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Being Housewife: Self-perception of  
Women or conservatism?

Goznur ERMERAK

ADVISOR: Prof. Mario PADULA

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## TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT .....	3
INTRODUCTION .....	5
Section 1.....	7
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TURKISH LABOR FORCE	
Section 2.....	9
LITERATURE REVIEW WITH SOME EXPERIMENTAL EVIDENCE	
Section 3.....	14
EXPERIMENTAL EVIDENCE FROM THE LITERATURE	
Section 4.....	18
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND DATA	
Section 5.....	22
THE FINDINGS	
Section 6.....	29
CONCLUSION	
REFERENCES .....	31

# **Being Housewife: Self-perception of Women or conservatism?**

## **Abstract**

This thesis reviews the literature on the potential explanations of the low female labor force participation in Turkey. The aim of the study is to determine the effects of culture on labor force participation decisions of women. However, as it is hard to measure the effect of culture quantitatively, using related data obtained through surveys that are conducted by European World Values Survey in 2001 and 2009 generates index of conservatism and women bias from women to women.

In this thesis by using principal component analysis, two indexes are generated; religious conservatism index, women bias from women index. Firstly, the reason of religious conservatism has been used in this study is that perceptions of women's role is changing according to their religious ideology (Fortin; 2005). Additionally, women bias from women is chosen for an index in the study because of the roles that are attributed to women are actually learned consciously or unconsciously within the culture. Therefore, not only men are the responsible for the subordinated status of women but women as well.

The research has indicated that even though there exist a positive correlation between being housewife and women bias from women to women, findings suggest that there exist negative correlation between conservativeness and being housewife. Therefore, it seems that religion can be examine not only by being religious or importance of shared religious beliefs in marriage. However, there might be other factors to represent

conservatism index. For instance, according to Goksel (2013) "...how important religion is when deciding on the following concepts: choice of wife, choice of a friend, attitudes to clothing, voting, relationships with neighbors, and nutrition."(Goksel, 2013, p.7).

*Keywords: Labor Force Participation, gender, patriarchal relations, Turkey.*

## **Introduction**

The aim of this study is to seek for an explanation behind the low labor force participation of women in Turkey. In order to do that one needs to understand the subordination mechanisms that imprison women within domestic spheres. This needs particular attention in a country like Turkey where one possibly can define the culture as masculine. In Hofstede's words " Masculinity pertains to societies in which social gender roles are clearly distinct (i.e., men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life); femininity pertains to societies in which social gender roles overlap (i.e., both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life)." (Hofstede, 1991, pp. 82-83). Even though culture is hardly measurable in its nature, it will have some measurable reflections that will provide some sort of causality. For instance, according to summary findings of the 2011 Turkey's World Value Survey, Esmer (2012) that since 1996 there are two beliefs that have never changed in Turkey that males should be the head of the family, and that women should be obedient. 75 per cent of the Turkish population holds the belief that the household head should be a male; approximately 60 per cent of the population agrees that women should obey their husbands (Esmer, 2012). Therefore In addition to individual characteristics such as educational level attained, age, marital status, and number of children, the perception of women to themselves as religious or not and the role of shared religious beliefs when deciding on the choice of spouse is taken into consideration when creating conservatism index. Moreover, the women's perception of themselves is taken into consideration in order to measure whether women find having children one of the conditions to be fulfilled and the

importance of good housing in marriage which is highly attributed as the role of women in the family.

The rest of the study is organized as follows: the first section will focus on the demographic characteristics of Turkish Labor Force, the second section will primarily focus on the literature about the determinants effecting the labor force participation decisions of women in Turkey with some experimental evidence, the third section will focus Experimental Evidence from the Literature, fourth section will focus on the description of the Descriptive Statistics and Data, fifth section will focus on the Findings and the last section Concludes.

## ***Section 1***

### **Demographic Characteristics of Turkish Labor Force**

In order to set the base for our empirical analysis, it is important to highlight the main demographic characteristics of Turkish Labor Force for main understanding. Female population constitutes 49.8 per cent of total population with 37 956 168 persons (Turkstat, 2013a). According to official statistics, total female labor force participation rate is only 29 percent compare of to 71 percent of men in 2012 (Turkstat, 2013c). Moreover, Turkey has the lowest female labor force participation rate among Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (OECD, 2013).

According to Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI), for women the most important reason of not participating in the labor force is indicated as to be busy with the housework (Turkstat, 2013b). TSI shows that out of 28.307 women 12.335 of them do not participate in the labor force because of being busy with housework (Turkstat, 2013b). Moreover, one third of women who are considered as economically active are unpaid family workers which is consistent with the fact that men's work is highly associated with paid work. On the contrary, women who devote majority of their time to unpaid work, which is consistent with the assumption, that Turkey is one of the countries where masculinity pertains (Hofstede, 1991). In Lourdes's words, "Women are disproportionately concentrated in this (unpaid work) type of work, which includes agricultural family work-particularly but not solely in subsistence economies-domestic work, and volunteer work." (Lourdes, 2003,p.74). Turkish Statistics Institute shows that it is also the case in

Turkey, as 29.6 per cent of women's employment status is unpaid family worker on the contrary with men's as it is only 4.1 per cent in 2013 (Turkstat, 2013).



## ***Section 2***

### **Literature review with some Experimental Evidence**

Many studies have focused on female labor force participation in Turkey. There are many different views about the low labor force participation rates, while some of these studies have argued that the gender pay differences are excluding women from the labor market (Kasnakoglu and Dayioglu, 1997 retrieved from Dedeoglu and Elveren,2012; Goksel, 2013), some are focused on the gendered patterns of paid and unpaid work and therefore gendered patterns of work time allocation ( Memis,Ones, Kızılırmak retrieved from Dedeoglu and Elveren,2012; Goksel, 2013), some have argued that public patriarchy is reinforcing the subordination of women (Tokgoz retrieved from Dedeoglu and Elveren,2012), considerable amount of studies have mentioned the link between the roles of women and their decision to participate (Ozar and Günlük-Şenesen, 1998; Eyuboglu et al, 2000; Erman, 2001; Kasnakoglu and Dayioglu, 2002; Gunduz-Hosgor and Smits, 2006) moreover supported by the fact that labor force participation of women is mostly shaped by the priority given to their roles as mothers and wives (İpek İlkaracan 1998; Ayşe Eyüboğlu, Şemsa Özar and Hülya T. Tanrıöver 2000) , some are focused on urbanization(Baslevent & Onaran, 2002; Ilkaracan, 1998; Goksel, 2013), some focused on the low educational attainment of women (Dayioglu, 2000), some have argued that having little children Dayioglu (2000) and lack of availability of nursery (Acar, 2008) and more recently Goksel (2013) have mentioned the negative effect of conservatism on female labor force participation decisions of women in Turkey.

While, there can be many possible explanation for the low female labor force

participation, we want to highlight the role of culture and more specifically masculinity that is reproducing itself through many mechanisms in Turkey. The importance of the dimensions of culture whether masculine or feminine, plays a significant role on labor force participation decisions of women. The reason for that is the decision of women may be not fully hers in masculine cultures.

Developed world may not be familiar with the consent issue, however, for women in Turkey, it is clear enough. Before proceeding, that will be useful to mention a model that might be a possible explanation for intergenerational transmission of masculinity in a society. Even though the study that is going to be mentioned that is introduced by Gavetti and Warglien (2007) attempts to find an answer in the field of Business, it will give us some insight about the intergenerational transmission of masculinities in culture. The role that is attributed to men as decision-makers even for the very personal decision of women such as participating to labor force or not, unfortunately is not a new phenomenon related with Turkish culture being masculine in tradition. Moreover, the roles so excessively and successfully embedded that even women agree the fact that they should obey their husbands' decisions. According to Ilkcaracan one third of nonparticipant women cannot enter into labor force due to lack of husband's or other sibling's consent which will be discussed in detail in the next section (Ilkcaracan, 2012).

The model that is introduced by Gavetti and Warglien (2007) based on the logic of recognition in a way that when decision maker faces with a novel environment, he has a tendency to transfer solutions from the past outcomes that he believes he has similarities with the situation at hand. It is also mentioned by March and Simon (1993) as it involves some mapping between the main elements of the old experience's structure and features

of new situation that can be easily seen by decision-maker: a mapping from the source which refers to the main elements of the old experience's structure to the target which refers to the easily seen features of situation at hand. Every agent, whether a women or men, stores at least some part of the experience from the past. If an individual face with a novelty in her current life and if there exists a similarity from the experience that is gained in the past, the very same way can be transferred into the novelty in hand. That was the starting proposition of the authors. The assumption is based on associative memory. Here it is assumed that the associative memory is content-addressable so that it directly retrieves the memory that matches with the target. The source that is stored in the agent's memory assumed to the situations or experiences that correspond to different clusters of correlated features.

This part of the model when applied to our scope of interest-female labor force participation decision-can be a possible explanation of how masculinity shapes the labor force decision of women in the scope of consent and continues its existence through intergenerational transmissions. In that sense, initial starting point is important as within this vicious cycle, one might claim that family has important role as transmitting mechanism of masculinity and indirectly effecting the labor force participation of women. Men and women, whom are coming from families where in Jennifer Olmsted's (2005) words where patriarchal contract exists, actually learn the roles that are attributed to women and men consciously or unconsciously. On the contrary, it will be an explanation also for in Fernandez's words; "...over time there was an evolution in male attitudes towards educated and working women brought about by some men experiencing a different family model—one in which their mother was skilled and/or

worked”(Fernandez et al., 2002).

In addition to the continuation of the model (Gavetti and Warglien, 2007) every individual will have different interpretation, but what is more important is how they adjust their recognition by balancing the pressures both coming from their own mental state and others’ interpretations. Here others refer to people in one specific geographical area or the ones belong to specific culture or can be simplified as the ones that are directly or indirectly influencing each other when the sense of belonging to a culture considered. Moreover, decision-makers’ are willing to reach the same interpretation, which is collective reflective equilibrium. This originates from the communication, so intensity of communication has strong effects on the collective recognition, or what kind of equilibrium they reached in the end of decision-making process. Furthermore, one can define the group of decision makers as interacting memories. However, there is one thing that needs particular attention in this model, when the weight of communication increases, the group is tend to be closer to what is defined as ‘groupthink’ regardless of rightness of belief. In the scope the interest of this study, this will be a potential explanation of how culture exist and continue its existence. Moreover, it may give some insight about the masculinities that is ingrained in Turkish culture. This arbitrary shared recognition is defined as the pathologies of groupthink. This leads authors to the proposition “when a group is in very high influence condition, no individual agent will put her opinion against that of the majority in her group”(Gavetti and Warglien, 2007). “Consensus overrides realism” (Gavetti and Warglien, 2007, p.20). This part of the model when applied to our scope of interest will be a potential explanation for how these pathologies of masculinity ingrained in culture in societies where masculine dimension is

dominant.

### ***Section 3***

#### **Experimental Evidence from the Literature**

Several studies have been carried out about the decision making of not participating on labor force in Turkey ( Ilkkaracan, 2012; Memis et al., 2012; Tokgoz, 2012). One of these studies is based on the survey conducted by Ipek Ilkkaracan through *Ümraniye* women's center. The target population of the survey is urban women of working age (ages 12-64) (Ilkkaracan, 2012, p.18).The study conducted among 530 women, whose ages are varying between 12-64 in *Ümraniye* which is one of the biggest business area in Anatolian side of Istanbul, Turkey and one of the most migrated area from rural to urban. The educational attainment statistics of women that are participated in the survey are as follows; 17 percent of the sample population has never been educated and 64.5 percent of them have only primary education whereas 4 percent of the sample population has university graduated. The most indicated reason of nonparticipant women with 80.5 percent mentioned 'busy with housework' as a reason for not participating in the labor force (Ilkkaracan, 2012)<sup>i</sup>. The data from the survey conducted by Ilkkaracan indicates that the most prominent feature of this survey is its efforts to find out the women's preferences toward paid work. In order to do so Ilkkaracan (2012) distinguished participants as content and discontent participants and content and discontent non-participants. Content participants are happy with the patriarchal contract. Their motivation is coming not only from financial reasons but also personal fulfillment reasons. On the other hand quarter of the discontent participants, mentioned the double burden as a reason for not wanting to participate to labor force but they are obliged to work for financial reasons. Discontent

nonparticipants are the largest category in the survey-70.3 percent. Also, one third of these women cannot enter into labor force due to lack of husband's or other sibling's consent (Ilkcaracan, 2012). In addition to that, these women mentioned their desire to participate into Labor force to help the family budget. Among the content nonparticipants, the reasons that are stated are their perception of men as breadwinner while perception of women someone who look after house and children unless they are obliged for financial reasons. One of the participant mentioned ' This is what I saw in my family, none would look upon (paid) working women favorably' (Ilkcaracan, 2012, p.27). One cannot expect that the preference of an individual will solely based on her decision-making but also social context plays a crucial role. Furthermore, it is also mentioned in literature by many scholars, the individual decision making process cannot be isolated from the social context (Memis et al.)<sup>ii</sup>. Social context in patriarchal societies can be attributed to men's decision power as husbands as fathers or even as siblings. In Tokgoz's <sup>iii</sup>words "In countries where private patriarchy has been strong, a man, husband or father, benefiting from the maintenance of the gender-based division of labor at home. Another argument states by Zax et al. (2012)<sup>iv</sup> that when the marginal product of employee is not observable and if employers expect an employee to produce less than his or her marginal product, wages are adjusted according to the expectations of employers. Here the important thing is the effort as products of employees are composed of the amount of effort exerted and a noise term. Besides, large line of literature shows that female exert higher effort at home on the contrary men exert a higher amount of effort in the market (Albanesi and Olivetti, 2009; Hersch and Stratton, 1997)<sup>v</sup>. The reasons behind these are explained above to make clear the 'patriarchal contract that is ingrained

in Turkish culture. Correlation will be because of lower valuation of female traits; lower expected products of female employees that do not leave a choice for women but to put less effort in exchange of lower rewards. Fernandez et al. (2002) also points out the importance of family as a potential explanation for consent issue that if a men is brought up in a family in which mother has worked, those men have a tendency to marry with a women who is working. Having a working mother increases the probability that the son's wife works from 39 percent to 71 percent.<sup>vi</sup>

Goksel also showed that men whose mothers are housewives tend to marry with women whom are housewives as well.<sup>vii</sup>

The pioneering work of Gul Ozyegin about domestic service in Turkey gives evidence to the roles attributes to women, '...Women are excluded from activities that require mobility, flexibility, and independence and provide higher earnings while they are concentrated in those activities that are compatible with their roles within the domestic sphere.'<sup>viii</sup> Even the work of Ozyegin depending on the women who are among the group of women who are low educated, that general attribute is unfortunately devoted to women as ability to perform their roles both in domestic and market spheres which is double work burden.

Another pioneering work established by Memis et al.<sup>ix</sup> put forward the effect of having child on labor force participation decisions of women in Turkey by adopting life course approach. Their aim is understand the different patterns of gender in allocation of time between paid and unpaid work by defining the three critical stages in the lifetime of a household as: singlehood, marriage without children and marriage with children. Here



unpaid work includes the housework and childcare. Findings are supportive with our argument as women spend most of their total work time on unpaid work compare to men who are spending most of their time in paid work. More importantly, their observations suggest that women spend greater time when they get married compare to decrease of time that is devoted to unpaid work by men even both of them are employed in the market. On the other hand, having a child equalizes unpaid work time spent by women and men stop sharing the burden significantly with the increase in the number of children.

## ***Section 4***

### **Descriptive Statistics and Data**

In this work, we use the European Value Surveys (EVS) that are conducted in 2001 and 2009 in Turkey. The scope of the data contains only women. Moreover, surveys are conducted in 15 cities; Adana, Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, Gaziantep, Isparta, Mersin, Istanbul, Izmir, Konya, Manisa, Tokat, Trabzon, Sanliurfa and Van. Table 1 reports the descriptive statistics. Education is coded as; Inadequately completed elementary education, Completed (compulsory) elementary education, Incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type, Complete secondary school: technical/vocational type/secondary, Incomplete secondary: university-preparatory type/secondary, Complete secondary: university-preparatory type/full secondary, Some university without degree/higher education - lower-level tertiary, University with degree/higher education - upper-level tertiary. However, for the sake of simplicity, we have generated a dummy that takes the value one for those who that have not completed completed their education and zero otherwise. Moreover, age, marital status, number of children in the household under 5 years old, number of children between 5-12, number of children between 13-17 are the other variables that we think might be correlated with the female labor force participation decisions.

Table 1 below reports the descriptive statistics as follows whereas Table 2 reports the description of variables:

**Table 1**

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
country	1928	792	0	792	792
year	1928	2006.502	3.708221	2001	2009
wneedchild	1888	.7706568	.4205218	0	1
srelbelf	1879	1.197445	.5117094	1	3
ghousing	1894	1.342661	.5688762	1	3
religious	1883	1.100903	.3116823	1	3
age	1896	38.6904	14.25496	17	89
marstat	1928	2.157676	1.990906	1	6
nchild	601	2.475874	2.220323	0	8
nchild13_17	602	.5996678	.8997318	0	4
nchild5_12	602	.6960133	.9716193	0	5
nchild_5	602	.4186047	.711811	0	6
educ	1923	2.899116	2.056996	1	8
emplstat	1924	4.733888	1.273301	1	8
region	602	792008.9	4.206384	792001	792015
agesq	1896	1700.044	1268.464	289	7921

**Table 2**

obs:	1,928			
vars:	16			13 Mrz 2012 11:13
size:	48,200			

---

variable name	storage type	display format	value label	variable label
<b>country</b>	int	%3.0f	s003	<b>country code</b>
<b>year</b>	int	%4.0f	s020	<b>survey year</b>
<b>wneedchild</b>	byte	%2.0f	d019	<b>women need children in order to be fulfilled</b>
<b>srelbelf</b>	byte	%2.0f	d031	<b>important in marriage: shared religious beliefs</b>
<b>ghousing</b>	byte	%2.0f	d032	<b>important in marriage: good housing</b>
<b>religious</b>	byte	%2.0f	f034	<b>are you a religious person</b>
<b>age</b>	int	%3.0f	x003	<b>age: respondent</b>
<b>marstat</b>	byte	%2.0f	x007	<b>current legal marital status respondent</b>
<b>nchild</b>	byte	%2.0f	x011	<b>how many children have you yourself ever had</b>
<b>nchild13_17</b>	byte	%2.0f	x015	<b>number of people in household aged 13-17</b>
<b>nchild5_12</b>	byte	%2.0f	x016	<b>number of people in household aged 5-12</b>
<b>nchild_5</b>	byte	%2.0f	x017	<b>number of people in household under age of 5</b>
<b>educ</b>	byte	%2.0f	x025	<b>highest educational level attained respondent (8 categories)</b>
<b>emplstat</b>	byte	%2.0f	x028	<b>employment status</b>
<b>region</b>	long	%8.0f	x048	<b>region where interview was conducted</b>
<b>agesq</b>	float	%9.0g		

In order to measure the effect of religion and index of conservatism two proxies are created. First one which is called as index of conservatism as a reference to religion is the perception about the religion; perception if one describes herself as religious or not and whether shared religious beliefs are important in marriage. The index of conservatism is formed using the answers to the following questions: “Are you a religious person?, Do you think shared religious beliefs are important in marriage?”

Second proxy is called women bias from women to women as we have considered only the female population in order to understand how women perceive themselves or which roles they think is appropriate for women. In order to do so the women bias from women to women dummy is formed using the answers according to the following question: “Do you think women need children in order to be fulfilled?” and “Do you think what is important in marriage is good housing?” to highlight whether they perceive themselves as fulfilled with children, and to see whether they see whether they find good housing important in marriage.

Moreover, the general OLS regression is as follows;

$$\text{Employment status} = \alpha + \beta X + \gamma Y + \sigma Z + \delta R + \epsilon \quad (1)$$

Where Employment status stands for woman who are housewives, X is representing the individual characteristics and Y is the proxy for religious conservativeness, Z is the proxy for the women bias from women to women, R is regional dummies and  $\epsilon$  is error term.

## Section 5

### The Findings

The study has based on three different regressions in order to see the effect of added variables. The initial results from the first regression is obtained through regressing employment status on age, age square, legal marital status, highest educational attained, number of children, number of children under five years old, number of children between 5 and 12 and number of children between 13 and 17 years old. The first OLS regression as follows;

```
reg demplsta age agesq dmarstat* deduc* nchild nchild13_17 nchild5_12 nchild_5(2)
```

**Table 3**

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs = 601		
Model	31.886011	5	6.37720221	F( 5, 595) =	47.93	
Residual	79.1589141	595	.133040192	Prob > F =	0.0000	
				R-squared =	0.2871	
				Adj R-squared =	0.2812	
Total	111.044925	600	.185074875	Root MSE =	.36475	

  

demplsta	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
age	-.0246905	.0080462	-3.07	0.002	-.040493	-.0088881
agesq	.0002863	.0000982	2.92	0.004	.0000935	.0004792
dmarstat	.2448543	.0395036	6.20	0.000	.1672709	.3224377
deduc	.2480809	.0309625	8.01	0.000	.1872718	.30889
nchild	.0646154	.0089551	7.22	0.000	.047028	.0822028
_cons	.7850444	.1371099	5.73	0.000	.5157661	1.054323

The initial findings from the first regression suggest the fact that there is a positive correlation between legal marital status as married and being housewife as an employment status with a coefficient of 0.2448543. Moreover, there exist a positive correlation between being housewife and education status as incomplete of any kind with a coefficient of 0.2480809. Therefore, when p-values of these variables indicate that relationship between being housewife and being married and between being housewife and having incomplete education in any kind is significant. There exists positive correlation between number of children and being housewife, which suggest form the p-value, as it is smaller than 0.05limit. The model summary (Table 3) section of the result was found to be useful when Ordinary least square regression according to Table 3. The R-squared value indicates how much these variables have effect on female labor force participation decisions with approximately 29 per cent which shows that the overall measure of the strength of the model. Table 3 shows the validity of the initial model. The second OLS regression as follows;

```
reg demplsta age agesq dmarstat* deduc* nchild nchild13_17 nchild5_12 nchild_5 (3)
```

**Table 4**

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	<b>35.3992825</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4.42491031</b>	Number of obs =	<b>601</b>	
Residual	<b>75.6456426</b>	<b>592</b>	<b>.127779802</b>	F( 8, 592) =	<b>34.63</b>	
Total	<b>111.044925</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>.185074875</b>	Prob > F =	<b>0.0000</b>	
				R-squared =	<b>0.3188</b>	
				Adj R-squared =	<b>0.3096</b>	
				Root MSE =	<b>.35746</b>	

  

demplsta	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
age	<b>-.0183621</b>	<b>.0080623</b>	<b>-2.28</b>	<b>0.023</b>	<b>-.0341964</b>	<b>-.0025278</b>
agesq	<b>.0002682</b>	<b>.0000978</b>	<b>2.74</b>	<b>0.006</b>	<b>.0000763</b>	<b>.0004602</b>
dmarstat	<b>.2001795</b>	<b>.040437</b>	<b>4.95</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.1207622</b>	<b>.2795969</b>
deduc	<b>.245255</b>	<b>.030425</b>	<b>8.06</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.185501</b>	<b>.305009</b>
nchild	<b>.0406331</b>	<b>.0104582</b>	<b>3.89</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.0200933</b>	<b>.0611728</b>
nchild13_17	<b>.0198644</b>	<b>.017518</b>	<b>1.13</b>	<b>0.257</b>	<b>-.0145406</b>	<b>.0542693</b>
nchild5_12	<b>.0405059</b>	<b>.0175166</b>	<b>2.31</b>	<b>0.021</b>	<b>.0061036</b>	<b>.0749082</b>
nchild_5	<b>.1027264</b>	<b>.0227735</b>	<b>4.51</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.0579996</b>	<b>.1474531</b>
_cons	<b>.5971568</b>	<b>.1395029</b>	<b>4.28</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.3231759</b>	<b>.8711376</b>

The finding from the second regression cause a decrease in level of correlation between marital status as being married and being housewife from 0.2448543 to 0.2001795, as well as the correlation between being housewife and having incomplete education in any kind from 0.2480809 to 0.245355. The most important difference among the Table 3 and Table 3 is the increase in the positive correlation between number of children and being housewife. This indicates that to have one more children increases the chance of being housewife by 40 per cent. Among the age groups of children within the household, the most significant correlation appears to be for number of children between 5 and 12 years old. Besides, having number of children between 13 and 17 and number of children fewer than five have positive correlation consecutively as 0.198644 and 0.1027264. The



p values of the variables less than 0.05 suggest that how confident our independent variable has some correlation with the dependent variable. Rather than the number of children between 13 and 17, the independent variables seem confident. Overall explanatory power of the model can be seen through R- square is 31 per cent which also suggests that adding number of children in age intervals increase the explanatory power of our model when compared with the Table 4.

Before proceeding to final model it will be better to give some insight about how we have calculated conservativeness index and women bias from women to women index. In order to calculate the proxies' principal component factoring method is used. The final OLS regression is as follows:

```
reg demplsta age agesq dmarstat* deduc* nchild nchild13_17 nchild5_12 nchild_5  
religcons women(4)
```

**Table 5**

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	<b>39.1928119</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3.91928119</b>	Number of obs =	<b>584</b>	
Residual	<b>68.7917772</b>	<b>573</b>	<b>.120055458</b>	F( 10, 573) =	<b>32.65</b>	
Total	<b>107.984589</b>	<b>583</b>	<b>.18522228</b>	Prob > F =	<b>0.0000</b>	
				R-squared =	<b>0.3629</b>	
				Adj R-squared =	<b>0.3518</b>	
				Root MSE =	<b>.34649</b>	

  

demplsta	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
age	<b>-.0071793</b>	<b>.0080604</b>	<b>-0.89</b>	<b>0.373</b>	<b>-.0230107</b>	<b>.0086522</b>
agesq	<b>.0001295</b>	<b>.0000976</b>	<b>1.33</b>	<b>0.185</b>	<b>-.0000621</b>	<b>.0003212</b>
dmarstat	<b>.166688</b>	<b>.0405112</b>	<b>4.11</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.0871194</b>	<b>.2462566</b>
deduc	<b>.2070416</b>	<b>.0305862</b>	<b>6.77</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.146967</b>	<b>.2671163</b>
nchild	<b>.0321902</b>	<b>.0104652</b>	<b>3.08</b>	<b>0.002</b>	<b>.0116353</b>	<b>.0527452</b>
nchild13_17	<b>.0135294</b>	<b>.0174531</b>	<b>0.78</b>	<b>0.439</b>	<b>-.0207505</b>	<b>.0478094</b>
nchild5_12	<b>.0328587</b>	<b>.0172113</b>	<b>1.91</b>	<b>0.057</b>	<b>-.0009463</b>	<b>.0666636</b>
nchild_5	<b>.1026023</b>	<b>.0223062</b>	<b>4.60</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.0587904</b>	<b>.1464143</b>
religcons	<b>-.233465</b>	<b>.0372448</b>	<b>-6.27</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>-.306618</b>	<b>-.1603119</b>
womenbias	<b>.062686</b>	<b>.0390227</b>	<b>1.61</b>	<b>0.109</b>	<b>-.0139589</b>	<b>.1393309</b>
_cons	<b>.6867196</b>	<b>.1489495</b>	<b>4.61</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.394166</b>	<b>.9792732</b>

The most prominent facts are the negative correlation between conservatism and being housewife, which indicates that being religious and having a belief that shared religious beliefs are important in marriage, have a negative effect on being housewife. On the contrary, there is a positive correlation between women bias from women to women and being housewife. It indicates that as much as women agree that women need children to be fulfilled and good housing is important in marriage, the more they are lean to be housewives. Even though the p value does not let us to be that confident, explanatory power of the model increases from 31 per cent to 36 per cent when the conservatism and women bias variables are included.

In order for simplification for the comparison between the regressions, it will be useful as

well to see the regression in the same table in Table 5.

**Table 6**

	reg1 b/se	reg2 b/se	reg3 b/se
age	<b>-0.025**</b> (0.01)	<b>-0.018*</b> (0.01)	<b>-0.007</b> (0.01)
agesq	<b>0.000**</b> (0.00)	<b>0.000**</b> (0.00)	<b>0.000</b> (0.00)
dmарstat	<b>0.245***</b> (0.04)	<b>0.200***</b> (0.04)	<b>0.167***</b> (0.04)
deduc	<b>0.248***</b> (0.03)	<b>0.245***</b> (0.03)	<b>0.207***</b> (0.03)
nchild	<b>0.065***</b> (0.01)	<b>0.041***</b> (0.01)	<b>0.032**</b> (0.01)
nchild13_17		<b>0.020</b> (0.02)	<b>0.014</b> (0.02)
nchild5_12		<b>0.041*</b> (0.02)	<b>0.033</b> (0.02)
nchild_5		<b>0.103***</b> (0.02)	<b>0.103***</b> (0.02)
religcons			<b>-0.233***</b> (0.04)
womenbias			<b>0.063</b> (0.04)
_cons	<b>0.785***</b> (0.14)	<b>0.597***</b> (0.14)	<b>0.687***</b> (0.15)

Accordingly, in all the regressions, findings suggest that having and incomplete education in any kind have a significant effect on being housewife, being married is positively and significantly correlated with being housewife, increase in the number of children in general also positively correlated with being a housewife. In regression 2 and regression, 3 having number of children under 5 years old positively correlated with being housewife.

Finally, when evaluated within the scope of interest of this study, there exist a negative correlation between conservatism index where it indicates the perception of women whether they perceive themselves as religious or not and the importance of the shared religious beliefs in marriage and being housewife. Moreover, there exist positive correlation between women bias from women to women which indicates whether women perceive women in need of children to be fulfilled and the importance of good housing in marriage and being housewife.

## *Section 6*

### **Conclusion**

The reasons behind the low labor force participation of women is much more complex than to seek for correlation between some determinants that is considered to be related. With no doubt, it is not possible for us to deny the explanatory role that they are playing, but one should also evaluate the masculine dimensions of the culture. In terms of Turkish setting, as a country, which has prominent masculine dimensions, deeply rooted patriarchal relations, they lose some part of their explanatory power in that pre-determined environment. Yet within the conceptual borders of gender, one should keep in mind that the information about women must also be the information of men; or in other words, when talking about women, one should establish its relationally to men. In that sense the reason why we have created women bias proxy in order to see how ingrained masculinities shaped the perception of women among themselves. It is not the main concern of this paper to follow the seek for evidence whether increasing educational attainment following increasing human capital enhances the chance for women to participate into labor force, but to seek for answers for whether religion have some explanatory power of being housewife and whether perception of women among themselves is related with the roles that is intergenerational transmission and ingrained in culture. Our findings suggest that there exist a positive correlation among women bias from women to women and being housewife while on the other hand there exist a negative correlation between being conservative and being housewife. This actually indicates that rather than religion, fulfilling traditional roles as mothers, wives, as

generally caregivers are greater obstacle for women who are eager to participate in the labor force.

This is what we aimed to do when we tried to mention, it is not fertility that lowers the labor force participation of women, it is the patriarchal structure that automatically excludes men from unpaid work. It is actually the product of the same mentality that gives dolls to girls to play with but trucks to boys.

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