to be decompressed by some strategies, the structural contradiction between them is prone to crisis. As Fraser and Jaeggi (2018, p. 56) declare, "The capitalist economy simultaneously relies on and tends to destabilise its own social reproductive conditions of possibility." Due to the neoliberal policies, this crisis has become much more apparent. Due to increased working hours and interruptions in public services for social reproduction, crises arise when individuals perform both their paid jobs and social reproduction activities simultaneously (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, pp. 123-124). This crisis, which individuals

experience in their personal lives and their daily lives, of course, also includes the reproduction crisis[13] in the social sense.

In summary, as Jaffe (Jaffe, 2020a) asserts, "all productions of value are in some sense social," indicating that the relationships involved in value production simultaneously serve to reproduce social relations. Explaining that reproduction and production spaces are ontologically inseparable, the SRT literature offers the opportunity to evaluate capitalism holistically by transcending the boundaries between public and private, market and non-market (Gore & LeBaron, 2019). Accordingly, commodity production within the capitalist system owes to the social reproductive sphere, which ensures the emergence and maintenance of the labour-power that will produce this commodity - or, as Fraser puts it, social reproduction is background conditions for production spheres. However, within capitalism, there are structural contradictions between these two areas. In acute situations such as the COVID-19 pandemic, the capitalist system has had problems mitigating this structural contradiction as it could in relatively normal times.

3.3.1. Care Crisis durıng the COVID-19 Pandemic

Upon the declaration of the COVID-19 pandemic by the World Health Organization (2023), the first case in Türkiye was announced on March 11, 2020 (T.R. Ministry of Health). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, measures were taken to restrict social mobility to restrain the spread of the virus worldwide. In addition to the high death rates, a situation of uncertainty occurred, especially in the first period when the pandemic was declared in the -2020 Spring- since data on what to do when infected were obtained simultaneously with the spread of the virus. Nonetheless, the ignorance and inexperience brought about by encountering a new situation were not the sole reason for the chaotic and painful process at this time. The disruptions experienced on account of privatization and commercialization in the field of health

[13] Within the scope of 'care crisis', the literature refers to the shortcomings in the performance of care labour in general, without making any distinction between care services provided by institutions and family/relatives. However, in this study, the conceptualisation of "care crisis" specifies the disruptions in the provision of institutional care services in the neoliberal period. In this regard, the focus is on understanding how families - mostly women - coped with the situation that emerged in the face of disrupted social reproduction services during the COVID-19 pandemic.

due to neoliberal policies over the years and the difficulties in reaching treatment have also induced to be complicated the COVID-19 pandemic (Navarro, 2020, p. 271).

Within the scope of these measures during COVID-19, there were decisions to declare a curfew, close schools, continue education remotely, and switch to a remote working model in sectors wherever possible. Each measure forced people to go beyond the usual normal and had various consequences outside the area where the action was taken. Moreover, these precautions affected people in various ways owing to the differential class positions and the development levels of the countries. For example, with the decision to implement distance education, children who do not have infrastructure such as the Internet or technological devices and/or children in poor households could not continue their education. The Save the Children's Report (2021) states that due to the pandemic, hundreds of millions of children would be out of school worldwide, and child labour and girls' marriage among children from low-income families would increase significantly. Besides, it is considered that 2.5 million girls might be pushed into marriage by 2025 (Save the Children, 2021).

Owing to the measures taken, there have been many people whose workplaces were closed or who became unemployed due to the contraction of their employers. According to an ILO report (2021, p.12), there was a 4.8% loss in working hours globally in the first quarter of 2021, corresponding to the loss of 140 million full-time jobs (ILO, 2021, p. 12). In addition, it was stated in this report that due to the lack of adequate jobs, global unemployment would remain at a high level of 220 million and 205 million unemployed in 2021 and 2022, respectively (ILO, 2021, p. 33). When deeming that people have to buy their basic needs with wages in the neoliberal era of capitalism, these unemployment figures are pretty thought-provoking.

From the SRT perspective, social reproduction is crucial for the capitalist system. Bhattacharya (2020) even denominates activities and institutions related to social reproduction into "life-making activities". These activities and institutions provide "making life, maintaining life, and generationally replacing life". The capitalist

system has proven that such forms of labour, which guarantee the continuation of life and create it, are what is truly necessary by designating specific occupational categories as "essential" during the COVID-19 pandemic. As stated by Bhattacharya (2020), the COVID-19 pandemic has made apparent two points. First, people have recognized that their real necessities rely on jobs that are related to life-making and not thing-making. Second, it becomes apparent that capitalism is not as strong as it appears.

In this regard, due to the pandemic, what has gained importance has been that individuals are alive and sustain their lives, rather than social reproduction that creates capital. Before the pandemic, life-making jobs such as nursing, cleaning, and teaching had been undervalued, owing to the health crisis, capital is obliged to give importance to “life and life-making work such as healthcare, social care etc.” (The Marxist Feminist Collective, 2020)- at least verbally. This is significant but it should not be missed that this importance has been valid for only wage jobs. Unpaid labour in households has been more visible thanks to the blurring spatial and temporal distinction between paid and unpaid labour. Nonetheless, still, it has not been labelled as "essential", differently from some wage jobs (Murtola & Vallelly, 2023, pp. 8-9). Although there are some advances about the significance of social reproduction works in the capitalist system, the consideration of which to prioritize meta-producing has carried on.

When scrutinising the second point represented by Bhattacharya (2020), this is apparent that the COVID-19 pandemic shed on light “the contradiction between social reproduction, or the activity of life-making, and the mad pursuit of profits within capitalist production” (Arruzza, 2020). While the crisis exposes how important the area of reproduction is for the commodity production area of capitalism, it also reveals the fundamental contradiction between them. Discussions about countries' gross domestic product rates falling in times of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic, when society cannot reproduce itself, actually provide a clue to this well-known reality (Ahmad, Haroon, Baig, & Hui, 2020; Maliszewska, Mattoo, & Van Der Mensbrugghe, 2020; UNCTAD, 2020). The analogy asserted by Salzinger (2021) expresses this contrast very clearly: “Capitalist exploitation is a

parasite; social reproduction is its host, and right now [COVID-19 period] the host is not thriving".

Thanks to the COVID-19 pandemic, we witnessed how the powerful capitalist states have fragile structures (Bhattacharya, 2020). Even countries which have strong and big economies such as the U.S. or India have experienced vital and long-term trouble during the COVID-19 pandemic. This situation was not an outcome of despair. On account of the pandemic, it has been revealed that capitalism created a weak system in terms of ensuring the well-being of humanity as a result of neoliberal policies which basically meant to restrict expenditures made by the public in the services provided for social reproduction - such as education, and healthcare. Besides, the lack of equal conditions in accessing the vaccine developed against the coronavirus has disclosed that this destruction and chaotic situation created by capitalism for the sake of gaining more profit is not limited to societies living within the borders of a certain country.

In other words, the fact that "the transfer of care responsibilities back into the household, or in the form of commodified services in the market" with the neoliberal policies of the governments reducing public social expenditures (Lombardozzi, 2020, p. 318) has been problematic, as seen in the COVID-19 period with limited access to them. These policies, which caused the deepening of social inequalities, also created a "vulnerable society" (Barneveld, et al., 2020, p. 136). To take measures against this phenomenon which occurred due to the pandemic, IMF reports even mention the provision of social protection with allowances to be allocated to the poor (Yalman, 2021).

With neo-liberalism, while social reproduction activities were commodified, these activities were also trivialized and burdened by women in households (Bakker, 2007, p. 545). Neoliberal policies, which have resulted in almost completely meeting the needs of reproduction individually, have led to an increase in the time devoted to unpaid labour during the pandemic period. During the pandemic, both men and women spent more time on unpaid work than before (UNDP, 2020; Petts, Carlson, & Pepin, 2021). The difference between the time spent by men and women in Türkiye

on unpaid work increased from 2.58 hours to 3.36 hours (İlkkaracan & Memiş, 2021, p. 239). In addition to the fact that states do not take measures to meet the needs that arise in the field of social reproduction, offering individual solutions without considering the systemic aspect of the problems experienced during the pandemic period imposes overwhelming responsibility on women in performing tasks such as childcare, housework, care for the elderly/sick (Arruzza, 2020).

On the other hand, the continuity of requirements of social reproduction but the suspension of paid work showed that these requirements of capital accumulation were contradictory (Cohen & Rodgers, 2021). COVID-19 has shed light on many more than a health crisis by revealing this fundamental contradiction between capitalism and social reproduction. In this context, Krasny (2020) points out a need to move towards "care feminism", which highlights the importance of social reproduction activities and focuses on healing and repair.

As a result, when we look at the strategies developed by the governments to manage the process during the COVID-19 pandemic, the basic structural contradiction between social reproduction and production, emphasized by the SRFs, seems to have emerged. During this period, stay-at-home policies, which were valid almost all over the world, especially in the early stages of the pandemic (February-June 2020), "placed households at the centre of government's response to the pandemic; this is the result of a drive for the long-term privatization of social reproduction observed throughout neoliberal capitalism" (Stevano, Mezzadri, Lombardozzi, & Bargawi, 2021, p. 277). When it is considered that the most basic solution proposal in such a care crisis is the households, and mostly women have to cover the workload in these households, the unpaid labour of women has drastically increased during the pandemic in the world.

The practices by which societies sustain themselves over time on social, economic, and cultural bases are referred to as social reproduction. When the COVID-19 pandemic is evaluated in terms of three basic components of social reproduction explained above - the biological reproduction of the species," "the reproduction of the labour force," and the "reproduction of provisioning and caring needs" - it is clear

that a crisis situation is experienced. The fact that countries with robust economies are also experiencing this crisis indicates that capitalism's fundamental principles are the primary cause of the problem rather than an accidental one. Consequently, the problem of social reproduction surpasses work-life balance and as Fraser (2022) points out social reproduction struggles encompass much more than this by stating, namely,

> ... community movements for housing, healthcare, food security, an unconditional basic income, and a living wage; struggles for the rights of migrants, domestic workers, and public employees; campaigns to unionize service-sector workers in for-profit nursing homes, hospitals, and childcare centers; and struggles for public services such as daycare and elder care, for a shorter working week, and for generous paid maternity and parental leave (Fraser, 2022, p. 71).

To sum up, neoliberalism reduced wages and forced working hours to increase. It also significantly reduced public spending on social reproduction activities. It placed the burden of care on families and communities. Services providing social reproduction have been commodified and these services have been presented as being privatized. It caused the destabilization of social reproduction activities within the conditions of existence of capitalism and became a "crisis of care". The need for care has also been placed on "families, communities, especially women" during the COVID-19 pandemic (Fraser, 2022, p. 162). As a result, the extraordinary conditions and measures taken during the COVID-19 period became an important historical process in which this crisis emerged.

In the rest of this study, the case of women's experiences in the remote or hybrid working process during the pandemic in Türkiye will be analysed with the help of the Social Reproduction Theory. Chapter 4 presents the research design and data collection, and Chapter 5 presents the analysis originally collected for this study as a case study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION

This chapter presents the research design and data collection conducted for this study. First, the research method and the reasons for choosing this specific method are explained. In the second part, the criteria for choosing the research sample will be presented. The information about the demographic characteristics of the interviewees, such as their occupational group, marital status, and whether they have children will also be presented here. Thus, to give the reader an overall idea about the profiles of the interviewees of the field study is aimed.

The last part of the chapter will provide the details about the data collection process, including the strategy for preparing the interview form; the researcher's role throughout the interviews and the characteristics of this role; and the digital tools used to conduct interviews, along with their respective advantages and disadvantages, will be presented.

4.1. Research Method

Qualitative research is “interested in how meaning is constructed, how people make sense of their lives and their worlds”, where “the *primary* goal of a basic qualitative study is to uncover and interpret these meanings” (Merriam, 2009, p. 24). There are five different qualitative approaches: Phenomenology, Grounded Theory, Case Study, Ethnography, and Life History (Kümbetoğlu, 2020, p. 36). In this thesis, the “case study approach” is adopted. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 25) elucidate the case "abstractly, as a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context". A case study is defined as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). In this study, women's experiences in the remote or hybrid

working process during the COVID-19 pandemic in Türkiye are evaluated in the form of a case study, and it investigated how women made sense of their experiences during this period.

Burawoy's (1998) contribution to the case study approach is worthwhile. Burawoy (1998) defines reflexive sciences and positive sciences as Siamese twins and criticizes both. According to him, while reflexive sciences are limited to "power effects (domination, silencing, objectification and normalization)", positive sciences are limited to "context effects (interview, respondent, field, and situational effects)" (Burawoy, 1998, p. 2). Burawoy (1991, p.274) denotes this method as follows: "The extended case method, by explicating the link between micro and macro, constitutes the social situation in terms of the particular external forces that shape it". Burawoy's method, which points out that the scrutiny unit is evaluated in the continuity of time and space, is a guide in the effort to understand social worlds. Social phenomena cannot be assessed in isolation from time, space and conjuncture. Like everything else, every social phenomenon studied is shaped by the conditions of the period (and sometimes it shapes the conditions of the period). For this reason, this study was conducted based on the extended case study method.

4.2. Research Sample

Within the scope of pandemic measures, it has been decided to work remotely almost worldwide. The field study aimed to reach a segment of women who worked remotely during the pandemic. As seen in Figure 11, the top three areas with the highest teleworkable rate are the information and communication sectors at approximately 75%, financial insurance services at about 73%, and education at 69%, respectively. Considering this finding, the sample is designed purposefully in a way to consist of women working remotely or hybrid in informatics, finance/banking, and education areas in Ankara/Türkiye during the COVID-19 pandemic. For sampling, a non-probability sampling method was used, in which each interviewee is requested to suggest additional people for the interview (Babbie, 2008, p. 205).

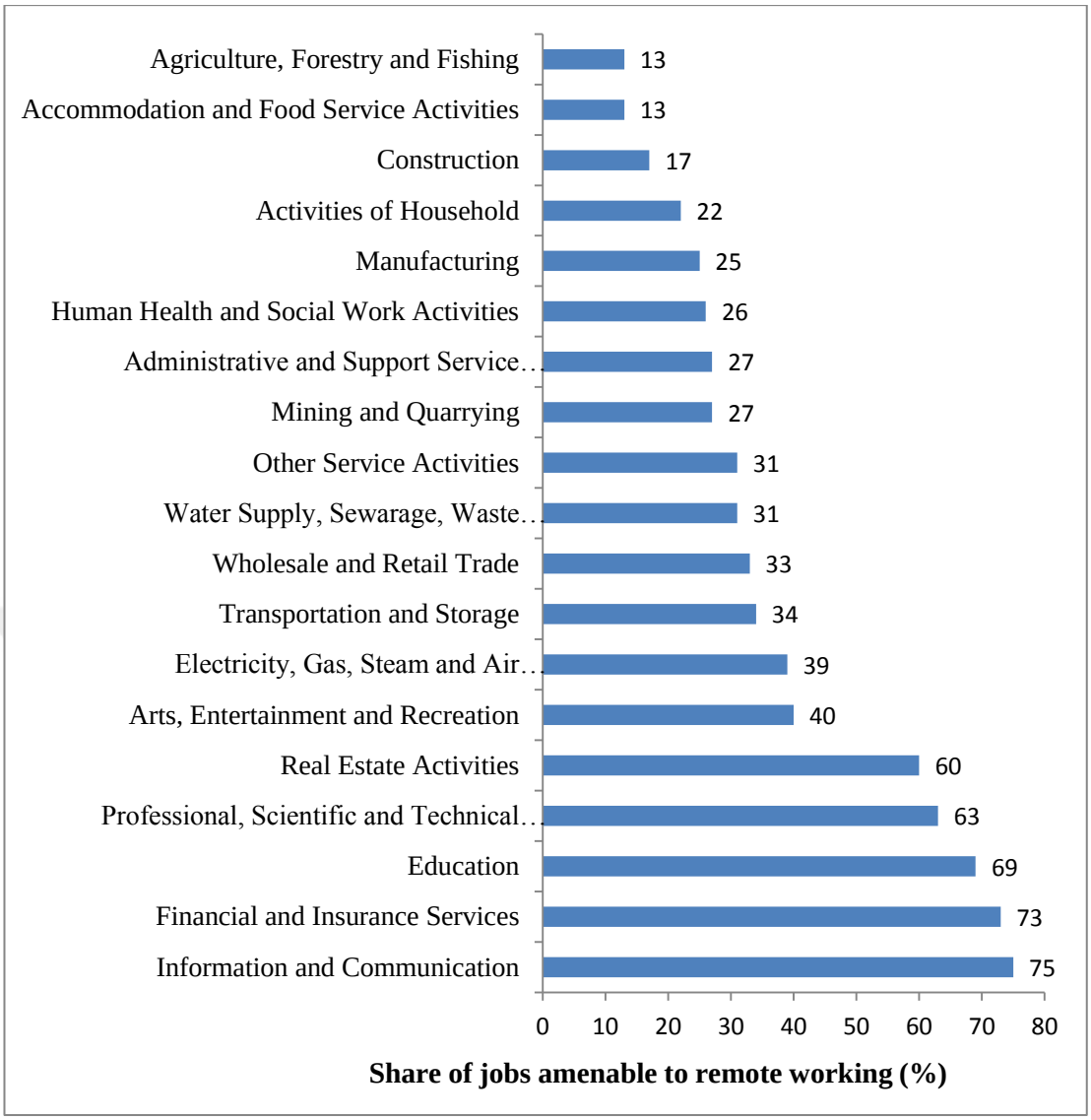

Figure 11: Some industries are more suitable than others to remote work % of jobs that can be performed remotely by industry, 2019

Source: OECD, 2021c

The marital status of women, whether they have children and the age of their children, are critical determinants that affect women's time use. For this reason, specific attention was paid to ensuring diversity in terms of these characteristics in the sample. A total of 18 women aged between 27 and 52 were interviewed during the field study. As can be seen in the demographic features table of the interviewees (Table 2), eight of these people were from the education sector, five from the field of informatics, and five from the banking sector. Three interviewees worked in the field of education in public institutions, while the rest of the interviewees worked in the private sector.

Table 3. Demographic Features of Interviewees

Participant	Profession	Age	Marital Status	Household Status	Child Status	Age of Child
P1	Information Technologies	27	Single	With family of 6	No	No
P2	Information Technologies	27	Single	With family of 3	No	No
P3	Education	30	Married	With spouse	No	No
P4	Education (Public School)	44	Married	With family of 3	1	12
P5	Education	27	Single	Periodically with family and friends	No	No
P6	Information Technologies	52	Married	With family of 3	1	12
P7	Education	30	Married	With spouse	No	No
P8	Information Technologies	45	Married	With family of 3	1	5
P9	Education (Public School)	35	Married	With family of 4	2	5 and 7
P10	Education	44	Married	With family of 4	2	13 and 15
P11	Education	44	Married	With family of 3	1	7
P12	Bank/ Finance	42	Married	With family of 4	2	7 and 12
P13	Bank/ Finance	48	Married	With family of 3	1	3,5
P14	Education (Public School)	31	Single	With family of 4	No	No
P16	Bank/ Finance	39	Married	With spouse's family of 5	1	2,5
P17	Information Technologies	43	Married	With family of 4	2	8 and 10
P18	Bank/ Finance	46	Married	With family of 4	2	10 and 13
P19	Bank/ Finance	41	Married	With family of 4	2	6,5 (twins)

Except for two interviewees respectively from the field of education and informatics, all other remaining interviewees were married. In total six interviewees, two of whom were married, had no children. The remaining 12 participants had children, the youngest being three and a half years old and the oldest 15 years old. In Table 3, a portrait depicting the sample group is presented regarding the marital status, the number of children and the age group of the sample. As shown in Figure 12, the number of married women (yellow) is higher than the number of singles (blue) in the sample group. In addition, the number of interviewees with children in the preschool age group (7 years and under) (brown) and children in the older age group (pink) is almost equal.

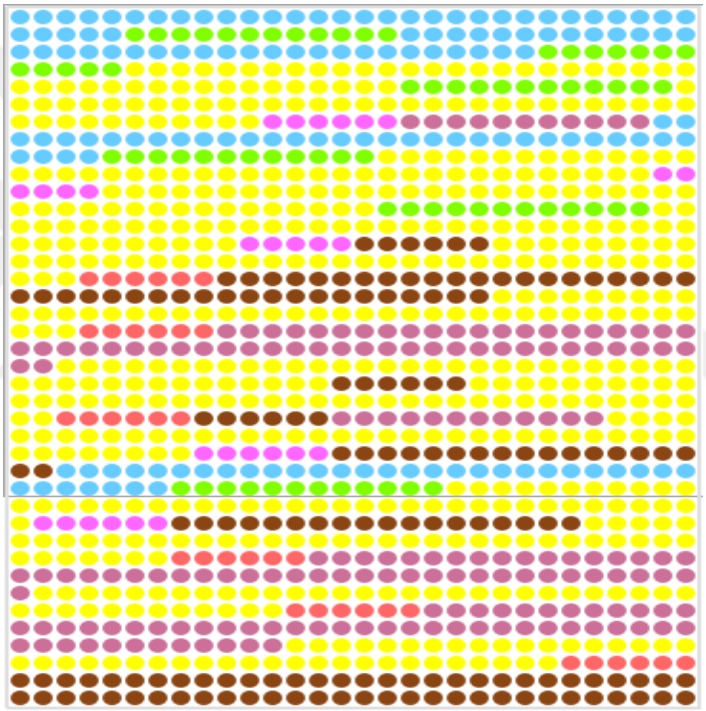

Figure 12. Portrait of the sample group formed by considering marital status, number of children and age group of children (through the MAXQDA)

4.3. Data Collection

Ruane (2006, p.149) states that "The interview is a purposeful conversation wherein the interviewer has a set research agenda - i.e., key points or questions that must be addressed". For this reason, first of all, a semi-structured questionnaire [14] was

[14]See the Appendix for the questionnaire form.

prepared to frame this purposeful speech. Then, within the scope of the pilot study, a total of five people, three of whom were single, two were married and had children were interviewed in January 2022. After these interviews, their opinions about the questions and the whole interview process in general were asked. Some parts of the questions were changed after the interviewees pointed out the difficulty that they had in understanding them. The question form was accordingly revised with shorter, colloquial expressions (such as using "implementation development" instead of "policy development").

Ethical permission No. 28620816 from the Middle East Technical University Human Subjects Ethics Committee was obtained to carry out the research. Then, a call for interviewees was announced via my personal social media account. Appointments with the volunteering people were made by taking their contact information from these social media applications and from people I know. My friends and my previous thesis advisor also put me in contact with women who would be appropriate candidates for my research sample.

17 of the 18 interviews were conducted online via Zoom platform, and one was face-to-face at the interviewee's workplace during January 2022. At the beginning of each interview, I made a short briefing about my research, and then I asked if they had any questions. I also took their permission to voice record the interview by explaining the reason for the recording. Bell (2005, p.158) asserts "asking the questions in a certain order is something that facilitates the relationship with the interviewee". Thus, keeping specific order was generally paid attention during the field study. However, when some interviewees started to talk about their experiences about work-life balance in this process, they were also providing answers to the other questions. In these situations, they were not interrupted. The order of questions was changed by the interviewee according to the flow of the interview. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1 hour and 10 minutes.

The role of a researcher, which is defined as a "reflective partner, whose relationship is that of subject to co-participant" was taken care of (Blaikie, 2000, p. 53). During the interviews, I sometimes "supplied verbal mirror" by active listening (Ruane,

2006, p. 152), and sometimes asked "drilling questions" to intensify the subject. The researcher's attitude in this study changed depending on whether the interviewee was introverted or extroverted.

The fact that the interviews were held online was very convenient for participants. First, it was easier to make an appointment because the meetings were online. For example, some interviews occurred at around 10-11 pm after their children went to bed. If the meeting was not held online, I would not have been possible to meet at that time of the day. Moreover, online interviews enabled the researcher to have great convenience in recording.

Besides the advantages of online interviewing, there were also some disadvantages. One disadvantage it created was not being able to be alone with the interviewee. To illustrate, in the interviews conducted, while the interviewees were at the workplace, two interviewees could not readily answer the questions about workplace policies, and the question was passed with short answers without detailing these topics. Another example is that meetings had to be interrupted, sometimes due to work responsibilities and sometimes because of children. Nevertheless, it can be considered that such events constitute a vivid example of the research subject and can be ignored owing to enabling advantages.

In this study, interviewees were initially asked to describe what the concepts of work, life, and gender signify to them, aiming to understand how they interpret these concepts. This question set aligns with qualitative research methods, focusing on understanding phenomena from the perspective of individual meaning-making. Additionally, this set of questions was typically administered at the beginning of the interviews to help familiarize participants with the topic.

The second set of questions aimed to explore the characteristics of the interviewees' paid work and the changes experienced in their paid labour during the COVID-19 pandemic. The final set of questions was designed to understand the characteristics of interviewees' unpaid labour. These questions were formulated to align with SRT definition of social reproduction (Brenner & Laslett, 1989; Arruzza, 2016;

Bhattacharya, 2017b; Fraser, 2017), which includes three components: household labour, care work, and social relations. During the in-depth interviews, questions were posed to examine each of these three components of social reproduction as defined by SRT.

In the following section, the findings from the interviews will be presented under five themes, with consideration given to the perspective of SRT. Common patterns and variations observed among the interviewees will be discussed, and these results will be analysed through the framework of SRT arguments.

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE STUDY ON THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN WORKING REMOTELY IN COVID-19 IN TURKIYE

This thesis examines the boundary struggles between paid and unpaid labour for women working remotely or in a hybrid mode during COVID-19 through the lens of SRT. In this section, the data collected from 18 interviewees will be categorized under three headings and analysed under five themes based on the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2. The headings are Perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender, State of Paid Work, and Social Reproduction Activities. The themes are perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender, the state of paid work, domestic labour, care labour, and societal reproduction labour. The last three themes will be discussed under the heading of Social Reproduction Activities. These themes will also be divided into sub-themes to provide a detailed presentation of the interviewees' experiences.

5.1. Perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender

According to SRT, economic production in capitalism relies on non-economic spheres (Fraser, 2014). Fraser (2014) refers to these non-economic areas as "background conditions," which include social reproduction and provide the necessary context for capitalism to function. In other words, the commodification process requires labour power, and for labour power to be available, "extra-economic but intra-capitalist" (Fraser, 2016) spaces are necessary. These conditions, integral to capitalist society, do not ensure the perpetuation of the capitalist system by working harmoniously like the cogs of a wheel. Instead, SRT posits that the production of surplus value and the demand for unlimited accumulation by capital threaten these background conditions (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019). Consequently, there is an ongoing boundary struggle between background and foreground conditions.

In qualitative studies, while trying to reveal phenomena, the meaning worlds of individuals themselves need to be taken into consideration (Jones, 1995; Ugwu & Eze Val, 2023). This part aims to understand the meaning interviewees attribute to "work" and "life," which represent opposite sides of the boundary struggle. Additionally, it explores their views on gender, as gender links these two extremes of experience. The insights gained may contribute to a better understanding of how interviewees experience and navigate this boundary struggle. For this reason, in this research, before the experiences during COVID-19 were investigated, the participants were asked about their perceptions of “their primary role”, "work", "life", and "gender".

Individuals typically have different roles in different areas of life. People's roles in the family, their roles in their social environment, or their roles in their work environment are separate from each other, and generally, these roles do not intersect in any area. Interviewees were asked about what they considered their "primary role". It is thought that learning about their dominant roles in their own lives may help better understand their emphasis on conveying their experiences while narrating their experiences of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Among the interviewees, six identified their primary role as their familial role. One of these six individuals (P1, IT, Single, 27) identified "older sister" as their primary role, whereas the other five (P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) directly stated "motherhood". It is interesting to note that all five of these individuals work in bank/finance[15] When asked about their primary roles, two interviewees (P10, Education, Married, 44; and P17, IT, Married,43) stated that their roles in both family life and at work emerged first. P6 (IT, Married, 52) and P11 (Education, Married, 44) stated that it was variable. While P6 stated that " whichever role the environment requires my role to be prioritised, that role is prioritised.", P11 associated this variability with age and changes in her life. The way

[15] As seen in Table 4: Interviewees' status and features about their experiences of paid work, it is important to note that the interviewees who answered “motherhood” as the first role also have a high number of working years. These respondents' employment duration in the bank/finance sector is between 15 and 23 years.

P11 explains this change is an example of the boundary struggles between paid and unpaid labour, as it is dealt with in this thesis:

> Actually, it's a mix [which is the primary role I want to define myself in], but since priorities change as we get older, I can define it according to age ranges. Until I got married, I was really passionate about my job, I still had that involvement with the academic world, but it definitely decreased as I get older, they told me this, and I didn't believe it... After marriage, of course, being a spouse comes into play. ...Household and family can be your priority.. In academic world or business world, of course, I do my job thoroughly, I have a perfectionist nature, but that may not be your priority. Your home and family life may be your priority. The child is already a great resource because I became a mother very late and it was very difficult for me to have my child, I had a child on the 5th trial, and I have four pregnancy losses. It becomes the centre of your world. ... (P11, Education, Married)

Four interviewees (P3, Education, Married, 30; P4, Education, Married, 44; P7, Education, Married, 30 and P8, IT, Married, 45) directly associated their primary roles with their paid jobs. Three of these four women (P3, P4, and P7) are in the field of education and define their primary role as a "teacher", while the other person (P8) defines it as an "employee". The remaining four interviewees (P2, IT, Single, 27; P5, Education, Single, 27; P9, Education, Married, 35; and P14, Education, Single, 31) explained their first roles neither in terms of their roles in the family nor in their work. One thing that draws attention here is that the single women among these four (P2, P5 and P14) define their primary roles in terms of the social environment and their own priorities. P2 stated her primary role as "an individual", P5 as "a student", and P14 as "a human being and friend". Finally, P9 said that her primary role was "being a woman". However, the words she expressed as the justification for this are remarkable. P9 stated that femininity is her favourite role when it includes all of them and combines the roles she is in.

As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, the boundary struggles (Fraser, 2017) that SRT considers being between paid and unpaid labour appear in the literature mainly as work-life balance or conflict (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 79). Based on the SRT's arguments (Fraser, 2014) that there are such boundary struggles due to the inherent contradictions of capitalism and that there will always be such boundary struggles in capitalism, the inadequacy of this perspective in the literature is again discussed in Chapter 3. Theoretical criticisms aside, this conceptualization in the

literature offers a convenient set of concepts to concretize the issue in the minds of interviewees. In this respect, it can be said that this thesis explores "life" at one end and "work" at the other, and the connection between them is examined through gender, in which the opinions and perceptions of interviewees about these concepts become crucial to shed light on social reality.

In order to get an idea about the interviewees' perspective on life, they were asked what comes to their mind when they think of life. Of course, it is not possible to understand individuals' perspectives on life in their entirety with a single question. These types of questions ("abstract questions" as P17 (IT, Married, 43) puts it) are difficult to answer even within oneself. Being aware of this limitation, the interviewees' views on "life", which constitutes one end of the study, are presented together with the concepts of “work/working, being healthy and their families, both obstacles to overcome and pleasant moment, lived to the fullest and bustle, difficulties, obligations, moving away from oneself”, as they put it.

Two participants said that when they think of life, they mostly think of work/working (P1, IT, Single, 27 and P6, IT, Married, 52). On the other hand, four interviewees (P8, IT, Married, 45; P12 Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P13 Bank/Finance, Married, 48; and P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) stated that when they think of life, "being healthy and their families" come to their mind. P3 (Education, Married, 30) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) gave a relatively more neutral answer and stated that "it depends on the situation" and that there were "both obstacles to overcome and pleasant moments". Besides, P9 (Education, Married, 35) and P14 (Education, Single, 31) were the ones who described life in the most positive way among the interviewees. According to these participants, life is something "lived to the fullest" and "where there is hope and interaction with people."

The most notable finding in the responses to this question is that a significant proportion of the interviewees associate life with negative concepts like "bustle, difficulties, obligations, moving away from oneself". More than one-third of the participants, namely seven out of 18, provided such an answer; they are P2 (IT, Single, 27), P4 (Education, Married, 44), P5 (Education, Single, 27), P7 (Education,

Married, 30), P10 (Education, Married, 44), P11 (Education, Married, 44) and P17 (IT, Married, 43). When this situation is considered together with the fact that the primary source of power in capitalism is money (Fraser, 2022, p. 56) and the low value of social reproduction activities in capitalism (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018), it is also noteworthy the fact that the concept of life is considered with negative expressions is concentrated in the interviewees working in the field of education. Furthermore, P17's remarks on the matter encapsulate the dilemma experienced by individuals caught in the boundary struggle.

> The priority is definitely family, but frankly I cannot always realize that priority. I am a very busy working person. ... That's why it's primarily family, but sometimes it just stays in words. When I think of life, what usually comes to my mind is the inconsistency between what seems very optimum and what I actually practice. While I say "Let me enjoy this, let me appreciate that" etc., what I actually do is not like that at all. For me, life really goes way beyond what I imagined. (P17, IT, Married)

Unsurprisingly, most of the interviewees (11 out of 18) directly used expressions such as "meeting financial needs" and "obligation" to describe what comes to mind when they think of work. These interviewees are P1 (IT, Single, 27), P2 (IT, Single, 27), P3 (Education, Married, 30), P5 (Education, Single, 27), P9 (Education, Married, 35), P10 (Education, Married, 44), P11 (Education, Married, 44), P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42), P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39), P17 (IT, Married, 43) and P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41). The framework P19 puts forward when explaining the reason for this situation exemplifies Fraser's (2016) last periodization of capitalism which includes dual-earner families purchasing services from the market in the neoliberal period:

> When it comes to work, financial freedom comes first... As you get married, get older and have children, the realities of life emerge. In the realities of life, money is again needed to live well, to be happy, to be social, to give your children a good education, and to send them to the courses I mentioned. For that, work means money. A child can be raised by sending the child to a public school and without sending him/her to any courses. Of course, it is up to the mother and father to raise the child. If we work until the evening, we have to send them to private school, so that we don't have to bring a woman[caregiver] into the house again, or to ensure that the children receive a good education until the evening, the result is again related to money. You know, socializing... you can't go out without money, everything depends on money, so for that reason, work means money at a certain point. (P19, Bank/Finance, Married)

Apart from this, P3 (Education, Married, 30), P8 (IT, Married, 45) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) defined the concept of "work" as "sociality", "colleagues" and "free time"[16], while P5 (Education, Single, 27), P6 (IT, Married, 52), P8 (IT, Married, 45) and P10 (Education, Married, 44) responded with positively connoted expressions such as "financial security", "self-discipline", "creativity", "production". Besides, P4 (Education, Married, 44), P7 (Education, Married, 30) and P14 (Education, Single, 31) stated that "school" and "student" come to their mind when they think of work, whereas P13 (Bank/Finance, Married) said that closed spaces glass partition.

The concept of gender reminded of something to all the interviewees, except P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48). P13 stated that she could not think of anything and asked for further explanation. As will be detailed later, other participants presented arguments regarding gender inequality in general and the greater burden and oppression of women. Interviewees' evaluations of the impact of gender on their daily lives and the source of gender inequality vary. The answers given on this subject will be integrated into the analysis under several headings.

First of all, two interviewees think they think that gender norms do not impact their daily lives: P7 (Education, Married, 30) and P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48). These interviewees stated that they share the housework with their husbands and that the idea of "women should do the housework" in their surroundings has changed and is not effective anymore. The fact that P13 said that her husband "helps" and used the words "thank you" as an expression of gratitude while explaining that she does housework casts doubt on her statement that gender roles have no influence on her daily life. This is because the way these expressions are used implies the assumption that domestic chores are actually women's work rather than being the joint responsibility of men and women sharing the same house.

[16] Considering work as "a place where I can spend free time for myself" sounds interesting in capitalism, where money is the main power and so working is mandatory. This situation, at first, makes us think that the interviewee who expressed this (P18, Bank/Finance, Married) is someone who suffers from housework and child care. However, this interviewee stated that she has two separate assistants to take care of childcare, and daily household chores, and to clean the house at certain periods. On the other hand, when asked about her working style, she stated that she preferred to work "fully remotely". Unfortunately, since these seemingly contradictory situations could not be noticed during the face-to-face interview, it was realized after reading the interview transcript that a sufficiently in-depth interview could not be conducted on these issues.

Six interviewees (P2, IT, Single, 27; P3, Education, Married, 30; P5 Education, Single, 27; P8, IT, Married, 45; P14, Education, Married, 31; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39) stated that gender inequality has no direct effect in their own lives; however, they stated that they witnessed it in some way, either due to the country's agenda or in the workplace. P1 (IT, Single, 27), P6 (IT, Married, 52) and P11 (Education, Married, 44) asserted that although gender inequality is not as commanding as before and there have been some changes towards equality in this regard, they still see its impact. For example, P1 (IT, Single, 27) stated that although her family supported her in studying and work, the expectations from her were still the same when she came home after work, and she had to help her mother with the housework so that she [her mother] would not be alone doing domestic chores. P6 (IT, Married, 52) declared that while gender inequality continues in the workplace although there have been positive remarks about the rise of women in business life on social media, this inequality also continues at home despite being with more modern men. What she stated when explaining this situation also exemplified the boundary struggles that women have to experience during the pandemic.

> I mean, I know that I experienced this, that during the pandemic period, when I was at home and attending meetings, I simultaneously peeled the beans. Have you ever seen a man doing this? You have to do it; you have to cook dinner because you will feed your child. Therefore, a disproportionate workload fell on women during the pandemic. (P6, IT, Married, 52)

Regarding the source of gender inequality, P4 (Education, Married, 44), P9 (Education, Married, 35), P10 (Education, Married, 44), P11 (Education, Married, 44), P12 (Bank/Finance, Married,42), P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39), P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) and P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41) agreed to some extent by saying "country", "culture" and "geography". The common feature of these factors, which they consider as the source of gender inequality, is that those factors are local and can vary depending on the era and society - almost accidental. Moreover, P4 (Education, Married, 44), P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) and P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41) consider the gender norms to have "instinctive" roots. When P4 (Education, Married, 44) rethought her attitude, she noticed that her behaviour sometimes occurred unconsciously and she said that she drifted towards this behaviour instinctively. P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) explained the

"instinctive" root by giving examples of the behaviours of her daughter and son, whereas P19 compared her parenthood and her husband's parenthood and claimed that her parenthood was better for children because she could think holistically the requirements of her children, different from her husband.

The last category of responses that draws attention to the gender issue is about the relationship between marriage and gender roles. P17 (IT, Married, 43) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) mentioned marriage while explaining their ideas about gender, and the views of these two participants on gender and marriage were completely different from each other. P17 (IT, Married, 43) stated that she felt the pressure of the roles assigned by society more intensely before marriage, but after marriage, she felt quite free in this regard. On the other hand, P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) said that recently, marriage has been done more for the comfort of men and that people have started to realize this later. P18's view reminds us of radical feminism's emphasis on the importance of the marriage/family structure in maintaining patriarchy (Rowland & Klein, 1996, p. 15). The P17's experience before and after marriage, on the other hand, points out Rodrigo's criticism of abandoning the institution of marriage completely (Garcia-Rodrigo, 2009). Garcia-Rodrigo (2009, p. 130) suggests that the real solution is to change the patriarchal structure of the institution of marriage, instead of escaping marriage. Radical feminism's perspective on marriage is outside the scope of this thesis; therefore, it will be sufficient to share only the participants' completely different views and thoughts on this subject.

In summary, as mentioned above, to get an idea about the meanings and acceptances of the interviewees, their opinions on concepts, which are work, gender and life, related to the thesis topic were asked. These questions were generally asked before moving on to the in-depth interview questions directly, both to get to know the interviewee and to warm them up for the interview. Since these questions were quite person-specific and abstract, it was not possible to obtain a pattern in the answers according to sectors, marital status, or age. However, as mentioned above, there were common nuances in the answers. The association of the primary role with the "role within the family"; seeing work as "an obligation to meet needs"; and thinking of life

with words such as "difficulty, rush" and considering gender as "an inequality between men and women that is against women" are examples of common patterns in the answers. Moreover, the fact that the majority of the interviewees' perceptions of work were related to paid work suggests that additional efforts should be made to ensure that unpaid labour is recognised as “work”.

The next section presents the data from the interviewees based on the status of their paid jobs, which will be presented under seven sub-themes.

5.2. State of Paid Work

In Chapter 3, the advantages and disadvantages of remote working are discussed. Its advantages include reducing the time and financial resources spent to reach the workplace and reducing work-family conflict (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007; Orr & Savage, 2021; Eurofound& ILO, 2017). In addition, working with lower stress, increased job satisfaction, and increased productivity are expressed as positive aspects of remote working. On the other hand, the decrease in social interaction and the resulting isolation of employees constitute an important disadvantage of remote working. It has been determined that remote workers find it more difficult to build a network than office-based workers since they communicate with co-workers less frequently. Besides, when people working remotely need technical support, they cannot meet these needs as easily and comfortably as in the office, and as a result, their performance is negatively affected.

Besides working remotely are these disadvantages, some drawbacks related to more related with this study's topic have been asserted namely extended work hours, role blurring, and heightened work-family conflict. Especially during the pandemic, due to measures such as "stay at home" calls and complete closures, remote working during the COVID-19 period has also become almost completely working from home. As mentioned above, in this period, the temporal and spatial coexistence of paid and unpaid work blurred the boundaries between people's different roles. The circumstances surrounding the COVID-19 era represent a particular and concrete illustration of a structural feature of capitalism that SRFs refer to as boundary

struggles beyond the conflict between work and life (Arruzza, 2020; Bhattacharya, 2020). In this general framework, the state of paid work will be evaluated in seven sub-themes in the light of the answers given by the interviewees. These sub-themes are participants' thoughts about paid work, work hours, workload, the effect of spatial differences, institutional support while working from home, policy recommendations of participants, and participants' preferences for work types for the future. Before discussing these sub-theme features, some information about all the interviewees' paid work experiences is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Interviewees' Status and Experience of Paid Work

Participant/ Features	Working time	Work type before the pandemic	Work type in 2020	Work type in 2021	Institutional support in the pandemic	Loss of rights during the pandemic period	Preference of work type
P1(IT, 27, Single)	3 years	from the office, during certain working hours	remote and hybrid	Hybrid	-Computer-Flexibility on days off	-unclear work hour[17]-certain work hours	Hybrid
P2(IT, 27, Single)	8 Months	Not valid	Not valid	Hybrid	-computer-Invoice support for several times	fewer breaks	Hybrid
P3(Education, 30, Married)	Almost 7-8 years	From class; face to face	Remote	From class	equipment such as board, tripod, camera	long operating range	Hybrid
P4(Education, 44, Married)	21 years	From class; face to face	Remote	From class	8 GB Internet for only using EBA[18]	long operating range	varies by sector and period
P5(Education, 27, Single)	4 years	From class; face to face	Remote	From class	equipment such as board, tripod, microphone	long operating range	From class; face to face

[17] Long operating range" and uncertain work hours do not mean the same thing. The long operating range covers more range for working hours than before the pandemic; for example, P3 said that while her course hours were between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. during the pre-pandemic period, they ranged from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. On the other hand, uncertain work means any mission could be wanted at any hour, as said by P1. She told the fact that she answered e-mails at the night needed during the pandemic.

[18] "EBA" stands for "Education Information Network" in Turkish, which is an educational platform developed by the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Türkiye. It serves as a digital educational portal aimed at enhancing the learning experience for students, teachers, and parents. EBA provides various resources such as educational videos, interactive activities, assignments, and exam preparation materials for students. Teachers can create lesson materials, track student progress, and utilize a wide range of educational resources through the platform. EBA plays a significant role in supporting both in-person and distance education initiatives in Türkiye.

Table 4 (continued)

P6(IT, 52, Married)	31 years	from the office, during certain working hours	remote and hybrid	hybrid	-enlightenment about COVID-19 by institutional doctor -online training such as yoga, music	-unclear work hour-certain work hours	from the office
P7(Education, 30, Married)	2 years	From class; face to face	Remote	From class	Flexibility on days off	long operating range	Remote
P8(IT, 45, Married)	21 years	Hybrid	Hybrid	From workplace	-Monitor -Flexibility on days off -enlightenment about work-life balance while working at a hybrid type	-extension of working hours	Hybrid
P9(Education, 35, Married)	14 years	From class; face to face	Remote	From class	8 GB Internet for only using EBA	long operating range	From class; face to face
P10 (Education, 44, Married)	20 years	from the office, during certain working hours	Remote from the workplace by decreasing working hours	From workplace	Desktop computer	unclear work hour -certain work hours -Accumulated day-off rights have been used during remote work	Hybrid
P11(Education, 44, Married)	23 years	from the office, during certain working hours	Remote and from the workplace by decreasing working hours	From workplace	not demanded	unclear work hour -certain work hours -Accumulated day-off rights have been used during remote work	From workplace
P12(Bank/Finance,42, Married)	18 years	from the office, during certain working hours	remote and hybrid	hybrid	-Laptop -Telephone -Internet	No	

Table 4 (continued)

P13(Bank/Finance,48, Married)	20 years	from the office, during certain working hours	Hybrid	From workplace	-Tablet -Telephone- -Conversations with experts on various topics -Access to the system will be restricted after a certain hour	No	From workplace
P14(Education, 31, Single)	10 years	from the office, during certain working hours	Remote	From workplace	8 GB Internet for only using EBA	-unclear work hour -certain work hours	From workplace; face to face
P16(Bank/Finance,39, Married)	16 years	from the office, during certain working hours, and breast-feeding permission	Remote	Remote	-pay for Internet and food -online events for employees	-fewer breaks - sometimes working outside of working time	Hybrid
P17(IT, 43, Married)	21 years	from the office	Remote and hybrid	Hybrid	one-off remote work support payment	Sometimes extension of working hours	Hybrid
P18(Bank/Finance,46, Married)	23 years	from the office, during certain working hours	remote and hybrid	hybrid	Laptop -training about various issues	Lack of commuting and food money	Remote
P19(Bank/Finance,41, Married)	15-16 years	from the office	Remote and hybrid	hybrid	-Shortening working hours for employees in the workplace - twice remote work support payment	No	Hybrid

To present the information about the interviewees' paid work in a consolidated manner, this information has been organised into a table. The data in Table 4 will be evaluated separately for each sub-theme of paid work. The first sub-theme of the paid work theme, participants' perceptions of paid work, will be looked at in the following part.

5.2.1. Participants' Perceptions about Paid Work

Participant women's thoughts about "paid work" are significant because qualitative research is interested in participants' meaning which forms their lives and worlds as cited by Merriam (2009, p. 24)in Chapter 4. Thus, the meaning of paid work and its importance for the participants should be examined. Besides, this information can enable readers to gain clues about the participants' motivation for paid work and its effects on their lives.

Upon reviewing the interviews, it became noticeable that the participants' descriptions of paid work possess a few common characterizations. Of the 18 respondents, the most prevalent opinion is that having paid work is linked to achieving "financial freedom" (11 out of 18) [19]. Earning money was deemed important by the interviewees, who stated that it allowed them to be "self-sufficient," "not dependent on anyone else," and "stand on their own feet." Particularly, the information provided by P1 and P5, the unmarried participants, that their families have observed behavioural changes since they began working brings to mind Fraser's statement (2022, p. 56) that "money has become the primary power in capitalism" in reference to the "wage for housework" campaign. P1 and P5 expressed this situation as follows:

> So, it actually provides a little more comfort and advantage. ... How I can say it, it's very... My family, I don't want to say too much, but I think economic freedom starts in the family, I mean... it, the fact that you are working and earning your own money is noticed even in the family. (P1, IT, Single, 27)

> In other words, the fact that I was working in my family life and private life had somewhat reduced the expectations from me. Because I was working, I was contributing less to the household, whether it was morally, to the housework or to other things... We can say that it had such an effect. Other than that, I think working makes me stronger, or so the other party sees it. I can feel it. There was also a period when I lived at [family] home. Their [her family members] perspectives at that time

[19] These participants are P1 (IT, Single), P2 (IT, Single), P4 (Education, Married), P5(Education, Single), P9 (Education, Married), P12 (Bank/Finance, Married), P13 (Bank/Finance, Married), P14 (Education, Single), P16 (Bank/Finance, Married), P18 (Bank/Finance, Married), P19 (Bank/Finance, Married). Other participants were selected not because they did not associate paid work with financial freedom, but because these participants directly used one of these adjectives when talking about paid work. Other participants did not express any positive or negative opinions about paid work and financial freedom.

> and when I work now are slightly different. Because I am a more self-sufficient person, they approach me differently. (P5, Education, Single, 27)

As previously discussed, SRT argues (Fraser, 2014) that capitalism possesses both foreground and background conditions. Non-economic conditions which are society, politics, nature, and the expropriable periphery are required for the emergence of the economic foreground conditions. Fraser (2014; 2022) asserts that there is both a contrast and symbiosis relationship between non-economic and economic conditions and also boundary struggles between these two sides. This thesis aims to scrutinize the boundary struggle between production and reproduction. Also, due to being considered women getting more roles in the reproduction area, the research sample of this thesis is comprised of women. In other words, this thesis aspires to present the boundary struggle between unpaid and paid labour of women.

While discussing with the participants about paid work, eight participants20, all of whom were married with children, expressed that their childcare and household chores had caused them to change or want to modify their careers and work type. It can be thought these statements correspond to the SRT's concept, of boundary struggle.

> ... if you need to pay more attention to your child or you see that your child needs it and you want to do it, I think they will be off from time to time... For example, in Europe, it is very common and we don't have it much, women can switch to part-time from time to time. Generally, they do this for children. Of course, I wish it was not only for women, but also for men, but I think it is a very correct approach. Sometimes you may want that to be your priority. But it's okay, I don't think this is something that a man would ever think of. (P8, IT, Married, 45)

P11 (Education, Married, 44) stated that she told her manager that she did not want to be promoted so that she could spend more time with her child, while P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39) suggested that "women should get their [retirement] rights earlier because they have a lot of work at home." A participant's exposure to conversations from her husband and colleagues regarding the other side of the boundary can be a great illustration of how women are caught in the middle of the boundary struggle.

[20] These 8 participants are P4(Education,44), P8(IT, 45), P11(Education, 44), P12(Bank Finance,42), P13(Bank/Finance,48), P16(Bank/Finance, 39), P17(IT,43), P19(Bank Finance,41)

> I am a person with a high sense of responsibility. I get stressed, if I get stressed, those around me also get a little tight. When I had my daughter, my husband said something like "business life sometimes dulls the feeling of motherhood." Because there [work place] is a lot of things that need to be done. But there [house] is a lot to be done here too. Balancing that job brings with it stress. However, there are completely different things that a very stress-free mother profile can do. It's very different from a mother who has less stress and is at peace with a mother who says "First I'll do this, then I'll do that, and then there's this. (P17, IT, Married, 43)

> No matter how much I say there is no such thing, I do not believe that [being a woman has no effect on business life]. That's it... There wasn't much like that because you're a woman, but sentences like "you also spend a little time at home" are mentioned in passing. But I think that in order for that sentence to be used in passing, there must already be something completely different underneath it. (P17, IT, Married, 43)

Moreover, what P12 (Bank Finance, Married, 42) said about her husband's evaluation of his own paid work through his attitude during the pandemic period revealed the effect of the family norm, in which men were accepted as breadwinners during “state-managed capitalism” (Fraser, 2016), was still sustained, and that if one of the couples had to leave paid work, it was still thought that this person should be a woman.

> That's why he doesn't go, "so I [her husband] can't concentrate here, I'll prepare a report, I can't prepare it here, I can only concentrate and prepare it there..." Of course, it was a time when people acted selfishly like this; it all comes down to the same thing; to be self-centered, to think of oneself. Well, of course, there is something underlying it, something like this: "Even if you become unemployed, I [her husband] will take care of you, it's not a problem anyway. I want my job to be good, I want to work hard so that I don't lose my job, and I can move up and bring more money home. It's okay if you don't work. The worst thing is that you take care of the children, but I don't think I should be unemployed." This is something that has always happened, it was like before the pandemic, it is something that has always happened. (P12 Bank Finance, Married,42)

Lastly, when the participants were asked what they thought about paid work in general, the answers given included the following statements: "sociality, being disciplined and systematic, being involved in life, being well-groomed".

In conclusion, for a large majority of the interviewees, paid work is associated with "financial freedom." This is a familiar situation since money has been a fundamental source of power in capitalism and determines the position of labour (Fraser, 2022), as highlighted by the women's struggle for "Wages for Housework" (Federici S., 2020;

Toupin, 2018). Besides, interviewees reported that they adapted their paid work due to caregiving responsibilities. This can be considered an example of the boundary struggle between paid work and social reproduction that SRT posits.

5.2.2. Workhour

The main claim of this thesis is that the decision to work from home during the COVID-19 pandemic period, along with the necessity of doing paid work and reproductive work in the same place in time and space, has made the boundary struggles that SRT contends are inherent in capitalism widespread and visible, as discussed in Chapter 2. The statements about the working hours in the interviews conducted within the scope of the thesis show that the “boundary struggles” find a response in the everyday lives of the participants. For example, P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) stated that "break hours and working hours do not differ from those when working in an institution, because the tablet is with her even while drinking tea."

A clearer and more widespread version of SRT's concept of boundary struggles can be seen in the participants' statements that they were doing housework and childcare while working from home during the pandemic period. Particularly the married participants with children expressed that they experienced such boundary crossings during the day. Some participants, like P4 (Education, Married, 44), declared they could not cope with it, whereas some, like P10 (Education, Married, 44), said they changed their work time to handle boundary struggles between paid and unpaid work.

> Since the Ministry of National Education did not abolish the system, it spread it over a wide period of time. For example, this time is for primary schools, this time is for secondary schools, etc. During that period, it was difficult to teach and run the house because, for example, I teach at dinner time and at 7 o'clock in the evening. My own food is also disrupted, the order of the house is disrupted in that sense, the meal plan, etc. (P4, Education, Married, 44)

> In fact, we were determining [our meeting hours, whether it would be outside working hours or not] ourselves, according to our own convenience. If we were to have a meeting within the unit, we would try not to hold it too early, usually after our

> friends with small children at work had gone to bed or after breakfast after eating. Our institution is about that... As I said, we don't have anything with hours, like teachers[21]... During the period when teachers were performing distance education, we were planning according to their hours, if we were to gather a large group, they would finish their classes, eat their meals, and do their work at home. (P10, Education, Married, 44)

During the pandemic, working from home became extremely common, and using online communication technologies like Teams, Zoom, and WhatsApp increasingly led to concerns regarding working hours. During the interviews, the common consensus was that the working hours had expanded. For instance, according to the research presented by Eurofond (Predotova & Oscar, 2021), during the pandemic period, the working hours of those working from home were 41 to 60 hours more per week than those working at their workplace. According to a study (McDermott & Hansen, 2021) based on GitHub data, researchers found that working hours during remote work exceed the "traditional weekday 9 to 6" standard and that "based on a 40-hour work week, an extra 2 hours are worked on weekends". Moreover, meeting frequency has increased despite shorter meeting durations, according to a study (DeFilippis, Impink, Singell, Polzer, & Sadun, 2020) examining the role of digital communication tools through email and meeting types. Additionally, workers spent an additional 48.5 minutes a day due to email traffic.

In this study, interviewees' assessments of their working hours during the pandemic period while they were working from home have been found to differ based on their sectors. More specifically, P2 (IT, Single, 27) said that this was only applicable to more senior individuals and did not apply to her, even though four out of the five interviewees in the IT sector reported that their working hours had been extended. In qualitative research, it might be argued that, rather than simply stating that the working hours have been extended, it is important to present how the participants explain and defend these circumstances.

For this reason, while interviewees from the IT sector were discussing their working hours, it was observed that three interviewees (P1, P8, and P17), who worked with international clients, partially attributed their flexible working hours to the time

[21] P10 works as an Assessment and Evaluation Specialist at a college.

difference. In addition, P6 (IT, Married, 52) said that "the concept of working hours has disappeared with working from home" and attributed this situation to "not being able to work fully from home as in the workplace" and argued that it is not possible to "end work at a certain time". As can be seen in her own words below, P6 (IT, Married, 52) attributes "not being able to work fully from home" to "interruptions" due to work at home. In this case, SRT's concept of boundary struggle comes to mind and it appears reasonable to undertake more responsibility for the person who is stuck in this boundary struggle.

> We started at 9 o'clock and finished at 6 o'clock. But during the pandemic period, the computer that turns on at 9 am is open until 24:00, until 12 at night. Because people have almost forgotten the concept of time, I mean, I remember entering meetings at 10 or 11 o'clock. Because when you are at home, it seems like you are always reachable and work and home become very intertwined. ... this is not very possible, you are not interested in work anyway, it is full until six o'clock. There are always interruptions in between, so you do work, you do housework, you sweep around... You don't do these things at work anyway because you don't see them. The fact that the carpet is dirty at work or there are dishes left over, something you don't see becomes bearable. Therefore, I do not know if it is possible to cut back after a certain period of time, it does not make much sense in my opinion. (P6, IT, Married, 52)

Likewise, compared to those employed in the IT sector, eight participants (P3, Education, Married, 30; P4, Education, Married, 44; P5, Education, Single, 27; P7, Education, Married, 30; P9, Education, Married, 35; P10, Education, Married, 44; P11, Education, Married, 44, and P14, Education, Single, 31) in the education sector did not have set working hours. One recurring issue from the interviews with women employed in the education sector is the wide range of their work schedules. While the participants said that they worked on certain days and hours before the pandemic, they stated with the start of working from home after the pandemic, their working hours during the day went beyond normal working hours. They also asserted that they held meetings in the evenings. Besides, one of the participants (P14, Single, 31) said they were required to "do classes even on Saturday, even though it is normally a holiday." The following words of interviewee P3 (Married, 30) can explain the wide range of working hours of those working in the field of education.

> If normally my lessons were between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. [before the pandemic], there was a period of expansion between 9 a.m. and 7 p.m. Here, the number of

> lessons was increased a little more. After all, you are giving lessons from home, as if you are not going on the road. Something like this happened. (P3, Education, Married, 30)

When the way participants working in the field of education approach this process was looked at, it is seen that two common reasons caused this situation to arise. First, as in P3's statement above, it was considered there is no obstacle in spreading the lesson time over a wide range since they are at home. A teacher interviewee (P9, Married, 35) stated that another effect of working from home was that they were "thought to be not working" and so the Ministry of National Education had set a meeting in the evening to suppress the complaints about this in a segment of society.

> A meeting or training held by the National Education could start at 9.00 or 9.30 [in the evening]. In other words, because they were doing this online, or the concept of working hours was completely lost, for example, an announcement could be made or official writing could be sent from the group at 6 p.m. This is a very abnormal thing for us, but this has been completely overcome during the pandemic period. I remember very well that we stayed in the meeting until 10:30 p.m. and that the children were standing up like this. It was very interesting, everyone there was a teacher, we all had children, one of us could not say anything and not oppose it. What caused this? You don't get up and go to work in the morning, okay, you don't work, it stemmed from the mentality which is the teachers are already at home. (P9, Education, Married)

As a second reason, it is presented that since measures must be taken urgently to prevent transmission of the coronavirus, which is an acute situation, there is no infrastructure required for online education, and therefore the concept of working hours has disappeared. Two reasons are thought to be noteworthy in this justification. The first is that participants from the education sector figured out the spread of working hours over a wide range as a "forced or natural consequence" due to this situation. The second is the teachers' tendency to consider the process in terms of "students' benefit". In particular, what P4 (Married, 44) said summarizes this situation regarding the latter reason. Moreover, as can be seen in her statement below, seeing "students as the future of the country [refer to society]" and attributing meaning to her work in this way reminds us of the statement discussed in Chapter 2 that SRT's social reproduction also takes place through public institutions such as schools, hospitals, and places of worship (Bhattacharya, 2017b; Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018).

> … in the beginning, due to the internet problem, our working hours got so long. ... Of course, we would like to have a certain working hour, but if the conditions require it... So, what should the Ministry do? Either all of us will enter, or none of us will, that is, we will all enter, and the system will collapse. 'Oh, it was such a system, etc.' We will complain, we will fail the course, we will not be productive. Or our concept of working hours will disappear. Well, teachers, there is nothing we can do, we will do whatever we can to be of maximum benefit to the children. The Ministry cannot drop a system out of the sky, it is trying to regulate its existing system. ..So we have to think about those children too, I mean our students. They are also the future of this country. In that sense, I wish I had the concept of working hours, I wish we didn't have to go to class until the middle of the night. But whatever we do, we have to adapt to whatever the conditions require. (P4, Education, Married,44)

Surprisingly, the statements of interviewees working in the Bank/Finance sector regarding their working hours during the pandemic were the exact opposite of the previous two groups. Five participants from this sector (P12, P13, P16, P18, P19) did not state that their working hours were extended during the pandemic period. While P12 (Married, 42) said that the working hours did not change, P13 (Married, 48) and P16 (Married,39) said that "the institutions they work for pay special attention to not extending the working hours" and "even the system they work in automatically shuts down at a certain hour". P18 (Married, 46) and P19 (Married, 41) stated that working hours were more comfortable during the pandemic compared to pre-pandemic period. However, it is important here that what two interviewees meant by "comfortable" is different from each other. P18 stated that "during the pandemic, as before the pandemic, they are expected to work after work until 8:30 – 9:00 in the evening", but stated that “extended working hours in the home environment is not a big problem". P19 stated that "they work one week and do not work one week; when they work, they only work between 12 and 5 o'clock."

In summary, when comparing the evaluations of remote working hours during COVID-19 from interviewees in three different sectors, it is evident that the education sector expressed the most dissatisfaction with the uncertainty of working hours. Interviewees from the education sector complained not about extended hours but about the broad range and fragmentation of their workdays. On the other hand, it was observed that employees in the IT sector were generally familiar with flexible and remote working arrangements. Lastly, bankers were the most satisfied with their working hours while working remotely. The next section will present the information obtained about the interviewees' workloads.

5.2.3. Workload

It was discussed that during the pandemic, responsibilities that were not normally included in their job descriptions entered the lives of employees. The most important of these is the introduction of digital tools developed for communication into business life. Although WhatsApp, Zoom, Teams, and e-mail were previously present in working life, their importance has increased. The increased accessibility of employees has created an additional source of stress for them, as well as longer working hours (Gonzalez, Otalvaro, Argel, & Urzola, 2021; Houghton, Lister, & Majumdar, 2021).

When the workloads of interviewees during the pandemic are examined, no variation in the workloads of IT professionals (P1, IT, Single, 27; P2, IT, Single, 27; P6, IT, Married, 52; P8, IT, Married, 45; P17, IT, Married, 43) could be observed. The fact that digital tools, which have become widespread with the pandemic and are said to bring extra workload to employees, were widespread in the IT sector before the pandemic can be considered as a reason for this situation. In addition, the fact that those working in this field are connected to abroad has led them not having clear working hours and being accessible, regardless of the pandemic. This circumstance sets apart IT professionals in this study's research sample.

All of the interviewees working in the Banking/Finance sector also stated that there was no extreme increase in their workload while working from home. In order to clear up any potential misunderstandings regarding this sector, it should be noted that P16 and P18 stated their workloads did not increase while working from home because they were not required to maintain intensive communication via email and other channels after work. They emphasized that this situation was specific to their own working conditions and that their other colleagues did not experience the same. Moreover, P19 stated that "there was no extra workload while working from home, the institution she works for was very understanding". However, she mentioned that, while working in shifts at the bank, they had to handle multiple tasks simultaneously due to being the only person on duty at the bank, which made their work more intense compared to before."

The group that suffers the most from the increase in workload is those working in the field of education (P3 Married, 30; P4, Married, 44; P5, Single, 27; P7, Married, 30; P9, Married, 35; P10, Married, 44; P11, Married, 44; P14, Single, 31) in this study. Firstly, one of the primary reasons they mention concerning the rise in this group's workload is the prevalence of WhatsApp groups in this time frame.

> Also, you cannot check homework, for example, I came up with a system like this, I was giving homework to the group I was giving the class with, I was saying that on Thursday, between these hours, for example, the 2nd students will send me the homework via WhatsApp. This time there was tremendous phone traffic. Homework comes from WhatsApp; you have to read it. We are used to doing things instantly at school. It was a period when we spent a lot of time on the phone and our eyes and brains were very tired. The children [my own children] were very lonely at that time. … Now, for example, after school, there are few parents who reach me, if there is something urgent, if there is something related to homework... But believe me, at that time, the phone battery was not enough, because now it is rightly asked how much I could transfer to students, [and their parents call me and ask] it seems like they don't understand, my teacher didn't enter this course, let's do it like this. ... Likewise, since the school administration cannot reach you physically, they send all the documents to you via WhatsApp. You are always on the phone, you read, you send, there is no exam, you have to make an evaluation, naturally you send resources to children from here. It's like an endless ring... (P9, Education, Married, 35)

In addition, teachers stated that they tried to overcome the problems experienced due to technical inadequacies in this process related to two aspects. Firstly, since the Ministry of Education's system, EBA, was considered to be dysfunctional, teachers voiced that they have turned to find another digital tool. This has placed the burden on teachers to use those tools to communicate with students. Secondly, it was reported that they had to keep track of their students who could not attend online classes and were absent due to infrastructure problems such as the internet or other reasons. Teachers were also worried for their students and this put an emotional burden on them.

> EBA was not ready for that many people to log in, naturally the login could not be made, it collapsed and the classes were cancelled. Later, I tried to organize my activities from the Instagram addresses of the classroom teachers, etc. We tried various methods like this. Then, when we decided on Zoom, we actually felt a little relieved. We learned about Zoom, how to use it, how it is done, and we were apprehensive from the beginning. ... Conditions were not equal. Yes, the Ministry of Education delivered tablets, for example, but there was no infrastructure, for example, because it was like a village there. So, the fact that that tablet came to us seemed to be of no use, but these were always tried to be solved with help and support. We constantly tried to communicate with absent students. We have experienced such problems many times. (P14, Education, Single, 31).

> As I said about giving online lessons, we could not touch the students, we only gave information. It was troublesome, for example, we did not know if any students were neglected or abused, and we did not know if any children were subjected to violence. We did not know about such children who could not attend classes due to financial reasons at home, but they did or could not attend classes at that time. We could only transfer information. We were able to do only one part of the education during that distance process. Colleges may not have such problems, but MEB teachers [public school teachers] do. Because they are our students, they are not students with fixed standards and all kinds of opportunities. In other words, we could not touch the hearts of the children during that period. (P4, Education, Married, 44)

Unlike before the pandemic, during the online lecture period, P3 (Married, 30), P4 (Married, 44), P7 (Married, 30), and P9 (Married, 35) stated that they made extra efforts to "keep the student's attention, ensure their focus, and increase their participation in the lesson." In addition, P4(Married, 44) and P14(Single, 31) pointed to the period when schools were gradually opened while the pandemic continued and stated that "students forgot how to behave at school and in society in the online period" and stated that "we had to remind them of these and ensure their adaptation again." These statements of paid social reproduction labourers working in the field of education, once again, remind us of SRT's view, mentioned in Chapter 2, that schools are institutions that institutionally ensure social reproduction (Bhattacharya, 2017b).

When comparing the statements of interviewees from the Bank/Finance, Education, and IT sectors regarding their workloads while working from home during COVID-19, it is evident that the group reporting an increase in workload was predominantly from the IT sector. In contrast, employees in the Banking sector show a different pattern, as they also did not experience significant extensions in working hours. Bank/Finance sector employees generally believe that there was no significant increase in their workload during this period. On the other hand, those in the Education sector claim that their workload has increased considerably compared to the period when face-to-face instruction was conducted.

The next section is also of significant importance for the subject of this thesis. In the following section, the experiences of the interviewees regarding the effects of the spatial changes that occurred due to working from home will be shared.

5.2.4. The Effect of Spatial Difference

The forced change of the working environment with the measure of working from home during the pandemic has had various effects. The effects of this situation on the people participating in this study can be considered under two main headings: Work-related effects and - in the words of the interviewees - role conflicts. These effects vary depending on the participant's marital status, whether they have their own workspace, whether they have children, and if they have children, the ages of their children.

Positive and negative outcomes were mentioned regarding paid work-related effects. From what two participants (P11, Education, Married, 44 and P14 Education, Single, 31) said about this process, it was understood that this process caused anxiety and stress for them. For one (P14, Education, Single, 31), these are directly related to the way the work is done, while for the other (P11, Education, Married, 44) it is related to the suspicion that the institution may have.

> I learned more about Zoom, but at first, I was very confused. Also, it is so difficult to talk to someone without seeing them, not being able to make contact, not being able to look them in the eye. It really pushed me hard. Also, I am someone who is in constant communication with teachers and students. That's why I had a serious hard time. (P14, Education, Single,31)

> Our concerns have increased during this period. You may receive e-mails from your normal workplace; in a normal workplace, your general manager may call and ask for something, or you may experience another crisis. But when I was at home, I felt guilty. It will be perceived as if I love being at home or as if I am not working. … I was able to do this [take care of things other than paid work] during working hours but when I don't have meetings, or drink coffee, but you are always nervous, and the anxiety is always there. So, you drink coffee for an hour, but you can be called at any time. Because it's like you're officially working. But they don't wait for you in front of the computer, we didn't have such a thing or such an obligation. (P11, Education, Married,44)

Convenience, which is discussed in Chapter 3(Orr & Savage, 2021; Eurofound& ILO, 2017) and is considered among the positive aspects of remote working, was expressed by P3 (Education, Married, 30) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46).

> Teaching at home is so much sweeter. Because, for example, I remember teaching in a private teaching institution for 10 to 14 hours. Break, class breaks, you have to eat

> outside in an institution, rest is limited at work, so when you are at home, you can even go and have a cup of tea between breaks and have a two-minute break. That's why it was better both financially and in terms of comfort because you didn't eat or drink outside. (P3, Education, Married, 30)

> The thing about summer was its beauty. Let me take the computer under my arm and go work in a park or garden, or go to the summer house and sit there and work... I already know that I won't come to work. I can work anywhere there is internet. That was the good side. ... Since we had the comfort of home, it didn't seem like much work to us. (P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46).

Another effect of the change in the workplace is the occurrence of "role conflicts". This effect is an example of "boundary struggles" (Fraser, 2017), which is the main subject of this thesis as discussed in Chapter 2. Women working from home had to perform their paid and unpaid labour at the same time and in the same place. This situation will be discussed in detail under another sub-section in this chapter in terms of responsibilities at home. Within the scope of this sub-theme, the effects of the responsibilities they must fulfil at home during this period on women's paid work will be addressed.

First of all, all participants, except[22] P2 (IT, Single, 27) and P7 (Education, Married, 30), stated that they carried out tasks related to domestic responsibilities such as meal preparation and cleaning during the day while working from home. This suggests that the variable for this theme is the attitudes of the people with whom they share the house in this process, rather than the distinction between married and single. For example, P1(IT, Single, 27), who is single and living with her family, stated that during this period, "people at home were not convinced that she was working" and added:

> When you are at home, the roles get mixed up... So even if you are a worker when you are at home, you now take on those roles of sister and child, and there are things you have to do at home, so that's why that process had a negative impact on me... I worked at night when the atmosphere calmed down. (P1, IT, Single, 27)

It has been noticed that having kids and their ages also had an enormous influence on how women performed their jobs when they could work from home. Women with

[22] P2 said that her mother did this kind of work, and P7 stated that she did these jobs with her husband after working hours.

young children had to find activities to keep them busy while working. It was also discerned that the fact that their children were alone in this process put a psychological burden on the participants.

> I was filling the bathtub a lot just because it was a distraction. My daughter plays for an hour and a half, I'm in a meeting if something happens to the child or something... It was a difficult time indeed, a very difficult time indeed. For the first time in my life, I love working very much, by the way, I was always lucky, I guess my work was good, I really experienced something called Monday syndrome for the first time, in my 20th year. I couldn't sleep at all on Sunday nights then. It's so tiring... But it's so tiring, you're a full-time mother and you work full-time. Sometimes you cook, you do this... A friend of mine said: I either put on my jacket and enter the meeting with the entire management, and in the 10 minutes in between, I scrub the toilet or something. Your brain is really on fire, you can't switch from one thing to another all the time. I was like that too, let me fry an onion and have it ready for lunch, etc. It was very tiring because it was like you were doing two jobs at the same time, which are normally full-time. (P8, IT, Married, 45; with child aged 5)

> That child also wants to socialize, wants to go out and cannot go out, is locked at home. This time he is experiencing a parental conflict. I'm like, okay little kid, I need to play [with it]. On the one hand, I have to cook, on the other hand, but you get angry. I was constantly shouting at the child, "Please go and see, I'm in a meeting right now. I need to be at my workplace right now." "I'm working right now, you know?" I was saying, "I have to be at work right now." It's a pity, it's a pity for him [her son] too. You're trying to explain it to him too. You are stressed, you are constantly stressed. I definitely think women were affected much, much more. (P11, Education, Married, 44; with child aged 7)

The following words of P10(Education, Married, 44), who works in the same institution as P11(Education, Married, 44), reveal that the age of their children is an important factor in this period.

> It is also related to the age of the children. People like me came across the pandemic period at a very suitable age. As a result, they were able to solve their technical problems themselves, they even solved mine, and they supported me in that regard. But if they were young, I would definitely have a hard time, if they were in the first grade of primary school, I think it would have been very difficult if they were in kindergarten or nursery. My luck in this process was related to the age of the children. (P10, Education, Married, 44; with children aged 13 and 15)

Grandmothers in Türkiye played various roles such as "being step-in, step-out or steady for childcare" in the care crisis that emerged after significant changes in working conditions during the COVID-19 period (Con Wright, 2022). In order to cope with these boundary struggles that emerged during the process of working from

home, P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) in this study also resorted to a method that was familiar before the pandemic, such as getting support from the older women in the family.

> At first, I tried to work while my child was at home. It was actually a very difficult process. Because mom is at home... He wants to play games with his mom. He wants to share something with his mother. He [her son] wants to sit on your lap or do something with your work tablet or phone, even though he ultimately has his own tablet or phone at home. He wants to play. He already wants to spend time with you. On the one hand, you have to be interested in him. Like you and me, he cannot complete the day with just breakfast or lunch. There are definitely snacks for him, you need to complete them. At the same time, you need to work. That's why it was very difficult for up to two weeks at the beginning of March. Afterwards, when I couldn't do it anyway, his grandmother said bring it to me. You can't work like that. (P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; with child aged 3,5)

Women who are stuck between the boundary struggles between paid and unpaid work receive support from the older women in the family to overcome this situation (Souralová, 2019; Marcos, 2023). In addition, as claimed in Chapter 2 when talking about the "dual-earner family" norm, some women could also purchase support for childcare and other domestic chores from the market (Fraser, 2016; Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019; Lombardozzi, 2020). However, of course, not every woman stuck between boundary struggles can find this much support, as mentioned by a participant (P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42) in this research. As her statements below show, this boundary struggle during the work-from-home period resulted in her dismissal from her paid job in the period when the closures were over but COVID-19 continues.

> In short, I was the one who stayed at home. Therefore, when you stay at home, you are always asked for something, and the children want it, mom, do this to me, I will go to my friend, I will go to the park, take me to the park. So, none of them says anything, there is no such thing as 'Well, this woman is also working, we shouldn't want that either'. Bake a cake, make a pastry... Come on, the kids want it, their father wants it too(!), ... In other words, there are always high expectations from the mother of the house, both from the children and from the spouses. Trying to make it work is a really difficult situation, you don't want to upset the child, and you don't want to upset your spouse. On the other hand, I feel uneasy about my job because I am away from it. ... So, before I even started doing housework, I was 1.5 hours behind in the day. This created remorse in me. You know, you don't turn on the computer at that time, but you're guilty conscience, this caused me to become psychologically tired. So, it was a period when I was very bored and very tense for me. (P12, Bank/Finance, Married, with children aged 7 and 12)

In summary, the responses from interviewees regarding working from home during COVID-19 have been addressed under two subheadings: the effects on work and role conflict—more specifically, boundary struggle. Some interviewees mentioned that they had to learn new technologies due to working from home. Additionally, some reported feeling more stressed compared to working in the office. Furthermore, interviewees indicated that while working from home, they were also managing household chores. Particularly, interviewees with children had to provide caregiving as well. It can be said that women directly experienced boundary struggles in the spatial and temporal convergence of paid and unpaid labour.

Another factor influencing the process of working from home during COVID-19 is the corporate support provided by (or lacking from) workplaces. To better understand the interviewees' experiences during this period, they were asked about the presence or absence of workplace support while working from home. The next section will detailly examine the extent to which interviewees received support from their workplaces.

5.2.5. Institutional Support

It has been discussed that during the COVID-19 period, with "mandatory" working from home, a situation emerged where workplace costs were transferred to employees (Politeknik Mühendis Mimar Şehir Plancıları Dayanışma Derneği, 2021; Demokrasi İçin Hukukçular, 2021). According to the Turkish Code of Obligations Article 413, "unless agreed otherwise, the employer is obliged to provide work tools and materials." Besides, it is stated that if the employee uses her own tools and materials to perform the job, the employer must pay the employee for this use.

Table 5 below, which shows the support status received by those working from home during the pandemic, may give an idea of how much this law was implemented in Türkiye during the pandemic period. As seen in Table 5, in a survey in which 229 people participated, it was said that the most support from the workplace was in the field of equipment such as computers, tablets, and phones (Balcı & Uşen, 2020). On the other hand, approximately one-third of the study participants said that they did

not receive any support (Balcı & Uşen, 2020). Information about the interviewees of this study receiving institutional support while working from home is in Table 5, and these data will be discussed in detail below.

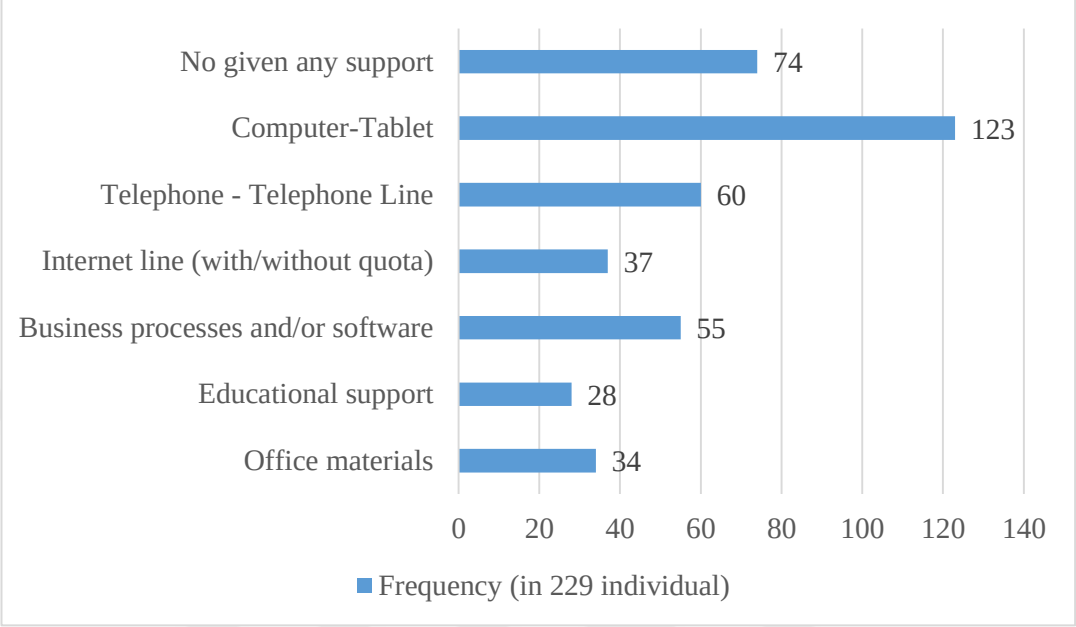

Figure 13. Employer Support for Working from Home

Source: (Balcı & Uşen, 2020, p. 31)

Table 5. Treatments That Interviewees of This Research Received from Their Institutions While Working From Home

Support types/ Participant	Equipment Support	Psychological or social support (workshops, trainings)	Cash support (such as bills, and food)	Right to leave
P1 (IT, 27, Single)	Computer	Unimplemented	Unimplemented	Flexibility on days off
P2 (IT, 27, Single)	Computer	Unimplemented	Invoice support for several times	Not changed
P3(Education.,30, Married)	board, tripod, camera	Unimplemented	Unimplemented	Not changed

Table 5 (continued)

P4 (Education, 44, Married)	**8 GB Internet for only using EBA**	**Unimplemented**	**Unimplemented**	**Not changed**
P5 (Education, 27, Single)	board, tripod, camera	Unimplemented	Unimplemented	Not changed
P6 (IT,52, Married)	Unimplemented	-enlightenment about COVID-19 by institutional doctor -online training such as yoga, music	Unimplemented	Not changed
P7 (Education, 30, Married)	Unimplemented	Unimplemented	Unimplemented	Flexibility on days off
P8 (IT, 45, Married	Monitor	enlightenment about work-life balance while working at a hybrid type	Unimplemented	Flexibility on days off
P9 (Education, 35, Married)	8 GB Internet for only using EBA	Unimplemented	Unimplemented	Not changed
P10 (Education, 44, Married)	Desktop computer	Some information for psychological health by the Psychological and Guidance Service	Unimplemented	Accumulated day-off rights have been used during remote work
P11 (Education, 44, Married)	Not demanded[23]	Some information for psychological health by the Psychological and Guidance Service	Unimplemented	Accumulated day-off rights have been used during remote work

[23] In "not demanded", the institution the participant worked for offered equipment support, but the participant did not request it because she thought she did not need it, while in "unimplemented", the institution the participant worked for did not make such an offer.

Table 5 (continued)

P12(Bank/Finance,42, Married)	**-Laptop -Telephone -Internet**	**Unimplemented**	**Unimplemented**	**Not changed**
P13(Bank/Finance,48, Married)	-Tablet -Telephone	Conversations with experts on various topics restricting access to systems	Unimplemented	Not changed
P14(Education, 31, Single)	8 GB Internet for only using EBA	Unimplemented	Unimplemented	Not changed
P16(Bank/Finance,39, Married)	Not demanded	-some online family activities -workshops on various topics	small amount of internet support	Not changed
P17 (IT, 43, Married	Not demanded	enlightenment about work-life balance while working at a hybrid type	one-off remote work support payment	Not changed
P18(Bank/Finance,46, Married)	Laptop	training about various issues	Lack of commuting and food money	Not changed
P19(Bank/Finance,41, Married)	Not given and not demand employees to work at home	Enlightenment about COVID-19 precautions	each two or three-month remote work support	-Shortening working hours for employees in the workplace

Interviewees' statements regarding the support they received from the institutions they worked for while working from home during the COVID-19 pandemic period can be categorized under three headings, which are psychological or social support (workshops, training), cash support (such as bills, and food) and right to leave. The first thing that draws attention when looking at Table 3 is that the institution where 16 of the 18 participants worked provided them with equipment support. Compared to the other three headings regarding institutional support, it seems that the equipment support heading was applied more by the participants according to this

research. It is obvious that this is a necessity for things to work. It is also controversial that institutions provide adequate equipment support, although it is the most common among other types of support. For example, in this study, internet support was offered in P4 (Education, Married, 44), P9 (Education, Married, 35), and P14 (Education, Single, 31), but the interviewees also emphasized that the offered internet quota was quite low. On the other hand, when we look at the other interviewees, it can be seen that although they were given equipment such as computers and phones, they were not given internet support either. Only one of the interviewees (P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42) stated that she received internet support from her workplace.

In addition to the effects of COVID-19, such as inherent uncertainty and increased health concerns, the measures taken to prevent infection, such as working from home, have had a variety of consequences. Remote work entered the lives of many employees due to COVID-19 measures. Many people had to learn simultaneously how to make working from home productive and what to pay attention to for their psychological health. In this period when physical contact and daily conversations between people decreased, it was significant for workplaces to provide psychological and social support to ease the process for employees. For this reason, some institutions have organized various workshops that can bring employees together online, webinars where they can get information, and training in various areas such as hobby sports.

In this regard, according to Table 3, half of the participants say that they received psychological and social support from their institutions in some way, making us to think that the workplaces also attach importance to offering this support. When we take a closer look at the interviewees of this study (P6, IT; P8, IT; P10 Education; P11, Education; P13, Bank/Finance; P16, Bank/Finance; P17, IT; P18, Bank/Finance; P19, Bank/Finance) who say they received support from their institutions in this context, it is seen that their common characteristic is working in the private sector, not in a public institution. It is noteworthy that the institutional support provided by public institutions to their employees does not include psychological and social support.

With the decision to work from home, homes turned into workplaces. During this process, while employers continued to increase their profits through paid work, they could also get rid of production costs during remote working. Many office expenses such as heating, internet, and electricity fell on workers who continued to work at home (Politeknik Mühendis Mimar Şehir Plancıları Dayanışma Derneği, 2021; Demokrasi İçin Hukukçular, 2021). For this reason, it was discussed that employers should take responsibility for increasing household expenses (Politeknik Mühendis Mimar Şehir Plancıları Dayanışma Derneği, 2021).

In this research, only four participants (P2, IT; P16 Bank/Finance; P17, IT; P19, Bank/Finance) stated that they received cash support during the pandemic period. Except for one interviewee (P19, Bank/Finance), the other three participants stated that these aids were not regular. Additionally, one participant (P18, Bank/Finance) stated that the meal fee, which employers are obliged to pay as long as the employer-employment relationship continues, is deducted while working from home. Although it has a small place in the sample of the study, this situation is significant as it shows that employees lost their benefits during the pandemic.

During the extraordinary period of the pandemic, providing flexibility with leave by institutions also emerges as an important form of support for employees. Only three out of 18 interviewees (P1, IT; P7, Education; P8, IT) said that they received this support from their institutions. Except for P10, P11, and P19, the remaining participants stated that there was no change in their leave status. While P10 and P11 were working from home, they claimed that the institution counted some of the accumulated leaves. On the contrary, the experience of P19 (Bank/Finance) is an example of the institution taking a stance in favour of the employee during the pandemic period. The institution where P19(Bank/Finance) works is stated to create a work plan that allowed her to work one week at the branch and one week at home and reduced her working hours. Unlike others, P19(Bank/Finance) was granted more leave during the remote work period of the pandemic due to the institutionally decided work schedule, and this did not negatively affect their leave entitlements in a way that would reduce the amount of leave they could use at their own discretion later on.

As a result, the support received by interviewees from their institutions during the remote work period of the pandemic has been categorized into three main areas: psychological or social support (such as workshops and training), cash support (including assistance with bills and food), and the right to leave. In this study, the support received by the interviewees from their workplaces was primarily equipment support. The study by Balcı and Uşen (2020) also indicates that the most common form of support from workplaces was providing computers and tablets, as seen in Table 2. Therefore, it is evident that the responses given by the interviewees align with the data presented in Balcı and Uşen's study (Balcı & Uşen, 2020).

Considering the experiences of the interviewees during this period, they were asked what additional measures could be taken to improve working conditions. The next section will present the interviewees' policy recommendations regarding working conditions.

5.2.6. Participants' Policy Recommendations

The previous sub-sections have clarified participants' experiences with the pandemic by reviewing their workloads, working hours throughout the pandemic, how spatial change affected them, and the institutional assistance they got. Respondents were also asked for policy recommendations to enhance their experience of paid work. It was seen that policy recommendations could be grouped under three subheadings. These are related to the psychological-social support provision, attempts regarding the boundary struggles between paid and unpaid work, and limiting working hours.

As mentioned in the previous sub-section, some institutions paid attention to providing psychological and social support to their employees under the conditions of the pandemic. When participants were asked what would be better for you if they were done in relation to their paid work, P10 stated that "this support should be provided by all institutions" and was detailed as follows:

> During this period, I think healthcare workers and teachers have the most difficulty. ... I think there should definitely be support, especially for the education sector.

> Family living conditions also had to be considered. Priority should have been given to this. For example, I wonder how effectively she can teach lessons and how effectively she can gain benefits when he has a 1-year-old child crying at the corner of her home. So, I think there are more important things than the academic dimension. Something could be improved for all institutions regarding people's psychological states. I think it was very important to keep morale high, something fun could be done. Social media could be used for this purpose. Because everyone went through a really bad time. ... Competitions that children can participate in with their families and teachers, live concerts on Instagram... I think small activities like that could be done to add movement. Those types of practices that appeal to people's emotions a little more would be effective and good. (P10, Education, Married, 44)

P12 also made some suggestions about the provision of support:

> For example, as you said, I had never thought about whether training and workshops were given to us, for example, I wish they had. Especially for mothers, housewives, and working women because it is really difficult to achieve that balance. Frankly, I would like to get support on such an issue. (P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42)

When looking at the policy suggestions of the participants regarding their business lives, another mentioned point was about what can be done regarding the boundary struggle between paid and unpaid labour. It was observed that the participants developed different approaches to this issue. Some interviewees (P4, Education and P6, IT) stated that there was nothing that could be done about this and that it was "a situation dependent on family relations" (P4) or on “a person's work discipline" (P6).

As seen in P13's statements, this issue was not even considered within policy development. This approach of P13 may be understandable when considering the state's withdrawal from social reproduction services such as care labour in the neoliberal period, as explained by Fraser's capitalist periodizations in Chapter 2. As she stated, with neoliberal policies, the needs of social reproduction have been placed on individuals so it may not even come to mind to develop policies in this field.

> I'm thinking now. I didn't know. I have to think about this because I never thought about it. Without such support... I don't know if it exists or what would be good. I have already been married for 12 years. Since I do almost everything, I don't expect anything from anyone. That's why I never thought of such a thing. (P13, Bank/Finance, Married,48)

Finally, another approach to this issue is to develop a policy to meet the maintenance burden.

> For example, it should have been like this. I still defend the same thing. [Employee] Mothers should definitely allow those who are responsible for caring for someone to work remotely. For example, working hours should also be flexible. ... I drop the kids off at school in the morning. If he gives me the opportunity to work from home, I will return home immediately in 5 minutes, turn on my computer early and start work. But it doesn't work like that. ... If they give me flexible working hours, if I come late, I could leave late in the evening or not at noon, if I have work to do, let me work and finish it. I wish all institutions could achieve this balance. It will be much more wonderful then. (P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46)

> …schools are closing, but employees have to continue the same way. You know, we had the opportunity to find a caregiver for us. But some people do not have the means... Their families are not there and they cannot have their children looked after or cannot get help, and they have a hard time making ends meet. So, when you close the school, those people are definitely stuck. Of course, something like that could have been prevented. Thank God, we did not have any difficulties in that sense. But as I said, I think many families have difficulties. (P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41)

The policy suggestions of some interviewees on this issue are related to working hours. The ideas of those who emphasized this issue when developing policies can be evaluated in four subcategories. The first of these are those who argue that "working hours should be strictly limited and there should be a certain end time" (P2, IT; P5, Education; P9, Education; P14, Education). This group clearly thinks that disconnection rights[24] should be enforced. As can be understood from the statements of P5 below, they thought that it would be beneficial to restrict working hours for individuals who are in the boundary struggle between their paid jobs and social reproduction jobs.

> So it [Measures regarding working hours limitation] could be taken. Because this is the difference between working hours and family life... You are with a family and teaching a lesson. You know, being here and there is so confusing and tiring. Apart from that, it would be much better if there were classes from morning to noon or until a certain hour so that you can spend time completely with your family. I went through that chaos, too, because I could spend two hours with my family and teach for five hours. So, it would have been better to make this distinction. (P5, Education, Single, 27)

On the other hand, there are also participants (P1, Education; P3, Education; P6, IT; P8, IT) who think that limiting working hours is not possible for private sector employees.

[24] Disconnection rights refer to an employee's ability to cut off communications about their job after regular business hours. The purpose underlying it is to provide workers time off from work so they can recuperate and refresh without feeling obligated to always be accessible for business-related concerns.

> What kind of regulation could the government bring? I mean, it's after six o'clock... I mean, we are also a private company. You can do this in the public sector, but it is not possible to do it in a private company. I don't think anything, like there will be no tests after 18:00, no work, no business e-mails, etc., is not a very suitable model for a private company anyway. (P6, IT, Married,52)

> Working hours could have been reduced a little, which the state did by the way. But the state can do this, how can a private company do it? Either you work with maximum efficiency in a private company because that's the structure. ... But in the private sector, he cannot do this like this: things are going well, it is very difficult for a man to hire employees and put them there in such a short time just because he will reduce [the workload] to 70%. On the one hand, I wish he had done the same thing, and I wish he hadn't waited; But on the other hand, it is not that easy to do. (P8, IT, Married, 45)

P1, who thinks that it is not possible to restrict working hours, does not distinguish between private and public sectors, unlike other participants (P3, Education; P6, IT; P8, IT). In Türkiye, because personal relationships in workplaces often operate through interpersonal connections rather than professional boundaries, it is believed that limiting working hours would not be feasible. This is because employees might feel compelled to address work-related matters outside of regular working hours to avoid disappointing others.

> Even though it is professional business life, most things depend on more personal relationships. ... I mean, I don't know, I haven't been abroad, but from what we've heard, there are certain areas and some attention is being paid to protecting those areas. There aren't many places like that in our environment. You know, If someone you have a good relationship with at your workplace asks you to do something at midnight, you'd say 'okay, I'll do it.' In other words, it depends on personal and individual relationships. (P1, IT, Single, 27)

Finally, one interviewee (P17, IT) mentioned that weekly working hours should be reduced. The way P17 justifies her suggestion exemplifies SRT's concept of boundary struggle. Also, the average hours per week per employed person in Türkiye is 43.9, and with this average, it is the 33rd country with more hours per week among 171 countries (ILO, 2024). In this respect, this suggestion seems quite remarkable and valuable.

> Maybe it's something much more systematic, but working five full days a week, plus 40-45 hours if you're in the private sector, and if you really do it, not our way, if you really work that way, it's a very high demand. Family is a very high demand to achieve life balance. It should be systematically kept at a more reasonable level

> independent of the pandemic, and it should be kept at that level throughout the pandemic. Running a household isn't really about cleaning or cooking... It's about taking someone to the doctor when they're sick. Being able to sit easily next to him/her when she/he comes home. Or when buying a gift for someone, you have to spend a little extra time. Or having the installation done. So, there's always something going on. But I think instead of being stuck here and there, they can be always get stuck in the more important part of life. For example, 45 hours a week is a very high number of working hours. (P17, IT, Married, 43)

In summary, the interviewees' suggestions for improving remote work conditions are categorized into three main areas. The first is limiting working hours; however, some interviewees believe this may not be feasible in the private sector or in workplaces in Türkiye due to the prevalence of non-professional relationships. The second suggestion is for workplace institutions to provide psychological and social support to address at least some of the negative effects of employee isolation. The third is to make work schedules and leave entitlements more flexible, allowing employees to have greater control over these aspects. The final suggestion is particularly important for working mothers, as it facilitates the management of paid and unpaid work. This suggests that the interviewees who are mothers experienced significant boundary struggles while working from home during the pandemic. The next section will present the interviewees' preferences regarding their working styles.

5.2.7. Participants' Preferences for Work Types

Participants were asked about their future work type preferences and their reasons. Nine out of 18 participants (P1, IT, Single; P2, IT, Single; P3, Education, Married; P8, IT, Married; P10, Education, Married; P12, Bank/Finance, Married; P16, Bank/Finance, Married; P17, IT, Married; P19, Bank/Finance, Married) mentioned that they preferred the hybrid working model. While justifying their preferences, they gave reasons such as convenience in transportation and more effective use of time, which are among the advantages of remote working as stated at the beginning of this chapter. The common reason why this group does not prefer to work completely remotely is stated as "being social, keeping in touch with friends, mixing with society". These reasons show that they tend to avoid the disadvantages of remote working, which has also been mentioned previously.

P5 (Education, Single), P6 (IT, Married), P9 (Education, Married), P11 (Education, Married), P13 (Bank/Finance, Married), and P14 (Education, Single) stated that they would prefer to work at the workplace, which is the traditional method. It was observed that the way participants justified this decision differed according to sectors. Except for P11, interviewees working in the field of education stated that they preferred to work at the workplace considering the benefits of the students. P11, on the other hand, thinks that while working at the workplace, "she will be less stressed and will be able to set the boundary between work and home better because she leaves the workplace at the end of the shift." According to age, the first two participants from older to younger (P6, with 52) and P13, with 48) believe that work discipline is better maintained by working at the workplace

Finally, there were two interviewees who preferred fully remote work: P7 (Education, Married) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married). P7 stated that she has her "own room that she can use as an office while working remotely, and unlike her friends with children, she does not experience any difficulties while working remotely." P18, on the other hand, argued that "in addition to the comfort of home, temporal management can be done much more effectively while working remotely" and stated that "fulfilling responsibilities such as taking my children to school and to the doctor" is easier while working remotely. In addition, P4 (Education, Married) said that working preferences would differ depending on the sector. While she argues that education should definitely be face-to-face, considering the benefit to the students, she considers that “working completely remotely is not right because it will prevent women from socializing and integrating into society”.

Looking at the interviewees' preferences for working styles, it is observed that a large majority (13 people) prefer hybrid working. They explained that the advantages of remote work, such as saving time and reducing commute, and the ability to better balance paid work with home and caregiving responsibilities, influenced their preference. However, these interviewees also mentioned that they believe fully remote work could lead to social isolation, which is why they prefer a hybrid model. Two interviewees preferred working entirely from the workplace due to reasons related to social interaction and discipline. Conversely, two interviewees preferred

working entirely remotely, believing it would provide a more comfortable work environment and a better balance between paid work and unpaid labour.

The interviewees' experiences with paid work have been presented by comparing their experiences before and during the pandemic. Data related to the paid work theme are examined under seven sub-themes: Thoughts about paid work, Work hours, Workload, The effect of spatial difference, Institutional support, Policy recommendations, and Preference for work types. The interviewees' requests for limiting working hours and providing flexibility in work hours and leave entitlements suggest that they experienced significant boundary struggles while working from home during the pandemic. Moreover, it is notable the majority of interviewees' preference for work type is hybrid for the future. The next section will present data related to social reproduction from the interviews under three sub-themes.

5.3. Social Reproduction Activities

As discussed in Chapter 2, social reproduction is a crucial concept for SRT. Social reproduction covers three important parts: "the biological reproduction of the species," "the reproduction of the labour force," and the "reproduction of provisioning and caring needs" (Arruzza, 2016, p. 10). Social reproduction activities refer to behaviours, relationships and responsibilities sustaining day-to-day and intergenerational. This provides a refreshment of the labour force in capitalism. Individuals can go to workplaces thanks to social reproduction activities, which subsidise biological and social requirements. Social reproduction contains food, clothing, and shelter made available for immediate consumption (Brenner & Laslett, 1991, p. 314) and also the forms of provisioning, caregiving and interaction, which can be referred to as 'care', 'affective labour' or 'subjectivation' (Fraser, 2014, p. 7). The social reproduction activities cover domestic chores, care tasks and labour related to social bonds. They are vital for both individuals and societies. In short, social reproduction activities refer to behaviours, relationships and responsibilities sustaining day-to-day and intergenerational. These activities cover domestic chores, care tasks and labour related to social bonds.

Biological reproduction, reproduction of labour power and reproduction of social structure constitute the three pillars of the concept of social reproduction. The social reproduction processes of the interviewees participating in the study are evaluated under three themes within this framework. The first theme is domestic labour, which is considered with three sub-themes. This theme is about some work about routine housework related to cleaning, cooking, shopping, and laundry. These activities mainly provide both biological and labour-power reproduction. The second theme is care labour. The care labour theme covers childcare, elder care, and care for members of households or families and is primarily related to biological and societal reproduction. This is also divided into three sub-themes. Lastly, the third theme is about societal reproduction labour. These activities improve social bonds between individuals living in the same society. This is crucial for capitalism owing to providing to pursue the social order.

These themes will be discussed in detail. However, before examining the interviewees' social reproduction labour by dividing it into themes, the following Table 6 was created to express the conditions the interviewees were in. In this table, the number of people living in the household, the number and ages of children, and their status of receiving support for housework and care work, which are circumstances in terms of social reproduction labour, are indicated.

Table 6. Interviewees' Circumstances for Social Reproduction Labour

Participant/features	Number of people living in the household	Number of children and their ages	Support for Domestic chores[25]	Support for Care Responsibilities[26]
P1 (IT, 27, Single)	Six	No available	No support	No available
P2 (IT, 27, Single)	Three	No available	No support	No available
P3(Education.,30, Married)	Two with spouse	No available	Yes, for cleaning	No available

[25] It refers to public or private support for domestic work. This has not been considered "support" if anybody in her household performs them.

[26] This refers to private, public, or intrafamilial support for the care of children or elderly persons. If the parents shared the care responsibility between themselves, that is, if the interviewees' husbands also fulfilled the care responsibility, this was not considered as support.

Table 6 (continued)

P4 (Education, 44, Married)	Three	One Child; Age: 12	Generally, No support	No support
P5 (Education, 27, Single)	With the family of four; With friends-Three	No available	No support	No available
P6 (IT, 52, Married)	Three	One Child; Age: 12	No support	No support
P7 (Education, 30, Married)	Two with spouse	No available	Generally, No support	No support
P8 (IT, 45, Married)	Three	One Child; Age: 5	Yes, for cleaning, except for three months in COVID-19	Paid carer until three and then kindergarten
P9 (Education, 35, Married)	Four	Two Children; Ages: 5 and 7	Yes, for cleaning	Paid carer before COVID-19
P10 (Education, 44, Married)	Four	Two Children; Ages: 13 and 15	Yes, for cleaning before COVID-19, but no support after COVID-19	No support
P11 (Education, 44, Married)	Three	One Child; Age: 7	No support	Before paid carer, grandmother, then kindergarten except for the first three months of COVID-19
P12(Bank/Finance,42, Married)	Four	Two Children; Ages: 7 and 12	Yes, for daily chores before COVID-19 but no support after COVID-19	Yes, carer before COVID-19 but no support after COVID-19
P13(Bank/Finance,48, Married)	Three	One Child; Age: 4	Yes, for cleaning except for the lockdown	Grandmother
P14(Education, 31, Single)	Four	No available	No support	No available

Table 6 (continued)

P16(Bank/Finance,39, Married)	Five with parents-in-law	One Child; Age: 3	Yes, for all chores cleaning, cooking etc.	Yes, stay-at-home carer
P17 (IT, 43, Married)	Four	Two Children; Ages: 8 and 10	Yes, for daily chores, except for lockdown	No support
P18(Bank/Finance,46, Married)	Four	Two Children; Ages: 10 and 13	Yes, separately for both cleaning and daily chores	Yes
P19(Bank/Finance,41, Married)	Four	Twin Children; Age: 7	Yes, for cleaning and cooking weekly	No support

The social reproduction labour of the interviewees will be examined more deeply. For this reason, the first theme of this title, domestic labour, will be discussed in the next section.

5.3.1. Domestic Labour

The work required to run and maintain a household is referred to as domestic labour. This covers a variety of chores like cooking, cleaning, doing laundry and shopping that are essential to a well-functioning household. A family member or outside service providers can all conduct such domestic labour. Although such domestic labour possesses more physical aspects, it is not generally evaluated as a "labour process" and is invisible. Due to not having a physical aspect, what is more invisible in domestic labour is organizing these household chores. Doing any plan may be overlooked by even beneficiaries of them. What most women, who generally perform domestic chores, experience is this.

Domestic labour is mostly task-oriented and the time to complete them diverges according to each domestic chore; therefore, measuring domestic labour is tough (Luxton, 1997, p. 434). Aware of this difficulty and thanks to the groundwork provided by the qualitative study, in-depth questions were asked to the interviewees

to understand their situation regarding housework. When the interviewees were asked who did the housework, a sharp difference emerged between the married and single interviewees. All of the single interviewees (P1, IT, 27; P2, IT, 27; P5, Education, 27; and P14, Education, 31) stated that housework was basically the responsibility of their "mothers" and that they were in a "supporting position". Only P2(IT, 27, Single) mentioned an exceptional situation among the single interviewees. She stated that since her parents did not understand much about online shopping, she took on the responsibility of shopping while confined to their homes due to the pandemic. Five of the 14 married interviewees (P4, Education, 44; P9, Education, 35; P12, Bank/Finance, 42; P13, Bank/Finance, 48, and P19, Bank/Finance,41) stated that there was no division of labour with their husbands regarding housework. P4(Education, Married, 44), P9(Education, Married, 35), P13(Bank/Finance, Married 48), and P19(Bank/Finance, Married, 41) stated that their husbands were "distant from housework" before the pandemic, and P4 stated that they could not help because her husband was sick, and P9(, Education, Married, 35) and P19(Bank/Finance, Married, 41) stated that they could not help because their spouses had busy paid jobs. P13(Bank/Finance, Married, 48) justified her husband's not doing housework by saying "We are a classic Turkish family; we do not involve the spouses (husbands) in these tasks (housework)". P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) declared that she and her husband shared the housework because they came home at the same time before the pandemic, but this situation could not be maintained during the pandemic. Her statements regarding the division of labour with her husband regarding housework are as follows:

> So, before the pandemic, since we both entered the house at the same time, for example, I would do the dishes while he was doing the dishes. There was sharing, now during the pandemic, since he is always out and I am at home, I have already done those tasks before he comes. I mean, as I said, it bothers me, because the dishwasher not being empty bothers me, I was already taking care of it before he came. So, there is not much left for him to do. He didn't prefer to stay home. ... he went to the cafe and worked... He didn't want to be home, maybe because he was bored or because he had work to do, I don't know. Because when you are home, you ask for things, you want you hang up the laundry, I did this, etc. Maybe he did that to get away from work. (P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42)

As can be seen in Table 7, P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) receives separate help for both cleaning and daily housework and said that there is no need to divide the

housework with her husband. P11 (Education, Married, 44) claimed that her husband only does cleaning because he is a "cleanliness freak". While P3(Education, Married, 30), P7 (Education, Married, 30), P10(Education, Married, 44), P16(Bank/Finance, Married, 39) and P17 (IT, Married, 43) stated that there is a complete division of labour with their spouses in housework, P6(IT, Married, 52) and P8 (IT, Married, 45) asserted that there is a partial division of labour and that they still have the "organizational work" regarding cleaning and cooking. P8 attributed this situation - the fact that she is responsible for the organization's work- to having a character that is prone to organization, as well as being a woman and women being able to think more parallel than men.

> I mean, from what to put in the gym bag for three days to food... Some days my daughter eats on the road, gymnastics ends very late, etc. What can she eat on the road, let me make something drier, so that it doesn't spill, take the meat out of the fridge accordingly, etc. I think men can't think of that parallel... ...But I think being a woman has a bit of an effect on this. I mean, yes, I think men can't do that much. I mean, a man doesn't think about what he's going to cook three days later. If he thinks about tomorrow, if he takes something out of the fridge for that, I'd be happy with that anyway. (P8, IT, Married, 45)

During COVID-19, hygiene awareness reached its peak in order to protect against the spread of the virus. In addition, due to the lockdown measures, children could not go to school adults could not go to work, and the time spent at home increased considerably compared to before. This situation caused the intensity of housework - that is, more meticulous - as well as its frequency to increase. Families took protection in their homes, whereas many women had to perform more unpaid duties during COVID-19 (UN Women Headquarters, 2020, p. 18). During this time, one-third of the participants (P1, IT, Single, 27; P8, IT, Married, 45; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P14, Education, Single, 31; P16 Bank/Finance, Married, 39) also cited the increase in chores associated with families living together. P8(IT, Married, 45) reported that because they were unable to eat outside during the lockdown, they began preparing three meals a day as opposed to before, and they also cleaned the house more regularly as a result of it becoming dirty. P12(Bank/Finance, Married, 42) and P13(Bank/Finance, Married, 48) also stated that they spent more time in the kitchen during this period to meet their children's eating needs and requests.

P1 (IT, Single, 27, with family of 6) and P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39, with family of 5) also indicated that during this period, housekeeping skyrocketed. Although these two participants - who live in the most crowded house among the participants - agree on this point, they differ in their evaluation of the process. P16 claimed that "they managed the increasing pace in the house more easily because they were crowded," in contrast to P1, who argued that "since there were six people in the house all the time, the need for eating, drinking, and cleaning increased" as a result of the increased housework during this period. Given the circumstances, it may be concluded that the division of labour inside the household matters more than the total number of residents when unpaid labour during COVID-19 is evaluated. In addition, three participants (P4, Education, Married, 44; P6, IT, Married, 52; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42) stated that one of the reasons for the increase in housework during the COVID-19 period was that the needs of the house became more of a burden to them due to remote working. P4(Education, Married, 44) explained this situation by saying:

> Since I am always at home, I started to do more housework... If I have a hair clip here when I go to work, it doesn't bother me, but when I am at home, those kinds of things, little messes, start to bother me more when I am always at home. (P4, Education, Married, 44)

After the interviews, the last important point that can be said about housework in general during the COVID-19 pandemic is related to the methods of people coping with the boundary struggle. With the application of working from home during the pandemic, they were faced with doing their paid work and housework at the same place and time. P13(Bank/Finance, Married, 48), who experienced such a boundary struggle during the pandemic, stated that she sacrificed her rest time and needs in order to overcome this situation.

> Let me tell you about the first closing times. My work starts at 9. You haven't done your shopping. You are going to the market now. You can't go. You have to wait for noon. You went. You did your shopping. You came back. You have to clean and put them away. What happens this time? Then I won't eat, I will postpone it. Or you steal [waive] your break and do some things. (P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48)

P10 (Education, Married, 44) stated that "they did the housework as a family during the pandemic"; however, "it was difficult when the period of commuting to paid

work started". In addition, as can be seen in the following statements, she claimed that there was a boundary struggle between her paid job and social reproduction activities which are doing the domestic chores and social relationships. She said that she had to do both housework and socialization in the time left after her paid job and stated that it was essential for her to get support for cleaning work to get out of this time pressure. P10's coping method is also compatible with Fraser's "two-earner families" norm of the neoliberal period (Fraser, 2016). Fraser (2016) explained that social reproduction work has become commodified in the neoliberal period and that these jobs are purchased from the market in dual-earner families.

> ... both work and housework, following and establishing a certain order at home is a really difficult process. When you add the children's responsibilities to the mix... When you get older... some jobs get tiring. When it's the weekend, we just want to socialize and relax a little. Unfortunately, we can't do it all at once. Either ironing or [cleaning] the windows is left... We try to do it ourselves, but I think we need to get support now. We're having a hard time, we're having a really hard time now (P10, Education, Married, 44)

In summary, seven interviewees said that they were partially or completely responsible for the housework (P4, Education, Married, 44; P6, IT, Married, 52; P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41). Considering also the single participants who stated that they were in a helping position in the housework and that their main contractor was their mother (P1, IT, 27; P2, IT, 27; P5, Education, 27; P14, Education, 31), this is consistent with the data that women spend more time on unpaid work generally (OECD, 2023). In addition, due to the special conditions of the pandemic, the time spent on unpaid work has generally increased. It has been determined that the time men spend on unpaid work has also increased during the pandemic (UN Women Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia, 2020a; İlkkaracan & Memiş, 2020). It was observed that the time spent by the husbands of the interviewees (P3, Education, Married, 30; P6, IT, Married, 52; P7, Education, Married, 30; P8, IT, Married, 45; P10, Education, Married, 44; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P17, IT, Married, 43) who stated that they partially or completely shared the housework with their spouses was also consistent with this finding, especially during the pandemic lockdown period. All of these interviewees declared husbands, except for P7 (Education, Married, 30), spent more time doing

housework. In any case, women did more housework and were therefore more exposed to boundary struggles between their paid and unpaid work. Captured between these boundary struggles, women either had to sacrifice their rest and time to meet their needs, as seen in P13's experience (Bank/Finance, Married, 48), or they sought paid support to handle the housework, as seen in P10 (Education, Married, 44). After this section, which aims to provide the general situation of the interviewees regarding domestic chores, the situation of the interviewees receiving support for domestic chores will be discussed.

5.3.1.1. Support for Domestic Chores

In Chapter 2, it was explained that in the neoliberal period, social reproduction was commodified (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 79) and that those who could afford to buy these services from the market met their needs in this way (Lombardozzi, 2020, p. 318). For this reason, the interviewees were asked whether they received support for domestic chores. In this way, an attempt was made to comprehend the impact of the pandemic's constraints on their social reproduction labour. The circumstances impacted by restaurant closures were expressly asked about, considering that the most evident instance of this issue might be the inability to purchase food from the market as a result of restaurant closures brought on by pandemic measures.

When the interviewees' status of purchasing food support from outside is examined, those who stated that they ordered food before and after the pandemic are P1 (IT, Single, 27), P2 (IT, Single, 27), P3(Education, Married, 30), P7 (Education, Married, 30), P17 (IT, Married, 43), and P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41). The common point of the four participants who gave this answer, except for P17 (IT, Married, 43) and P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41), is that they do not have children. Those who said that they ordered food before the pandemic but stopped doing so due to hygiene concerns with the pandemic are P4 (Education, Married, 44), P9 (Education, Married, 35), and P14 (Education, Single, 31). In addition, P5(Education, Single, 27) stated that couriers did not order for a while due to their health during the pandemic, but "not being able to meet their needs immediately had a negative effect" during that

period. Eight out of 18 interviewees (P6, IT, Married, 52; P8, IT, Married, 45; P10, Education, Married, 44; P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; and P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46) claimed that they did not have the habit of eating from outside. When the pattern of those who gave this answer is looked at, it is noticed that all of them have children, and P8 (IT, Married, 45) even stated that they try to eat healthy and presented having a child as an important reason for this. However, it is incorrect that not all of this group purchases food services from outside. P10 (Education, Married,44) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) benefit from paid food support. While P10 ((Education, Married, 44) stated that his father-in-law's assistant cooks the dinner, P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) said that he also had an assistant who takes care of the daily domestic chores and who also cooks the meals.

Table 7 shows that six of the interviewees (P1, IT, Single, 27; P2, IT, Single, 27; P5, Education, Single, 27; P6, IT, Married, 52; P11, Education, Married, 44 and P14, Education, Single, 31) indicated they do not receive any paid outside assistance for domestic chores. According to P4 (Education, Married, 44) and P7 (Education, Married, 30), they rarely receive support, but occasionally they do "when there is detailed cleaning to be done". While P8 (IT, Married, 45), P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) and P17 (IT, Married, 43) stated that their external support was disrupted during the pandemic lockdown measures but continued afterwards, P10 (Education, Married, 44) and P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) asserted that they received support before the pandemic but did not receive it after the pandemic. The remaining participants (P3, Education, Married, 30; P9, Education, Married, 35; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46 and P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) reported that they were regularly supported with household tasks including cleaning. P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41) reported receiving assistance with meal preparation and housekeeping once a week, whereas P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) mentioned obtaining daily housekeeping support, encompassing cooking, cleaning, and tidying up.

The one pattern that emerged from the interviewees' experiences on this issue was that employees in the bank/finance sector, other than P12 (Bank/Finance, Married,

42), continued to receive support for cleaning and daily housework, even though their work was disrupted for a period during the pandemic. This difference between P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) and her colleagues is striking, as P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) said that she had difficulty doing housework and her paid job at the same time while working from home and that she was fired from her job due to poor performance. Another pattern is that the majority of interviewees working in the field of education who do not receive support for housework or rarely receive it are also those working in the field of education. Five out of eight interviewees (P4, Married, 44; P5, Single, 27; P7, Married, 30; P11, Married, 44; and P14, Single, 31) from the field of education stated that they do not receive support at all or rarely. Two out of the remaining three stated that they regularly receive cleaning support, and one (P10, Married, 44) stated that they received it before the pandemic but did not continue after the pandemic. The interviewees were not asked questions such as their wages or the total wages they earn in the household, but this pattern emphasizes that social reproduction work is considered undervalued in capitalism, even if it is paid (The Marxist Feminist Collective, 2020; Fraser & Jaeggi, A Conversation in Critical Theory, 2018). It can be thought that those working in the education sector, which is a social reproduction activity, also receive low wages and that the emergence of this pattern may be due to the difficulty they have in purchasing this service from the market.

The vast majority of the interviewees declared also before COVID-19, they had not bought meal services from the market because of not healthy. In addition to them, three interviewees of 18 (P4, Education, Married, 44; P9, Education, Married, 35 and P14, Education, Single, 31) said they were cut off from ordering meals after COVID-19 on account of anxiety about hygiene. In addition, only less than one-third of the interviewees (five people who are P3, Education, Married, 30; P9, Education, Married, 35; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46 and P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) stated that they regularly purchased support for cleaning work. This situation creates the impression that receiving external support for domestic chores is quite low for the research sample.

It does not seem possible to reach a common pattern regarding the support purchasing status of the interviewees according to their sectors. However, all of those

who receive external support for housework are married interviewees. It can be said that women who are stuck in the boundary struggle line tend to eliminate unpaid work by purchasing services from outside. The last important issue regarding support for housework is related to their status of receiving public support. To generate data on suggestions for policy development, it was desired to learn the interviewees' opinions on public support for housework. In order to prepare for this issue, "they were asked whether they received any public support for housework" and all participants stated that they did not receive any public support for housework. In the next section, their opinions and justifications regarding the provision of public services will be shared.

5.3.1.2. Thoughts about Receiving Public Support for Domestic Chores

It is argued that in the neoliberal period, the state has cut its spending on social reproduction work, leaving individuals with the burden in these areas (Harvey, 2007; Lombardozzi, 2020). These discussions generally focus on care work, but the collectivization of housework can also be included in these discussions. With this in mind, the interviewees were asked whether they would like to receive public support for housework. It was noticed that the interviewees were taken aback by this question. In general, when answering this question, the interviewees seemed to be talking about a utopia.

P5(Education, Single, 27) and P12(Bank/Finance, Married, 42) said that they would like to receive public support for housework, but they do not think it is possible. The most common answer is that the interviewees think that this is necessary not for themselves, but for the elderly, disabled, and people with low socio-economic status who may be in need (P1, IT, Single, 27; P4, Education, Married, 44; P7, Education, Married, 30; P11, Education, Married, 44; P14, Education, Single, 31; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46). While P4 (Education, Married, 44) said, "The state should not provide services to people who are able-bodied, not that much"; P11 (Education, Married, 44) said, "We have even given up dreaming for ourselves, thanks to our state[!], it has made us modest even in our dreams".

Some interviewees (P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35 and P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39) declared that they would not want to receive such support even if it was available because they had doubts about the state being able to meet hygiene standards. P17(IT, Married, 43) and P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41) responded as an expanded version of this idea, stating that they do not trust the [current] state at all and therefore keep all their relations to a minimum.

In addition, P6(IT, Married, 52) and P13(Bank/Finance, Married, 48) stated that they do not want to receive such support that would directly enter their homes to "protect their privacy." These statements of the interviewees suggest that the private spaces where domestic labour is produced are still considered private (Kaçar & Kervankıran, 2024) and that the distinction between public and private spaces is still sharply defined for these interviewees.

In the next section, care responsibilities and the situation of receiving support for these will be evaluated. In addition, the effect of concrete examples of practices such as kindergartens and care homes opened during the period of welfare states on the demand for public support was wondered and the question about the demand for public support was asked separately for works that require care work.

5.3.2. Care Related Activities

Care work is vital for social reproduction as it ensures the renewal and sustainability of the labour force by meeting the population's needs. “How the care and socialization of children is accomplished, how care of the elderly and infirm is provided” (Brenner & Laslett, 1991) is decisive in this regard. The topic of this study is the boundary struggles between social reproduction and paid work of women working remotely during COVID-19 from the perspective of SRT. Therefore, the situation of unpaid labour during COVID-19 is a determinant for this thesis. During COVID-19, it is known unpaid labour increased owing to school closure. As given in the data below in Table 7, parents had to spend additional time on childcare during this time.

Table 7. Percentage of Respondents Who Self-Report That They Took Up The Majority Of Entirety Of Any Additional Care Work Resulting From School Or Childcare Facility Closures, By Gender And Children's Age

Country	Percentage of respondents reporting that any additional care work was taken up entirely or mostly by them						Gender gap (pp.) in the take-up of the entirety or majority of additional care work among		
	% of mothers with children under 18	% of fathers with children under 18	% of mothers with children under 12	% of fathers with children under 12	% of mothers with children under 6	% of fathers with children under 6	parents with children under 18	parents with children under 12	parents with children under 6
AUT	0.70	0.21	0.74	0.23	0.75	0.25	0.49	0.51	0.50
BEL	0.57	0.16	0.53	0.20	0.42	0.15	0.31	0.34	0.27
CAN	0.67	0.28	0.68	0.29	0.68	0.23	0.25	0.39	0.45
CHE	0.56	0.24	0.59	0.18	0.64	0.20	0.32	0.42	0.44
CHL	0.66	0.22	0.66	0.29	0.70	0.32	0.42	0.37	0.38
DEU	0.67	0.29	0.75	0.33	0.69	0.22	0.29	0.42	0.47
DNK	0.45	0.20	0.49	0.23	0.46	0.30	0.33	0.26	0.16
ESP	0.65	0.18	0.68	0.18	0.66	0.17	0.35	0.50	0.49
EST	0.63	0.15	0.62	0.17	0.69	0.20	0.39	0.46	0.49
FIN	0.54	0.13	0.57	0.15	0.58	0.17	0.47	0.41	0.41
FRA	0.51	0.26	0.51	0.25	0.56	0.33	0.48	0.26	0.24
GRC	0.59	0.30	0.62	0.32	0.68	0.36	0.41	0.31	0.32
IRL	0.61	0.16	0.62	0.19	0.60	0.21	0.42	0.44	0.39

Table 7 (continued**)**

ISR	0.41	0.15	0.44	0.16	0.45	0.15	0.33	0.28	0.29
ITA	0.51	0.24	0.54	0.25	0.40	0.25	0.49	0.28	0.15
KOR	0.60	0.18	0.64	0.17	0.66	0.16	0.37	0.47	0.50
LTU	0.57	0.14	0.61	0.17	0.61	0.15	0.45	0.44	0.46
MEX	0.53	0.17	0.56	0.18	0.55	0.15	0.53	0.39	0.40
NLD	0.59	0.29	0.57	0.42	0.57	0.44	0.48	0.16	0.13
NOR	0.42	0.11	0.45	0.12	0.39	0.08	0.41	0.33	0.31
OECD (RTM) Average	0.59	0.21	0.62	0.22	0.61	0.23	0.41	0.39	0.39
POL	0.60	0.18	0.66	0.16	0.66	0.13	0.47	0.50	0.54
PRT	0.66	0.17	0.69	0.14	0.72	0.18	0.54	0.55	0.55
SVN	0.60	0.25	0.64	0.32	0.67	0.38	0.33	0.32	0.30
TUR	0.74	0.22	0.77	0.22	0.73	0.18	0.43	0.55	0.56
USA	0.66	0.35	0.73	0.30	0.76	0.30	0.52	0.42	0.46

Source: (OECD, 2021a, p. 22)

Table 7 shows that women in Türkiye ranked first among the countries in terms of taking on extra care work during COVID-19 in categories other than children under six years of age. Looking at the gender gap between parents in taking on the additional burden of caregiving, the first rank in the category of children under six years of age is the parents in Türkiye. It is noteworthy that although women with

children under the age of six in Türkiye are in the first place in assuming the extra care burden, Türkiye is the country with the lowest sharing of this burden between parents. This suggests that the care burden of women with children under the age of six has increased considerably in Türkiye. For this study, it is critical to understand women's care responsibilities, their experiences of fulfilling these responsibilities and whether they share them with anyone. Therefore, the interviewees were asked some questions related to their caring activities.

Of the answers to these questions, those related to childcare, elder care, and care for members of households or families were coded as care-related activities. 13 of the 18 interviewees (P2, IT, Single, 27; P4, Education, Married, 44; P6, IT, Married, 52; P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P10, Education, Married, 44; P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P17, IT, Married, 43; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) stated that they performed some form of care work during the COVID-19 period. When we look at these 13 interviewees, it is normal for the number of people who performed some form of care work in the sample to be this high, since all of them, except P2(IT, Single, 27), had children. P2 (IT, Single, 27) said that she took over the responsibility of caring for her nephew during the first period of COVID-19 because her sister was working, and her mother was in the risk group.

Five participants who were single, married and childless (P1, IT, Single, 27; P3, Education, Married, 30; P5, Education, Single, 27; P7, Education, Married, 30; P14, Education, Single, 31) said that they did not fulfil any care responsibilities. However, it should be noted that P1(IT, Single, 27), who said that her primary role was "older sister", also tried to provide morale and motivation to her twin brothers who were preparing for the high school entrance exam during the pandemic. In general, this situation, which is the difference between women with children and without children, is consistent with the argument found in the studies of Başak et al. (2013, p. 55), Andrew, et al. (2020, p. 20;) and Sevilla & Smith (2020, p.179) that women with children have more household workload than those without children.

According to the average data of OECD countries in Table 7, women with children under 12 years old ranked highest (with 0.62) among those who increased their care work during COVID-19, followed by women with children under 6 years old (with 0.61)[27]. Furthermore, as seen in Figure 7 (UN Women Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia, 2020a), the time spent by parents on their children's education increased during the pandemic, with women being more likely to spend more time. This result is quite understandable in a period when schools are closed, and online education is carried out. In this study, there are 11 interviewees (P4, Education, Married, 44; P6, IT, Married, 52; P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P17, IT, Married, 43; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) who have children under 12. Four of these interviewees (P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39) have children under six.

Four of the interviewees of this study (P4, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46; and P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) mentioned following their children's education. While P4(Education, Married, 44) and P12(Bank/Finance, Married, 42) stated that they control their children and constantly warn them verbally in order to prevent them from "slacking off" while they are in online education, P18(Bank/Finance, Married, 46) and P19(Bank/Finance, Married, 41) stated that they interrupt their paid work so as to overcome their children's problems or excitement they experience during the online education process.

In contrast to these interviews, P10(Education, Married, 44) and P17(IT, Married, 43), who discussed their children's online education, had a different perspective. P17(IT, Married, 43) stated that she did not accompany her child constantly during this process and that she helped if she was convinced that her child had a problem that the child could not solve. P10(Education, Married, 44) claimed that she did not need to follow the online education process because since her children were studying

[27] The equivalent proportions in Türkiye are 0.77 and 0.73, respectively.

in a private school, she would be informed if she could not attend a lesson. P10's logic might imply that private schools completed the distance education process more efficiently, but P18's experience disproves this theory. P18(Bank/Finance, Married, 46) detailed that she learned much later that her son had not attended German lessons and that the money spent on the private school at that time was wasted.

When looking at the experiences of the interviewees (P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39) who have children under the age of six, it is noticed that whether childcare can be shared with someone is a determining factor. Of these interviewees, only P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39) received regular childcare support. P16 said that she was comfortable during this process because she lived in a large four-story house and had a live-in caregiver. The other three interviewees (P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48) explained that they had difficulty in providing childcare along with their paid jobs while working from home during the pandemic. In this process, they reported that they had difficulties in fulfilling their paid work; on the one hand, they were concerned about the development of their children on the other.

> ... Before I think about whether we're going to get sick, I think about that, how we're going to arrange things, etc. More than the child's health, I think about that. Because my new job is also a military project, I can't work from home even if I wanted to because I can't access environments, and so does my husband. So right now, for example, if they say quarantine, we'd have to take 10 days off, we can't work from home very much. What happened in those first 3 months... I mean, it was very difficult, it was one of the most difficult periods of my life. ... And you also feel sorry for such the child. They have zero sociability anyway; they don't have any friends. I can't tell you how much I hated playing games at that time. (P8, IT, Married, 45)

> All teachers who have children are disgraced... because you can't call a babysitter to your home, that person doesn't want to come during that period, you can't take them home either. ... you have to do your lessons, they are inside, you have to solve this somehow. I did something like this, I brought the activity hours to those hours or I prepared nuts and when you were about to start the lesson, come on, you eat this, in other words, it's a complete distraction because you can't do anything of quality with the child at that hour. You have to go to six lessons. (P9, Education, Married, 35)

> At first, I tried to work while my child was at home. It was actually a very difficult process. Because the mother is at home... He wants to play with his mother. He

> wants to share things with his mother. She wants to sit on her lap. ... You also have to work. (P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48)

One of the fundamental elements of neoliberalism is that it "sees welfare services as a public burden" (Yücesan-Özdemir, 2014, p. 118). While the welfare state collapsed with neo-liberalization, it also led to the "financialization of reproduction" (Federici, 2014, p. 233). People had to purchase some reproduction services such as education, and healthcare, which were previously subsidized by the state. This also increased women's domestic labour burden. During the interviews, it emerged that P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) experienced the concrete consequence of this process. During COVID-19, P12 said that after the schools opened, they did not register their children for school transportation and did not hire a nanny, considering the possibility of another closure. Together with her husband, they decided that this situation could be overcome since P12(Bank/Finance, Married, 42) worked from home, but at the end of the process, P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) said that this situation negatively affected her motivation in her paid job, and she was fired. In addition, P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) explained that she tried to overcome the boundary struggle that arose while doing both childcare and paid work at home by sending her younger child to the street to play with her older brother. However, she stated that when she applied this coping strategy, she was found strange by her neighbours with arguments that resembled cultural codes such as "good mother" (Hennessy, 2009) and "successful woman devoted to the family" (Blair-Loy, 2001) mentioned in Chapter 3. As can be seen in P12's statements below, it can be thought that such social coding reinforces the fact that women are primarily held responsible for social reproduction responsibilities and thus women experience more boundary struggles.

> I was talking to the customer and she was calling from inside, 'Mom, I had to poop' while talking and wiping her diaper etc. It was a very difficult process. Sometimes I would send him downstairs [street] with his brother; I had to look at them from the window. My mind was always downstairs[street], on the one hand, I was sending her so that I could relax, and work comfortably, on the other hand, I wondered if anything had happened, always looking down the window like this, are they okay, what happened, did something happen etc. Even our neighbours said things like 'What a comfort', there was a WhatsApp group in the building, 'you are letting little children downstairs, the car could crash when they back it up and get out, they don't see how tall they are, we don't understand the comfort of this family, don't send

> your children outside' etc. They don't know that I am working, I guess I am not sending them out for fun. I am sending them out because I have to, of course, they are looking from their own side, they were looking at me as if I was in great comfort. (P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42)

In addition to childcare, three of these 13 interviewees (P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; and P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48) also had other caregiving tasks. P11 (Education, Married, 44) said that her grandmother stayed with her for a while during COVID-19 and that they ate meals together and took care of her so that her mother would not be alone. P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) stated that while working from home during the pandemic, her daily routines included walking her dog and cleaning, while P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) said that her parents took care of the grocery shopping. Meanwhile, only six of these 13 (P4, Education, Married, 44; P6, IT, Married, 52; P8, IT, Married, 45; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P17, IT, Married, 43) interviewees stated that they shared the care responsibility with someone else. While P4 (Education, Married, 44), P6(IT, Married, 52), P8 (IT, Married, 45) and P17(IT, Married, 43) said that they shared the care responsibility of their children with their spouses, P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39) mentioned that they shared it with their spouse, their spouse's parents and the caregiver. Unlike these, P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) shares childcare with her mother. P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) said that during the period when she worked from home, her mother took over childcare by saying, "You can't work like this, leave the child to me."

In addition to childcare and education, health plays an important role in social reproduction, ensuring that the labour force is ready to work efficiently and the population is sustained. The situation arising from COVID-19 has put pressure on the health system. To respond to this emergency, most of the wards in hospitals were dedicated to people being treated for COVID-19 infection. This resulted in people experiencing disruptions in access to health care for issues other than COVID-19 at the time (Integrated Health Services (IHS), 2022, pp. 27-28). A study in Canada (Rennert-May, et al., 2021) also found a significant drop in hospital admissions at the time. Considering the risk of transmission of the SARS-CoV-2 virus, this situation identified in Canada may also be valid in other countries.

In this study, as a result of this disruption in access to the health system, it was wondered how health-related problems were solved by the interviewees. It was thought that if health-related problems, which are within the scope of social reproduction, are solved at home, it may be a factor that increases women's care burden. Eight of the interviewees (P1, IT, Single, 27; P2, IT, Single, 27; P7, Education, Married, 30; P9, Education, Married, 35; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P14, Education, Single, 31; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46) stated that they were not affected by the disruption in access to hospitals during the pandemic, while 10 (P3, Education, Married, 30; P4, Education, Married, 44; P5, Education, Single, 27; P6, IT, Married, 52; P8, IT, Married, 45; P10, Education, Married, 44; P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P17, IT, Married, 43; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) put that they were affected in various ways. While P3 (Education, Married, 30) and P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) declared that they had dental problems, P4(Education, Married, 44), P10(Education, Married, 44), P11 (Education, Married, 44), and P17 (IT, Married, 43) stated that they could not have regular health checks. P 5(Education, Single, 27) said that she had COVID-19 but she was afraid of accessing hospitals and that she and her housemate got through that process by supporting each other in caring for each other at home.

The experience of P6 (IT, Married, 52) is more thought-provoking. P6(IT, Married, 52) stated that she had to be vaccinated against rabies when she had COVID-19. However, she was not admitted to the hospital because she had COVID-19. She said that she was able to get the rabies vaccine without exceeding the limited time in which she had to be vaccinated thanks to personal initiatives. P8 (IT, Married, 45) and P9 (Education, Married, 35) stated that they solved this disruption in access to health services by applying for private health services. Gill and Bakker (2006, p. 39) put forward the concept of “boutique medicine” while discussing the tendency of neoliberalism in the field of medicine saying that those with special resources can benefit from it. It can be regarded that these experiences of P8 (IT, Married, 45) and P9 (Education, Married, 35) are exampled to this conceptualisation.

The social whole is constituted by the interaction of numerous relationships between the workplace, home, school and hospital (Bhattacharya, 2017b, p. 74). In terms of SRT, institutional structures such as schools and hospitals have a critical role in the realisation of societal reproduction. In addition to ensuring the continuation of the population and the renewal of the labour force, these structures also have the opportunity to provide individuals with the necessary ideological and cultural transmissions that ensure the continuation of the system. In other words, the SRT draws attention to the institutional function of these institutions in forming the whole capitalist system. These functions of the institutions are beyond the scope of this study, but in this study, the roles of the interviewees and their relatives in benefiting from these institutions were questioned on account that these are also care responsibilities. The aim is to question whether the interviewees have assumed more responsibility in this dimension of social reproduction, namely in their relationship with institutions that are instruments of societal reproduction.

Eight of the interviewees (P4, P6, P7, P9, P12, P14, P16, P19) expressed an opinion on this issue. P4 and P6 think that both men and women in society are about these institutions that provide societal reproduction and that these relations differ according to the intensity of paid work of individuals or the fields they are personally interested in. Each of the remaining six interviewees stated that women take more responsibility than men in the relations established in these fields. P9 stated that even when men, namely fathers, are at home, they take a back seat to such needs of children. P19, on the other hand, states that since women are more interested in their children benefiting from the services provided by these institutions, women decide where and when to receive these services and they are in more contact with these institutions. P14's evaluation of this situation is based on her own professional experiences. P14, as a Psychological and Counselling Counsellor working in a school, states that in her 10 years of professional life, the fathers of the students rarely come to the parent-teacher meetings, mostly the mothers of the students come to the parent-teacher meetings and check homework.

In sum, one-third of the interviewees consider mostly women to engage with the institutions which provide societal reproduction in general. On the other hand, when

the experiences of interviewees are considered during COVID-19, the lack of easy access to hospitals does not seem to have any effect on increasing women's burden of care. Moreover, having any health troubles, they coped with them by accessing private medical possibilities. It is clear from the interviewees' responses that childcare was the primary cause of the rise in care work during the COVID-19 period. In addition to caring for their children, the study sample includes a small number of individuals (three people) who also provide care for their pets or the elderly, and it is comprehended that these caregiving duties occupy a relatively small portion of their daily lives. The sharing of tasks in childcare and the ages of the children have been decisive in terms of their experiences in this process. The next section will discuss the interviewees' situation regarding receiving paid support for childcare; then, the interviewees' thoughts on receiving public support for caregiving will be presented.

5.3.2.1. Support For the Care of Children or Elderly Persons

Within the scope of neoliberal social policies, states have largely withdrawn from the services of reproduction activities, which Bhattacharya (2020) calls "life-making activities". It has been claimed that within the framework of neoliberal policies, individuals must take more responsibility for meeting their needs, such as health care, education, or elderly and children care, rather than relying on the services provided (Yücesan-Özdemir, 2014, p. 119). Moreover, families are crucial for providing care requirements. Hence, social reproduction works are carried out at the lowest possible cost, especially inside the family in the neoliberal period. Nevertheless, structures like family are not new tools for this. To cope with poverty, social solidarity networks based on family, blood ties, fellow countrymen, neighbourhood and community have been critical tools (Özbek, 2002, pp. 10-11). In the AKP period, which bases its social policy implementation policy on neoliberalism and Islamic conservatism, the family has a particular role in providing for these requirements (Yücesan-Özdemir, 2014, p. 136).

Eldercare and childcare have the biggest proportion at all care labour activities. The provision of these care requirements by public institutions is vital for individuals'

well-being, particularly that of women, and society as a whole (Addati, Cattaneo, Esquivel, & Valarino, 2018, p. 3). However, when the situation of public provision of the elderly and childcare in Türkiye is looked at, it appears that the rate of benefiting from public services for the care needs of these two groups is quite low. As illustrated in Figure 14 below (OECD, 2020), the numbers of children enrolled in preschool education at the ages of 3, 4 and 5 in 2020 are looked at, and it is obvious that Türkiye in all these age groups falls behind OECD averages Türkiye has the lowest rate among these age groups in 3-year-olds. While the participation rate of 3-year-olds in preschool education is 10.53 in Türkiye, it is 77.05 in the OECD average (OECD, 2020).

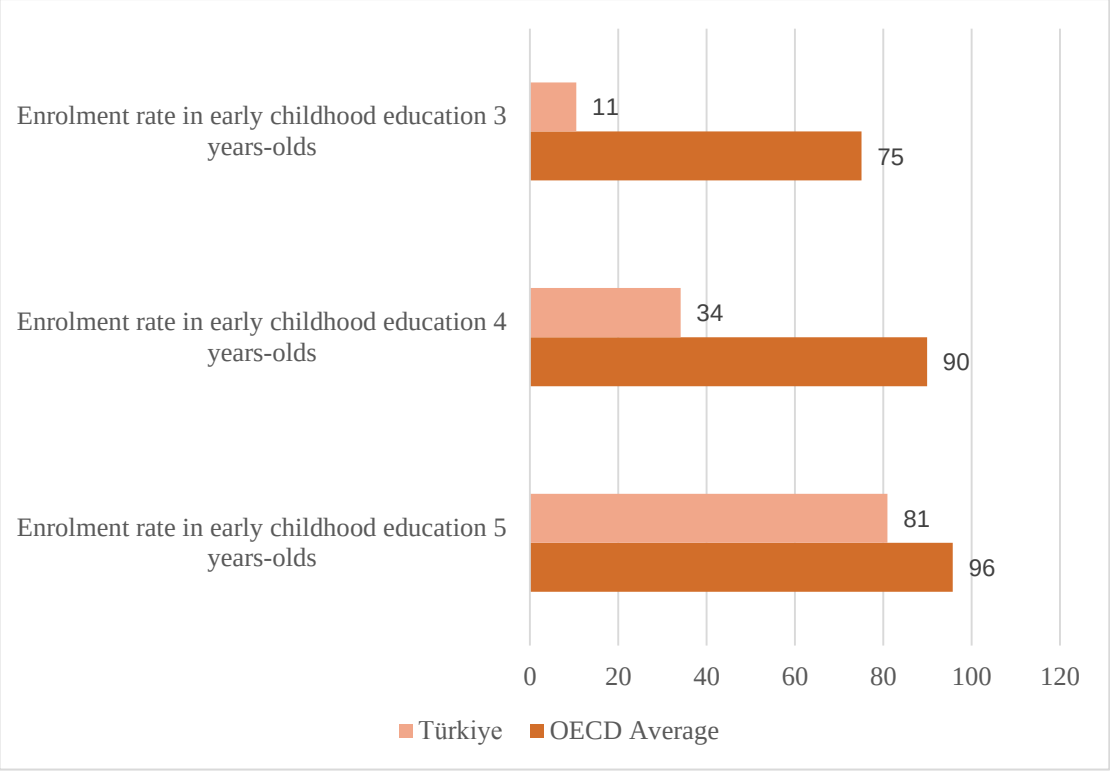

Figure 14. Enrolment rate in early childhood education at 3-, 4- and 5-years olds

Source: (OECD, 2020)

When the situation of public services for the elderly in Türkiye is analysed, an analogous situation becomes discernible. According to the source published by the Ministry of Family and Social Services (2020), there were 7 million 953 thousand 555 elderly people in Türkiye in 2020. It was also mentioned that in 2019, the rate of those who had difficulty bathing/showering among the elderly population was

22.1%, while the rate of those who had trouble getting into/out of bed or sitting/standing up from a chair was 20.6% (General Directorate of Disabled and Elderly Services, 2020, p. 19). Even though at least 25% of those over 65 experience difficulties with everyday tasks and personal care, there are comparatively few elderly people receiving care, as can be seen in Figure 15 below. The total number of people cared for in nursing homes belonging to the Ministry and the public is 16 thousand 402 elderly. When the ratio of the numbers in Figure 15 to the total elderly population is analysed, it is seen that in 2020, only two out of every 1000 elderly in Türkiye benefit from public care services, while only three out of every 1000 elderly in Türkiye benefit from care services without making any distinction between private and public. The importance and urgency of policies for elderly care services in Türkiye becomes clear when the negative impact of the care burden on the employment of sandwiched-generation women (İzdeş Terkoğlu & Memiş, 2022), who are caught between child and elderly care, is also taken into consideration.

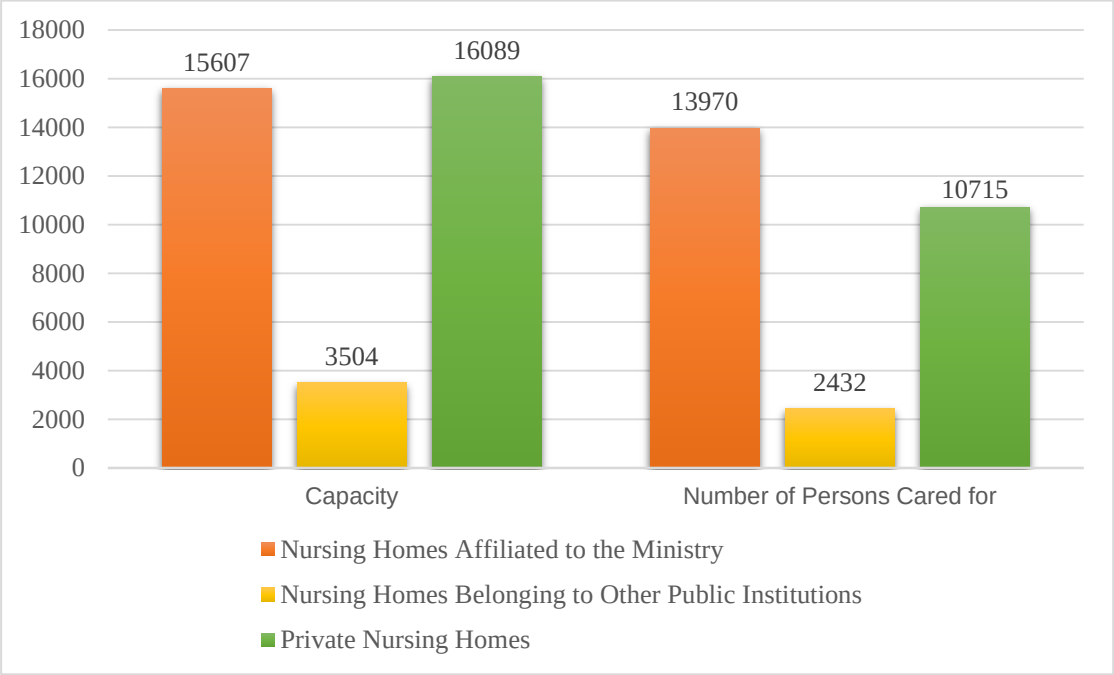

Figure 15: Capacity of Private and Public Nursing Homes in Türkiye and Number of People Cared for

Source: General Directorate of Disabled and Elderly Services, 2020, p. 23

The information above demonstrates how meagre it is to find institutional or paid assistance for child and elderly care in Türkiye. A different conclusion is reached

when this circumstance is analysed in terms of the study sample. Of the 18 interviewees, six (P1, IT, Single, 27; P2, IT, Single, 27; P3, Education, Married, 30; P5, Education, Single, 27; P7, Education, Married, 30; and P14, Education, Single, 31) did not have any responsibilities related to caring for children or the elderly. Of the 11 respondents who were left, six (P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39, and P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46) mentioned they had paid helpers to take care of their children at home or that they got institutional support from places like kindergartens and crèches for child care. For the interviewees other than P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39), this support was discontinued during the closure period of COVID-19; however, since P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39) had a live-in helper at home, this support was not interrupted throughout the pandemic. Furthermore, P11 (Education, Married, 44) and P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) reported respectively that they occasionally and continuously receive support from their mothers for child care. For interviewees other than P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39), this support was interrupted during the COVID-19 lockdown period; however, since P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39) had an assistant living at home, this support was not interrupted throughout the pandemic.

Özbek's (2002) and Yücesan-Özdemir's (2014) emphasis on the importance of family in social reproduction also appears in the interviewees' answers about care support. During COVID-19, P11(Education, Married, 44) solved childcare problems via occasional support from her mothers, whereas the child of P13(Bank/Finance, Married, 48) was cared for by his grandmother continuously. P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) said that when she could not deal with school services for taking their children to school due to the pandemic, her sister took responsibility for taking them to school. Apart from these, P2 (IT, Single, 27) mentioned that she looked after her nephew while her sister was working, indicating that she was responsible for supporting social reproduction as a family member. Finally, P8 (IT, Married, 45) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) used expressions that show that their families come to their minds first for childcare support. P8(IT, Married, 45) responded to the question about receiving support for childcare by saying, "At that time, no one from

our family was in Ankara, so there was a nanny until the age of three [her child]," while P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) said, "I feel comfortable at home as if I were living with my mother, I need someone [helpers] at that time." These answers demonstrate how crucial the family is in supplying the necessities of social reproduction.

Table 8. Labour Force Status by Household Types in Türkiye (15+ Age)

		Female		
Years		Labour force participation rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
2020	**Total**	30,8	**26,2**	14,8
	One-person households	22,4	19,7	11,9
	One-family households	32,3	27,3	15,4
	Couple without resident children	26,1	23,6	9,5
	Couple with at least one resident child	33,5	**28,2**	15,7
	Lone parents with at least one resident child	34,4	27,1	21,3
	Extended-family households	27,8	24,1	13,3
	Multi-person no-family households	45,9	37,8	17,6
2021	**Total**	32,8	**28,0**	14,7

Table 8 (continued)

	One-person households	23,9	21,3	11,1
	One-family households	34,3	29,0	15,4
	Couple without resident children	27,9	25,1	10,1
	Couple with at least one resident child	35,5	**29,9**	15,7
	Lone parents with at least one resident child	37,1	29,5	20,5
	Extended-family households	29,7	25,9	12,8
	Multi-person no-family households	47,8	41,1	14,0
2022	**Total**	35,1	**30,4**	13,4
	One-person households	26,3	23,5	10,6
	One-family households	36,7	31,6	14,1
	Couple without resident children	30,2	27,1	10,0
	Couple with at least one resident child	38,1	**32,6**	14,4
	Lone parents with at least one resident child	38,5	31,9	17,0
	Extended-family households	31,5	28,0	11,1
	Multi-person no-family households	48,5	41,8	13,8

Table 8 (continued)

2023	**Total**	35,8	**31,3**	12,6
	One-person households	26,7	23,9	10,3
	One-family households	37,4	32,5	13,3
	Couple without resident children	30,6	27,8	8,9
	Couple with at least one resident child	38,8	**33,5**	13,6
	Lone parents with at least one resident child	40,0	33,3	16,9
	Extended-family households	32,0	28,7	10,5
	Multi-person no-family households	51,8	46,0	11,1

Source: (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2024)

Five of the 12 interviewees who had children (P4, Education, Married, 44; P6, IT, Married, 52; P10, Education, Married, 44; P17, IT, Married, 43; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) stated that they did not receive support for child care, while seven interviewees (P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46) stated that they received support during COVID-19. . In line with Fraser's conceptualisation of the "dual-earner family" (2016), which she calls the family norm of the neoliberal era, parents tend to meet their childcare needs on a paid basis from the market while going to their paid jobs. As can be noticed from the information in the table above, the employment rates of women in the "nuclear family consisting of spouses and children", in which the sample of this study is also included, are above the Türkiye average. This suggests that the care of these children is taken care of through the market or solidarity within the family. However, it cannot be said that solving the care crisis in this way fully relieves individuals, especially women. The statements of

P16(Bank/Finance, Married, 39) suggest that women who are caught in the boundary struggle between paid and unpaid work feel uncomfortable because they cannot fully fulfil the emotional support part of unpaid work.

> I can see my son for an hour or two a day when I come. In other words, I give a large portion of my salary to the babysitter. They are the ones who enjoy the child anyway. I wake up in the morning and he sleeps in her [babysitter] bed. I go to work like a tin soldier. They go to the park and play. I come in the evening and pet him for an hour before going to sleep and then go to bed. Actually, the reason that I go to work is that [paying salary of babysitter]. Like that cat model trying to catch its own tail. (P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39)

Finally, this section should touch on the interviewees' responsibility for elderly care. None of the interviewees have direct responsibility for elderly care. Nonetheless, P8 (IT, Married, 45), P10 (Education, Married, 44) and P11(Education, Married, 44) mentioned subsiding the needs of elderly relatives. P8 (IT, Married, 45) mentioned that the municipality helped her mother, who lives in a different city, with shopping during the COVID-19 curfew. P11 (Education, Married, 44) stated that her grandmother had problems cooking and that they applied to the municipality for this, but did not receive a response. P10 (Education, Married, 44), lastly, mentioned that the employee who came to do her father-in-law's housework and meals came during COVID-19.

In summary, during the neoliberal era, the state "saved" on the expenses it incurred for numerous social reproduction services. According to Fraser's periodisation of capitalism (2016) this gap was filled by the market for families that could afford it; however, women in impoverished households had to fulfil it (Gill & Bakker, 2006, p. 50). The sample group for this study is made up of women who are relatively "lucky" to be able to purchase services from the market; however, the COVID-19 period's measures caused these opportunities to disappear. As illustrated by Čakardić (2022, p. 511) quotes Thatcher's statement "There is no such thing [as a society]! There are individual men and women and there are families[...]", it became evident that the state had no alternative but the family during the COVID-19 period.

The next section will address the interviewees' thoughts on receiving public support for care responsibilities. It is thought to be intriguing what their opinions on this

issue will be in such a period when care needs are being tried to be solved by families and/or by purchasing from the market.

5.3.2.2. Thoughts about Receiving Public Support for Care Responsibilities

First of all, it should be noted that while talking about the experiences of unpaid labour during the pandemic, the question "Would you like to receive support from the public on these issues" was asked and no specific area was specified in order not to limit the interviewees. This situation led to the fact that not all of the interviewees expressed an opinion on receiving public support for care. For this reason, only the opinions of 10 interviewees (P5, Education, Single, 27; P6, IT, Married, 52; P7, Education, Married, 30; P9, Education, Married, 35; P10, Education, Married, 44; P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P17, IT, Married, 43; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) who expressed their opinions about support in this regard will be presented here. The opinions of these 10 interviewees on public care support can be considered under four sub-headings: yes, it should have been done for patient care (P5, Education, Single, 27 and P6, IT, Married, 52); yes, it should have been done for the elderly (P6, IT, Married, 52 and P7, Education, Married, 30); yes, it should have been done for child care (P9, Education, Married, 35; P10, Education, Married, 44; and P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41); support for children would be good but not possible (P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; and P17, IT, Married, 43).

P5(Education, Single, 27) mentioned that she and her housemate had COVID-19 after she moved from the family home to the house with her friend and stated that they had difficulties in care at that time and that she could ask for public support for patient care and information. P6 (IT, Married, 52), as mentioned above, when she had COVID-19, she needed a rabies vaccination and had problems entering the hospital. Since her husband also had COVID-19 and the rest of her family was also in the risk group, she could not receive support from any of her relatives and had to overcome this process alone, with her personal initiative. Citing this situation as an example, P6 (IT, Married, 52) stated that there should be regulations on access to

health. In addition, based on this experience, P6 (IT, Married, 52) argued that the elderly living alone had problems during the pandemic and that the state should provide care support services, especially for the elderly living alone in order not to leave their needs to the conscience of anyone. In addition, P7 (Education, Married, 30) stated that they meet the needs of their own parents, but some elderly people do not have children or who do not take care of their parents even if they have children, and argued that the public should develop care services, especially for the elderly.

In COVID-19, those who expressed an opinion on public support for childcare are divided into two groups. While one group (P9, Education, Married, 35; P10, Education, Married, 44 and P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) argues that there should be public support for childcare, the other group (P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39 and P17, IT, Married, 43) thinks that this is not possible. P9 (Education, Married, 35) thinks that it would be good to have effective childcare provided by people who are qualified in childcare, such as child development graduates and that this could be publicly organised. P10 (Education, Married, 44), on the other hand, stated that especially teachers and doctors had problems with childcare during the pandemic, so there should be such a public service for them first. P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41), the last interviewee who stated that there should be public support for childcare, thinks that this service should be especially for women who have to work but cannot purchase assistance services because they do not have sufficient economic means.

Those who think that public support for childcare would be good but not possible (P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P17, IT, Married, 43) are also divided into two groups. P16(Bank/Finance, Married) and P17(IT, Married, 43) argued that such a service is not possible in COVID-19, considering that it is not possible for outsiders to enter the house to protect against the risk of transmission. P11 (Education, Married, 44) and P12(Bank/Finance, Married, 42), on the other hand, recognise that such public support in COVID-19 would be good in terms of alleviating the difficulty of the period, but they do not find it realistic to expect such a service from the state. P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) first justified this idea by saying that "the state cannot

afford it", but then stated that it was "not in [her] vision, or rather [her vision] not enough " for public institutions to provide such a service. The words of P11 (Education, Married, 44), who stated that there should be public support for childcare but it is not possible, are also striking in terms of neoliberalism and being a citizen. The following statement of P11 (Education, Married, 44) is an example showing that as a result of the family-centred social policies of the ruling Justice and Development Party in Türkiye (Yücesan-Özdemir, 2014, p. 136) and the neoliberal policies implemented for many years, citizens' expectations from the state have decreased and this is somehow accepted.

> I mean, it's such a high level of expectation... I can't even expect it because I know my country. I can't even dream of it. I wish it could happen; I wish it could happen. I mean, I don't want anything for myself, but for my grandmother, for example, or a woman who works, a woman who works compulsorily, and a person who cannot leave her child with anyone, who has no money to pay for a day-care centre... for these people. ... it has to happen. But I don't have the slightest belief that it can happen in this country, I'm sorry. I can't even think that such a thing can be done in our country, I am that hopeless. (P11, Education, Married, 44)

In summary, 10 out of 18 participants (P5, Education, Single, 27; P6, IT, Married, 52; P7, Education, Married, 30; P9, Education, Married, 35; P10, Education, Married, 44; P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P17, IT, Married, 43; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) expressed an opinion on public support for care needs, while eight interviewees (P1, IT, Single, 27; P2, IT, Single, 27; P3, Education, Married, 30; P4, Education, Married, 44; P8, IT, Married, 45; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P14, Education, Single, 31; P18 Bank/Finance, Married, 46) did not mention care support in terms of receiving public support to ease their burden during COVID-19. Most of those who thought that there should be public support for care responsibilities (except P5, Education, Single, 27) argued that it should definitely be for the disadvantaged people in the society such as the elderly, poor, etc. rather than themselves. It can be thought that the ability to purchase services from the market for social reproduction in neoliberalism is effective in the opinions of the interviewees here. On the other hand, four interviewees (P11, Education, Married, 44; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39 and P17, IT, Married, 43) who expressed an opinion on this issue think that such support is not possible. It is meaningful that

while two participants (P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42 and P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39) put forward the necessity to pay attention to hygiene during the pandemic as the reason for their opinions, the other two participants (P11, Education, Married, 44 and P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42) stated that they had no hope of receiving such support from the state.

In the next section, the activities that SRT defines as societal reproduction will be analysed in the daily lives of the interviewees.

5.3.3. Societal Reproduction Activities

The concept of societal reproduction was coined by Brenner and Laslett (1989) and is crucial to the SRT's link between capitalism and reproduction. Brenner and Laslett (1989) pointed out that social reproduction is broader than biological reproduction and said that social reproduction is the renewal of the system as a whole, which is "societal reproduction". This conceptualization which is the reproduction of the whole system is critical because it provides that capitalism includes various social processes (Arruzza, 2016, p. 10). In other words, this approach not only considers capitalism through capital but also considers social relations in this context (Jaffe, Introduction: Why Theorize Social Reproduction?, 2020a). As Bhattacharya (2017a) puts it, "Social reproduction theorists perceive the relation between labour dispensed to produce commodities and labour dispensed to produce people as part of the systemic totality of capitalism." This conception of capitalism is also found in Fraser's (2014) definition of capitalism as "institutionalised societal order". The way surplus value is generated and utilised determines the way in which the remaining activities not directly related to the economic sphere of society, such as family life, and leisure time and the way in which they are related to wage labour, are determined.

The SRT is opposed to analysing capitalism only in terms of commodity-producing workplaces. SRT also takes into account areas other than commodity production when analysing capitalism. In this context, according to SRT, social reproduction is not only limited to the renewal of labour power, but also includes "the creation,

socialisation, and subjectivation of human beings more generally" (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018, p. 53). This study aimed to learn about the situation of women in areas of social reproduction that are outside the household and are more related to the establishment of social ties, such as friendship, relatives, or neighbourhood. Therefore, the interviewees were asked questions about their own and their husbands' (or male relatives) social relations. Then, they were asked their opinions about whether women's labour is more intensive in the establishment and execution of social relations in general. Furthermore, it is wanted to learn whether women take more responsibility than men for accessing and communicating institutional services for social reproduction, such as hospitals, and schools. In this perspective, the code which is named societal reproduction activities covers interviewees' roles, tasks or motions in institutional social reproduction services or in the realization of events such as holidays, celebrations, and meetings that are important in developing social bonds.

The data in this section will be presented in two parts. These are attitudes towards the establishment and maintenance of social relations and interviewees' views and reasons about their state of women being active in social reproduction relations. First of all, in order to raise awareness about the practices of the interviewees and their male relatives (spouses, partners or fathers) in establishing and maintaining social relationships, the interviewees were asked about the changes in their and their partners' social relationships in areas such as friendship, kinship and neighbourhood before and during the pandemic. These changes experienced by the interviewees and their male relatives during the pandemic are given in Table 9.

Table 9. Changes in Social Relationships of Interviewees and Male Relatives During the Pandemıc

	Interviewee			**The Relative of the Interviewee**		
	With families' relatives	With friends	With neighbours	With families/relatives	With friends	With neighbours
P1(vs. Fiancé)	Not change	Not change	Not change	Not change	Increased	Not change

Table 9 (continued)

P2(vs. Father)	Decreased	Decreased	Not change	Decreased	Decreased	Not change
P3(vs. Husband)	Increased	Decreased	Not change	Not change	Decreased	Not change
P4(vs. Husband)	Decreased	Decreased	Not change	Not change	Not change	Not change
P5(vs. Father)	Increased	Decreased	Not change	Decreased	Not change	Not change
P6(vs. Husband)	Decreased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Decreased	Increased
P7(vs. Husband)	Decreased	Decreased	Not change	Increased	Decreased	Not change
P8(vs. Husband)	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Increased	Decreased	Increased
P9(vs. Husband)	Increased	Decreased	Decreased	Not change	Not change	Not change
P10(vs. Husband)	Not change	Decreased	Increased	Not change	Decreased	Increased
P11(vs. Husband)	Decreased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Decreased	Increased
P12(vs. Husband)	Not change	Decreased	Increased	Not change	Not change	Not change
P13(vs. Husband)	Decreased	Not change	Not change	Not change	Decreased	Not change
P14(vs. Father)	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Not change	Not change	Not change
P16(vs. Husband)	Not change	Decreased	Significantly increased	Not change	Decreased	Increased
P17(vs. Husband)	Decreased	Decreased	Not change	Decreased	Decreased	Not change
P18(vs. Husband)	Decreased	Decreased	Not change	Not change	Not change	Not change
P19(vs. Husband)	Decreased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Decreased	Increased

Before comparing the changes in the social relations of the interviewees and their male relatives during the pandemic, it should be noted that the male relatives of four interviewees (P9, Education, Married, 35; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P14, Education, Single, 31; and P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46) were able to stay outside the restrictions during the pandemic due to their work. Besides, P3(Education, Married, 30) and P4(Education, Married, 44), who stated that their husbands' social relations did not change much during the pandemic, also have special cases. P3(Education, Married, 30) claimed that her husband did not like to establish social relationships in general, so the isolation during the pandemic did not affect her husband much, while P4(Education, Married, 44) explained that her husband had an illness, so he was at home before the pandemic and was not affected by the pandemic restrictions. In addition, the interviewees described the condition of remaining unchanged 28 times with the social relations of their male relatives, compared to 15 times for their own social relations. They reported a general decrease in social interactions, primarily with friends, for both their male relatives and themselves. However, they observed a similar increase in social relations during the pandemic for both male relatives and themselves, noting an increase in interactions with neighbours (six mentions for male relatives and eight mentions for themselves).

More specifically, when we look at the changes in the social relations of the interviewees, it is observed that the most dramatic change is in the social relations of the women with their friends. 16 out of 18 interviewees stated that their communication with their friends had decreased, while two of them stated that it had not changed. The declining trend in social relations was followed by their relations with their extended families. Not surprisingly, the highest increase in social relations of the interviewees during the pandemic was with their neighbours, followed by family relations. In particular, the points that P6(IT, Married, 52) and P10(Education, Married, 44) drew attention to while describing their relations with their neighbours during the pandemic are also important for this study. P6(IT, Married, 52) explained that their neighbours served and brought them food during COVID-19. This experience of P6(IT, Married, 52) shows that her neighbourhoods, one of the solidarity networks, which is one of Özbek's (2002, pp. 10-11) methods of coping with poverty, emerges here as a solution to crisis situations. P10(Education, Married,

44), on the other hand, exemplified the boundary struggle situation through social relations and paid work while explaining that her relationship with her neighbours increased during the pandemic. P10(Education, Married, 44) stated that she did not meet with her neighbours due to work, so she did not know anyone, but with the pandemic, there was an opportunity to get to know and connect with them, and her relations with her neighbours increased during the pandemic.

The establishment and maintenance of social relations are important for ensuring social reproduction. Based on Fraser and Jaeggi's (2018) use of "socialisation" when stating that social reproduction is not only the renewal of labour power, the interviewees' thoughts on the role of women in the establishment of social ties that may lead to differentiation in labour intensity were questioned. The conversations that would lead to the above data were also held to prepare the interviewees for this discussion. Hence, after the interviewees were asked to evaluate the social relations between themselves and their male relatives during the pandemic, they were asked how they evaluated the processes of women and men in the establishment of social ties in general.

All but three of the 18 interviewees (P2, IT, Single, 27; P12, Bank/Finance, Married, 42; P17, IT, Married, 43) agreed without reservation that women play a greater role in social relations than men. Before discussing the reasons given by the 15 interviewees for their opinions, the opinions and reasons of these three interviewees who differed from the majority will be presented. P2(IT, Single, 27) claims that in the past there was a difference between men and women in social relations, but this has lost its validity as we move away from traditionalism. P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) and P17 (IT, Married, 43), on the other hand, evaluated this question from their own uniqueness considering their spouses. P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) said that her husband was more willing to organise and maintain friendship meetings, while she was more involved in organising family visits and celebrations. P17 (IT, Married, 43), on the other hand, stated that her husband had friends that he saw separately from her and that she did not have any contribution to his relationship with them; however, she was more involved in organising family gatherings or meetings with mutual friends.

It can be noted that unlike P2 (IT, Single, 27), P12 (Bank/Finance, Married, 42) and P17 (IT, Married, 43) do not completely oppose the idea of women taking on a greater role in social relations, but they do not directly agree with it like the other 15 interviewees. P17 (IT, Married, 43) partially accepts that women play a greater role in social relations, but refrains from saying that this is due to "our nature" or "creation" owing to not considering that. In addition to character differentiation, she also mentions that mothers are more active in the parent WhatsApp groups of school and that there is not much space for men, suggesting that women also gain power from organising and the responsibilities arising from this. P13(Bank/Finance, Married, 48) also agrees with P17's reasoning of "women's will to power". However, P17(IT, Married, 43) suggests that this could be "one of the bricks that women have in their hands to balance [the power relationship between parents]", whereas P13(Bank/Finance, Married, 48) thinks women want to establish control over their partners due to their lack of self-confidence.

Of the 15 interviewees (P1, IT, Single, 27; P3, Education, Married, 30; P4, Education, Married, 44; P5, Education, Single, 27; P6, IT, Married, 52; P7, Education, Married, 30; P8, IT, Married, 45; P9, Education, Married, 35; P10, Education, Married, 44; P11, Education, Married, 44; P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48; P14, Education, Single, 31; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) who think that women play a greater role in social relations, four (P4, Education, Married, 44; P6, IT, Married, 52; P16, Bank/Finance, Married, 39; P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41) produced unique reasons. P4 (Education, Married, 44) thinks that women play a greater role in social relations because women fulfil the tasks that will enable the establishment of social bonds such as hospitality. In other words, according to her, the fact that women mostly undertake the burden of housework causes them to be more decisive in social bonding, which is another dimension of social reproduction. P6 (IT, Married, 52), on the other hand, excluding herself from this total, thinks that women are more prominent in social relations because they are sentimental. P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39) based this opinion on the difference in structure between men and women, whereas P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41) thought that women play a greater role in social relations due to their different upbringing styles.

The arguments put forward by other interviewees as justification for women's greater role in social relations can be categorised under three groups. The first of these is related to women's way of establishing relationships, which was put forward by P1 (IT, Single, 27) and P14 (Education, Single, 31). According to them, women establish "deeper" relationships than men and women attach more importance to social relations than men. According to them, men establish superficial, result-oriented, short, and clear relationships. The second group of justifications for this argument is related to the way women think. P5(Education, Single, 27), P7 (Education, Married, 30), P8 (IT, Married, 45), P13(Bank/Finance, Married, 48) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) stated that women are more detailed, kind and problem-solving orientated than men. Therefore, as P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) says, women have more developed social intelligence. The final set of arguments put up by P3 (Education, Married, 30), P9(Education, Married, 35), P10 (Education, Married, 44), P11 (Education, Married, 44), and P14 (Education, Single, 31) is that women tend to be more outgoing and communicative than men.

In this section, firstly, the evaluations of the interviewees and their male relatives on the changes in social relations during the pandemic are presented. Then, the interviewees' views on the comparison of the labour of women and men in the establishment and maintenance of social relations are presented. The purpose of doing this is to draw attention to the fact that women's social reproduction activities have a broader meaning than unpaid labour produced within the household, by highlighting the responsibilities and roles they play in establishing and maintaining social bonds - in a sense, "ensuring community" - through social reproduction. The next section will present the interviewees' views about public organisations on whether their services have an impact on social relations in society.

5.3.3.1. Thoughts on the Effects of Public Institution Services on Social Relations

Based on the premise that social reproduction is a whole that includes social relations and institutions, the focus is more on the dimension of social relations in also this part. In this framework, interviewees were asked whether the services of public

organisations would affect social relations. In a neoliberal era where there are problems even in the provision of "indirectly protected fundamental rights" (Kuçuradi, 2018) such as health, housing and education, this question about public organisations developing services for social ties was found strange by some interviewees (P2, IT, Single, 27; P3, Education, Married, 30; P8, IT, Married, 45; and P18, Bank/Finance, Married, 46). The following statements of P2(IT, Single, 27) explain the strangeness of these interviewees in the face of this question well: "Um, when I think of the support of public institutions, nothing comes to mind... I am thinking about what could happen because I am experiencing its absence right now. What should it be?" (P2, IT, Single, 27).

Like these four interviewees, P6(IT, Married, 52) also initially found the question strange. However, differentiated from them, P6(IT, Married, 52) argued that public services for improving social bonds were not necessary both because there were equivalents of these services in the private sector and because the public sector was sceptical about providing quality services. Hence, P6 was the unique interviewee for thinking not any impact of public services on social relations.

> There is nothing much that the state or the system can do to improve social relations. If you intend to make friends and your personality is predisposed in that direction, all platforms are already open to you. If you have such an intention, there are many private initiatives. I would probably not want to exist on those sides, as it is already intellectually unsatisfying for a public initiative. (P6, IT, Married, 52)

Except for P6(IT, Married, 52), 17 interviewees agreed that public services would affect social relations. Still, four of them (P2, IT, Single, 27; P8, IT, Married, 45; P11, Education, Married, 44; P17, IT, Married, 43) asserted that they doubted these services would contribute positively to social relations due to the current administration of Türkiye. P2 (IT, Single, 27) stated that both the presence and absence of public services today create social unrest in society, while P17 (IT, Married, 43) stated that she does not think that such services will be provided properly at present. P8(IT, Married, 45) and P11 (Education, Married, 44), on the other hand, although directly presenting a sample about the development of public services for social relations, immediately afterwards emphasise that they have no hope that such an application will be realised.

While P7 (Education, Married, 30) condones this judgement by limiting it by saying that such a service would be useful if the target group is 20 years old and below, P9 (Education, Married, 35) defends this view by saying that their needs cannot be met in the absence of existing public services and giving an example from the health service. Other interviewees' justifications for these judgements can be grouped under four categories: psychological well-being, positive contribution to family life, creating an environment for the establishment of social relations and allowing women to spend time for themselves.

P2 (IT, Single, 27), P10 (Education, Married, 44) and P14 (Education, Single, 31) argue that public services will affect the psychological well-being of individuals and this will be reflected in their social relations. P10 (Education, Married, 44), P11 (Education, Married, 44) and P18 (Bank/Finance, Married, 46) think that when the public provides services that make life easier, conflicts between parents can decrease, which will allow children to develop and family members to connect with other people in society. P18(Bank/Finance, Married, 46) expresses her opinion that she thinks that offering this idea to families who cannot do activities such as picnics, trips and entertainment due to financial inadequacy will add colour to their social lives.

P1 (IT, Single, 27), P3 (Education, Married, 30), P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48), and P16 (Bank/Finance, Married, 39) think that public services are cheaper and that the organization of the events is a state institution will provide confidence and, therefore individuals will have more opportunities to participate in more social events. While P1 (IT, Single, 27) exemplifies her idea by saying that municipalities organize events in places where neighbourly relations are common, P3 (Education, Married, 30) states that private theatre tickets are more expensive than state theatres and therefore they can socialize less. The expressions used by P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) to explain the reason for her idea refer to boundary struggles and exemplify that the production logic of capitalism has the feature of destroying its own conditions of existence. In other words, the following words of P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) bring to mind Fraser's (2022, p. 58) the observation that "Destroying its own conditions of possibility, capital's accumulation dynamic mimics

the ouroboros and eats its own tail." P13 (Bank/Finance, Married, 48) also draws attention to the influence of local organizations in establishing social ties.

> Because in the past, when women were not so much involved in working life and only men were working, if you talk about neighbourhood culture, neighbourliness, socialization inevitably occurred. ... You somehow socialized in the neighbourhood, town, city, district you were in. But now, both men and women work. As I said earlier, everyone runs out of the house in the morning. They come home in the evening. ... I have a neighbour I don't know. Why? Because I don't see them. ... I don't know, maybe a neighbourhood dinner organization like this or a morning yoga that everyone can participate in- I just made it up- if such an activity was organized, people would get along. I think they would be more social. I would go, too. Why wouldn't I? (P13, Bank/Finance, Married, 48)

The last category of justifications given by the interviewees for the impact of public services on social relations is that, thanks to public services, women can spend more time for themselves and thus be more social. According to P5 (Education, Single, 27), P8 (IT, Married, 45), P17 (IT, Married, 43) and P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41), thanks to public services, women can find the opportunity to get out of the roles assigned to them and thus reduce the time constraints they experience, spend time for themselves and socialize. P8 (IT, Married, 45) gave an example via a friend of hers in Australia. The Australian State had organized a meeting for mothers to socialize and alleviate their feelings of loneliness and she thought it would be very beneficial for also her to attend such a meeting after giving birth.

> For example, my friend in Australia had a mothers' group and it was completely run by the state. They bring women who recently gave birth together in the park once a week just so they can socialize, I think they even look after the babies a little so that the mothers can socialize a little. This is completely a government service though. So yes, I think it would be very beneficial. ... For example, if there was a mothers' group, I would go. Because I had a really hard time. I'm the type who can never stay at home anyway, there are no mothers here, all my friends work and I don't have any neighbours. I was at home all day, all alone with the baby, I was going crazy... (P8, IT, Married, 45)

The statements of P17 (IT, Married, 43) and P19 (Bank/Finance, Married, 41) exemplify the two-earner family form becoming the norm in the neoliberal period (Fraser, 2016). Both interviewees claim that they work intensively in their paid jobs because the state does not provide sufficient, reliable and qualified services in areas such as childcare, education and health. They explain why public services have an

impact on social relations by saying that they do not have time for social relations for this reason.

> Financially and spiritually... If there was a state or municipality nursery that we could trust near our home, we wouldn't send our child to a nursery paying crazy amounts of money. Or now both of my children go to private school. School is actually a public service, right? But we don't get that public service. Would it make a difference if we did? It would make a crazy difference. Maybe we would do something we love more for less money in a more relaxed job. Many people work much harder now because they can't get school for free as a public service. (P17, IT, Married, 43)

> If there were more rights and more things were supported, you would be more comfortable socially, both materially and spiritually. We would have time to do them, and you would have more money in your pocket to do them. Life is now a very expensive private school... When you send two children to a private school, your life is restricted a lot. And besides that, as I said, there are courses, there is this and that. The cost of children and the cost of the house becomes quite an item. Of course, if the state could provide this or our institution could provide it, you would have the opportunity for education in your pocket and your salary would remain with you. ... when there is a child, I mean, everything goes to education and courses [and] health. For example... we adults can also be comfortable with the health centre doctor. ... but when the child is sick, you don't have that luxury. When the child has a fever, you have to take the child to the doctor [at private hospital]. You have to get the best vitamins for your child. The child's food is already something that cannot be eliminated. If the state could provide these, of course, then the money would remain in your pocket anyway, and then you would be social. (P19, Bank/Finance, Married, 41)

This chapter focuses on the social relations aspect of social reproduction. Interviewees' opinions on whether there is a difference in the experiences of women and men in the establishment and maintenance of social ties are included. It is concluded that the majority of the interviewees think that women are more prominent than men in the development of social relations. However, they presented different arguments for this, such as the fact that women establish deeper relationships, that women's thinking is more nuanced due to differences in creation or upbringing, and that women have better communication and are more extroverted. The purpose of these inquiries is to draw attention to the fact that women's social re-labour is not limited to housework and the burden of care.

In addition, this section presents the interviewees' opinions on the impact of public services on social relations. Here, too, the result is quite striking and exemplifies the SRT's characteristic that it is intrinsic to capitalism but has become more acute with

the neoliberal era of capitalism. According to SRT (Fraser, 2014; Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019), in the capitalist system as a whole, the logic of placing commodity production and accumulation at the centre threatens capitalism's own existential conditions. The fact that the overwhelming majority of the interviewees think that the existence of public services can positively affect social relations confirms this determination. Moreover, it can be claimed interviewees in this study agree with SRT thinkers (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 73) that neoliberalism makes it difficult to maintain social relations.

This section examines the interviewees' experiences of working from home as a result of measures taken during COVID-19 under five themes. The first theme, " Perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender", focuses on understanding the interviewees' worldviews. The second theme, "State of Paid Work", centres on the interviewees' experiences with paid work. The remaining three themes are related to areas associated with social reproduction as outlined by SRT. These are "Domestic Labour", "Care Labour" and "Societal Reproduction Labour". These themes aim to explore the social reproduction activities that the interviewees experienced while working from home during the pandemic. Thus, the section seeks to highlight the boundary struggles experienced by the interviewees during this period. Besides, as shown in the attached coding book, each theme is divided into sub-themes to provide more detailed information about the interviewees' experiences. In the next chapter, the results obtained from this scrutiny will be discussed.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In March 2020, due to its global health crisis impact, COVID-19 was declared as a global pandemic. The World Health Organization recommended that all countries take measures to prevent the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 virus (World Health Organization, 2020). One of the measures taken by governments was to ensure that employees work remotely, accompanying wide-scale shutdowns. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, only 3% of employees globally worked exclusively or mostly from home (ILO, 2021; ILO, 2020b. Working from Home: From Invisibility to Decent Work, ILO, Geneva). In the period following the declaration of the COVID-19 pandemic—specifically, the second quarter of 2020—the proportion of workers working from home globally increased to an average of 17.4% (approximately 557 million workers) (ILO, 2021). This significant rise in remote work not only changed the notion of the workplace but also significantly affected work practices all over the world.

In a general sense, remote work is proposed to offer several advantages, such as savings in time and costs associated with commuting to the workplace, reduced stress, and diminished work-family conflicts (Orr & Savage, 2021). Conversely, remote work is also considered to have disadvantages, such as isolation, negative impacts on career development, and decreased employee performance due to inadequate technical support (Bailey & Kurland, 1999; Eurofound; ILO, 2017; Kelly, 2020; Simenenko & Lentjushenkova, 2022). In addition to these disadvantages, there is another drawback of remote work that is more relevant to the subject of this study: role blurring. This disadvantage, which refers to the erosion of boundaries between work and home roles (Deloitte, 2011), has been found to be experienced more acutely by women than men due to women's greater involvement in household

labour during COVID-19 (Mascherini & Bisello, 2020). This thesis addressed the issue of role blurring through the concept of boundary struggles conceptualisation of the SRT (Social Reproduction Theory) (Fraser, 2016; 2022).

Two fundamental schools of thought address the oppression of women in terms of labour. The first is the perspective presented by dual and triple system theorists (Delphy, 1988; Hartmann, 1979; Crenshaw, 1989; Walby, 2021), which fundamentally explains the oppression of women through the intersection of capitalism, patriarchy, and (race/ethnicity). However, the arguments of dual and triple systems are criticized by the SRFs (Social Reproduction Feminists) for offering a "fragmented view of the social world" and failing to adequately explain the relationships between phenomena and the reasons behind them (Ferguson, 2016; Arruzza, 2016). The SRFs who critique dual and triple systems propose a second school of thought, which emphasises the need to pay attention to labour relations when explaining the oppression of women.

As discussed in Chapter 2, according to the SRFs, capitalism is a system with both antecedent and subsequent conditions that operate as a whole (Ferguson, 2016; Mohandesi & Teitelman, 2017). To facilitate the production of commodities and surplus value, which are central to capitalism, and to ensure capital accumulation, conditions are needed that exist outside of workplaces but within capitalism—referred to as extra-economic intra-capitalist conditions (Fraser, 2016). Social reproduction is one such condition that is vitally important for capitalism, as it "produces the labour power that will produce the commodity" (Bhattacharya, Introduction: Mapping Social Reproduction Theory, 2017a). In other words, the existence of workers who carry out production in workplaces depends on the occurrence of social reproduction.

According to the SRT (used interchangeably with SRFs in this thesis), there are three fundamental components of social reproduction: "the biological reproduction of the species," "the reproduction of the labour force," and "the reproduction of provisioning and caring needs" (Arruzza, Functionalist, Determinist, Reductionist: Social Reproduction Feminism and its Critics, 2016). Considering social

reproduction through these three components implies that social reproduction extends beyond biological reproduction to encompass the reproduction of the system itself. This perspective allows for the inclusion of processes such as socialization and subjectivation (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018), as conceptualized by Brenner & Laslett (1989) as "societal reproduction," within the framework of social reproduction. The understanding of social reproduction proposed by the SRFs also encompasses "the forms of provisioning, caregiving, and interacting that produce and maintain social bonds" (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018). In addition, a second significant point in the SRF's conceptualization of social reproduction as societal reproduction is the emphasis on the fact that social reproduction is not limited to individuals alone but also involves institutions such as hospitals and schools. According to SRT, social reproduction arises from the relationships within places such as households, schools, and hospitals, which are extra-economic but intra-capitalist (Fraser, 2016), and which lie outside the workplaces where all commodities are produced (Bhattacharya, 2017b).

A significant point emphasized by the SRT regarding capitalism as an operating system is that there is no harmony or alignment between the conditions necessary for production and those that enable production but lie outside the production sphere—i.e., between background conditions and foreground conditions (Fraser, 2014). On the contrary, because background conditions do not directly contribute to surplus value production and do not generate profit, they are often undervalued and overlooked within capitalism. Fraser uses the term "ouroboros" to describe this situation in capitalism (Fraser, 2022). This term illustrates how capitalism, in its focus on endless accumulation (Fraser, 2016), threatens and destabilizes the very conditions that sustain its existence. While the capitalist system aims for infinite accumulation, social reproduction activities are either completely disregarded or given minimal economic value because they do not directly contribute to this accumulation (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019). Therefore, according to the SRFs, there is a "boundary struggle" between these foreground and background conditions in capitalism, and crises are not random but inherent to capitalism's tendency towards crisis (Fraser, 2022; 2017; Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019).

This thesis examines the paid and unpaid labour of women in Ankara working remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic from the perspective provided by the SRT.

The requirement to perform social reproduction activities and paid work in the same time and space during COVID-19 is considered an important example of the boundary struggle concept and the structural care crisis that the SRT posits as inherent to capitalism. To investigate this, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 18 women working remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic via online communication, except for one interviewee, who conducted face-to-face. These interviews, conducted in January 2022, are deemed significant for providing a concrete example of the care crisis in capitalism through the qualitative data collected to explore and present the temporal and spatial boundary struggles between women's paid and unpaid labour while COVID-19 measures were still in effect.

The data obtained from the 18 interviewees in the in-depth interviews were presented under three main headings and five themes. The first heading and theme is Perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender. The conceptualization found in the literature as work-life conflict/balance (Duxbury, Lyons, & Christopher, 2007; Guest, 2001; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Pichler, 2009; Jennings & McDougald, 2007; Duxbury, Lyons, & Higgins, 2008) is challenged by the SRFs (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019), who argue that the relationship between work and life is a matter of "boundary struggles" arising from the structural characteristics of capitalism. In other words, due to capitalism's focus on profit maximization, boundary struggles between paid and unpaid labour, or between life-making and thing-making (Bhattacharya, 2020), are ever-present (Fraser, 2017; 2022; Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019). Therefore, in this study focusing on women's paid work and social reproduction work during COVID-19, work and life are crucial concepts that form the cornerstones of the research. The connection between these concepts is established through gender roles in the interviewees' daily lives. Consequently, the participants' views, beliefs, and perceptions regarding gender are important for evaluating the findings of the study. Accordingly, and in line with the aim of qualitative studies to understand how phenomena are interpreted by interviewees (Jones, 1995; Ugwu & Eze Val, 2023), interviewees were asked what comes to mind when they think of work, life, and gender, and their general evaluations of these concepts were sought.

Interviewees associated their most fundamental primary role with their "role within the family." They described work as a "necessity to meet needs," which aligns with

Fraser’s (2022) suggestion that money has become the primary power in capitalist society. In contrast, life was commonly described with terms like "difficulty" and "hustle," and gender was seen as "an inequality disadvantaging women between men and women," reflecting common patterns in their responses. Considering that the family is regarded as the most fundamental (though not the only) unit providing social reproduction (Vogel, 2013; Brenner & Laslett, 1989; Brenner & Laslett, 1991), and that interviewees predominantly thought of their roles within the family as their primary roles, it is understandable that work is seen as a necessity and gender as a disadvantageous situation for women in the interviewees' conceptual worlds.

The second theme and heading under which the research findings are presented is "State of Paid Work." This theme is explored through seven sub-themes: Thoughts about paid work, Work hours, Workload, the Effect of Spatial Difference, Institutional Support, Policy Recommendations, and Preference for Work Types. The first sub-theme focuses on understanding the significance of paid work for interviewees and the subjective meanings it holds in their daily lives. It was found that interviewees often associated paid work with financial freedom. This common pattern aligns with the framework provided by the SRT (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019), which identifies money as an important tool for gaining power in capitalist societies, as well as with the broader framework offered by the Marxist feminists (Dalla Costa & James, 1975; Federici, 2020; Toupin, 2018).

In the sub-themes of Work-hour and Workload, it was found that the professional groups of the interviewees were quite decisive in these aspects. Among the sample group selected from the three professions with the highest proportion of remote work—namely I.T., Finance and Insurance Services, and Education (OECD, 2021c)—it was observed that those working in the education sector were the primary group experiencing issues with work hours and workload during remote work compared to before the pandemic. On the other hand, participants from the banking/finance sector reported that there were no significant differences in terms of work hours and workload during remote work, and they did not experience additional difficulties. I.T. sector employees reported that, although there was a slight increase in their

workload during remote work compared to before the pandemic, there was no significant change in work hours.

The fourth sub-theme of this section is "The Effect of Spatial Difference," which is considered a significant factor contributing to the intensified boundary struggles experienced during the COVID-19 pandemic. This sub-theme aims to understand the implications of the spatial changes in paid work due to the COVID-19 measures on the interviewees' lives. Specifically, interviewees responsible for childcare reported that they had to perform their caregiving responsibilities and paid work in the same place and time, leading to difficulties. It was found that the boundary struggles between activities referred to by Bhattacharya (2020) as "life-making" and "thing-making" were clearly reflected in the interviewees' daily lives during this period.

Another sub-theme of this section is the institutional support provided by employers during the pandemic. It was found that institutional support from employers consists of three main components: psychological and social support, financial support such as assistance with bills and food, and support in facilitating leave rights. Among these types of support, the most commonly received support among interviewees was equipment support, in line with the findings of Balcı & Uşen (2020). One of the last two sub-themes of this section involves policy recommendations for improving the situation during this period. The prominent recommendations include limiting work hours, implementing more flexible working schedules under employees' control, and providing more regular and structured psychological and social support to prevent loneliness among employees. These recommendations align with views emphasizing the critical importance of implementing family-friendly policies that provide parental leave and flexible working hours (İlkkaracan & Memiş, 2021) and comprehensive care policies (UNICEF, 2021; UN Women; Women Count, 2020b; Cohen & Rodgers, 2021; OECD, 2020; Stevano, Mezzadri, Lombardozzi, & Bargawi, 2021).

The final sub-theme of the "State of Paid Work" theme is the interviewees' preferences for work types. Although some interviewees from the I.T. sector had previous experience with remote work, 16 out of the 18 interviewees experienced remote work (from home due to mandatory conditions) for the first time during this

period. It is striking that a significant majority of the sample group (13 interviewees) expressed a preference for hybrid working models for their future work arrangements. Among the reasons for preferring hybrid work, similar to flexible working schedules controlled by employees, a prominent pattern is the belief that hybrid work allows for better management of needs outside of work and responsibilities such as caregiving and household chores. These findings support Fraser's (2016) arguments regarding the neoliberal retreat of the state from providing social reproduction services, which has led to the burden of these tasks falling on individuals and has made boundary struggles and the care crisis more pronounced.

The final heading under which the research findings are presented is "Social Reproduction Activities." Following the SRT's conceptualization (Brenner & Laslett, 1989; Arruzza, 2016; (Bhattacharya, 2017b; Fraser, 2017), three themes are presented under this heading: domestic labour, care labour, and societal reproduction labour. Domestic labour refers to routine tasks performed within the household, such as cleaning, cooking, and shopping, which are part of social reproduction activities. As expected, and observed during the pandemic (OECD, 2023), the unpaid labour spent by female interviewees on these tasks increased. As a result of this increased labour, the majority of participants experienced difficulties in meeting needs in other areas and were observed to economize on personal needs and rest time to overcome the temporal and energy challenges they faced. Consistent with the characteristics outlined by Fraser (2016) in the context of the neoliberal period, no support was provided for the domestic aspects of social reproduction during this period. Regarding public support for household chores, participants expressed that they preferred not to seek public assistance due to doubts about hygiene and trust in public authorities.

The fourth theme involves activities related to care labour, which are associated primarily with the second and third components of social reproduction outlined by Arruza (2016) – "the reproduction of the labour force" and "the reproduction of provisioning and caring needs." During this period, it was found that the primary factor contributing to the increase in care labour for the interviewees was childcare. For those adhering to the two-earner family norm of the neoliberal era (Fraser, 2016)

and who typically purchase services to meet social reproduction needs from the market, the increase in care labour was exacerbated not only by the closure of schools but also by the inability to access paid care support during this period. It is noteworthy that the majority of interviewees who believed there should be public support for caregiving needs preferred this support to be directed toward disadvantaged groups with lower economic status rather than themselves. This suggests that the neoliberal policies, which rely on individuals with the means to purchase services from the market for social reproduction activities (Fraser, 2016), have become entrenched.

The fifth theme, "Societal Reproduction Activities," presented under the third heading, constitutes the final theme of the study. Based on the SRT's expansion of the concept of social reproduction beyond household and care responsibilities to include social relationships and social bonds (Brenner & Laslett, 1989; 1991; Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018; Bhattacharya, 2017a; Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019), the study aims to understand the labour processes involved in activities that facilitate the creation of social bonds. The majority of interviewees believe that women take on a greater role than men in organizing activities that foster social bonds, such as celebrations, holidays, and festivals. They attribute this to women's ability to communicate better, their nature, and their capacity to form deeper relationships. The SRT argues that capitalism, particularly in the neoliberal era, threatens social relationships and makes their maintenance more difficult (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019). During the interviews, most participants confirmed this argument by expressing that the time and effort dedicated to their paid work were intense. However, they also noted that public services could positively impact social relationships. These views align with the perspective that sectors such as education, health, and social care, which are crucial for individual well-being, should not be treated as commodities (Akkan, 2022). Furthermore, it was indicated that investing in these areas would reduce the burden of unpaid care work, alleviate time constraints for women, and promote women's economic empowerment. Investment in these sectors is also suggested to enhance employment (İlkkaracan & Kim, 2019).

In summary, this study has highlighted the boundary struggles that the SRT (Fraser, 2016; 2017; 2022; Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019) identifies between paid

and unpaid labour—referred to as production (thing-making) and reproduction (life-making) (Bhattacharya, 2020)—through the experiences of women in Ankara engaged in paid work during the COVID-19 pandemic. The research was conducted almost concurrently with this acute situation, during a time when the effects of the COVID-19 measures were still ongoing. The proximity of the data collection period to the COVID-19 period can be considered a distinctive feature of this study.

The SRT highlights that "boundary struggles in social reproduction are as central to the current conjuncture as class struggles in economic production" (Fraser, 2017). This perspective opens up discussions on actions within the domain of social reproduction, such as shared laundry facilities and communal meal preparation, within the context of proletarian struggles (Abramovitz, 1992). It is believed that this study, by examining the COVID-19 pandemic experienced globally, can contribute to these discussions. Finally, this study, which conducts qualitative research within the relatively sophisticated framework of the SRT that views society, institutions, and individuals as interconnected, can be considered beneficial for literature due to its focus on comprehending the relationship between global phenomena and individual experiences.

It is also anticipated that this study would contribute to discussions about the care crisis. Although the demand for care increased during the COVID-19 period, the responsibility for care has largely fallen on families and local solidarity groups, due to the inadequacy of public services. Rather than a comprehensive discussion on how to meet care needs, I contend that this study is effective in highlighting who is addressing this need and the importance of institutional support. Moreover, the simultaneous occurrence of paid and unpaid labour during COVID-19 provides an important basis for concretizing the boundary struggles expressed by the SRT. Although the boundaries between paid and unpaid labour may appear to be blurred due to their overlap in time and space, interviewees' awareness of these transitions and their development of coping mechanisms suggests that paid and unpaid labour are actually integrated rather than distinct. As a result, it is expected that this thesis will contribute to discussions on gender and labour.

In addition to these, this thesis is expected to contribute to the discussions on the advantages or disadvantages of remote working, especially for women. At the beginning of 2024, the Minister of Family and Social Services of Türkiye (2024) stated that "To prevent women from having to choose between family and work life... we are continuing our work on the transition to flexible and hybrid working models in the public and private sectors depending on demand". In this respect, it is thought that this study may contribute to the discussions on the effects of remote work in Türkiye. Based on the literature on this subject and the findings of this thesis, it is predicted that institutional arrangements will determine whether hybrid working is advantageous or disadvantageous for employees. As long as the social reproduction needs are left to women who are already carrying out social reproduction activities within the capitalist organisation due to the lack of public services in the field of reproduction, it would not be correct to talk about the advantages of hybrid work or remote work for women workers. The issue of women's ability to balance home and work should not be limited to the way women work. In addition, the development of policies to increase public services in areas of social reproduction should also be discussed. In these discussions, the context of women should be considered regarding familial, governmental, and class barriers to women (Ugur-Çınar et al 2022).

In addition to its contributions to the literature, this study has certain limitations. Foremost among these is the fact that the sample consists only of women from Ankara and three specific occupational groups. While this sample effectively represents Fraser's neoliberal family model, particularly the dual-earner family, it does not include families outside this norm, such as those unable to purchase services for social reproduction from the market or divorced individuals with children. This limitation restricts the ability to make comparisons across different family types. Future research should address this gap to provide a more comprehensive understanding of various family configurations.

Another limitation is that the study did not focus on how neoliberal state policies might affect boundary struggles and their intensification. Given the complexity and multifaceted nature of neoliberal policies, as well as the scope and focus of this

research, a detailed examination of neoliberalism was beyond the study's reach. Future research should address this limitation by incorporating a more detailed analysis of neoliberalism and its interactions with boundary struggles, potentially using additional methodologies to enhance the depth of analysis.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

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MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620816 /

14 OCAK 2022

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Reşide Ömür BİRLER

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Banu TOPAKTAŞ'ın "COVID-19 Pandemi Döneminde 'Sınır Mücadeleleri': Ankara'da Uzaktan/Hibrit Çalışan Kadınların Deneyimleri" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **0008-ODTUİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

[redacted]
Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

B. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Genel Tanımaya yönelik (General Information)

1. Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız? (İsminiz? Yaşınız? Öğrenim durumunuz? Mesleğiniz? Evli misiniz? Kaç yıldır evlisiniz? Kaç çocuğunuz var? Çocukların yaşları nedir? Eşinizin var ise mesleği ne? Yaşam alanınızı/evinizi paylaştığınız birileri var mı?)
   Can you introduce yourself? (Your name? Age? Education level? Occupation? Are you married? How many years have you been married? How many children do you have? What are the ages of your children? If you have a spouse, what is their occupation? Do you share your living space/home with anyone else?)
2. Kendinizi tanımlamak isteseydiniz ilk hangi rol ile tanımlardınız? Neden? (kadın, anne, eş, öğretmen, mühendis, bankacı, çalışan)
   If you were to describe yourself, which role would you use first? Why? (e.g., woman, mother, spouse, teacher, engineer, banker, employee)
3. "Hayat" ve "İş" sizin için ne anlama geliyor?
   What do "life" and "work" mean to you?
4. Toplumsal Cinsiyet rolleri deyince aklınıza ne geliyor? Sizce bu rollerin temeli nedir ve gündelik yaşama etkisi nedir?
   What comes to mind when you think of gender roles? What do you think is the basis of these roles and what is their impact on daily life?

B. Ev içi ile ilgili (Household Matters)

5. Pandemi öncesinde ev içi işlerde (temizlik, yemek yapmak, alışveriş yapmak vb.) ve çocuk/yaşlı bakımında eşiniz/partneriniz ile iş bölümünüz var mıydı? Pandemi sonrasında bu alanlarda değişiklik oldu mu? Evetse, nasıl oldu?
   Before the pandemic, was there a division of labor between you and your partner in household chores (cleaning, cooking, shopping, etc.) and caregiving for children or elderly? Has there been any change in these areas since the pandemic? If so, how?
6. Aile/Hane içi sorumluluklarınızı yerine getirebilmeniz için size yardımcı olan birileri var mı? Varsa, kimlerden destek alıyorsunuz? Destek alma durumunuz pandemi öncesi ve sonrasında değişti mi?
   Is there anyone who helps you with your family/household responsibilities? If yes, who supports you? Did your support situation change before and after the pandemic?

7. Pandemi öncesinde dışarıdan yeme-içme, temizlik, varsa çocuğunuzun eğitimi gibi alanlarda hizmet satın alıyor muydunuz? Pandemi sonrasında dışarıdan satın alınabilen birçok hizmetin kısıtlanması (restoranların kapanması, eğitim sağlık gibi alanlara ulaşımda yaşanan aksaklıklar gibi) sizin yaşamınızı nasıl etkiledi?
   Before the pandemic, did you purchase services from outside for things like food, cleaning, or, if applicable, your child's education? How did the restriction of many external services (such as restaurant closures and disruptions in accessing education and healthcare) affect your life after the pandemic?
8. Bu süreçte ev ile ilgili işlere (örneğin gıda desteği, çocuklar için aktiviteler ya da yaşlı engelli bakımı) yönelik herhangi bir kamu kurumundan destek aldınız mı? Almak ister miydiniz? Ne tür destekler almak isterdiniz? Sizce neden bu tür destekler/hizmetler sağlanmıyor?
   During this period, did you receive any support from public institutions for household-related issues (such as food aid, activities for children, or elderly/disabled care)? Would you like to receive such support? What kind of support would you like to receive? Why do you think such support/services are not provided?

C. İş yaşamı (Work Life)

9. Pandemi öncesinde nasıl bir iş yaşamınız vardı? Çalışma saatleriniz, yoğunluğunuz, izin haklarınız, çalışma ortamınız, birlikte çalıştığınız kişiler ile ilişkileriniz nasıldı? Pandemi sonrasında bu başlıklarda neler değişti?
   What was your work life like before the pandemic? How were your working hours, workload, leave rights, work environment, and relationships with colleagues? What has changed in these areas since the pandemic?
10. Çalıştığınız kurum iş-aile/özel yaşam dengesini kurmanıza yardımcı olacak şartlar sağlandı mı/ uygulamalar var mıydı/ Pandemi sonrasında bu dengenin sağlanması için, değişen koşulları da göz önünde bulundurarak bir politika geliştirildi mi? Bu dengenin sağlanması için iş yerinin ve devletin ne gibi önlemler almasını ve destekler sağlamasını isterseniz?
    Did your workplace provide conditions or practices that helped you balance work and family/personal life? After the pandemic, has a policy been developed to balance this, considering the changing conditions? What measures and support would you like the workplace and the government to take to ensure this balance?

D. İş- Aile Rolleri ve Zorlukları (Work-Family Roles and Challenges)

11. Çalışan bir kadın olmanız aile yaşamınızda/özel hayatınızı nasıl etkiliyor?

How does being a working woman affect your family life/personal life?

12. Özel hayatınız/aile yaşamınız çalışma hayatınızı nasıl etkiliyor?
    How does your personal life/family life affect your work life?

E. Hibrit Uzaktan Çalışma (Hybrid and Remote Work)

13. Pandemi öncesinde iş hayatındaki sorumluluklarınızı ve aile yükümlülüklerinizi göz önüne aldığınızda kendinize ayıracağınız zamanı nasıl buluyordunuz? Pandemi sonrasında uzaktan/hibrit çalışırken kendinize böyle bir zaman ayırabildiniz mi? Boş zamanlarınızda neler yapıyorsunuz?
    Before the pandemic, how did you find time for yourself considering your work responsibilities and family obligations? Since the pandemic, have you been able to allocate such time for yourself while working remotely/hybrid? What do you do during your free time?

14. Sizce COVID-19 ile yaygınlaşan ve norm haline gelmeye başlayan uzaktan/hibrit çalışma kadınların iş-yaşam dengesi kurmasını nasıl etkiler? Kadınların önceden birbirinden ayrı alanlarda gerçekleştirdikleri sorumlulukların tek bir yerde toplanması onların yaşamlarını nasıl etkiler?
    How do you think the widespread adoption and normalization of remote/hybrid work due to COVID-19 affects women's work-life balance? How does having responsibilities that were previously separate now concentrated in one place affect women's lives?

F. Pandemi dönemi genel toplumsal yeniden üretime dair (General Societal Reproduction During the Pandemic)

15. Pandemi öncesinde etrafınızdaki kişilerle (arkadaşlarınızla, komşularınızla) ilişkileriniz nasıldı, ne sıklıkta görüşürdünüz? Pandemi sonrasında bunda bir değişiklik oldu mu? Olduysa nasıl? Kamu kurumlarının sosyal ilişkileri geliştirmeye yönelik hizmetleri var mı, yoksa neler yapabilirler?
    Before the pandemic, what were your relationships with people around you (friends, neighbors) like, and how often did you meet? Has there been any change in this since the pandemic? If so, how? Are there services provided by public institutions to enhance social relations, or what could they do?
16. Toplumsal ilişkilerin sürdürülmesinde kadınlar daha fazla mı rol alıyor sizce?
    Do you think women play a larger role in maintaining social relationships?

C. CODE SYSTEM

Title of the theme and sub-themes	Coding Frequency
1. Perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender	
1.1. The first role	24
1.2. The meaning of life	20
1.3. The meaning of work	21
1.4. The meaning of gender	50
2. State of Paid Work	
2.1. Thoughts about paid work	56
2.1.1.1. Importance of paid work	0(moved to section 2.1.)
2.1.1.2. Meaning of paid work	0(moved to section 2.1.)
2.2. Work-hour	56
2.3. Workload	44
2.4. The effect of spatial difference	91
2.5. Institutional support	66
2.6. Policy recommendations	25
2.7. Preference for work types	39
3. Domestic labour	
3.1. Domestic-related activities	94
3.2. Support for domestic works	71
3.3. Thoughts about receiving public support for domestic works	33

4. Care labour	
4.1. Care-related activities	96
4.2.	
4.2.1. Impact of disruption of access to hospital	14
4.3. Support for care children or elderly person	36
4.4. Thoughts about receiving public support for care work	15
5. Societal reproduction labour	
5.1. Societal reproduction activities	131
5.2. Thoughts on the effects of public institutions' services on social relations	55

1 Perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender The " Perceptions of Life, Work, and Gender " code covers some information about participants' perspectives on life, work, and gender. Moreover, it includes the first role, defined personally by participants.

1.1 The first role

Individuals have various roles that they undertake in their family, workplace, and private life, such as being a child, being a mother, being a teacher, and being a wife. The first role subcode expressed by the participants also helps us understand which of these roles is more dominant in the participants' lives.

1.2 The meaning of life

The meaning of life sub-code aims to understand the way participants make sense of life.

1.3 The meaning of work

The meaning of the work sub-code aims to understand the imagination that comes to mind when participants think of work.

1.4 The meaning of gender

The meaning of gender sub-code aims to understand the meaning of the word gender of the participants in their world of meaning. This code aims to gain insight into the participants' beliefs, ideas, and presuppositions regarding gender.

2 State of Paid Work

Working hours, workload, institutional support for paid work before and during the pandemic, and the effects of spatial change during the pandemic

2.1 Thoughts about paid work

Thoughts about work include the meaning they attach to work and their ideas about the relevance of work in their lives. In the beginning, the two themes which are "the importance of paid work" and "meaning of Work" have been put separately. After checking, they have gathered at the "thoughts of work" theme.

Importance of paid work: The code which is "the importance of paid work for women" includes the effect of being working women on their lives and preferences for work types, which are working from the office, hybrid or remote.

Meaning of work: The code which is "meaning of work" means that the interviewee gives what meaning to work.

2.1.1 Importance of paid work

The code which is "the importance of paid work for women" includes the effect of being working women on their lives and preferences for work types, which are working from the office, hybrid or remote.

2.1.2 Meaning of paid work

The code which is "meaning of work" means that the interviewee gives what meaning to work.

2.2 Work-hour

It means working time in paid work

2.3 Workload

This code means the amount of paid work

2.4 The effect of spatial difference

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the effect of spatial differences on the paid work. Difficulties experienced while performing paid duties and role confusion due to being at home will be evaluated under this code.

2.5 Institutional support

Institutional support such as Internet, equipment, training, and payment.

2.6 Policy recommendations

This code includes the participants' policy recommendations on paid work in the pandemic to support set the balance between life and work.

2.7 Preference for work types

Preference for work type means that women opt for a certain work type including hybrid, remote, or from the office.

3 Domestic labour

This theme is about some work about routine housework related to cleaning, cooking, shopping, and laundry.

3.1 Domestic-related activities

Domestic-related social reproduction activities cover some work about routine housework related to cleaning, cooking, shopping, and laundry.

3.2 Support for domestic works

It encompasses whether she took any public or private support for domestic work. This has not been considered "support" if anybody in her household performs them.

3.3 Thoughts about receiving public support for domestic works

This includes the interviewees' preference for receiving public support for domestic work.

4 Care labour

Care labour theme covers childcare, elder care, and care for members of households or families

4.1 Care-related activities

Care-related social reproduction activities encompass childcare, elder care, and care for members of households or families.

4.1.1 Impact of disruption of access to hospital

This code fundamentally aims to understand interviewees' needs for institutional medical support. However, the more important goal of this code is to comprehend their coping strategies with medical troubles who they cannot achieve in hospitals.

4.2 Support for care children or elderly person

This refers to private, public or intrafamilial support for the care of children or elderly persons.

4.3 Thoughts about receiving public support for care work

This code covers the interviewees' preference for receiving public support for care work.

5 Societal reproduction labour

Societal reproduction labour describes the continuation of whole social structures, which are not only related to economic areas but also social, cultural and political areas.

5.1 societal reproduction activities

This code aims to reflect the opinions of the interviewees on whether women are more active in the realization of events such as holidays, celebrations, and meetings that are important in developing social ties. Thus, it is targeted to present the interviewees' opinions on whether women spend more effort on societal reproduction in some communities such as neighbourhoods, friendships and religious or village societies.

5.2 Thoughts on the effects of public institutions services on social relations

This code includes the interviewees' thoughts on public institutions developing services to improve social relationships.

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

2020 yılında SARS-CoV-2 virüsünün dünya çapında yayılmasının ardından 11 Mart'ta Dünya Sağlık Örgütü pandemi ilan etti ve yönetimler bulaşı engellemek için çeşitli önlemler aldı. Alınan önlemler arasında, uygun olan sektörlerde uzaktan çalışma kararı da yer almaktaydı. Bu uygulamadan sonra dünya genelinde pandemi öncesinde %3 olan uzaktan çalışma oranı, 2020'nin ikinci çeyreğinde %17,4'e yükseldi (ILO, 2021a; ILO, 2021b). Uzaktan çalışmaya bu ani geçiş sadece geleneksel çalışma ortamlarını ve uygulamalarını yeniden şekillendirmekle kalmadı, aynı zamanda özellikle iş-yaşam dengesi bağlamında yeni süreçleri de beraberinde getirdi. Mümkün olan sektörlerde uzaktan çalışma kararının yanı sıra, bulaşın engellenmesi için birçok ülkede okulların kapatılması ve uzaktan eğitim verilmesi kararı alındı. Ayrıca sosyalleşme sebebiyle bulaşın olmaması için kafe, restoran gibi yerler bir süreliğine kapatıldı.

Bu durum insanların, ücretli ve ücretsiz emeklerini aynı yerde ve zamanda gerçekleştirmesine yol açtı. Bu süreçteki deneyimler kişilerin ücretli işleri ile aile içerisindeki rolleri arasında karmaşıklığa yol açması ve iş-yaşam çatışması yönünden tartışıldı (UNDP, 2020; Petts, Carlson, & Pepin, 2021). Bu dönemde özellikle ev içerisindeki temizlik, yemek yapmak, bakım vermek gibi işler arttı. Bu sorunun orantısız bir şekilde kadınları etkilediği, bunun da çoğunlukla ev işlerindeki daha fazla sorumlulukları nedeniyle olduğu belirlenmiştir (Mascherini ve Bisello, 2020). Bu tezde, COVID-19 döneminde işteki ve ailedeki rollerin bulanıklaşması olarak tarif edilen durum, Toplumsal Yeniden Üretim Teorisinin sınır mücadeleleri kavramsallaştırması (Fraser, 2016; 2022) yoluyla kişilerin üretim ve yeniden üretim alanlarındaki emek harcama durumları incelenmiştir.

Temel olarak COVID-19 döneminde emek ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki ilişkiye odaklanan bu tez, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini emek merceğinden değerlendiren iki feminist ekolün -İkili (ve üçlü) Sistem Feministleri ve Toplumsal Yeniden Üretim

Feministleri- argümanlarını sunarak başlamaktadır. 2. Bölümde öncelikle İkili (ve Üçlü) Sistem Feministlerinin (Delphy, 1988; Hartmann, 1979; Walby, 1991; Crenshaw, 1989) görüşleri sunulmuştur. Ardından Toplumsal Yeniden Üretim Feministlerinin (Vogel, 2013; Bhattacharya, 2017; Fraser, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2022; Ferguson, 2016; Arruzza, 2016; Mezzadri, 2021), İkili ve Üçlü Sistem Feministlerine eleştirileri ifade edilmiştir. İkili- Üçlü Sistem Feministleri kapitalizmin ve ataerkinin (ve ırk, etnisite, cinsel yönelim gibi eşitsizliğe sebep olan diğer olguların) aynı anda ve ancak ayrı ayrı var olduklarını düşünürken, TYÜF eşitsizliğe sebep olan bu olguların aynı anda var olduklarını ve kapitalizm içerisinde bütün halinde olduklarını düşünmektedirler. Bu bağlamda, TYÜT, İkili ve Üçlü Sistem ekolünün argümanlarını kadınların ezilmesinin parçalı bir şekilde ele alınmasına ve kapitalizm ve ataerkilliğin iç içe olmasının göz ardı edilmesini eleştirmektedir (Aruzza, 2016).

Daha sonra Toplumsal Yeniden Üretim Teorisinin perspektifinin anlaşılabilmesi için TYÜT'nin temel görüşleri ve kavramsallaştırmaları açıklanmıştır. Bunlar arasında sistem bir bütün halinde olması, sınır mücadeleleri, toplumsal yeniden üretim kavramsallaştırması ve bakım krizi yer almaktadır. TYÜT'nin "bütün sistem" anlayışına göre kapitalizmin var olması, Fraser'ın (2014, p.11) ön ve arka plan koşullar olarak adlandırdığı koşullara bağlıdır. Fraser (2014) kapitalizmin "ekonomik" ön plan özelliklerinin "ekonomik olmayan" arka plan koşullarına bağlı olduğunu, bunların sırasıyla toplumsal yeniden üretim, Dünya'nın ekolojisi ve siyasi güç olduğunu belirtir. Bu kavramsallaştırmaya göre, arka plan koşullarının olmasını sağlayan alanlar doğrudan kapitalist üretim ilişkilerinin bir parçası değildir; eş deyişle bu alanlarda meta üretimi söz konusu değildir. Ancak meta üretiminin gerçekleşmesini sağlayacak koşulların -örneğin metayı üretecek işçinin veya üretim yapılacak hammaddenin olabilmesi- sağlanması "ekonomi dışı ama kapitalizm içi" olan bu alanlara bağlıdır.

Yeniden üretim alanı da kapitalizmin arka plan koşullarını oluşturan, ekonomi dışı ama kapitalizm içi olan bu üç alandan biridir. TYÜT'e göre kapitalizmin sınırsız birikim yapmaya yönelmesi ve bununla ilişkili olarak sürekli artı-değer üretme çabası içerisinde olmasından dolayı kapitalizmin arka plan koşulları ile ön plan koşulları arasında sınır mücadeleleri (boundary struggle) söz konusudur. TYÜT'e

göre, kapitalizmin bu yapısal durumundan dolayı ortaya çıkan sınır mücadeleleri, üretim ve yeniden üretim, ekonomi ve siyaset, insan ve insan olmayan doğa arasında zuhur eder.

Bhattacharya (2020) bu kavramsallaştırmayı anlaşılır kılmak için "hayat-yapan" ve "şey (meta) yapan" aktiviteler ayrımı yapmaktadır. Buna göre "şey yapan" (thing-making) aktiviteleri gerçekleştirecek emek gücünün ortaya çıkması için o işçinin temel ihtiyaçlarının karşılanması gerekmektedir. Bu bakımdan, TYÜT, toplumsal yeniden üretim aktivitelerine kapitalizmin var olabilmesi için, yani meta ve artı değer üretimi yapabilmesi ve sınırsız birikimin olabilmesi için kritik bir önem atfetmektedir. Toplumsal yeniden üretim, "türlerin biyolojik yeniden üretimi", "iş gücünün yeniden üretimi" ve "sağlık ve bakım ihtiyaçlarının yeniden üretimi" olmak üzere üç temel bileşeni içerir ve daha sonra bu bileşenler, bir bütün olan sistemin yeniden üretimi için gereklilikleri destekler (Arruzza, 2016, s. 10). Bir başka deyişle, Brenner ve Laslett'in kavramsallaştırmasını takip ederek (1989), TYÜT'nin toplumsal yeniden üretim kavramsallaştırması içerisinde kurumlar ve toplumsal bağlar aracılığıyla sistemin bir bütün olarak yenilenmesi (societal reproduction) de kapsanmaktadır.

"Toplumsal yeniden üretimin" bu şekilde kavramsallaştırılması sosyalleşme ve öznelleşme gibi süreçlerin de toplumsal yeniden üretim çerçevesine dahil edilmesine olanak tanımaktadır. TYÜFler tarafından önerilen toplumsal yeniden üretim anlayışı ayrıca "toplumsal bağları üreten ve sürdüren bakım, bakım verme ve etkileşim biçimlerini" de kapsar (Fraser & Jaeggi, 2018). Ayrıca, TYÜF'nin toplumsal yeniden üretimin toplumsal bağlamına dikkat çekerek kavramsallaştırmasındaki ikinci önemli nokta, toplumsal yeniden üretimin yalnızca bireylerle sınırlı olmadığı, aynı zamanda hastaneler ve okullar gibi kurumları da içerdiği gerçeğine vurgu yapmasıdır. TYÜT'e göre toplumsal yeniden üretim, hane halkı, okul ve hastane gibi ekonomi dışı ancak kapitalizm içi (Fraser, 2016) olan ve metaların üretildiği işyerlerinin dışında kalan yerler içindeki ilişkileri de kapsamaktadır (Bhattacharya, 2017b).

Toplumsal yeniden üretim, kapitalizm için hayati önem taşırken; kapitalist üretimin temel özelliklerinden biri sınırsız birikimdir. Bu yön, toplumsal yeniden üretimin

istikrarsız olmasına neden olur. Bu nedenle TYÜT, kapitalizmin, onu oluşturan parçalar ile arasında çelişkilere sahip olduğunu ileri sürer. TYÜT'e göre, ekonomik sistem ile ekonomik olmayan, fakat kapitalizm içi olan arka plan koşulları arasında çelişkiler vardır. Yani, doğa ile toplum, üretim ile toplumsal yeniden üretim, siyaset ile ekonomi ile sömürü ile mülksüzleştirme arasında içsel çatışmalar vardır. Dolayısıyla, bu çelişkileri ortaya çıkaran toplumda bu arka plan ve ön plan koşul alanları arasında sınır mücadeleleri ortaya çıkar (Fraser, 2022, s. 24).

TYÜ Feministlerine göre, kapitalizmin toplumsal yeniden üretime ilişkin yaklaşımı çelişkilidir. Örneğin, bir kadının ücretli çalışma saatleri, çocuğuna bakmak için daha az zaman harcamasına neden olabilir. Ücretli istihdam ve yeniden üretim işinin bu ikili yükü, sermayeyi toplumsal yeniden üretim alanından tehdit eder (Rao, 2021, s. 42). "Bir yandan, sistem bu faaliyet olmadan işleyemez; diğer yandan, ikincisinin maliyetlerini reddeder ve ona çok az değer verir veya hiç ekonomik değer vermez" (Arruzza, Bhattacharya ve Fraser, 2019, s. 73). Bu anlayışa göre, bu kriz kapitalizmde tesadüfi değildir; aksine, kapitalizmin tüm dönemleri bu krize maruz kalma eğilimindedir.

TYÜF'ler, toplumsal yeniden üretim faaliyetlerini, çocuk yetiştirmek ve haneye bakmak, toplumu sürdürmek ve arkadaşlıkları beslemek gibi toplum için vazgeçilmez faaliyetler olarak görürler (Fraser, 2022, s. 53). Ancak, özellikle çift gelirli aile normlarının neoliberal çağında, bireylerin zamanı ve emeği şirketler için artı değer üretmek üzere ele geçirilir. Bakım işlerinin kapitalist sisteme ücretli çalışanlar elde etmesi sağladığı düşünüldüğünde, bölünmüş zaman ve emekle ilgili bu konu, bakım krizinin sistemin kendini yeniden üretme yeteneğinin krizi olduğunu göstermektedir (Bhattacharya, 2017a, s. 12). Bu, günümüz kapitalizminin rejim biçiminde çok daha fazladır. Günümüzde, neoliberalizm bireysel kapasitelerin azalmasına neden olmakta ve toplumsal bağların sürdürülmesini zorlaştırmaktadır (Arruzza, Bhattacharya ve Fraser, 2019, s. 73). Öte yandan neoliberal politikalar sebebiyle toplumsal yeniden üretim alanlarına yönelik ihtiyaçların karşılanması için kamusal hizmetlerden tasarruf edilmektedir. Sonuç olarak, neoliberal dönemin normu, mevcut toplumsal yeniden üretim krizinin en önemli nedenidir (Arruzza, Bhattacharya ve Fraser, 2019, s. 74). Neoliberal dönem içerisinde COVID-19

döneminde dünya çapında yaşanan olağanüstü durumlar kapitalizmin yapısal bakım krizinin gün yüzüne çıkmasına vesile olmuştur.

COVID-19 döneminde üretim ve yeniden üretim alanları arasında yaşanan sınır mücadelelerine odaklanan bu tezde, üç alanda yaşanan değişimler değerlendirilmiştir: ücretsiz emek, uzaktan çalışma ve iş-yaşam dengesi (ya da onun yerine kullanılmak üzere tezde ayrıntılı olarak sebeplerin açıklandığı üzere "bakım krizi"). COVID-19 döneminde hane halkı üyelerinin evde kalmak zorunda olması nedeniyle temizlik, yemek hazırlama ve çamaşır yıkama gibi rutin ev işleri pandemi sırasında giderek daha fazla devam etti. Özellikle kapanmalar sırasında, bu işlere harcanan zaman hem erkekler hem de kadınlar için arttı. Bununla birlikte, pandemi sırasında kadınların ev işlerine harcadığı zaman da erkeklerden daha fazlaydı (Croda ve Grossbard, 2021). 16 ülke ve bölgeyi kapsayan kapsamlı bir araştırmaya göre, erkeklerin %31'i temizlik ve ev işlerine daha fazla zaman harcadığını belirtirken, kadınların %53'ü aynı şeyi söylüyor (UN Women Avrupa ve Orta Asya Bölge Ofisi, 2020a).

COVID-19 pandemisi sırasında, kadınların genel iş yükü önemli ölçüde artmıştır. Pandemi boyunca işyerinde kesintisiz kalan kadınlar, erkek partnerlerine ve evden çalışabilen kadınlara kıyasla daha fazla toplam saat (toplam 10,09 saat) çalışmıştır (İlkkaracan & Memiş, 2021). İkinci en yüksek toplam çalışma saati, pandemi sırasında toplam 8,65 saatle uzaktan çalışan kadınlar tarafından kaydedildi (İlkkaracan & Memiş, 2021). Türkiye'de pandemi sırasında ev işlerine dört saat veya daha fazla zaman harcadığını bildiren kadınların oranı, pandemi öncesi döneme kıyasla %25,9 oranında artmıştır (Eroğlu & Gençay, 2020, s. 66).

COVID-19 salgını, uzaktan çalışmanın artılarını ve eksilerini değerlendirmek için önemli bir zemin sağlamıştır. Evden çalışma biçimi COVID-19 pandemisi döneminde norm haline gelmiştir. Bu dönemde dünya nüfusunun çoğunluğu ekonomik üretimi evlerinde gerçekleştirirken, emek-gücü üretimine yönelik yeniden üretim faaliyetlerini de yine aynı hanenin sınırları içerisinde gerçekleştirmiştir. Bu dönemde, bir OECD raporuna göre (2021), yöneticiler, avukatlar, BT çalışanları uzaktan çalışmaya kolayca adapte olmuştur. Aynı rapor, tüm sektörler için geçerli

olmamakla birlikte, kadınların erkeklerden daha fazla uzaktan çalışmaya uygun mesleklere sahip olma eğiliminde olduğunu da ortaya koymaktadır.

Uzaktan çalışmanın avantajları arasında, çalışanların işe gidip gelme süresinin ve masraflarının azalması, daha az stres ve iş-aile çatışmasının azalması gibi faydalar sunma olasılığı yer almaktadır (Orr ve Savage, 2021; Gajendran ve Harrison, 2007; Eurofound;the International Labour Office, 2017, p. 33). Bu avantajların aksine, uzaktan çalışmanın, izolasyon (Molino, 2020), daha az sosyal etkileşim (Kelly, 2020) gibi dezavantajları bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca uzaktan çalışma sırasında meslektaşlarla iletişimin kesintiye uğraması ve ağ kurma fırsatlarının daralması, çalışanların kariyer gelişimini engelleyebilir (Simenenko & Lentjushenkova, 2022) ve ihtiyaç halinde teknik destekten ofis ortamındaki kadar kolay yararlanamamak da çalışanın performansını olumsuz etkileyebilir (Bailey & Kurland, 1999). Son olarak uzaktan çalışma, ücretli çalışma saatlerinin belirsizleşmesine, iş yoğunluğunun artmasına ve iş-aile çatışmasına ve iş ve aile arasında "rol bulanıklığına" yol açabilir (Eurofound; the International Labour Office, 2017, s. 21; Deloitte, 2011, s. 40). Bu rol bulanıklığı, elbette, bireysel bağlamın ötesinde, düzenleyici kurumsal faktörlerden etkilenir (Piszczek & Berg, 2014, s. 18).

COVID-19 salgını sırasında evden çalışan ebeveynler üzerinde yapılan araştırmalar, pandemi sırasında artan ev içi iş yüküyle birlikte (Dattani, 2020), annelerin ücretli işleri ile ücretsiz işlerinin aynı yerde ve aynı zamanda kesişmesi nedeniyle daha fazla sorun yaşadıklarını göstermiştir (Cummings, 2020; Anderson & Kelliher, 2020). Uzaktan çalışma, COVID-19 pandemisi nedeniyle zorunlu hale gelmeden önce doğum izni, ebeveyn izni ve çocuk bakımı için iş-yaşam dengesi kurma stratejisi olarak değerlendirilmişti. Zorunlu hale geldikten sonra, okulların kapanması ve dış kaynaklı hizmetlerin satın alınamaması nedeniyle böyle bir işlevi sağlayıp sağlamayacağı şüphelidir (OECD, 2021a; Jessen, Spiess, Waights, & Wrohlich, 2021, s. 14). Bu durum sebebiyle, hükümetlerin politikalarını yeniden gözden geçirmeleri ve kadınların çocuk bakımı yükünden kurtulabilmeleri için kamusal çocuk bakımı veya mali destek sağlanması gerektiği belirtilmektedir (OECD, 2021a, s. 56).

Türkiye'de özel sektördeki bazı kurumlar, 15 Mart 2020 tarihi itibariyle çalışanlarını uzaktan çalışmaya yönlendirmiştir. Kamu kurumlarında çalışanlar için esnek çalışma

22 Mart 2020 tarihinde başlamış ve 1 Haziran 2020 tarihine kadar devam etmiştir (Akca & Tepe Küçükoğlu, 2020). UN Women'ın Türkiye'de 19-25 Nisan 2020 tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirdiği araştırmada, evden çalıştığını belirten kadınların oranı erkeklerden daha yüksek olup sırasıyla %18 ve %14'tür (Kalaylıoğlu, 2020a). Dünya genelinde ev işlerinde çalışan ve bakım sağlayan kadın sayısı erkeklerin üç katı iken, Türkiye'de bu rakam yaklaşık beş kat daha fazladır (Birleşmiş Milletler, 2020).

İş-yaşam dengesine ilişkin tartışmalarda, farklı yönleri vurgulayan tanımlar geliştirilmiştir. Örneğin, Guest (2001, s.263) bunu "hem evde hem de işte taahhütleri yerine getirmek için yeterli zaman" olarak tanımlar. Benzer bir bağlamda, Clark (2000, s. 751) da iş-aile dengesini "işte ve evde memnuniyet ve iyi işleyiş, minimum rol çatışması" olarak tanımlamaktadır. Fark edilebileceği gibi, bu tanımlar iş, aile hayatı ve kişisel hayatın birbiriyle ilişkili ancak ayrı alanlarda var olduğu gerçeğini içerir. TYÜT'nin bakım krizi kavramsallaştırması ise birbirinden ayrı alanlar olarak görülen iş ve ailenin bütünsel bir bakış açısı ile değerlendirilmesi gerektiğini öne sürmektedir.

TYÜT perspektifinden bakıldığında, toplumsal yeniden üretim kapitalist sistem için hayati öneme sahiptir. Bhattacharya (2020) toplumsal yeniden üretimle ilgili faaliyetleri ve kurumları "yaşam yaratma faaliyetleri" olarak adlandırır. Bu faaliyetler ve kurumlar aracılığıyla "yaşam yaratma, yaşamı sürdürme ve nesiller boyunca yaşamı değiştirme" mümkün olmaktadır. Kapitalist sistem, COVID-19 salgını sırasında sağlık, bakım gibi alanlardaki belirli mesleki kategorileri "temel/vazgeçilmez" olarak belirleyerek, yaşamın devamını garanti eden ve onu yaratan bu tür emek biçimlerinin gerçekten gerekli olduğunu kanıtlamıştır. Bhattacharya'nın (2020) belirttiği gibi, COVID-19 salgını iki noktayı belirginleştirmiştir. Birincisi, insanlar gerçek ihtiyaçlarının yaşam yaratma ile ilgili işlere dayandığını ve meta üretmeye dayanmadığını fark etmişlerdir. İkincisi, kapitalizmin göründüğü kadar güçlü olmadığı ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu bağlamda, salgın nedeniyle önem kazanan şey, sermaye yaratan toplumsal yeniden üretimden ziyade bireylerin hayatta olması ve yaşamlarını sürdürmesidir.

Pandemiden önce, hemşirelik, temizlik ve öğretmenlik gibi hayat yaratan işler, sağlık krizi nedeniyle yeterince değer görmüyordu, sermaye "sağlık hizmeti, sosyal bakım vb. gibi hayat ve hayat yaratan işlere" önem vermek zorundaydı (The Marxist Feminist Collective, 2020)- en azından sözel olarak. Bu önemlidir, ancak bu önemin yalnızca ücretli işler için geçerli olduğu gözden kaçırılmamalıdır. Evlerdeki ücretsiz emek, ücretli ve ücretsiz emek arasındaki mekansal ve zamansal ayrımın bulanıklaşması sayesinde daha görünür hale gelmiştir. Yine de bazı ücretli işlerden farklı olarak, hane içerisindeki yeniden üretim emek biçimleri "temel/vazgeçilmez" olarak etiketlenmemiştir (Murtola & Vallelly, 2023, s. 8-9). COVID-19 döneminde, kapitalist sistemde toplumsal yeniden üretim çalışmalarının önemi hakkında bazı ilerlemeler olsa da, meta-üretimi önceliklendirmenin ne olduğu konusunun değerlendirilmesi devam etmiştir.

Bir başka deyişle COVID-19 salgınının "toplumsal yeniden üretim veya yaşam kurma faaliyeti ile kapitalist üretim içindeki çılgınca kar peşinde koşma arasındaki çelişkiyi" (Arruzza, 2020) gün yüzüne çıkardığı açıktır. Kriz, yeniden üretim alanının kapitalizmin meta üretim alanı için ne kadar önemli olduğunu ortaya koyarken, aynı zamanda bunlar arasındaki temel çelişkiyi de ortaya koymaktadır. Eş deyişle, toplumsal yeniden üretimin gerekliliklerinin sürekliliği ancak ücretli işin askıya alınması, sermaye birikiminin bu gerekliliklerinin çelişkili olduğunu göstermiştir (Cohen & Rodgers, 2021). COVID-19, kapitalizm ile toplumsal yeniden üretim arasındaki bu temel çelişkiyi ortaya koyarak bir sağlık krizinden çok daha fazlasına ışık tutmuştur. Bu bağlamda Krasny (2020), toplumsal üretim faaliyetlerinin önemini vurgulayan ve iyileşme ve onarıma odaklanan "bakım feminizmine" doğru ilerlemenin gerekliliğine işaret etmektedir.

Bunun yanı sıra, COVID-19 salgını sayesinde güçlü kapitalist devletlerin ne kadar kırılgan yapılara sahip olduğuna tanık olundu (Bhattacharya, 2020). Toplumun kendini yeniden üretemediği COVID-19 salgını gibi kriz zamanlarında ülkelerin gayri safi yurtiçi hasıla oranlarının düşmesiyle ilgili tartışmalar aslında bu iyi bilinen gerçeğe dair bir ipucu sağlamaktadır (Ahmad, Haroon, Baig ve Hui, 2020; Maliszewska, Mattoo ve Van Der Mensbrugghe, 2020; UNCTAD, 2020). Salzinger (2021) tarafından öne sürülen analoji bu karşıtlığı çok açık bir şekilde ifade

etmektedir: “Kapitalist sömürü bir parazittir; toplumsal yeniden üretim onun ev sahibidir ve şu anda [COVID-19 dönemi] ev sahibi gelişmiyor".

Hükümetlerin kamusal sosyal harcamaları azaltan neoliberal politikalarıyla (Lombardozzi, 2020, s. 318) “bakım sorumluluklarının hane halkına geri aktarılması veya piyasada metalaştırılmış hizmetler biçiminde” olması, COVID-19 döneminde görüldüğü gibi bireysel ve toplumsal anlamda sorunlara sebep olmuştur. Toplumsal eşitsizliklerin derinleşmesine neden olan bu politikalar aynı zamanda “savunmasız bir toplum” yaratmıştır (Barneveld vd., 2020, s. 136). Pandemi nedeniyle ortaya çıkan bu olguya karşı önlem almak için IMF raporları, yoksullara tahsis edilecek ödenekler ile sosyal koruma sağlanmasından bile bahsetmektedir (Yalman, 2021).

Neoliberalizmle birlikte toplumsal yeniden üretim faaliyetleri metalaştırılırken, bu faaliyetler de önemsizleştirilmiş ve hanelerdeki kadınlar tarafından yüklenilmiştir (Bakker, 2007, s. 545). Pandemi döneminin olağanüstü koşullarından dolayı hem erkekler hem de kadınlar ücretsiz işe daha önce olduğundan daha fazla zaman harcamışlardır (UNDP, 2020; Petts, Carlson, & Pepin, 2021). Türkiye'de erkekler ve kadınların ücretsiz işe harcadıkları zaman arasındaki fark 2,58 saatten 3,36 saate çıkmıştır (İlkkaracan & Memiş,2021, s. 239). Devletlerin toplumsal yeniden üretim alanında ortaya çıkan ihtiyaçları karşılayacak önlemleri almamasının yanı sıra, pandemi döneminde yaşanan sorunların sistemsel boyutunu dikkate almadan bireysel çözümler sunmak, çocuk bakımı, ev işleri, yaşlı/hasta bakımı gibi görevleri yerine getirmede kadınlara ezici bir sorumluluk yüklemektedir (Arruzza, 2020).

Sonuç olarak, hükümetlerin COVID-19 salgını sırasında süreci yönetmek için geliştirdikleri stratejilere baktığımızda, TYÜF'lerin vurguladığı toplumsal yeniden üretim ve ekonomik alandaki üretim arasındaki temel yapısal çelişkinin ortaya çıktığı görülüyor. Bu dönemde, özellikle salgının erken aşamalarında (Şubat-Haziran 2020) neredeyse tüm dünyada geçerli olan evde kalma politikaları, “haneleri hükümetin pandemiye verdiği yanıtın merkezine yerleştirdi; bu, neoliberal kapitalizm boyunca gözlemlenen toplumsal üretim uzun vadeli özelleştirilmesine yönelik bir çabanın sonucudur” (Stevano, Mezzadri, Lombardozzi ve Bargawi, 2021, s. 277). Böyle bir bakım krizinde en temel çözüm önerisinin hanelere ve hanelerde de çoğunlukla

kadınlara yüklendiği düşünüldüğünde, pandemi sırasında dünya genelinde kadınların ödenmeyen emeği önemli ölçüde arttığı ileri sürülebilir ve bu araştırmalarla da ortaya konmaktadır (İlkkaracan & Memiş,2021; UN Women Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia, 2020a).

Toplumsal yeniden üretim, ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel bağlamda da sistemin sürdürülmesi manasına gelmektedir. Bir başka deyişle, kapitalist sistemi bütün içerisinde görmek toplumsal yeniden üretim alanlarını sistemin ekonomik, kültürel, sosyal alanları ile birlikte düşünülmesini gerektirmektedir. COVID-19 salgını sırasında güçlü ekonomilere sahip ülkelerin de bu krizi yaşıyor olması, kapitalizmin temel ilkelerinin sorunun birincil nedeni olduğunu ve bunun tesadüfi olmadığını göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, toplumsal yeniden üretim sorunu iş-yaşam dengesini aşmaktadır ve Fraser'ın (2022) belirttiği gibi toplumsal yeniden üretim mücadeleleri bundan çok daha fazlasını kapsamaktadır:

> "... konut, sağlık hizmeti, gıda güvenliği, koşulsuz temel gelir ve geçinme ücreti için toplumsal hareketler; göçmenlerin, ev işçilerinin ve kamu çalışanlarının hakları için mücadeleler; kâr amacı güden huzurevlerinde, hastanelerde ve çocuk bakım merkezlerinde hizmet sektörü çalışanlarının sendikalaşması için kampanyalar; ve kreş ve yaşlı bakımı gibi kamu hizmetleri, daha kısa çalışma haftası ve cömert ücretli doğum ve ebeveyn izni için mücadele ediyor" (Fraser, 2022, s. 71).

Neoliberal politikalar çalışanların ücretlerini düşürürken, çalışma saatlerinin artmasına yol açmıştır. Ayrıca bu politikalar sebebiyle toplumsal yeniden üretim faaliyetlerine yönelik kamu harcamalarını önemli ölçüde azalmıştır. Bunun sonucunda bakım yükünü ailelere ve topluluklara yüklenmiştir. Neoliberal dönemde toplumsal yeniden üretim sağlayan hizmetler metalaştırılmış ve bu hizmetler özelleştirilmiş olarak sunulmuştur. Kapitalizmin sınırsız birikim gibi varoluşsal koşulları toplumsal yeniden üretim faaliyetlerinin istikrarsızlaşmasına ve "bakım krizinin" yapısal bir durum olarak ortaya çıkmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu çerçevede COVID-19 döneminde bakım ihtiyacı "ailelere, topluluklara, özellikle kadınlara" yüklenmiştir (Fraser, 2022, s. 162). Sonuç olarak, COVID-19 döneminde alınan olağanüstü koşullar ve önlemler, bu krizin ortaya çıktığı önemli bir tarihsel süreç olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Kapitalizmin yapısal olan bu krizini COVID-19 döneminde uzaktan veya hibrit çalışan kadınların ücretli ve ücretsiz emekleri arasındaki sınır mücadeleleri üzerinden

somutlama amacında olan bu tezde, Ankara'da ikamet eden 18 kadınla yarı yapılandırılmış sorular üzerinden görüşmeler gerçekleştirilerek nitel araştırma yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Araştırma örneklemi OECD'nin verilerinde (2021) uzaktan çalışmanın en yaygın olduğu üç sektör olarak belirtilen Bilgi ve İletişim, Bankacılık/Finans ve Eğitim alanlarında çalışanlardan seçilmiştir. COVID-19'un devam ettiği süreç olan Ocak 2022'de pilot çalışma yapıldıktan sonra veriler toplanmıştır. Bir görüşme haricindeki tüm görüşmeler online olarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Soruların çerçevesi genel olarak üç amaç gözetilerek hazırlanmıştır. Bu amaçlar görüşülen kişilerin hayat, iş ve toplumsal cinsiyete dair anlam dünyalarını anlamak; onların ücretli işlerinin ve toplumsal yeniden üretim emeklerinin niteliklerini kavramaktır.

MAXQDA programı ile görüşmeler kodlanmış ve bulguların analizi beş tema altında sunulmuştur. Birinci tema "hayat, iş ve toplumsal cinsiyet hakkındaki algılarıdır". Bu temanın beş alt teması bulunmaktadır: ilk rol, hayatın anlamı, işin anlamı ve toplumsal cinsiyetin anlamıdır. Soyut ve kişiye özgü olabilecek cevaplar içerisinde bazı ortak örüntüler fark edilmiştir. Görüşülen kişilere ilk rolleri sorulduğunda, akıllarına genellikle aile içindeki rolleri gelirken, hayat deyince zorluk ve telaş gibi kelimeler ile yanıt verdikleri fark edilmiştir. Çalışmayı ihtiyaçları karşılamak için bir zorunluluk olarak ve toplumsal cinsiyeti de kadınları dezavantajlı duruma düşüren erkekler ve kadınlar arasındaki bir eşitsizlik olarak tanımladılar. Çalışma kelimesinin sadece ücretli işlere denk düşen kelimelerle karşılık bulması dikkat çekicidir.

İkinci tema olan ücretli işin durumu altında yedi alt tema oluşturulmuştur, bunlar: ücretli çalışma hakkında düşünceler çalışma saati, iş yükü, mekânsal farklılığın etkisi; kurumsal destek, politika önerileri ve çalışma türlerine yönelik tercihtir. Görüşülen kişilerin ücretli işi finansal özgürlük olarak tanımlamaları dikkat çekiciydi. Bu, Fraser'ı kapitalist toplumda paranın temel güç kaynağı olduğu görüşü ile uyumlu görülmektedir. Ayrıca, kadınlar bakım işlerini yerine getirebilmek için ücretli işlerini bir şekilde uyarlamak zorunda kaldıklarını ifade etmektedirler. Bu durumda görüşülen kişilerin yaşamlarında bir şekilde ücretli ve ücretsiz emek arasında sınır mücadelelerini deneyimlediklerini göstermektedir. Bu tema altında ortaya çıkan bir diğer çarpıcı sonuç ise COVID-19 döneminde bankacılık sektöründe

çalışanların iş yükünde bir artış olmamasıdır. COVID-19'da alınan önlemler dolayısıyla uzaktan çalışmak ve çalışma mekanları değişmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Mekânsal değişimin en büyük etkisinin ücretli ve ücretsiz iş arasındaki sınır mücadelesi olduğu; özellikle çocuklu kadınlar, rol karmaşası yaşadıklarını ve işlerinin iç içe geçtiğini dile getirmeleri dikkat çekicidir. Çalıştıkları kurumlardan aldıkları temel destek ekipman desteği olurken, çalışma biçimi olarak hibrit çalışmayı tercih etmeleri de bir diğer dikkat çekici konuydu.

Üçüncü tema TYÜT'nin toplumsal yeniden üretim aktiviteleri içerisinde kabul ettiği ev içi emektir. Görüşülen yedi kişi ev işlerinden doğrudan sorumlu olduklarını belirtirken, evli olanlardan bir kişi hariç, geri kalanı eşlerinin de ev işlerine COVID-19 döneminde daha fazla zaman harcadığını belirtti. Görüşülen bekar kişiler ev işlerinden birincil olarak sorumlu olmadıkları ve ev işlerinin bu evlerde anneleri tarafından yapıldığı yönünde bir örüntü ortaya çıktı. Görüşülen evli kişiler ev işleri için dışarıdan hizmet satın aldıklarını bildirdiler. Bu, neoliberal dönemin aile normu olan çift gelirli aile kavramsallaştırmasının bir örneği olarak düşünülebilir. Son olarak, görüşülen kişiler genel olarak ev işleri için kamu desteği almaya istekli değillerdi. Bu konuda başlıca endişeleri hijyen standartlarının karşılanmaması, evde mahremiyetin ihlal edilmesi ve devlete güven sorunları yaşamalarıydı.

Dördüncü tema olan bakım emeğindeki artışın temel nedeni çocuk bakımıydı. Bu dönemde hastaneye ulaşımın zorluğundan dolayı kadınların bakım emeğinin artabileceğinden şüphe edilerek buna dair sorular sorulmuş ve ancak bu dönemde hastaneye ulaşamamanın kadınların bakım emeğinde anlamlı bir değişikliğe sebep olmadığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Görüşülen kişilerden hastaneye ulaşamayanlar özel hastanelerden veya kliniklerden hizmet satın aldıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bu temada bir diğer alt tema olan çocuk bakımı veya yaşlı bakımı konularında herhangi bir destek almadıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Bu durum ailelerin COVID-19 döneminde devlete karşı tek alternatif haline geldiğini çalışmanın örneklemi açısından da doğrulamaktadır. Bakım emeği için kamu desteği alma konusunda görüşülen kişilerin fikirleri değişlik göstermektedir. Genel olarak "evet destek olmalı" demekle beraber bu yanıtlar kendi içinde farklılık göstermektedir: Çocuklara destek olunmalı, yaşlılara destek olunmalı ve sadece ihtiyaç sahiplerine destek olmalı diye

ayrışmaktadırlar. Bunların dışında ise görüşülen kişilerden, böyle bir bakım desteğinin iyi olacağını ama mümkün olmayacağını düşünenler olmuştur.

Son olarak beşinci tema toplumsal yeniden üretim emeğinin toplumsal ilişkiler/sosyal bağlar bölümü ile ilgilidir. Bu bölümde görüşülen kişilerin, kadınların toplumsal ilişkiler kurma ve yürütme konusunda erkeklere göre daha fazla emek harcama konusundaki görüşleri ele alınmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra kamu kurumu hizmetlerinin toplumsal ilişkilere etkisine ilişkin görüşleri sorgulanmıştır. Görüşülen 15 kişi kadınların toplumsal ilişkilerde daha fazla rol oynadığını düşünmekte ve bunu şu şekillerde gerekçelendirmektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri gereği misafir ağırlamanın daha çok kadınların işi olmasından dolayı bazı katılımcılar kadınların toplumsal ilişkilerde daha aktif olduğunu düşünmektedirler. Görüşülen bazı kişiler kadınların daha duygusal olduğu için bazıları ise kadınların daha detaycı ve sorun çözmeye daha odaklı olduğu için sosyal bağların kurulmasında ve yürütülmesinde daha etkin olduğu kanısındalardır. Kimisi de kadınların daha gelişmiş bir sosyal zekaya sahip olduğunu söylüyor. Ayrıca kamu kurumlarının sunduğu hizmetlerin toplumsal ilişkilere etkisi olup olmayacağını sorulduğundaysa görüşülen 17 kişi etkisi olacağını düşündüğünü ifade etmiştir. Gerekçe olarak dört başlıkta ele alınabilecek şu nedenleri ileri sürmüşlerdir: Birincisi, bu hizmetler insanların psikolojik olarak daha iyi olmasını sağlayarak toplumsal ilişkileri etkileyebilmesidir. İkincisi, bu hizmetler aile hayatına daha olumlu etkileri olur ve toplumsal ilişkiler gelişebilir. Üçüncüsü, bu hizmetler toplumsal ilişkilerin gelişmesine olanak sağlayacak zemin yaratabilir. Dördüncüsü, kamu hizmetleri sayesinde kadınlar kendilerine zaman ayırabilir ve böylece toplumsal ilişkiler geliştirebilme imkânı bulabilmeleridir.

Bu çalışmanın özgünlüğünün ve literatüre katkısının şu şekilde olduğunu düşünülmektedir. Öncelikle bireysel deneyimlerle küresel bir olgu arasında bağ kurulmaktadır. Ayrıca bu çalışmanın TYÜT perspektifinden nitel olarak yürütülmesinin literatüre önemli bir katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyorum. Verilerin COVID-19 döneminde toplanması ve farklı sektörlerden ve farklı medeni durumlardan kadınlarla görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmesinin toplumsal cinsiyet ve emek ilişkisine dair literatüre katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyorum. Bunlara ek olarak bu

çalışmanın bakım krizi tartışmalarına katkı sağlayacağı ön görülmektedir. COVID-19 döneminde bakım ihtiyacının tedariği artmış olmasına rağmen, bakımın ailelerin ve yerel dayanışma gruplarının üzerine kalması, kamusal hizmetlerin yetersiz olması söz konusu olmuştur. Bakım ihtiyacının karşılanması noktasında topyekûn bir tartışmadan ziyade bu ihtiyacı karşılayan öznenin kim olduğuna ve kurumsal desteğin önemine dikkat çekmek açısından bu çalışmanın etkili olduğu kanısındayım. Ek olarak, covid-19'da ücretli ve ücretsiz emeğin bir arada ve aynı zaman içerisinde gerçekleşmesi TYÜT'nin ifade ettiği sınır mücadelelerinin somutlanması için önemli bir zemin sağlamaktadır. Aynı zaman ve mekânda gerçekleşmelerine ve bu sebeple aralarındaki sınır sanki kaybolmuş gibi görülebilecekken, yapılan bu çalışmada görüşülen kişilerin ücretli ve ücretsiz emekleri arasında geçiş yaptıklarının farkında olmaları ve bunlarla baş edebilmek için çeşitli stratejiler üretmeleri, birbirinden ayrı olmalarından ziyade iç içe geçen ücretli ve ücretsiz emeğin söz konusu olduğunu göstermesi açısından da bu tezin toplumsal cinsiyet ve emek tartışmalarına katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.

Çalışmanın sınırlılıkları arasında, her şeyden önce Ankara'daki insanları, yani yalnızca belirli bir yerdeki insanları kapsaması yer almaktadır. Ayrıca boşanmış kadınlar ve çocuklu kadınların örneklemde yer almaması tek ebeveyn sayısının yükseldiği bu dönemde eksiklik olarak düşünülmektedir. Son olarak, bu çalışmada Türkiye'deki neoliberal politikalar ve bunların uygulanması ve sınır mücadelesinin etkileri daha ayrıntılı olarak tartışılabilirdi. Ancak neoliberal politikaların karmaşık ve katmanlı yapısı, bunların bu tezde ele alınmasının önüne geçmiştir.

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TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): COVID-19 Pandemi Döneminde Sınır Mücadeleleri: Ankara'da Uzaktan/Hibrit Çalışan Kadınların Deneyimleri /Boundary Struggles During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Experiences Of Remote/Hybrid Working Women in Ankara

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