UNEQUAL DIVISION of UNPAID WORK in TURKEY: EVIDENCE FROM TIME-USE SURVEY, 2006[1]

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Abstract

Using a sample of 7458 people in working age from Time-Use Survey, conducted in 2006, we examine the difference in people's time spent in both housework and care work. In this study, we perform covariance analysis by using slope-intercept technique to qualify the determinants and to catch the differentiation among both the determinants and determinant groups. Including grouped variables in the model provided us to understand their cumulative effects on people's time use in unpaid work. The most significant result of the model used in this study is that people's time use in unpaid work is highly gendered since women's time spent is at least six times greater than men's. Additionally, an employed woman with a college degree –as a grouped variable- does two and an half hour less work in a week than women without any education while a man in the same group does 30 minutes more work than his uneducated counterparts. In the case of Turkey, the study also shows that share of both housework and care work done by women is considerably high. On the other hand, women's participation to labor force leads to a significant decrease in their unpaid work time at home.

Key Words: Unpaid Work, Time Use, Gender.

Türkiye'de Ücretsiz Çalışmanın Eşitsiz Bölüşümü: Zaman Kullanımı Anketinden Bulgular, 2006

Özet

2006 yılında gerçekleştirilen zaman kullanım anketinde, 7458 çalışma çağındaki kişinin hem ev hem de bakım işlerinde harcadıkları zaman karşılaştırıldı. Harcanılan zamanda belirleyici olan değişkenlerin nitelenmesi ve hem değişkenlerin hem de değişken gruplarının arasındaki farklılaşmanın saptanması için simle-slope ve simple-intercept tekniği kullanılarak kovaryans analizi yapıldı. Modele gruplandırılmış değişkenlerin dahil edilmesi, bu değişkenlerin insanların ücretsiz çalışmadaki zaman kullanımları üzerindeki kümülatif etkilerini anlamamızı sağladı. Çalışmada kullanılan modelin en önemli sonucu, kadınların erkeklere göre ücretsiz çalışmada 6 saat fazla harcamaları dolayısıyla, zaman kullanımının son derece cinsiyetçi olduğu yönündedir. Buna ek olarak, lisans mezunu ve çalışan bir kadın – gruplandırılmış bir değişken olarak- , hiç eğitim almamış bir kadına göre haftada 2 buçuk saat daha az çalışırken, aynı gruptaki bir erkek, eğitimsiz emsallerinden 30 dakika daha fazla çalışmaktadır. Türkiye örneğinde, bu çalışma aynı zamanda, kadınların payına düşen ev ve bakım işlerinin çok yüksek olduğunu göstermektedir. Öte yandan, kadınların iş gücüne katılımı, ev içi ücretsiz çalışma zamanını önemli ölçüde düşürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ücretsiz çalışma, Zaman Kullanımı, Cinsiyet.

Introduction

Republic of Turkey was established as a secular state after the national independence war (1919-22) in 1923, and by the following years, a series of legal reforms began to be accomplished concerning women's status. In 1924 girls were granted equal right to education by the law on unification of education. Other legal reform put into practice with the Turkish Civil Code in 1926 which outlawed polygamy. Through this law, men and women have equal rights to divorce and get child's custody. Thereafter the civil code, women gained enfranchisement for local and general elections in 1930 and 1935, respectively. Other laws and regulations began to be accomplished regarding women's status especially for the ones in working life.

Deniz Kandiyoti singles Turkey out as a republic that has addressed the question of women's emancipation early, explicitly and extensively among the Middle East countries (1987: 320). Women have always been in the center of modernization process in Turkey. Some reforms in modernization process such as new educational opportunities, political participation and/or marital equity may have a positive impact on women's status in some respects. In this process, various ideological discourses

defined 'new women' as 'modern but virtuous' and set the limits as to what degree the women could be 'modernized' while 'traditional womanhood' was scrutinized (Durakbaşa & İlyasoğlu, 2001: 196). According to Kandiyoti, "…although the secular reforms of the Turkish Republic may have had a set of nationalistic goals as their ultimate objective, they have nonetheless had a progressive impact on women's rights" (334). At this point, it should be stated that these reforms provided formal structures and institutional mechanisms due to equal treatment and non-discrimination principles under law. But in the context of everyday life, these reforms by itself cannot provide a fundamental change in people's life-styles which arise from myriad factors that range from economic conditions to sex roles, from religious beliefs to family and household structures (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986: 485).

This study concerns with the family and its socioeconomic structure in the context division of unpaid labor time including housework and care work between men and women rather than religion and/or religious beliefs although there is a large number of studies which link the status of women to religion or religious beliefs (Ahmed 1986; Lehrer 1995; Karmi 1996; Hijab 1998; Read & Bartkowski 2000). We believe that in the case of Turkey, unpaid labor time is an important indicator showing sexual division of labor between men and women. For generally speaking, time-use statistics have become an important tool for measuring the unpaid work (UW) of households, for measuring paid work (PW) and for obtaining a comprehensive picture of the activities of men and women in both economic and non-economic spheres of life (Antonopoulos, 2008: 57). One of the most powerful insights provided by time-use statistics is an understanding of the unequal allocation of time between men's and women's unpaid activities. The related literature shows that men are more likely to be involved in PW than women, whereas women's use of time is associated with UW (Beneria, 2003; Gershuny, 2000); this, in turn, determines women's well-being (Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2010; Bittman, 1999; Elson & Cagatay, 2000).

A study that uses data from the Time-use Survey conducted in 2006 by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI) shows the gender-based inequalities in PW and UW time in Turkey (Memiş, Öneş, & Kızılırmak, 2012). Another study conducted by the same researchers shows how this inequality leads to women's income poverty (Öneş, Memiş, & Kizilirmak, 2013). Using the same data in this study, covariance analysis was performed by using the slope-intercept technique to qualify the determinants and to capture the differentiation between the determinants and the determinant groups. Including grouped variables in the model allows us to understand their cumulative effects on men's and women's use of time in UW. This study aims to reveal underlying reasons of the reality that Turkish women are still

confined to traditional roles such as doing most of the housework and care work than men even though they are employed and/or well-educated. At this stage, it is important to refer the determinants which might affect women's unpaid work.

Determinants of Women's Unpaid Work in Turkey

Although women are given the same rights as men and equal to men under law, they face with lots of inequalities and discrimination in the labor market which in turn effect women's time spent in unpaid work. One of the most explicit inequality can be seen in both female's and male's labor force participation (LFP) ratios in Turkey. At the end of the first 25 years of young Turkey, women's LFP was quite high as a consequence of absence of male labor force after a series of wars. By mid1950s, women's LFP rate was % 72.0 which decreased to % 56.62 in the following 10 years (Makal, 2001: 121). According to last data collected by Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI), women's LFP rate is % 29 in October 2013. It can be rightly stated that Women's LFP has been gradually decreasing from the establishment of Turkey to date.

In the ongoing literature, women's employment is directly related to their total time spent in housework and care work. For example, Bittman defines one of social disadvantages that flow from women's family responsibilities as interrupting labor force attachment and downward social mobility (1999: 29). It is obvious that there is an asymmetrical link between women's employment and their time spent in family tasks. On the context of heterosexual married couples, it should be stated that "… wives' commitment to market labor does not substantially alter the number of household tasks or elicit a significant redistribution between wives and husbands commensurate with their paid labor (Sirianni & Negrey, 2000: 629). It will be discussed in detail in the further chapter that women's employment does not lead to a same decrease in their unpaid work time as compared to men's in Turkey. According to work force statistics of TSI of 2009[*], more than % 60 of not employed/working age women showed household tasks as the reason of not working.

Another inequality concerning labor market is the wage gap between men and women in Turkey especially for the private sector. Wage gap is one of the reasons of disincentive factors of women's participation to work life. If a woman achieves to be employed in Turkey, she must consent in advance to a lower wage. As it shown in the table, education level has not a positive

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[*]   Data can be acquired from the author: ulas@uludag.edu.tr

impact on women's wages compared with men in the same educational level. Also there is a significant gender pay gap (GPG) against women.

Table 1: GPG by educational attainment in Turkey

	2010			2014		
	Monthly average gross wage∗ (TL)			Monthly average gross wage∗ (TL)		
Educational attainment	Male	Female	GPG∗∗	Male	female	GPG∗∗
Primary school and below	1066	874	17,97	1594	1289	19,15
Primary and secondary school	1061	870	17,96	1562	1318	15,59
High school	1317	1177	10,60	1755	1576	10,20
Vocational high school	1649	1336	18,98	2373	1851	22,02
Higher education	2842	2380	16,25	4296	3470	19,24

*   Monthly wage: Include the sum of monthly basic wages, over time payments, payments for shift work/night work and other regular payments paid to employees in the reference month by employers. Souce: "Monthly average gross wage and yearly average gross earnings by sex and educational attainment" in Earnings Structure, http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1008.

**   Calculated based on total wages in 2010 and 2014, [(male wages-female wages)/male wages*100].

Wage is an important determinant in women's total time spent in housework. There are large body of studies which shows the negative relation between women's wages and their total time in housework (See Chang et all, 2011 for China Case; Warren et all, 2010 for UK Case; Gammage 2010 for Guatemala Case; Gupta & Ash 2008 for USA case). Results of "Structure of Earnings Survey" hold in 2010 by TSI show that gender pay gap are in favor of male employees at all levels of education. In this study, this connection will not be able to be studied since our data indicates participants' total income levels including other households' income in the same family instead of indicating all households' incomes separately.

Another important factor which might have impact on women's unpaid work is the number of households in Turkey. For underprivileged class families, especially for the ones who migrated recently to urban areas, it is normal to live with relatives including older generations. Number of people in need of nursing increases households' time spent in both care work and housework. Women are assigned as major providers for care independently of their income level in Turkey. Based on her study about negotiation of family work in households, Bolak mentions that "along with grocery shopping and kin work, children's discipline and education have

become increasingly defined as exclusively "female" responsibilities" (1997: 416).

Education level of a woman is another important factor on her unpaid work time. It is very difficult for women without any education and/or with poor education to get employed with better working conditions and with a better wage, as well. Education not only increases women's status in labor markets, but also increases their intrafamily status. According to their research, Ataca and Sunar found that "feminine sex role identification and lower education were associated with lower intrafamily status for the women, while masculine sex role identification and higher education were associated with higher intrafamily status (1999: 89). Education process has much more positive impact on women's breaking ties with their traditional roles than men's. For example, the results of a survey conducted among college students shows that female college students in Turkey are less traditional than their male counterparts (Culpan & Marzotto 1982: 350).

Besides education, in World Bank's report on female FFP in Turkey, it is mentioned that urbanization and the move out of subsistence agriculture are significant determinants which have had a profound effect on employment patterns for women, especially among those who have not attained university education (World Bank 2009: ix). But in the same report it is also stated that "economic barriers mainly relate to the quality of working conditions for poorly educated women in urban areas (high likelihood of working in the informal sector, low salaries, lack of affordable childcare and long working hours, among others), while cultural barriers mainly relate to women's role as caregivers and to family/social demands for women to remain at home" (xi).

In this study we aimed to determine the major factors which effects households' unpaid work time in Turkey. In regard to the literature mentioned above, we identify the determinants which might have the major impact on unpaid work time as gender, employment, education level, income level, number of households and urban/rural dwelling. We assume that the main determinant having the biggest impact on the households' unpaid work time is *gender* since women always do the majority of housework and care work in a family independently of its socioeconomic status in Turkey.

Data and Method

Time Use Survey which was conducted in 2006 by TSI is the first and only survey that provides comprehensive information about households' unpaid work in Turkish family. We restricted our analytic sample to the people in working age. Our data covers 7458 participants composed of 3,559

males and 3,899 females. Approximately 75 percent of males are employed, compared with 25 percent of women. Employment is one of the most significant factors that determines use of time in unpaid work because women who work outside the home are more likely to support nontraditional gender roles than women who do not leave their homes for work (Cassidy & Warren, 2015; Huber & Spitze, 1981; Mason & Lu, 1988).

Besides the employment gap between men and women, there is another significant indicator concerning unpaid work time that of education. In this study education levels are categorized as uneducated, primary school graduates, secondary/junior high school graduates, senior high graduates and university graduates, and coded starting from 0 to 4, respectively.

Table 2: Education Levels by Sex

		Education					Total
		Non-educated	primary	Secondary	senior high	university	
gender	Male	388	1754	431	598	388	3559
	female	1157	1815	271	450	206	3899
Total		1545	3569	702	1048	594	7458

Another indicator used in this study is the differentiation between urban and rural living. Those living in urban areas were coded as 0, whereas those in rural areas were coded as 1. The number of households was also considered to be another determinant that may have an impact on people's time spent on unpaid work. The survey data indicate the exact number of members in a household, from 1 to 10. Finally, this study categorized families' total income on a scale from 0 to 9. It is important to note that in the survey, income data shows the total income of a given family, not each member's income individually.

In the survey, TSI used "EUROSTAT Activity Coding List" to categorize households' daily activities. In our study, we include "home care" activity which is ranked as 3 in the survey to examine the unpaid work time. Home care activity includes nine tasks which are listed.

- food management
- household upkeep
- laundry, ironing etc.
- gardening and pet care
- construction and repairs
- shopping and services
- household management

- child care
- help to an adult family member

Unpaid work time indicates total time spent in 24 hours which is indicated as weekly by TSI. In our model, we used households' weekly time spent in all of those tasks as dependent variable. We try to determine which variable and variable groups have major impact on the time spent in unpaid work.

Model

In this study, it is examined the difference in people's time spent in both housework and care work. For the purposes of this study, the data set is analyzed by means of a two-step procedure. In the first stage, all possible regression procedures were used. It is important to note that using all possible regression procedures is a computational technique for variable selection. It requires estimation of all of the regression equations that involve all possible subsets of the pool of potential predictors and identification of a small number of subsets which are "good" according to a specified criterion (Kutner et. all, 2005: 348). Second, the regression equation with full interaction terms is estimated and simple slope and simple intercept (SS-SI) procedures are used to observe the moderation effects.

An interaction occurs when the magnitude of the effect of one independent variable on a dependent variable varies as a function of other independent variable(s) (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2006, 438). This interaction is also known as moderation effect. If the interaction term is found to be significant at a given level, the regression of the dependent variable on a focal predictor is typically probed across values of the moderator(s) to understand the nature of the conditional relation (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2004).

$$TT = \beta_0 + \beta_1 TI + \beta_2 Rur + \beta_3 HH + \beta_4 S + \beta_5 W + \beta_6 Edu + \beta_7 (S*W) + \\ \beta_8 (W*Edu) + \beta_9 (S*Edu) + \beta_{10} (S*W*Edu) + u \tag{1}$$

The equation above is determined as the best subset regression at the end of all possible regression procedures. TT is the dependent variable that shows the total time spent on unpaid work. TI, Rur, HH, S and W symbolize the total income as the sum of the all household's earnings in a month, rural or urban dwelling, the number of households living in the same house, sex as male or female and work as being employed or not, respectively.

Results

After determining the best subset regressors, this study estimated the following regression equation with statistically significant interaction terms and used simple slope and simple intercept procedures. Table 1 shows the estimated results of the most appropriate model. The key conclusion to be derived from the figures is that gender has the largest impact on the total unpaid work time.

Table 3: Main Model
(Dependent variable is Total Time Spend in Unpaid Work)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
Intercept	662.2396	10.79801	61.32980	0.0000
Total Income	-8.950408	2.268603	-3.945339	0.0001
Rural	22.66300	6.253283	3.624176	0.0003
Number of Households	14.45075	1.752645	8.245110	0.0000
Sex	-553.0019	12.69448	-43.56238	0.0000
Work	-162.1700	16.25385	-9.977325	0.0000
Education	37.15060	5.437607	6.832159	0.0000
Sex x Work	61.43848	19.30623	3.182314	0.0015
Work x Education	-29.65743	8.953517	-3.312378	0.0009
Education x Sex	-19.83282	7.258660	-2.732298	0.0063
Sex x Education xWork	36.18866	10.41171	3.475764	0.0005
R-squared	0.615234	Mean dependent var		423.9431
Adjusted R-squared	0.614716	S.D. dependent var		382.1980
S.E. of regression	237.2349	Akaike info criterion		13.77745
Sum squared resid	4.18E+08	Schwarz criterion		13.78767
Log likelihood	-51282.46	F-statistic		1188.843
Durbin-Watson stat	1.803004	Prob(F-statistic)		0.000000

According to Table 3, all coefficients are statistically significant at a 1 percent significance level. The model explains 61 percent of the total variation in households' total time spent in unpaid work.

The first equation below indicates the regression equation for women. When using the equation in the data and method section, specific values of 1 and 0 were assigned as the gender variables to indicate men and women, respectively, resulting in two equations. The following equation indicates the regression equation for women:

$$TT = 662.24 - 162.178W + 37.15Edu - 29.66W*Edu + 22.66Rur + 14.45HH - 8.95TI \quad (2)$$

According to the equation above, women spend a total of 662.24 minutes on UW in a week which is more than 11 hours. As mentioned before

employment has a significant impact on women's total time spent in unpaid work. According to the model, employed women spend 162 minutes less time on unpaid work than unemployed women. Initially, each move up the education ladder for women appears to increase the total time spent on unpaid work. However, when calculated using an employment variable (*W x Edu*), the interaction (*Sex* x *W* x *Edu*) in the equation leads to an approximately 30-minute decrease. Employed women who graduated from primary school perform 30 minutes less unpaid work than uneducated women. For employed women with college degree, the interaction shows five times less unpaid work time, which is equal to 2.5 hours less unpaid work time than uneducated women.

Second equation that we obtain for men is shown as follows:

$$TT = 109.23 - 100.74W + 17.32Edu - 6.52W * Edu + 22.66Rur + 14.45HH - 8.95TI \quad (3)$$

In the equation above, 109.23 means that men spent 109 minutes on unpaid work at home. Being employed for men leads to a 100-minute decrease in the total time spent on unpaid work, and each move up the education ladder for employed men decreases the time spent on unpaid work by approximately 6 minutes.

Both of the equations show similar results for other variables. Both men and women in rural areas spend 22 minutes more on unpaid work than those in urban areas. Additionally, each additional household member leads to a similar increase in women's and men's unpaid work time. The same effect is also observed in regard to the income level. Each move to a higher income level leads to a 9-minutes decrease on time spent on unpaid work.

The most significant result of the model is that households' time use in unpaid work is highly gendered since women's time spent is at least six times greater than men's. According to the model, every move to an upper level in education within employed women leads cumulatively to a 30 minutes decrease in their weekly time spent in housework and care work while employed men's move to upper level increases their time use by only 6 minutes. To put simply, an employed woman with a college degree does two and an half hour less work in a week than women without any education while a men in the same group does 30 minutes more work than an uneducated man. In the case of Turkey, the study also shows that share of both housework and care work done by women is considerably high. Additionally, number of households, income level of a family and living in rural area have same impact on both women's and men's unpaid work time. On the other hand, women's participation to labor force leads to a significant decrease in their unpaid work time at home. Additionally, the number of family members in a household, the family income level, and living in rural area all have a similar impact on both women's and men's unpaid work time.

Conversely, women's participation in the labor force leads to a significant decrease in their unpaid work time at home.

Conclusion

In our study, we aimed to understand the division of unpaid work time within households. Using a sample of 7458 people in working age from Time-Use Survey, conducted in 2006, we examine the difference in households' time spent in both housework and care work. We performed covariance analysis by using slope-intercept technique to qualify the determinants and to catch the differentiation among both the determinants and determinant groups. Including grouped variables in the model provided us to understand their cumulative effects on households' time use in unpaid work.

As compatible to feminist literature, sex has the biggest impact on households' unpaid work time. This is to say that both housework and care work done by households are highly gendered since women's time spent in those activities is at least six times greater than men's. In the survey the average time allocated by women for home care activities in a day is 317 minutes while men's average time is 51 minutes. According to our study, women spend more than 11 hours in unpaid work while men spent 109 minutes in a week. Additionally women's labor force participation and their education level have a positive impact on their unpaid work. The average time spent of employed women is 243 minutes while men's is only 43 minutes. In our study women in working force allocate considerably less time for both house work and care work than unemployed women. When we compare the effect of employed women's every move to an upper education level to men's, model shows that there is still an unequal division of unpaid work time in favor of men.

The results show the dimensions of unequal division of unpaid work between men and women. It is difficult to predict the time spent in unpaid work over years. However, it is obvious that women's time spent in both housework and care work is directly related to whether they are employed or not. Therefore, for the Turkish government, encouraging politics should be priority to increase women's labor force participation beyond other needs such as increasing nursery alternatives and women's literacy and schooling rates.

Appendix

This study was presented at the annual conference of "International Association for Feminist Economics" in Houngzou, China, in 2011.

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