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WOMEN'S WORK, GENDER IDEOLOGY AND DOMESTIC DIVISION OF LABOUR: WHERE DO MEN STAND?

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Abstract

This research investigates the domestic division of labour patterns in the Turkish households and how women's employment is affected by the gendered share of domestic chores as well as by men's gender ideology at home. The separation of roles in the private sphere in relation to women's work trajectories is elaborated by addressing housework undertaken by women predominantly, and it is argued that the overwhelming nature of traditionally female housework (that is among the major barriers for women to be particularly in high-end jobs) and the lack of men's support at home affect women's continuity in the labour market negatively. Using Family Structure Survey data (TurkStat, 2006), results demonstrate that time availability and resource bargaining perspectives do not create the anticipated impact on women's involvement in the female housework, yet due to different coping mechanisms for childcare, there is a dramatic change in women's share in caring for children when they work and have higher earnings. As men are found to be supportive of female employment in theory, they are not involved in female-dominated chores at home in practice. The findings show that men's status at home needs to be reinforced as much as women's paid work is supported and alongside with tangible support, mentality towards conventional gender roles needs to be changed.

Keywords: Time Availability, Resource Bargaining, Gender Ideology, Domestic Division of Labour, Childcare, Female Housework, Female Employment.

1. INTRODUCTION

The expectations of women in terms of household responsibilities continue to be among the most influential factors regarding their position in every prestige level of the job market in many different contexts today. In some cases, as women enter the labour market, they move into a new sphere yet men's lack of involvement in the private sphere as husbands and fathers remains stable in particularly less egalitarian societies, adding up to women's existing burden. In other cases, as a result of men being unsupportive in family-related duties and the lack of external support, women could not be a part of the job market in the first place even when their qualifications are associated with high prestige careers. In 2012, still only 60.4 percent of highly educated women were in paid work in Turkey and among working women 22.0 percent were highly educated (Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat), Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS), 2012). Despite the (slowly) increasing higher educational attainment of Turkish women, they have one of the lowest employment rates by university education (OECD, 2012) and their employment rates largely decreased over time as an exception among OECD countries (OECD, 2011), accompanied by a majority of women still not being in paid work due to being housewives with a percentage of 61.2 in 2012, 31.8 percent of highly educated women stating their reason not to work as housework (TurkStat (HLFS), 2012). The highest rated reason for not working being the household-related duties, this implies that the double burden combined with a lack of job opportunities and the previously or later occurred statistical discrimination cause women to opt out of the labour market. While widening higher educational attainment results in increasing participation in professional jobs, the percentage of women as legislators, senior officials and managers was only 3.0 in 2012. The fact that 40.8 percent of women work 40 or less hours in this job category (which is 20.2 percent for men (TurkStat (HLFS), 2012)) stands as an imperfect signal of productivity visible to employers and subsequently women are statistically discriminated in high prestige jobs as a result of the fulfilment of the expectations in the private sphere that prevent their participation in demanding high-end jobs which creates a vicious circle. Thus, this research aims to answer the questions of how domestic division of labour patterns interact with women's paid work, and how men's "passive support" (arguing in favour of female employment) and "active support" (being a constant participant in

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household chores and childcare) towards female employment are related as these two concepts have not been adequately and widely distinguished particularly in the Turkish context for the analysis of the relationship between gender inequalities in the household and the labour market. Consequently, this paper sets out to contribute to the understanding of the significance of accentuating men's roles as husbands and fathers (as much as women's careers) in the literature and social policy realm to work towards women's empowerment in the private and public spheres.

In this paper, the Family Structure Survey (FSS) conducted in 2006 by the General Directorate of Family and Social Research in collaboration with the Turkish Statistical Institute is analysed as it incorporates the necessary variables regarding domestic division of labour and how female employment is viewed according to various parameters. To produce this survey, 24647 individuals at and over the age of 18 in 12280 households were interviewed. A need for further policy formation regarding family life had been determined and the questionnaire was prepared in order to investigate the Turkish family structure, individuals' values regarding family life and their lifestyles within the family (TurkStat (FSS), 2006).

As there are traditional notions attached to married women's roles in the household, being a mother doubles the responsibilities as childcare is considered to be mainly women's duty, and women with children below the age of seven are particularly under a heavier burden (Şengül and Kırıl, 2006). Women's work lives are mostly discontinuous due to family-related reasons and women often have a career break after childbirth (OECD, 2012), only to face many career penalties stemming from this decision (Arun et al., 2004; Malo and Munoz-Bullon, 2007). By 2009, Turkish mothers had the lowest labour market participation rate among their OECD counterparts (women with younger children were even less visible in the labour market), and whereas in most of the other countries the increasing age of the child allows women to return paid work, for Turkish women it did not seem to create a remarkable difference (OECD, 2009).

Women's double burden and the unbalanced domestic division of labour in relation to female employment have been discussed in the literature extensively. However, this puzzle has been understudied in the Turkish context particularly in terms of the separately analysed gendered housework and its relation to women's position in the labour market. When the overall gendered division of work is discussed, it frequently refers to women being the homemaker and men being the breadwinner still in various contexts. This research articulates the reflection of separation in the labour market into the private sphere as in female and male housework. The main theories in relation to the unequal share of the time-consuming and demanding traditionally female domestic chores are investigated to discuss the relationship between women's employment, their double burden and men's attitudes and behaviour regarding their roles at home. This research argues that women's employment status and their economic power as well as their time spent in paid work, and the resources they have to bargain for an equal share of labour do not make the anticipated impact on improving their burden in the private sphere as long as their gender ideology and that of men regarding their contribution at home remains still, the latter being the main focus of this particular research. In terms of childcare, while Turkey has the lowest maternal employment among OECD countries (OECD, 2009), there are more of various coping mechanisms for this responsibility and compared to housework resource bargaining and time availability explanations have a higher changing force on childcare than on housework, childcare being more responsive to these power-related approaches than women's share in the domestic division of labour. In other words, when women are in paid work and have relatively higher wages, the responsibility for childcare (at least during the day) shifts from mothers to other family members or to paid service, the latter being more likely for higher paid employees. The lack of men's involvement in domestic work (indirect gender ideology) reflects their mentality regarding gender roles (direct gender ideology) and these attitudes mirrored in their behaviour are significant determinants to explain the burden placed on women, which prevent them attaining more demanding prestigious jobs.

Among the strategies used by couples to balance work and family life that are presented in the literature include limiting work hours and demanding work situations, one spouse's choice to undertake a job rather than a career (mostly women) and trading off the job and the career depending on the spouses' life stage as stated by Becker and Moen (1999). The literature and the results of this research support the fact that all these strategies are mostly taken on by women, in the form of sacrificing a career over family life. There are different approaches to why women are undertaking this significantly higher share of unpaid household labour, preventing them from being active members of the labour market by saddling them with a heavy burden. The relative resources/resource bargaining perspective underscores the differences in women's and men's resources, and how the lack or inadequacy of women's input into the negotiation regarding sharing

the household chores causes them to do most of the work (Greenstein, 2000). While men's input, e.g. earnings, is expected to be higher considering the gender pay gap, this approach would presume that when women's wages increase, their share in the household work would be lower. Ross (1987) indicates that as well-educated and less traditional husbands tend to take on more household responsibilities, a smaller wage gap increases men's contribution in the household as well. Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) also note that women with fewer alternatives to marriage or less economic resources have the propensity to perceive the existing domestic division of labour as fair compared to women with a higher income, which would potentially leave them with a continuous heavy domestic burden.

Another viewpoint that focuses on the unequal patterns of domestic division of labour is the time availability perspective. This focuses on how time is allocated between the labour market and household responsibilities, referring back to human capital theory (Greenstein, 2000), implying that the hours women work outside of the home (also the visible part of their investment in the job) determine their time allocated to housework, yet Greenstein (2000) argues that this approach makes a small difference to women's domestic burden. The literature suggests that the overlapping hours and employment schedules are significant in men's share of domestic work, particularly in traditionally female housework (Presser, 1994). Hersch (2007) emphasises that time spent on typically female housework affects women's wages significantly as a result of the subsequent limitations to time and effort in paid work. Grunow and Baur (2014) point out that the historical change in women's paid work did not lead to change in men's share of domestic work by default and positive attitudes towards male contribution to housework are key predictors in their involvement. Spain and Bianchi (1996: 170) suggest that the more paid work women do, the less they are involved in domestic chores as their bargaining power increases, while Cunningham (2007) also advocates for the time availability hypothesis, arguing that women's employment hours are strongly related to the allocation of routine housework.

There are differences in how men are involved in housework and childcare as they usually perform tasks of which they can control the timing such as making household repairs, while women perform the continuous chores as they feel more responsible for the home and children as could be observed in various contexts (Hochschild, 1989). Baxter (2000) highlights the importance of the quality of men's support at home rather than the quantity by indicating that women value the task distribution rather than the time spent on the task and that what matters most for women in terms of the share of domestic responsibilities is men's participation in housework traditionally undertaken by women. Greenstein (2000) indicates that not only do married women perform more household labour than men, the kinds of household tasks they perform also differ in terms of genderedness. Blair and Lichter (1991) also argue that hours and tasks are conceptually different dimensions of household labour, and thus only focusing on husbands' hours is misleading as female employment is highly dependent on a decrease in the level of sex segregation in housework as well as men's absolute and proportionate housework contribution. Drawing upon Hochschild's theory of an economy of gratitude (2003), Greenstein (1996) indicates that when a wife and a husband work full-time and if the husband has a traditional gender ideology, he will consider women's housework to be consistent with what he expected of women, and if he is egalitarian he will consider it to be a gift to which he is not entitled to. As the share of the gendered tasks at home is a major determinant of couples' gender ideologies, Cunningham (2007) states that husbands of women who have accumulated more years of full-time employment perform a relatively greater amount of stereotypically female housework than those of women with less years, referring to the relationship between time availability and gender ideology. Greenstein (1996) refers to the significance of couples' gender ideologies both individually and in combination, and states that gender ideology acts as a moderator for the perception of fairness of housework performance. Brines (1994) focuses on an economic exchange perspective that women whose husbands are the provider of the household do more housework whereas the more husbands are economically dependent on their wives, the less they do housework (therefore, the more they do gender) while Greenstein (2000) argues that in terms of the distributional measure of housework, this pattern is more of a result of deviance neutralisation than gender display.

Becker (1985) argues that as housework requires more effort than leisure and other household related activities, married women spend less energy (that is available after taking care of housework) on each paid work hour than married men even when they have the same human capital as well as working hours, and in return they are paid less, thus persisting traditional gender roles not only result in wage differences but also in occupational segregation, causing women to focus on less demanding jobs in which lower wages decrease

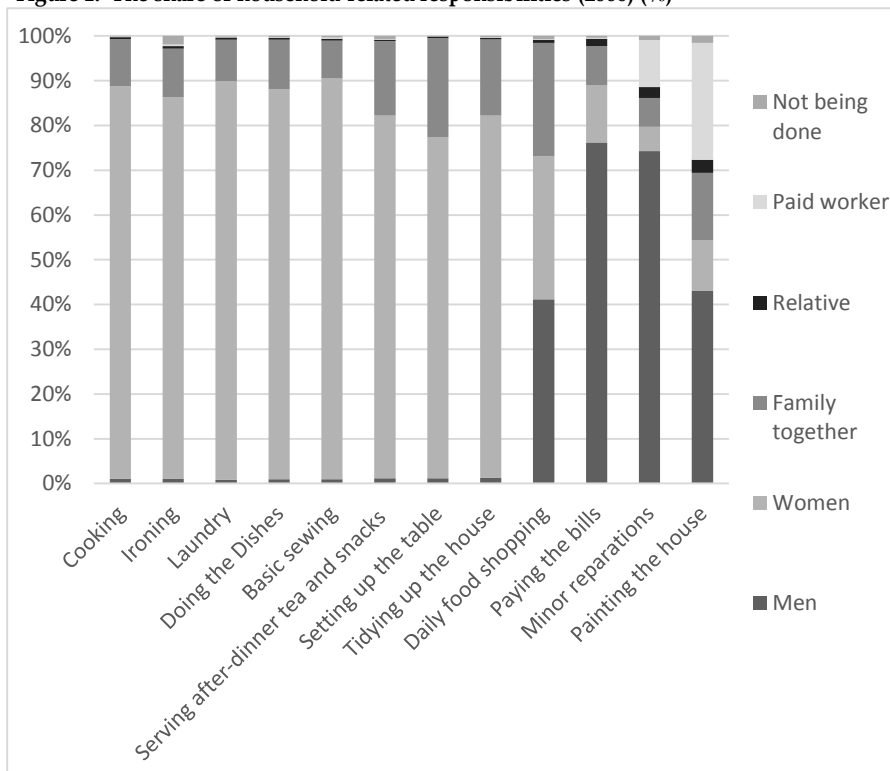
the investment they make in their jobs in return. Moreover, Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) point out that unlike their finding of a social exchange explanation regarding fairness and domestic division of labour, a cultural perspective suggests that ideology rather than power explanations (also the relative resources and time availability perspectives) underlie the evaluation of fairness while to the latter it could be added that power and values interact in gender-specific ways to sustain the division of labour as underlined by Ferree (1991). Telsiz (1995) states that Turkish women expect their prospective husbands to be responsible for sharing neutral/male housework and themselves to undertake most of the (female) chores and indeed, after getting married men's contribution remains limited to irregular and less time consuming domestic responsibilities (which changes only minimally with increasing educational level). On a similar note, Treas and Drobic (2010) indicate that women in traditional societies tend to have difficulties to consider the burden of female housework as unfair.

2. WOMEN'S POSITION IN THE PRIVATE SPHERE IN RELATION TO FEMALE EMPLOYMENT

In terms of multitasking, while men more often do two things at a time (partially taking care of children and undertaking paid work), working women juggle three jobs simultaneously: housework, children and paid work (Baxter, 2000). The main problem, however, is what men do when they participate in the household work: as mentioned, they prefer tasks that can be controlled in terms of timing, and that are done from time to time (such as carrying out repairs and paying bills). When childcare is in question, men undertake leisure activities, such as bringing children to the zoo/park or playing with them, while mothers worry about the fundamental care issues as (usually being) the primary carer (Hochschild, 1989), Hochschild's findings in 1980s being applicable to the contemporary Turkey. Thus, this research argues that neither the time availability nor the resource bargaining approaches apply to the Turkish context fully since even when the gender ideologies of men are expected to be more egalitarian and they are supportive of female employment by arguing that it is appropriate for women to be in paid work, there is an ongoing rigid domestic division of labour.

As seen in Figure 1, there is an unbalanced and clearly gendered division of labour at home, which is broadly similar to the case in the labour market, partially reflecting the gender ideology of women and men; as women do more housework, they are also concentrated on routine, traditionally female household tasks.

Figure 1: The share of household-related responsibilities (2006) (%)



Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.

Female housework is attributed to household chores traditionally undertaken by women and includes tasks that are done on a regular basis and are attached to women's caring roles namely cooking, ironing, doing laundry, doing the dishes, simple sewing, tidying up the house daily, serving evening tea and setting the table (the last two tasks are 'mildly' female and more on a neutral side). Male domestic chores are attributed to household-related unpaid work traditionally undertaken by men and include tasks that are done on an irregular basis and are less 'urgent' as well as less time consuming than traditionally female chores, those that are associated with the traditional notions such as daily grocery shopping (being on a more neutral side), paying monthly bills (as a representation of "the male breadwinner" role), making small repairs (as a sign of physical strength) and painting the house (the last two tasks are also largely undertaken via paid assistance). Both female and male housework could also be recognised in the percentages they are performed by women and men, portraying an absolute segregation. Regarding traditionally female housework (cooking, ironing, laundry, doing the dishes, basic sewing), the percentages of undertaking these chores are almost identical for working women as they are for non-working women. As seen below, for working women there is only a symbolic decrease in their share of these tasks, which is reflected in a small increase in men's share. Although there is no detailed information on the exact share of time expended by women and men in the public and private spheres in the data set used for this particular analysis (FSS, 2006), Table 1 demonstrates how domestic chores are shared when women are in paid work or housewives. These percentages imply that on the surface the time availability approach is not supported in the Turkish context; even when Turkish women are in paid work and invest in paid labour time, this does not change men's attainment level in the household considerably. On a related note, West and Zimmerman (1987: 137) state that the act of 'doing gender' is in its ultimate form in the domestic division of labour in households with a traditional gender display, which creates differences between women and men that are not natural or biological, and once these differences are settled they are defined as essentials of genders, that could also be observed in the Turkish households as will be displayed further in the following sections of this article.

Table 1: Turkish women's share in traditionally female household chores based on women's employment status (%)

Household chore	Working	Not working
<i>Cooking</i>	86.6	88.2
<i>Ironing</i>	83.3	84.2
<i>Laundry</i>	87.8	88.0
<i>Doing the dishes</i>	85.8	88.4
<i>Tidying up</i>	79.2	82.6

Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.

The resource bargaining approach indicates that the means spouses bring to the marriage and the household increase their bargaining power in terms of the share of domestic responsibilities, also that increasing wages help women to negotiate for a more equal share of chores with their increasing economic power. However, Table 2 shows that women's increasing wages do not make a decent difference regarding women's or men's share in the gendered domestic chores and that there is only a symbolically low decrease in their participation in gender-specific housework when women have higher incomes. In other words, even when they are expected to have more bargaining power in terms of the domestic division of labour, women continue to do most of the female housework and men continue to "do gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987).

Table 2: Turkish women and men's share in gendered household chores based on women's wages (%)

	Women doing female housework	Men doing male housework
<i>Low female wage</i>	93.4	97.2
<i>Medium female wage</i>	91.6	96.6
<i>High female wage</i>	91.4	96.4

Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.

Regarding the attitudes towards women's work, 76.5 percent of men and 89.1 percent of women in total argue that it is appropriate for women to work. Men who do not participate in female housework argue in

favour of female employment at a percentage of 76.0, while it is 83.9 percent for those who undertake any female housework. Men who are in favour of women’s work perform female housework at a rate of 6.5 percent, while it is 4.1 percent for those who are not supportive of women’s work (FSS, 2006). These percentages demonstrate that even when men are liberal about women’s right to work, they do not give the necessary support in the private sphere, reflecting an incomplete positive gender ideology.

Educational level is expected to influence the attitudes towards female employment positively. Table 3 supports this expectation. As almost all highly educated women argue that it is appropriate for women to work, it is ironic that Turkey is among the countries with the lowest level of employment for highly educated women (but at the same time it implies that external circumstances are more determining than individuals’ aspirations and decisions), and this refers to a lost potential (and human capital) of individuals who would be otherwise active in the job market which is a phenomenon both within and beyond gender issues. As seen in Table 3, 91.1 percent of highly educated men support women’s work (which is 80.7 percent for medium educated men). As a matter of fact, even among low educated men over 70 percent support women’s work which shows that men are not particularly traditional in terms of female employment. However, it should also be noted that men are more conservative towards female employment in comparison to women at all educational levels. In the Turkish context, particularly for highly educated women and men there is an obvious liberal view regarding women’s work, however, as this study considers gender ideology as a combination of attitudes (the overall understanding of female employment in terms of arguing in favour of women’s paid work) and behaviour (actively contributing to traditionally female housework in particular and challenging other obstacles regarding women’s labour market participation to complete the circle of support), Turkish men seem to act on their traditional gender ideology in terms of their behaviour towards women’s heavy burden in the domestic sphere.

Table 3: Turkish women and men who argue that it is appropriate for women to work based on educational level (%)

	Women	Men
<i>Low educated</i>	86.4	71.6
<i>Medium educated</i>	96.2	80.7
<i>Highly educated</i>	99.0	91.1

Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.

Particularly in the Turkish literature, it is frequently argued that the husband’s/household’s increasing income (Yamak et al., 2012), families’ obtainment of ownership of the house (Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008), or a reduction in financial need potentially trigger women’s tendency to withdraw from the labour market presumably when combined with their double burden, also considering that their work is seen as secondary rather than career-oriented. However, results demonstrate that 79.1 percent of individuals with a low income argue that women’s work is appropriate, while the figure is 83.4 percent for individuals with a medium level of income, and 88.9 percent for people with a high income, implying that increasing income do not negatively affect individuals’ perspective on women’s employment in particular.

As much as it is important to discuss whether women and men consider women’s work as appropriate or not for comprehending their gender ideology, the reasons behind why people do not support female employment is also crucial to understand. As seen in Figure 2, for highly educated women, arguing that it is not appropriate for women to work due to domestic responsibilities (it should be added that the number of highly educated women arguing against female employment is extremely limited in the first place) is among the lowest rated, yet nearly half of the highly educated men with a negative attitude towards female employment agree with this response, underlining the fact that men’s expectations of women in the household extend to a point where women’s work is considered as a threat to family-related tasks which shows that these are seen women’s primary responsibilities. In addition, while for a minority of highly educated women who argue against female employment the highest rated reasons are “for children’s sake” and “it is not safe”, for low educated women the response of “domestic responsibilities” stands out significantly which refers to the importance of women’s higher educational attainment also for improving their gender ideology.

The results seen in Table 4 are compatible with the expectation that women cope relatively better with childcare (of children aged 0-5) than with housework. As Table 4 demonstrates, working women have found strategies to compensate for childcare even though women undertake the household-related responsibilities almost at an identical rate regardless of their employment status. As seen in the table below, there is a sharp decline (from 94.0 percent to 67.7 percent) in women undertaking the childcare duties when they are in the labour market. As paternal childcare remains extremely low; grandmothers, kindergartens and nannies come into play for mothers to cope with childcare when they are in paid work.

Table 4: Childcare (children aged 0-5) according to women's employment status (%)

	Mother	Father	Older sister	Grandmother (Mother's mother)	Grandmother (Father's mother)	Close relative	Nanny	Day care or kindergarten	Other
Women not in the labour market	94.0	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.5	0.4	0.7	0.4	1.0
Women in the labour market	67.7	0.6	1.3	8.1	6.8	2.9	6.1	3.2	3.2

Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.

Families with higher incomes are expected to be able to afford paid childcare and the table below supports this anticipation. As can be seen in Table 5, although working mothers with higher wages are still responsible for a major part of the childcare, there is a remarkable decline in women's responsibility of childcare; while women with a low income undertake childcare with a percentage of 96.4, for women with high income this rate is 77.8 percent. This decrease represents a shift towards paid help (particularly hiring a nanny) as it would be anticipated and family members are involved more in care support when a woman's wage increases presumably due to the more demanding nature of higher paid jobs, and thus the expanding need of support.

Table 5: Childcare (children aged 0-5) according to women's income (%)

	Mother	Father	Older sister	Grandmother (Mother's mother)	Grandmother (Father's mother)	Close relative	Nanny	Day care or kindergarten	Other
Female low wage	96.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.1
Female medium wage	86.6	0.8	0.3	2.4	3.2	1.3	1.9	1.6	1.8
Female high wage	77.8	0.0	0.0	5.6	1.1	0.0	13.3	2.2	0.0

Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.

As it has been seen so far, the findings regarding the performance of housework support neither time availability nor resource bargaining perspectives in this particular context. In terms of childcare, both being in paid work and increasing wage rate relatively diminish women's share in care responsibilities. Although the impact of women's wage is not as strong, the time availability approach is supported by the fact that mothers' role as the sole caretakers dramatically decreases when they work outside the home.

3. GENDER IDEOLOGY, DOMESTIC WORK AND THE LABOUR MARKET

Gender ideology is expected to be strongly related to women's and men's behaviour in the household, particularly regarding the routine performance or non-performance of traditionally female housework, as

previously indicated. Table 6 presents the relationship between women’s burden at home (traditionally female housework as the dependent variable) and the main components that exacerbate this burden namely having children, being married and whether to be in the labour market or not. In other words, this logistic regression analysis investigates how time availability (whether women work outside the home or not), women’s wages (resource bargaining approach) and having children (extra responsibilities added to housework) affect the probability of women undertaking the female household tasks. The results show that women who are in paid work are less likely to perform traditionally female household tasks with the log odds of -.17, while women with lower incomes are more likely to be responsible for traditionally female housework.

Table 6: Logistic regression results of women’s probability of carrying out female housework

<i>Working women</i>	-.17(.06)**
<i>Women with low income</i>	.22(.05)***
<i>Have children</i>	.91(.09)***
Constant	2.33(.04)***
N	24319
Lr chi2 (3)	166.30
Log likelihood	-6235.7822
Pseudo R2	0.0132

Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.

Findings demonstrate that women with children are statistically significantly more likely to undertake the female tasks at home, presumably because of the traditionally female housework that childcare requires such as cooking toddler food and doing laundry separately as well as more frequently, and assuming that they tend to stay home more considering the low rates of maternal employment in Turkey. As the direction of these results implies, paid work and increasing wages diminish women’s burden at home to a certain (yet limited) extent, but nevertheless the vast majority of women undertake the gendered household chores even when they work as the descriptive findings demonstrated (the direction of the logistic regression results are expected to be a result of the small decrease in women’s share of female housework when in paid work) and the division of labour is majorly shaped by men’s gender ideology regarding their roles in the household.

Table 7 presents the bivariate probit model of the combination of men’s probability of arguing that it is appropriate for women to work (attitude) and their likelihood of doing traditionally female housework (behaviour) as a measure of gender ideology. Jones (2007) indicates that allowing the measurement of a correlation between the error terms of two binary models highlights the fact that there might be unobservable features of individuals that affect both binary models. The aim of using the Stata command “biprobit” is to evaluate the impact of various determinants on the probability of men’s attitudes and behaviour regarding women’s work to be positive (separately yet simultaneously), and to analyse the correlation between these two dependent variables since the descriptive results demonstrate one of these gender ideology determinants to be in a positive direction (attitudes) while men’s behaviour is not as constructive. In other words, this method provides an opportunity to analyse two binary probit models with separate dependent variables simultaneously while measuring the correlation between the error terms of the two equations (Jones, 2007). P value in this analysis “*measures roughly the correlation between the outcomes after the influence of the included factors is accounted for*” as stated by Greene (2002: 717). The result for the estimate (p value/rho) is .11 and the critical value from the chi-square test is 12.04, so this estimate is different from zero, meaning the hypothesis cannot be rejected. In other words, men’s tendency to argue that it is appropriate for women to work is positively related to men doing any female housework. Thus, the initial observation is that this result suggests men’s positive behaviour regarding housework being coherent with their positive attitudes towards female employment.

Table 7: Bivariate probit analysis of men's positive attitude towards women's work and men doing female housework, FSS (2006).

	Supportive of female employment	Doing female housework
Urban	-.07(.03)**	.03(.04)
Middle age group (35-64)	.23(.04)***	.11(.06)
Elderly (65+)	.37(.05)***	.46(.08)***
Low educated	-.55(.06)***	-.31(.07)***
Medium educated	-.30(.06)***	-.30(.07)***
Single	.15(.05)**	.54(.07)***
Divorced	.13(.16)	1.72(.13)***
Widowed	-.07(.11)	1.40(.10)***
Have children	-.12(.04)**	.00(.07)
Men with medium level of income	.17(.03)***	-.01(.05)
Men with high income	.31(.09)***	-.17(.12)
Factor (religion)	-.34(.02)***	-.06(.02)**
Constant	.96(.07)***	-1.66(.10)***
Athro	.11(.03)***	
Rho	.11(.03)	
Rho test	12.04	
Log likelihood -7136.4046		
N=10214		
Wald chi2 (24)=1307.05		

Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's analysis.

The first part of the analysis presents the impact of the selected independent variables (urban/rural residency, age group, educational level, marital status, having children, income level¹, impact of religion on daily life (factor analysis coefficient)) on men's probability of arguing that it is appropriate for women to work. As seen, the log odds for men in urban areas to approach female employment with a positive attitude is less likely compared to men in rural areas. This could be a result of the working conditions in rural areas, where women are mostly unpaid family workers, as in urban areas women's participation in low prestige occupations tend to be considered as untraditional while careers are attributed the reputation of being a barrier to undertaking household responsibilities. The impact of being in an urban area compared to a rural area has a positive effect on men's probability of undertaking any of the female housework. The result for men supporting women's work is statistically significant: men in urban areas are expected to be less strictly traditional in "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987) compared to men in (generally) more conservative rural areas.

Men in middle age group and older men are statistically significantly more likely to argue positively regarding female employment compared to younger men aged 18-34 and (although the result for men in the middle age group is not statistically significant for undertaking female chores) they are also more likely to do female housework. Younger men are expected to be more egalitarian in their attitudes and behaviour regarding women's position in the household and the labour market. However, findings show otherwise in the Turkish context. This could also be a result of the fact that younger men are expected to be in the formation process of their careers so that women are expected to be the homemaker, undertake the household chores and stay home to enable men to achieve this in many cases.

More educated men are also expected to be more open-minded regarding female employment. The results support this anticipation. Highly educated men are more likely to argue in favour of women's work and are more likely to do the female household chores. The log odds for low educated men's probability of having a positive attitude towards women's work is -.55 and for medium educated men it is -.30. At the

¹ To elaborate how the wage groups are formed, in the Family Structure Survey (2006) monthly net income rates are categorised into six sections: (TL -Turkish Lira- was YTL, "Yeni Türk Lirası", also New Turkish Lira at the time) a) 400 YTL or less (since the net minimum wage was 380.46 YTL at the time which is 1000,54 TL today), b) 401-600 YTL c) 601-800 YTL d) 801-1200 YTL e) 1201-2500 YTL and f) 2501 YTL or more. To create the wage groups, low wage is categorised as 0-600 TL (as the highest wage for low income category is slightly above the net minimum wage of the time, it is because the amount of the latter is very low and the aim is also to keep an equal interval for the groups), medium wage is from 601 TL to 1200 TL and high wage is 1201 YTL and above.

same time, it is -.31 for low educated men and -.30 for medium educated men to 'not to' do gender (also to be involved actively in household chores).

While the coefficients for variables used to measure the impact of marital status on men's likelihood to argue positively regarding female employment are not all statistically significant, in comparison to married men, single men are more likely to argue in favour of women's work followed by divorced men. The only less likely men to do so are those who are widowed. In terms of undertaking female domestic responsibilities single, divorced and widowed men are more likely to do so statistically significantly. This result could be anticipated considering that adult men with non-married status tend to live alone or with their parents and thus do all the housework themselves or potentially let their mothers do the chores, unless they or their families hire someone to undertake them.

Men with children are less likely to argue that women's work is appropriate (with the log odds of -.12) as they presumably expect women to stay home. Although the result is not statistically significant, men with children are more likely to undertake female household tasks which could represent the small amount of support they provide when they have children.

As stated before, it is frequently emphasised in the literature that as household income gets higher, Turkish women have a higher tendency to leave the labour market as a result of the secondary status attributed to their employment trajectories, also when the additional financial need for their work ends. The findings show that as men's income gets higher, they become more open-minded regarding women's work. Men with medium and high levels of income are more likely to argue in favour of women's paid work, with the log odds of .17 and .31 respectively, yet men with medium and high levels of income are less likely to perform traditionally female housework, with the log odds of -.01 and -.17 (presumably due to their more demanding jobs and/or their conventional gender ideology).

The variable 'religion' stands for the factor analysis coefficient of how influential religion is on individuals' choices in the private and public spheres². It can be seen that the more religion is influential in men's lives the lower likelihood of men having positive attitudes towards women's work presumably due to their more conservative perception regarding women's and men's positions in the family and society. The increasing impact of religion on one's daily life also has a negative influence on men doing female housework, which could be expected considering the strong relationship between religion and traditionalism in the Turkish context. Kuzgun and Sevim (2004) also find that in terms of the relationship between religiousness and men's attitudes towards women's work, men are supportive of women's employment in theory as long as the domestic responsibilities are undertaken by their spouses. In addition, this research finds that religion is a visible determinant in individuals' lives in the private sphere (such as in their spouse choice, food and drink choices, friendship and clothing preferences etc.) yet occupational choices are the least influenced means by religiousness. The highest percentage for religion being "highly determinant" is for spouse choice with a rate of 43.3 percent and the highest rate for religion for being "not a determinant" is for occupational choices by 57.0 percent (TurkStat (FSS), 2006).

As seen in the table below, the marginal effects after bivariate probit analysis show that the predicted probability of men both arguing that women's work is appropriate and performing female housework (simultaneously), which is a barrier for women to be actively involved in the labour market, is .04. Naming this combination 'being egalitarian', as the result for being in an urban area is not statistically significant, middle aged and older men are more likely to be egalitarian compared to younger men with predicted probabilities of .01 and .06. Medium educated men's probability of undertaking traditional chores at home and to support women's employment concomitantly is lower than that of highly educated men and it is even lower for low educated men. Men of unmarried statuses are all more likely to act egalitarian compared to married men while men with children are less likely to do so in comparison to men with no children. The likelihood of men with a medium level income being egalitarian is higher than that of men with a low income while it is less for men with a high income (yet the latter is not statistically significant). The impact of the variable that refers to religion being more influential in one's life on men's simultaneous positive attitudes towards women's work and doing traditional housework is negative.

² Factor analysis results show that among all seven separate components (spouse choice, friendship, clothing, voting, relationship with neighbours, eating and drinking habits, and occupational choices), there is a high factor loading of number five, the impact of religion being concentrated in this component to represent religiousness.

Table 8: Marginal effects after bivariate probit analysis of men's positive attitude towards women's work and men doing female housework

<i>Urban</i>	-.00(.00)
<i>Middle age group (35-64)</i>	.01(.00)*
<i>Elderly (65+)</i>	.06(.01)***
<i>Low educated</i>	-.03(.01)***
<i>Medium educated</i>	-.03(.00)***
<i>Single</i>	.06(.01)***
<i>Divorced</i>	.39(.05)***
<i>Widowed</i>	.27(.03)***
<i>Have children</i>	-.00(.01)
<i>Men with medium level of income</i>	.00(.00)***
<i>Men with high income</i>	-.01(.01)
<i>Factor 1 (religion)</i>	-.01(.00)***

Data Source: Family Structure Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's analysis.

These results show that, since one of the main barriers to Turkish women's career trajectories is considered to be the unbalanced domestic division of labour patterns, the fact that men have a positive attitude towards female employment is not adequate unless those men have a higher share in the household work. As gender ideology in terms of men's participation in the household work explains the unbalanced domestic division of labour at the micro-level to a certain extent, it should be added that the picture is only complete in the context of adequately supportive social policies reinforcing men's involvement at home as much as women's participation in the job market.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This research elaborated the phenomenon that is addressed as a major barrier to women's careers: the domestic burden also women's share in the family-related tasks, together with how their position in paid work is viewed. The findings highlighted a significant issue that has been understated in the Turkish social policy realm: the importance of a change in men's gender ideology at home regarding their roles in time-consuming, repetitive and regular domestic tasks. It can be clearly indicated that promoting women's career trajectories is necessary but not adequate, since even if a vast majority of men seem to support female employment, the results so far have shown that men do not make the necessary contribution at home to help women to attain particularly the demanding prestigious occupations. Spain and Bianchi (1996) emphasise that until household responsibilities are recognised a family affair rather than a natural female task, women will have to suffer the consequences of the double burden of work and family, and until then they will pay a higher price for negotiating the transitions necessary to combine family and paid work.

The findings demonstrated that women's income or time spent in paid work do not have a satisfying impact on their share of female household tasks and there is a strong gender ideology defining women's roles at home as the default. Also, there is a paradox in terms of men supporting women's work 'theoretically' and the fact that a majority of men do almost no female housework or provide support 'practically'. As there is a positive correlation between men's supportive attitudes towards women's work and them doing female housework, a consistency in terms of men's attitudes and behaviour based on gender ideology is also found. However, the absolute numbers of men doing female housework is highly inadequate and the joint probability of men's gender ideology in theory and in practice being positive is also low. Thus, reinforcing men's contribution in household responsibilities should be a target in the social policy realm for improving gender equality as men's position as employers at work and as husbands/fathers at home are a considerable part of the problem.

In the first section, it was observed that being highly educated improves women's and men's approaches towards female employment while -unexpectedly- young men, and men with higher income are not as supportive as men of other age groups and financial states in terms of sharing responsibilities at home. It could be argued that young men are expected to be improving their careers and thus the need for women's support and 'sacrifice' is imposed. This section also showed that among those who argue that women should stay home, the most common reason given is "due to domestic responsibilities and childcare", which is in accordance with the general findings of this research. The only group among whom the response 'domestic

and childcare responsibilities' does not get the highest percentage is highly educated women, reflecting the improving impact of educational level on women's domestic gender ideology as well.

In the second section, women's likelihood to undertake traditionally female household chores based on different parameters was investigated using logistic regression analysis. Although the direction of the findings refers to the time availability and resource bargaining explanations, it is interpreted as merely a reflection of the highly limited improving effect of women's working status and higher wages on their share in female housework. Descriptively, the bigger picture shows that there is a prevailing traditional gender ideology and that a majority of women undertake the female household tasks regardless of their employment status and wages. To overcome this pattern by reinforcing women to have higher bargaining power in domestic division of labour, women's employment patterns need to be recognised as career-oriented as men's, alongside with other support mechanisms to underline the concept of work-life balance as a family issue rather women's matter.

Further in the second section, two gender ideology components namely men's approach towards women's work in theory and their involvement in female housework in practice were investigated to evaluate the relationship between the extent to which men support female employment and do gender at home. The importance of this correlation lies in the complementary nature of men being in favour of women's work and helping at home, as the former strongly depends on the latter to complete the cycle of support. While there is a positive correlation between the two components, compatible with the descriptive findings the marginal effects after the bivariate probit estimation demonstrated that there is a highly limited chance of men supporting women's work and being responsible for the female household tasks simultaneously, presumably due to the lack of the latter. In other words, the bivariate probit analysis results showed that although there is a positive correlation between men supporting women's work (attitude) and men's involvement in the female chores (behaviour), there is a low probability that these two gender ideology components do co-exist in the Turkish context.

To discuss the more recent domestic division of labour patterns in Turkey briefly, the descriptive results taken from the Directorate for Family and Social Services who conducted the Family Structure Survey in 2011 demonstrated that most female housework was still undertaken by women by 2011. It is seen that cooking continued to be a heavily female chore with a percentage of 95.1, which was 94.3 percent for laundry and 93.5 percent for dishwashing, while socio-economic status makes a small difference (for the lowest SES in the same order of chores the rates are as following: 94.6 percent, 93.5 percent, 92.5 percent, and for the highest SES in the same order of chores the rates are as following: 94.8 percent, 93.9 percent, 94.1 percent). However, there was a strong difference between women from different backgrounds regarding childcare responsibilities. Mothers were the caretakers of the young child(ren) by 44.7 percent in the highest socio-economic status category, in the lowest SES category this rate was 96.9 percent (the rate was 13.0 percent for nannies and 18.1 percent for kindergarten for women in the highest SES group respectively, which were both zero percent for women with the lowest SES).³ As seen, there is an ongoing divided role allocation in the private sphere in terms of the share of gendered housework regardless of SES while there is a dramatic gap between childcare responsibilities of women from different socio-economic backgrounds, somewhat in accordance with the initial expectation of this research that the resource bargaining approach (measured by women's level of income) would be more applicable to childcare than household chores.

Strictly defined gender roles represent an artificial structure. Therefore, this structure can be redefined with the help of social policies and changes that come from within the society with the reinforcement of increasing educational attainment rates and gender awareness among men as well as women. If the core of the problem in the private sphere is not solved, external support to women's paid work will remain a bandage on an open wound. Thus, the current state of protecting women's domestic roles even when supporting their employment by making paid work an additional part of their lives needs to be replaced by taking some of the burden off women's shoulders in the private sphere, concomitantly reinforcing their career development and supporting men as husbands and fathers. In a nutshell, the prescribed traditional gender ideology of men as well as women's perception of fairness of their roles are two main issues to be challenged to achieve a fair domestic division of labour that would be reflected positively in the labour market.

³ TurkStat, FSS. (2011). Available at: <http://ailetoplum.aile.gov.tr/data/544f6ddd369dc328a057d01c/taya2011.pdf>.

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