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THE EFFECT OF GENDER-BASED DIVISION OF LABOR ON WOMEN'S LIVES: DOMESTIC PRACTICES OF FEMALE ACADEMICS

WPŁYW PODZIAŁU PRACY ZE WZGLĘDU NA PŁEĆ NA ŻYCIE KOBIET: OBOWIĄZKI DOMOWE PRACOWNIC AKADEMICKICH

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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

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Abstract

Subject and purpose of work: This study was designed in order to examine domestic practices of local female academics and to determine to what extent and how these practices affect business life.
Materials and methods: In the research phenomenological research design, one of the qualitative research methods, was used. The study group of the research consisted of 20 female faculty members from Turkey.
Results: Within the scope of the research, it was concluded that female academics, like other women in the society, undertake a series of gender role-based responsibilities.
Conclusions: The results of the research reveal that even women who belong to a profession that requires a high level of education and shows a status in the society, such as academics, take on more responsibilities in home life than their male colleagues. This result also proves that education and status factors are not sufficient to invalidate gender roles and social patriarchy.

Keywords: gender, female academic, home life, work-family conflict

Streszczenie

Przedmiot i cel pracy: Niniejsze badanie miało na celu zbadanie praktyk akademickich lokalnych kobiet oraz zrozumienie, w jakim stopniu i jak praktyki te wpływają na życie biznesowe.
Materiały i metody: W badaniach wykorzystano fenomenologiczne projektowanie badań, jedną z jakościowych metod badawczych. Grupa badawcza składała się z 20 wykładowczyń z Turcji.
Wyniki: W ramach badania zrozumiano, że kobiety będące pracownikami naukowmi w uczelni, podobnie jak kobiety w pozostałej części społeczeństwa, podejmują szereg obowiązków związanych z rolami płciowymi.
Wnioski: Wyniki badań pokazują, że nawet kobiety, które należą do zawodu wymagającego wysokiego poziomu wykształcenia i wyrażającego status społeczny, jak np. pracownicy naukowi, biorą na siebie więcej obowiązków w życiu domowym niż ich koledzy płci męskiej. Wynik ten dowodzi również, że czynniki związane z wykształceniem i statusem nie są wystarczające do unieważnienia ról płciowych i patriarchatu społecznego.

Słowa kluczowe: płeć, pracownik akademicki płci żeńskiej, życie domowe, konflikt praca-rodzina

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1. Introduction

In Turkey, especially with the increase in the number of universities after 2006, the number of female academics has increased quantitatively (Arslan, 2014, p. 39). The share of women in the total number of academics in Turkey, including all professors, associate professors, assistant professors, lecturers, research assistants, specialists, translators, and lecturers, is 46%, above the world average (Demir, 2018, p. 192).
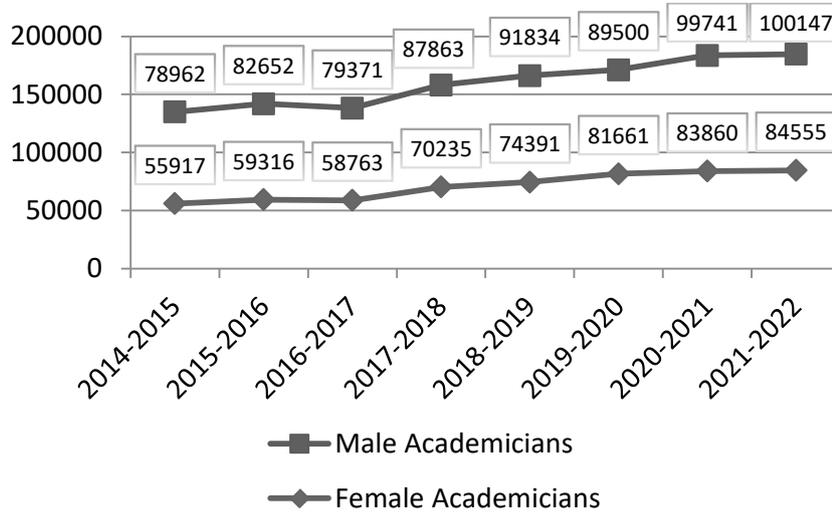

Figure 1. Number of Female and Male Academics Between 2014-2022
Source: Yuksekogretim Bilgi Yonetim Sistemi (2022). *Ogretim Elemani İstatistikleri.* Downloaded from: https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/

As it is shown in Figure 1, although number of female academics has increased in last 8 years, the number of female academics is still less than that of male academics. However, it can be said that statistics are promising about both women's employement and women's place in the academy.

Women academics appear as a group of women with a high education level and socioeconomic level due to their profession. In countries like Turkey where the classical patriarchal mentality is dominant, the level of education is seen as a tool for social and individual change and a key that can reduce inequalities between the sexes (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanligi Kadin Statusu Genel Mudurlugu, 2017, p. 17). In addition, female academics are expected to be as isolated as possible from the problems faced by women with a relatively low socioeconomic level, such as not being able to participate in business life, unpaid intensive labour in home life, insecure work and economic dependency (Kandiyoti, 2015).

The high rate of female academics and the position this profession represents in society make us think, at first glance, that there is no significant difference between female academics and male academics in business life in terms of gender inequality. However, current studies draw attention to the inequalities between male and female academics, and especially to the uneven distribution of home life responsibilities (Tepe, 2008), (İmamoglu, 2016), (Coskuner, 2013).

This study was designed to understand the domestic life experiences of academic women and to determine the effect of gender role-based task sharing on female academics. For this purpose, the female participants were asked questions and the attempt was made to understand the daily and weekly practices in their home life. In addition, considering the individuals with whom the participants live, the ratio of the responsibilities undertaken by female academics at home to those undertaken by the male individuals with whom they partner domestically has been revealed. Thus, a holistic perspective was brought to the domestic responsibilities of female academics, including the care of children and the elderly, and to the difficulties, they face in both home and business life as a result of the spillover of these responsibilities into business life.

2. Theoretical Framework

When current studies are examined, it is seen that female academics also carry out domestic practices that have an invisible structure due to their nature. The labour that women spend at home usually does not have any material or moral compensation and only has the effect of making women more dependent on domestic life (Dikmen, Maden, 2012). The fact that even female academics, who belong

to a profession that is considered respectable in Turkish society, such as academics, are not exempt from gender roles, is a clear indication of how tightly knit the roles of men and women are. In addition, this attitude normalises women's work both at home and in the public sphere. As a natural consequence of this process and gender-based division of labour, female academics may experience role conflict. This situation can cause a series of disorders, the least of which is stress (Bingol, 2017).

Although academics are perceived as a respectable profession that expresses status in society, the division of labour based on gender roles that affect the rest of the society continues to exist among academics as well. Coskuner's (2013) research results also confirm this phenomenon. The research conducted by the researcher on female academics at a university in Turkey reveals the dominance of gender roles in Turkish society. Women academics experience severe work-family conflict due to their job demands, as well as the fact that they undertake housework and childcare on their own.

According to the study conducted by Poyraz (2017) in Turkey using quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, most of the female academics who are defined as dedicated to their work are single and childless. This situation leads to the opinion that academics are not suitable for married women and women with children, or that women have to choose between their home or work life. However, there is no such distinction or preference for male academics.

The research conducted on 291 research assistant women shows several results that confirm gender roles are still valid in universities of Turkey. According to the research, the majority of the participants stated that if women earn more than man, it may cause a problem in home life. In addition, women research assistants tend to continue household duties (cleaning, cooking, etc.), and they expected by their spouses to take on jobs such as paying the bills, shopping, etc. (Ergol, Koc, Eroglu, Taskin, 2012). This point of view not only causes women to strengthen the assignment based on gender roles but also contributes to normalising the heavy burden placed on women by social roles.

3. Methodology

This research is a qualitative study. Qualitative research is a research method used when a problem or issue needs to be investigated (Creswell, 2012). The study used, a qualitative research method, known as phenomenological research design. The phenomenological study defines the common meanings of individuals' lived experiences about a phenomenon or concept. In this research design, the researcher focuses on the common characteristics of the participants who experience a phenomenon. The phenomenological study pattern begins with the definition of the phenomenon with which the study is concerned (Creswell, 2012, p. 77-83). The phenomenon defined in this research is 'being a female academic'. Afterward, in-depth interviews were conducted with the participants, namely female academics, who experienced this phenomenon, and their experiences and opinions about the described phenomenon were learned.

In this study, the snowball sampling method, which is one of the non-probabilistic sampling types that is frequently used in qualitative research, was used. In the snowball sampling method, the next person is reached as a result of the information provided by the first person. In the snowball method, the researcher, who know none of the participants beforehand, upon reaching a participant is directed to yet another participant, and so on. When sufficient information has been gathered, the research ends, and thus the growth of the snowball is completed (Kozak, 2017, p. 119-120). In this context, in-depth interviews were conducted with 5 female academics in the first stage. At the end of these interviews, female academics were asked whether they knew other female academics who could be interviewed within the scope of the research. Some of the female academics directed the researcher to female academics who could be interested in the subject of the study and willing to share their experiences and observations on the subject. Thus, the sample was expanded. The table indicating the demographic characteristics of the participants is in the appendices (Annex-1). The branches of the participants vary and they work in different institutions. In the presentation of the research findings, each participant was given a pseudonym to hide and protect their identity.

Interview is a qualitative data collection tool by communicating with the person whose observation is deemed appropriate in the form of questions and answers (Kozak, 2017, p. 30). While collecting the data of the research, only the experiences and observations of voluntary female academics were consulted for qualitative research purposes. The interviews were recorded while they were being held, and then these recordings were transcribed.

Before starting the interviews, the participants were briefed about the general research and the topics. The researcher committed to the participants that their personal information would be kept confidential and that the data they provided would only be used for scientific purposes, and the participants were asked whether they would like to participate in the research. Afterward, the interviews were started by asking permission to record the interview. In addition, the 'Voluntary Participation Form', which gives general information about the research and

states that the data cannot be processed and used for other than scientific purposes, was presented to the participants who agreed to the interview, and their signatures were obtained. Thirteen questions consisting of semi-structured questions were asked in the interviews. While these questions were being prepared, they were presented to the expert opinion and finalised as a result of the comments made by the lecturer. The list of questions to be asked to the research is included in the annexes (Annex-2).

In addition, in this process where the interviews were carried out, as a result of the private experiences of some participants, the study questions were rearranged to obtain the views of subsequent participants about these experiences. Regarding the questions added in this process, the participants who were interviewed before were contacted again and their opinions were recorded. Thus, it was ensured that all participants were asked the same questions. The shortest interview with the participants lasted 25 minutes and the longest one took 75 minutes.

According to Creswell (2012, p. 184-185), the core of qualitative data analysis is defining, classifying, and interpreting data and creating codes and categories (themes) within this cycle. At this stage, researchers develop themes and dimensions by creating detailed descriptions; they develop an interpretation in the light of their views or of different perspectives in the literature.

In this study, where data were collected through semi-structured interviews, the content analysis method was used to analyse the data. In this direction, first of all, the data were divided into certain codes, and then these codes were associated with certain themes. Finally, the relationship between these themes was determined. While interpreting the research findings, quotations from the statements of the participants were frequently included. This is also a useful method to increase the internal validity of the study.

Immediately after the interviews with the participants, the interview records were transcribed by the researcher in a computer environment. The obtained data were read twice, the concepts and opinions emphasised, and codes were created in the light of this information. Codes and related themes were determined by making detailed additional readings and it was checked whether there was any overlooked data. In the analysis of the findings, the inductive content analysis method was used. Using this method, it is aimed to reach codes and categories in the light of research findings, rather than pre-formed codes or categories. The researcher also themed the findings to help the reader by quoting the participant statements at the point of interpretation of the findings. In addition to these, he interpreted the findings by making use of the concepts in the literature

and aimed to provide an additional perspective to the reader.

To increase the internal validity of the study, the research findings were shared with fourteen participants and their opinions were taken. Participants were asked to confirm whether the research findings matched their statements. In this process, it was observed that the participant statements and research findings overlapped to a large extent, and necessary corrections were made. In this way, it was ensured that the participants' views were conveyed correctly. In addition to these, to increase the reliability of the research, raw data have been archived to be submitted to the audit if needed.

The main ethical principles that are universally accepted are: it is possible to list them as respecting and not harming private life; not deceiving/misleading; staying true to data; confidentiality and informed consent (Yildirim, Simsek, 2016, p. 108).

The data obtained from the participants were not shared with third parties in accordance with the principle of respecting the private lives of the participants and ensuring their privacy. To ensure the confidentiality of the participants, the names of the institutions where they work were not included in the study. In the study, only the data that are important for the interpretation of the study findings, such as title and experience and demographic data that provide general information about the participant, such as age and marital status, are included. In addition, to protect the confidentiality of the identities and data of the participants, the ages of the participants are specified as age range. Instead of specifying the fields of specialisation of the participants, only the branch of science to which the participants belong was citied; thus, no demographic data that is not important for the study were included.

To be faithful to the data, the data were meticulously collected and the original interview was completely faithful to the transcription. At the stage of collecting and analysing the findings according to themes, the statements of the participants were adhered, to and this situation was supported by one-to-one quotations.

A proposition is a sentence that expresses a judgment about the relationship between two or more concepts. The feature that distinguishes a proposition from a hypothesis is abstract, not variables that can be measured with empirical data. It is about the relations between concepts at the theoretical level. (Lin, 1976, 18).

The propositions of the research are as follows:
1. There is a positive relationship between the fact that female academics are married and the increase in housework and care practices.

2. There is a positive relationship between the career pause of female academics and their domestic care practices.

3. There is a positive relationship between the expectation placed on women academics to not reflect their professional identities at home and to maintain a separate identities at home and at work.

Table 1. Housework and Domestic Care Practices of the Participants

Category	Code	Defne	Ozlem	Manolya	Dilek	Songul	Esra	Burcu	Yasemin	Hulya	Sevim	Leyla	Nur	Hatice	Elif	Meryem	Zehra	Merve	Kubra	Tugba	Sibel
DOMESTIC CARE PRACTICES	I Usually Do or Organise Houseworks	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	√		√			√	√	√		√	√
	Frequent Help with Housework (mother, paidhelper, older children)			√	√	√	√			√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	
	My Spouse and I Divide Housework Equally		√			√									√				√		
	Mainly My Spouse Is Doing Housework											√		√							
	I Predominantly Undertake Child Care					√											√				
	We Carry Out ChildCare Jointly With My Spouse				√		√					√		√		√			√		

Source: Own elaboration.

In addition to Table 1, it would be appropriate to state that Yasemin, Hulya, Sevim, Nur, Zehra, and Sibel are single participants. This situation undoubtedly plays a decisive role in terms of the domestic labour of the participants; however, even when single participants were excluded from the equation, the general trend was for women to undertake domestic chores. In addition, it is seen that the participants generally carry out their housework by obtaining help from outside (mother, paid helper, etc.) rather than their spouses.

4.1.1 Housework Practices: Invisible Feminine Labour

Although it is expected that housework practices will be shared more equally due to the increasing participation of women in business life, participant statements falsify this proposition. Bourdieu (2001), in his definition of activities and spaces attributed to genders, which he defines as the 'order of things', states that women are always imprisoned indoors, especially within the domestic life, and therefore all domestic practices regarding the order of the house are considered the duty of women. Moreover, according to Bourdieu, the division of labour between the sexes is a kind of imposition that has no basis other than biological differences.

4. Results

4.1 Being a Woman in Home Life: Identification of the Home with Femininity

Under this title, domestic care and housework practices of female academics are explained.

Defne: '*Cleaning and cooking are kind of obligatory, we cook and clean when it is needed (laughs). It's like every woman's duty… Regardless of your rank, you can't run away from home (laughs).*' With this expression, Defne emphasizes that being a working woman or even a woman with status does not mean being free from housework. The expression '*like every woman*' by the participant can be read as a sign that this situation is taken for granted by the participant and that is a situation that the participant frequently encounters in her environment.

'I get help with housework, a paid helper comes to help. Especially in this (when I am busy) period, I would like my family to be close to me and to support me. It is a very difficult period. It is a period when you have to study constantly. You also have work to do at home. When your husband comes home from work, you have to cook, you have to do the laundry, there is a lot of work.

There is ironing at home, there is a lot of work. That's why a paid helper comes to help me every week. For cleaning, ironing, and doing the rest. But other than that, I do the cooking, etc, myself. I have the shopping too.' (Manolya)

Manolya makes it clear that she takes on all the housework. In addition, it is noteworthy that the participant expects primary assistance, not from her husband, but from his family and then from a paid assistant. As it is seen, even the tension arising from carrying out home and work responsibilities in working women is not enough to include the spouses in the household chores equation (Kandiyoti, 2015, p. 52). Although she works very hard, Manolya carries out her domestic responsibilities with a paid helper.

> – 'I get paid help from outside. I have a helper who comes 3 days a week. So I have a helper that I employ monthly for cleaning and ironing. Since this helper comes on weekdays, I have to do the necessary things on Saturday and Sunday.'
> + 'Then we can say that housework is running thanks to you and the help we get paid from outside.'
> – 'Of course, my job would be really difficult without my helper.' (Songul)

According to Kandiyoti (2015), the sharing of housework among women (mother, helper, relative, etc.) acts as a 'buffer' that keeps male spouses away from household duties. In addition, this situation causes men to continue their traditional privileges by being exempted from demands.

> 'Let me say this. In my married life, my life was not so rosy. Unfortunately, job sharing is not possible with some things brought by Turkish society, that although my ex-husband had a more helpful and more modern lifestyle, most of the work was on me. It was food, cleaning, etc., or a paid helper was taking care of chores; laundry and ironing, etc... I mean, there was not even a half-half but 60%–40% share.' (Yasemin)

Yasemin explains that her ex-husband was not involved in job sharing, basing it on the structure of Turkish society, in a way. Although this explanation is appropriate due to the patriarchal structure of Turkish society; this indicates an acceptable way of thinking rather than struggling with this situation. The fact that even the participant's ex-spouse 'has a modern lifestyle' is not enough to participate in the division of labour can be interpreted as the fact that men do not want to give up the privileges they think they deserve. No matter how contemporary a person's view of life is, housework can be kept separate from a worldview in line with one's benefit. Ferree (1984) attributes men's avoidance of being involved in housework to the perceptions that housework is 'not suitable for real men'.

The fact that women's domestic labour is not 'paid for' causes this labour to be seen as worthless, and in the eyes of male spouses and in view of masculine domination, women's time is perceived as less valuable than men's time. Since domestic labour of women has no market value, it is considered as a resource that can be exploited without limit and without consequence, therefore, husbands who think that the time they spend should have a market value avoid equal sharing of housework (Bourdieu, 2001). According to Beauvoir (2010: 64), a woman's labour and work at home do not give her dignity and autonomy; on the contrary, it makes her more dependent on her family. Meaning and prestige accrue only when women's labour and production are directed towards the social sphere, where they can gain visibility.

4.1.2 Domestic Care Practices: The subordination of work-life

In this section, domestic care practices (children, elderly, etc.) undertaken by women are examined. Especially when it comes to domestic care practices, it would be appropriate to mention the concept of 'super mother syndrome' in the literature. Super mother syndrome emerges as a result of women aiming for 'perfection' both in their work life and in their home life, and it can cause problems such as fatigue, depression, difficulty concentrating, migraine and palpitations in women who take on these challenging roles (Gunduz, 2017).

> 'I think teaching is a more feasible profession for women. You would appreciate that lecturers do not have the burden of publishing too much. Luckily there isn't, it's not something that can be done after being a kid, the other way around... I mean, you definitely can't.' (Hatice)

Hatice, as a participant who has children, says that teaching is a more 'feasible' profession for women and states that it is more possible for women to carry out housework and domestic care practices together with teaching duties. Higher levels in academia such as doctor and associate professor, which the participant refers to as 'otherwise', seem 'absolutely impossible' to the participant. Acar (1998: 316-318) evaluated the statuses such as lecturer, lecturer, and expert as low-level and closed status in the academic community and explained the concentration of women in these roles as a stratification based on gender (İrey, 2011, p. 53). It is possible to explain the main reason for this stratification by the fact that the success of women in home life corresponds to a 'lower' success in business life, as stated by Bourdieu (2001).

> 'I'm saying that if I were a man, I would have been an Associate Professor by now. I would have been an easier Professor. I've done more work so far. Because when I compare with my husband or with the husbands of the female

teachers around me, we are out of work; We are rightfully in trouble because we have all the housework, such as cooking, arranging the child's meal, putting the child to sleep, ironing the child's school furniture.

(We are taking a short break because the teacher has to take care of her child.) This is how you see it. I think I told you very clearly now (laughs).

… for example, when I was going to take the proficiency exam, I was asking my husband to take care of the child so that I could study… But again, there is noise in the house. The child wants the mother, and since the mother is always interested, the child is rightfully surprised.

… Again, I arranged this meeting with you, I had another job at school in the morning. For example, the child got a fever, my husband says: 'If you take the child, I have a job, I can't take leave.' but I also have a job. There is a perception that normally the child is the mother's responsibility or the mother always has to take care of the child.' (Meryem)

Meryem explains her slower progress in her career compared to a male academic, by the fact that practices related to domestic responsibilities and especially child care are generally seen as women's duties. The participant uses very precise statements on this subject, based on his own life experiences and observations. Taking a break during the interview because the participant needs to take care of her child is a small example of how household responsibilities can easily interrupt work life for women. Since child care is a field mostly undertaken by the mother. When the opposite situation occurs, for example when the participant needs time to work, the child still wants the mother out of habit, and thus the mother's time can often be interrupted due to childcare. As can be understood from the last statement of the participant, childcare is seen as the mother's duty by the spouses, and the spouses' contribution is limited to 'help'.

4.2 Home and Work Life: Two Spaces Shaping Each Other

Table 2. Effects of home and work life on each other
Tabela 2. Wzajemny wpływ życia domowego i zawodowego

Category	Code	Defne	Ozlem	Manolya	Dilek	Songul	Esra	Burcu	Yasemin	Hulya	Sevim	Leyla	Nur	Hatice	Elif	Meryem	Zehra	Merve	Kubra	Tugba	Sibel
EFFECTS OF HOME AND WORK LIFE ON EACHOTHER	I Have Experienced a Career Plateau/Pause Due to Domestic Responsibilities					√			√			√		√	√	√			√		
	I Do House-Related Activities(organisation etc.) in Business Life				√	√	√		√			√		√				√			
	I Do Work-Related Activities in Home Life	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
	I Get Criticised When My Professional Identity Is Reflected in My Home Life					√			√									√			

Source: Own elaboration.
Źródło: Opracowanie własne.

4.2.1 Work-Family Conflict: Choices and Obligations

As mentioned before, women are often in the position of taking on household responsibilities as well as their professional lives. It is sometimes impossible to carry out these activities, which require separate intensive labour, and women have to give up either their home life or their work life. Career pauses experienced by women are examples of this:

'…(Pause) happened. It has been not one, but two periods. The first was when I got married.

At that time, I wanted to start a doctorate, but our university did not have a doctorate program. I had to go to a differentcity. I had just gotten married and had to get used to a routine. My husband didn't like this situation very well, because I had to change cities for doctoral courses. Maybe I should have stayed there for a day or two, so it wasn't very welcoming. My husband was not very welcoming. If I was very enthusiastic, I would have gone somehow, but I waited for the environment to calm down a little more…

…Another pause happened last year when I was pregnant with my child. In marriage and a pregnant one (laughs). I had to freeze when I was pregnant with my child because I had a risky pregnancy. I wasn't supposed to lift stress etc., then it happened. And there's the last period… I'm talking about 2020. I froze it because I was pregnant in a spring term, I'm talking about 2020 again; I didn't go to school that term because I just gave birth in the fall semester. Of course, it's all about being a woman. Then I went back to the field. I continue my doctoral studies from where I left off as much as I can.' (Hatice)

Hatice states that she experienced a pause in the birth process and the period after the birth of the child. All participants agree that having children slows down the career progress of female academics or causes a pause of between 2 and 3 years. Another career pause of Hatice was experienced as a result of her husband's opposing view on the point of starting her doctoral process out of the city. The participant said, *'My husband did not look very warmly. If I had been very enthusiastic, I would have gone somehow, but I waited for the atmosphere to calm down a little longer'*. As can be understood from the statement, the participant was not strictly hindered by her husband but neither was she supported.

'I was the most successful student in the class, even the teacher was waiting for me in the masters and assistantship exams… At that time, my situation changed to another side. We had some family matters at that time, I lost my father. As I said, life can push people in other directions. My mother also had an impact on her marriage decision, mothers see it as a priority for a daughter to start a family. Now, as a parent, I agree. Anyway, I mean, when I wanted to be an academic, I suddenly found myself in nine months and ten days with a baby in my arms. On the one hand, of course, you are very happy. On the one hand, you think, did I study to be a housewife, what am I going to do? In that case, of course, my university opportunities were lost because I could not continue my university education as an academic…' (Kubra)

Although Kubra is a very successful student, she preferred marriage with the guidance of her family and stated that she questioned this decision from time to time. Since childhood, women are raised to take on the responsibility of their home and children, and women are primarily expected to assume gender roles. Thus, the professional success and careers of women fall into a secondary position (Akyuz Unlu, 2014, p. 30). Kubra: *'My mother also had an impact on her marriage decision, mothers see it as a priority for*

a daughter to start a family.' Her statement confirms the view that families see the home and family as the primary area of responsibility and existence for their daughters.

'…I say that is where I should be (academy) but it is an impossible thing. Why is it impossible? My husband is in the army. We went to the place where he is appointed, I couldn't find department for myself over there.
… Then my husband was appointed again and we came back. At that time, the academy was completely over in my life. At that time (at the university where the participant was working), an ad was posted. I was lucky, my teachers had made a connection, but my husband is a soldier and we were appointed. Again, to preserve the integrity of the family, I had to choose favor of his job…
…they said one post was vacant. …Meanwhile, my husband has also retired. He said, 'You tried, it didn't work. What are we still trying? Now we settled here' and so on. He also loved the city we were in. So I said, 'No, (a study area) is calling me. I came, I applied and this is how my academic career started…' (Kubra)

Another obstacle to the academic career that Kubra has always dreamed of is the appointment of her husband, who is a civil servant, and the absence of a department where the participant can take part in new places. Here, as stated by the participant, 'in terms of protecting the integrity of the family', the preference was always used in favor of the spouse's job. It was only possible for the participant to become an academic after her husband retired. In dual-career spouses, the career of the male spouse is generally seen as a priority (Dogru, 2010, p. 55). This is a natural consequence of seeing family responsibilities as the primary duty of women.

4.2.2 Sustaining Home and Work Life Together: Intertwined Spaces

All participants agree that academics is a profession with a dynamic structure and flexible working hours. Academics stated that they put a lot of effort into their work, especially in the first years of their academic career, and they generally carried out work-related activities at home. In this respect, it is understandable for women academics that work-related activities spill over into their home life; however, many women academics state that they also engage in activities related to home life at work:

'I have been commuting 90 kilometers every day for 27 years. I would say it's not every day, but the days I have classes. If we consider such a long road, things like planning and

organisation happen, of course. However, there is something I cannot do at that moment, for example, our place was in the center of the district during the first years of the faculty, I know that I even do the market shopping and put it in the trunk. Those kinds of things at least made my life easier. During my lunch break, I was doing my market shopping and getting it out of the way, or I don't know, I was trying to do the things that need to be bought, bank jobs so that I would gain a little advantage.' (Dilek)

It is understood from Dilek's statement that she was engaged in activities such as home organisation and shopping while she was at work. According to the participant, one of the reasons for this situation is the distance between her home and workplace.

'So in the back of my mind, part of my mind is always there (at home)… Of course, although I am not physically involved, I am constantly planning and organising. I'm constantly calling my mother-in-law for a child every half hour to 1 hour. I am looking for my husband to see if you have cooked, eaten or the baby slept… What will I bring to home, what will we do for the evening, what should we do for the dinner… Even if I can't help chores, I take part in the planning process.' (Hatice)

Hatice's experience differs from previous participants' experiences in that it is focused on child care.

'When I am at work, I constantly planning stuff like cleaning, cooking, ironing at home… So these areas are mixed up. It's like you're thinking about school when you're at home, and thinking about home when you're at school.' (Meryem)

Merve is another participant who states that her home and work life are completely mixed. At this point, it would be appropriate to state that all the participants whose opinions have been listed so far are married. All these statements prompt one to pose the following question: Being an academic is a profession that requires intense labour by its nature, and it is natural for it to spill over into home life. But what are the reasons for the home life to spill over into professional life so much?

'While I'm at work, I'm making a home shopping list, or if I will have a guest, I try to arrange it according to my work time, which was also the case when I was married. Therefore, we can say that it is mixed. But there was no difference between marriage and after marriage. The situation of moving to business life continued in the same way. Because all of the responsibilities

was on me. From shopping to household needs, it was all on me.' (Yasemin)

Yasemin's statement is an answer to the above question. Yasemin, as a single participant with marriage experience, stated that domestic work intensity did not change during and after marriage; therefore, she emphasises that her responsibilities regarding home life continue to spill over into her work life to the same extent. This statement also shows that male spouse had no contribution to housework while they were married.

As a result, it is seen that the fact that female academics engage in work-related activities while at home is due to the nature of their work, while their involvement in domestic activities while at work is because most of the responsibilities at home are placed on women's shoulders, as mentioned in many points.

4.2.3 Being an Academic Spouse: Making Professional Identity Invisible

It is seen that being a career woman has some practical effects on home life, as well as theoretical reflections in the context of gender roles in the home. This is because the academic identities of the participants shape their identities in their private lives to varying degrees.

'…but let me tell you if you were to ask my ex-husband about me… For example, this was a problem in our marriage as well. In my marriage life, there were some obstacles due to my profession. Because my husband was uncomfortable with my job, my progress, etc. This is one of the reasons for separation, among many reasons. I say it because I heard it from him because it evokes; He used to talk about me acting more authoritatively, more distant with people, more like I am with students. For example, if you ask me, I wasn't like that, but life at home and life at work is of course different. I am a person who likes to be distant from people in my social life. Maybe it's related to my character, maybe it's a result of my job, and I can't make the distinction because I was always like this… For example, I am not a teacher like meeting my students outside and doing something.' (Yasemin)

It is understood from Yasemin's statement that the ex-husband of the participant was uncomfortable with Yasemin's career. The ex-husband, who does not approve of Yasemin's professional identity, expects the participant not to reflect her professional identity in her home life. However, it is seen that the behaviors such as authoritarianism and distant attitude that the ex-spouse associates with the professional identity of

the participant stem from the personality traits of the participant.

Due to gender roles, women are expected to be docile, maternal and compromising. In parallel with this, it is not acceptable for the current masculine order for women to have power, to be in a position equal to or stronger than men (Bourdieu, 2001). Although women are in a stronger position professionally due to the increase in education level and similar reasons, the attitudes and behaviours expected from women have not changed radically.

> Merve: *'I am getting feedback about that I have reflected the instructive attitude in business life to my private life from my neighbours and my husband. I am not happy with that situation either. It is debatable that how succesful I can be but I am trying to overcome it.'*

Merve stated that her identity in business life is reflected in her home life. However, this situation is negativity that the participant needs to overcome.

> 'I think I can make that distinction very clearly. I am a mother and wife at home. When I come to school, I am as I should be, I can fulfill the requirements of the job. Both personally and in terms of knowledge and skills… I think it should be so, but I don't know if it is up to one to make this clear distinction. At least, I can do this, I do, because my husband is also a teacher, if there is such a problem, the same thing can be done against me. He may treat me like his student if I treat him as my student, but we have never had such a thing or inclination towards him or his towards me.' (Hatice)

Hatice states that she can separate her identities in her home and business life with a clear line. Unlike the previous participants, Hatice's attitude is influenced by the fact that her husband is also a teacher and does not want to be treated 'as if he were treating her students'. The participant and his spouse leave their identities at work with kind of a reciprocity principle.

5. Discussion

In order to understand how traditional patriarchal mentality and gender-based division of labour affect women's work lives all over the world, some country rankings in the Global Gender Gap Report will be compared with the domestic practices of the female workforce in the mentioned countries (World Economic Forum, 2021). According to The Global Gender Gap Index 2021 ranking, Turkey ranks 133 out of 156 countries. To better explain the place of female academics in Turkey, it would be appropriate to look at the situation of female academics in the European countries whose ranking is near to that of Turkey's in the Global Gender Gap Index.

It is known that in Hungary, which is the European country whose 99-point ranking is closest to that of Turkey's female academics follow a more difficult path than their male colleagues. Although improvements have been observed after the 1990s, it is seen that Hungarian female academics still face difficulties and fall into a secondary position in business life due to the gender-based division of labour and childcare practices. Hungarian female academics have difficulties, especially when it comes to work-life balance and childbirth. (Lannert, Nagy, 2020).

The study conducted through qualitative interviews with Hungarian female academics (Takács, 2021) revealed that some of the participants tended to view household chores as women's natural duties and defined childcare as a 'female duty'. Some participants stated that taking part in management positions requires a constant presence in the workplace and that women may have difficulties in these duties due to their domestic responsibilities, such as childcare. The research findings are consistent with the gender-based assignment and care practices of female academics in Hungary. In both countries, there is a strong belief that women bear chief responsibility for domestic life.

On the other hand, due to its 75th rank in the Global Gender Gap Index, Poland offers a more promising atmosphere compared to the findings in Turkey. However, in Poland it has been found that women spend an average of two and a half hours more on unpaid work than men, mothers are usually the one who takes leave for babysitting, and fewer than 3% of fathers take parental leave. In addition, studies have shown that more than half of the parents have a traditional view of the role of women in paid and unpaid work and think that women should assume responsibility for the care practices (OECD, 2012).

Italy ranks 63rd in the Gender Gap Index. However, even in a country with such a high ranking, studies show that women with care responsibilities are not seen as 'fit' for university life (Roberto, Rey, Maglio, Agliata, 2020). In addition, fewer than 30% of women with children under the age of three in the general workforce benefit from childcare services, and about 33% of Italian women work part-time to reconcile work and family responsibilities. Women in Italy are generally perceived to be primarily responsible for family and home care, as clearly indicated by the fact that Italian women spend an average of 3.6 hours more per day on housekeeping and care work than men (OECD, 2012).

Research findings in selected countries show that the division of labour based on social roles and its effects on careers is a global problem that needs

to be resolved. Although the policies of countries to eliminate gender inequality sometimes give positive results, unless the perception that women are responsible for household duties changes, the policies regarding improving women's conditions will be insufficient.

6. Conclusions

This research is limited to the opinions of female academics only. As a result of the research findings, the following conclusions were reached regarding the research propositions:

1. The research findings confirm that there is a positive relationship between the fact that female academics are married and the increase in housework and care practices. In addition, it is seen that the participants expect help from their family members or paid helpers, not from their spouses.

2. Within the scope of the research, it seems that there is a positive relationship between female academics' carrying out activities related to housework in business life and taking most of the domestic responsibilities. Even when the participants are not physically involved, they carry out activities such as home-related planning.

3. It has been determined that there is a positive relationship between the career pause of female academics and their domestic care practices. In addition, it is seen that the other reason for the participants' career pause is that their spouses' careers are prioritised.

4. It has been observed that there is a positive relationship between the expectation of the spouses of the participants not to reflect their professional identities at home and the separation of the identities of the female academics in their home and work life. While some female academics adopt a holistic strategy, others adopt this strategy to avoid various reactions from their spouses.

The experiences of the participants originating from their home life are generally shaped around their being held responsible for the work related to their home life. Even if the participants want domestic responsibilities to be shared, sometimes the male spouses do not agree to this situation, and sometimes the sharing of these responsibilities is limited to the minor assistance of the male spouses. Some of the participants mostly undertake the housework themselves to avoid the tensions arising in such situations. As Bayramoglu (2018) also states, academic is a profession in which the line between home and work life is blurred due to its nature; female academics engage in work-related activities in their home lives as well as undertake the majority of domestic responsibilities. This situation causes work-family conflict.

It is seen that married participants mostly undertake the housework themselves, and receive help from secondary sources such as paid assistants or family elders if they need it. It is seen that male spouses do not share the responsibilities of housework even when women cannot allocate enough time and energy to housework. The fact that women assist with housework through other women has the effect of distancing male spouses from the division of labour. Sometimes the participants get outside help as the first option, and sometimes they turn to it as a last resort because they can't get help from their spouses. Even participants whose spouses are involved in household chores often consider this situation as getting 'help' from their spouses. The data obtained by Dikmen and Maden (2012) by conducting qualitative interviews with female academics working at a university is in line with the research findings. All the findings indicate that the patriarchal order's influence on home life continues.

The results of the research reveal that the professional identities of the participants are sometimes not accepted in domestic life and that the careers of the male spouses generally are given priority. Ergol's (et al., 2012) research results are in line with the findings. According to research, 31.7% of the female research assistants participating in the research think that it will be a problem in the family if the female enjoys a high professional status than does her male partner.

With this study, it has been tried to understand to what extent academic women, who are seen as advantageous in society, are affected by the division of labor based on gender roles. Research findings revealed that academic women also have to cope with gender perceptions. Therefore, it has been understood that patriarchy cannot be explained only with concepts such as education and social status. As a result of the research, it has been seen that even improvements in education and socioeconomic conditions cannot solve women's problems radically. As education and socio-cultural status rise, sexism towards women become more implicit and takes place on a softer ground; but it does not disappear completely. As a result, both for the pragmatic reason that is important for the country's economy (Firestone, 1993), and as a radical solution to the problems faced by women, the objective of putting an end to the existing patriarchal mentality and placing gender roles on an egalitarian basis needs to be given greater consideration in a timely fashion.

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Appendix 1

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW FORM

1. Could you briefly tell me about yourself and your career?
2. Why did you choose to be an academic?
3. Have you held any management or managerial positions throughout your career? If so, have you felt the need to act closer to the behaviour patterns that society attributes to masculinity, such as being competitive, challenging, and rational, while performing your duty? Why is that?
4. Do you behave differently in your work life than in your daily life? If you are behaving differently, what do you think is the effect of social impositions on this?
5. Regarding your field or the work you do, have you ever received an explanation, criticism, or a hostile comment from a male academic without such a request? If your answer is yes, do you think it is due to your gender?
6. Have you ever had a pause in your career? If yes, what are the reasons?
7. Do you think that your professional identity in business life is reflected in your home life? Do you adopt two separate behavioural systems or a single holistic attitude in work and home life?
8. To understand domestic care and housework practices, can you describe the work you do on a typical weekend?
9. Do you get help with housework and domestic care practices?
10. Do you engage in activities related to your work when you spend at home?
11. Do you engage in activities related to domestic chores or care practices while at work? Do you think the distinction between work and family life is clear or relatively blurred?
12. Do you think you need to put in more effort than a male colleague to achieve a certain level of success? If your answer is yes, what do you think are the reasons?

Appendix 2

Table III Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Participants	Age	Marital Status	Branch	Academic Title	Professional Seniority
Defne	25–30	Married	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Research Assistant	8
Ozlem	25–30	Married	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Research Assistant	5
Manolya	30–35	Married	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Research Assistant	4
Nur	25–30	Single	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Lecturer	2
Hatice	25–30	Married	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Lecturer	4
Elif	30–35	Married	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Lecturer	4
Meryem	30–35	Married	Agriculture	Lecturer	3
Zehra	50–55	Single	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Lecturer	16
Merve	25–30	Married	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Lecturer	3
Esra	35–40	Married	Engineering	Assistant Professor	5
Burcu	45–50	Married	Engineering	Assistant Professor	20
Yasemin	45–50	Single	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Assistant Professor	23
Hulya	30–35	Single	Engineering	Assistant Professor	12
Sevim	35–40	Single	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Assistant Professor	12
Leyla	35–40	Married	Communication	Assistant Professor	16
Dilek	50–55	Married	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Associate Professor	27
Songul	40–45	Married	Architecture	Associate Professor	19
Kubra	55–60	Married	Agriculture	Professor Doctor	15
Tugba	45–50	Married	Architecture	Professor Doctor	22
Sibel	40–45	Single	Economics and Administrative Sciences	Professor Doctor	16