Gender Role Attitudes and Happiness in Türkiye: Evidence From Family Structure Survey Micro Data Set

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Abstract

In this study, Türkiye where gender role attitudes prevail in the society was examined as a case country to understand if these attitudes have any impact on the individual happiness of Turkish people. To measure gender role attitudes, three particular questions from Family Structure Survey Micro Data Set 2021 that was obtained from TurkStat were used. These questions that are about whether respondents agree "*The child negatively affects the mother's work life*", "*For a healthy family life, a woman should have a regular job*", and "*The man's primary duty is to provide for the household*" are expected to influence individual overall happiness in Türkiye.

Findings show that thinking in a way of "the child negatively affects the mother's work life", and "agreeing a woman should have a regular job for a healthy family life" decreases the probability of being happy. However, the third measure of gender role attitudes that is thinking in a way that "the man's primary duty is to provide for the household" increases the probability of being happy. These findings confirm that country's characteristics towards having traditional gender role attitudes that contradict the current labour market and international sustainable development goals expectations significantly affect individual happiness.

Keywords: happiness, gender role attitudes, individual level data, TurkStat, Türkiye.
Jel Codes: I30, J12, K38.

Türkiye'de Cinsiyet Rolü Tutumları ve Mutluluk: Aile Yapısı Araştırması Mikro Veri Kümesinden Bulgular

Özet

Bu çalışmada, toplumda cinsiyet rolü tutumlarının egemen olduğu Türkiye örnek ülke olarak incelenerek bu tutumların Türk insanının bireysel mutluluğu üzerinde herhangi bir etkisinin olup olmadığı incelenmektedir. Cinsiyet rolü tutumlarını ölçmek için TÜİK'ten alınan Aile Yapısı Araştırması Mikro Veri Seti 2021'den üç özel soru kullanılmaktadır. "Çocuk annenin çalışma hayatını olumsuz etkiler", "Sağlıklı bir aile hayatı için kadının düzenli bir işi olması gerekir" ve "Erkeklerin asli görevi evin geçimini sağlamaktır" ifadelerine katılıp katılmadıklarına ilişkin bu ifadelerin Türkiye'de bireysel genel mutluluğu etkileyebileceği beklenmektedir.

Bulgular, "çocuk annenin iş hayatını olumsuz etkiler" şeklinde düşünmenin, "sağlıklı bir aile hayatı için kadının düzenli bir işi olması gerektiğini kabul etmenin" mutlu olma olasılığını azalttığını göstermektedir. Ancak "erkeğin asli görevi evin geçimini sağlamak" şeklinde düşünen toplumsal cinsiyet rolü tutumlarının üçüncü ölçüsü, mutlu olma olasılığını artırmaktadır. Bu bulgular, ülkenin mevcut işgücü piyasası ve uluslararası sürdürülebilir kalkınma hedefleri beklentileriyle çelişen geleneksel cinsiyet rolü tutumlarına sahip olmaya yönelik özelliklerinin bireysel mutluluğu önemli ölçüde etkilediğini doğrulamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: mutluluk, cinsiyet rolü tutumları, bireysel düzey verileri, TÜİK, Türkiye
Jel Kodları: I30, J12, K38.

Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği Beyanı	Etik kurul kararı gerektirmemektedir.
Yazarların Makaleye Olan Katkıları	EKK'nın makaleye katkısı %100'dür.
Çıkar Beyanı	Herhangi bir çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

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1. Introduction

Gender roles in a society are mostly inseparable parts of the culture that members are bonded deeply. In some societies, a more egalitarian role is assigned to women, while in others, gender inequality can be evident. These different attitudes on gender roles are important factors affecting happiness. Nowadays, work and life balance that refers to maintaining a balance between work responsibilities and home responsibilities (Reddy et al., 2010) has become a salient and even sometimes a concerning discourse among the public. Individuals face difficulties in setting up a family, or raising children. Women, in this respect, are obviously exposed to a very high level of physical and psychological pressure in such an environment. As highlighted in Verma & Gautam (2022)'s research, family-to-work spillover is valid for women, while work-to-family spillover is valid for men, although national variations should be considered (see for example Crompton & Lyonette (2006)).

One could argue that the traditional way of the family has remarkably changed over the years. Gender roles, size of the family, employment of family members, expectations, norms in the society, and many other elements have been influenced by this change. Economic conditions and cultural factors determine the way individuals live to varying degrees. Even though globalisation process has brought the world closer, and made countries more connected into each other, we still observe different cultures surrounding people in different places.

Traditional gender roles vary across different parts of the world. In Latin American society, for example, expectations from males are being strong, dominant providers who might be aggressive, hyper-masculine, and sexist, while females are expected to be self-sacrificing, nurturing, and emulating Virgin Mary (Diaz & Bui, 2017). The progress in gender equality is expected to improve female life satisfaction or happiness as they are seen as the main beneficiaries of this progress. However, as highlighted by Meisenberg & Woodley (2015), there is no empirical support for this improvement in females' lives. As discussed in this study, continuing gender inequality might be due to improvement in males' well-being or some other factors that are unfavourable for women. Using World Values Survey which was conducted in 2009 in 95 countries, Meisenberg & Woodley (2015) suggested that happiness was greater for women in 50 countries, while it is greater for men in 45 countries. Besides, women in Muslim countries were suggested to tend to be happier than men which was followed by East Asia. Women in ex-communist countries, Catholic Europe, and Latin America, however, reported that they are less happiness than men. The study argues that greater gender equality is not associated with higher subjective well-being of women that suggests higher female employment or a value system that insists on female employment may reduce female well-being.

Union type (whether it is a cohabitation or marriage) and gender influence happiness of individuals differently. Stavrova et al. (2011) investigated happiness and cohabiting for women and men, using 22,285 individual observations from 30 countries. Both gender role norms and gender equity in economic opportunities were considered in the analysis. Findings indicate that egalitarian or liberal gender role in countries alleviates negative effect of cohabitation on women's happiness. The study suggested that stereotyping on gender roles is high in countries with more traditional gender role norms, which may translate into investment in marriage/family for women, and investment in job/career for men.

Gender attitudes in the labour market are one the most discussed issues in the literature. Akerlof & Kranto (2000) dealt with this issue focusing on gender identity. Behavioural prescriptions that are assigned within a society shape the roles as man and woman, and violation of these prescriptions brings out discomfort and anxiety. Accordingly, women reduce their labour supply to conform to societal expectations that influence economic and social outcomes. Traditional gender identity might not only affect wife's labour market performance, but also husband's performance (Zhao et al., 2022). Zhao et al. (2022) show that gender identity of wife and husband affects women's relative income in the household negatively in the case of China where tradition is very important. Authors suggest that a wife with a traditional gender identity, ceteris paribus, tends to be less happy with her life if she earns more than her husband, whilst she would have a higher life satisfaction if she has an egaliterian gender identity. This finding is also supported by Salland & Dewenter (2021) in the case of Germany. Similarly findings of Qian & Qian (2015) revealed that employment of husband is more strongly associated to individual happiness of both wife and husband

than employment of wife, along with husband's income contribution having more positive impact on his happiness than wife's contribution to her happiness. Individual views on gender roles also affect division of labour in the household. Allen & Webster (2001) found that husbands with egaliterian attitudes and happy in marriage do more housework than husbands with traditional attitudes and/or less happy in their marriage. Moreover, Lu (2000)'s study on Taiwan case showed that husbands are more committed to the worker role, while wives are more committed to the parental role.

Gender role has also been thought to influence entrepreneurial intention. Sweida & Sherman (2020) hypothesised if acceptance of traditional gender roles has any impact on men's and women's entrepreneurial intentions. Using 849 survey participants from Midwest, South, and Western parts of the US, their analyses showed that entrepreneurial intention decreased when acceptance of traditional gender roles increased for men. Whereas entrepreneurial intention increased for women when their support for the traditional gender roles increased. Authors offered three explanations for this finding. First, women might believe that traditional gender roles should exist, but they consider entrepreneurship from a feminized perspective that may supplement the household income. Second, changed environment through technology enables easier entry and maintains traditional female gender role. Lastly, changing perceptions may convince women as their gender role not to be in conflict with their entrepreneurial role.

Asian countries show more prevailing traditional gender relations. Hori & Kamo (2018) investigated gender differences in the determinants of happiness in four Asian countries that are China, Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea, utilising more than 6,900 individual observations from those countries. Findings showed that marital status is an important indicator of happiness, especially for men. Besides, men's happiness was positively affected by full time employment in China, however, full time employment affected women's happiness negatively in Japan. Moreover, social support is positively related to happiness, particularly for women.

According to the OECD (2016), women do more unpaid work in every OECD countries. Furthermore, this unpaid work tends to grow more when children enter the family. While the gap between fathers and mothers is quite large (250-300 minutes more) in countries like Korea and Italy, it is narrower in countries like Norway. Mothers tend to prefer part time jobs rather than full time ones to combine their work role and family role in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Switzerland, however, mothers in Nordic countries stay within full time employment since comprehensive childcare supports are available to help mothers. The employment rate of the latest available year is given in Figure 1 below. As seen, European countries, in this respect, show the highest participation. However, countries like Costa Rica, Mexico, and Türkiye were placed well below the OECD average.

Türkiye is the case country investigated in this paper. As observed in Asian and Latin American countries, Türkiye also exhibits a dominant traditional gender role attitude Using a nationally representative sample of women (i.e., 810 individual women observations), Akcinar (2018) investigated the predictors of traditional patriarchal gender role attitudes in Türkiye. Findings revealed that characteristics such as living in rural areas, non-working status, low levels of parental education, living together with other family members are associated with higher levels of traditional gender role attitudes of women. These attitudes are also likely to influence fertility behaviour of couples. In the process of the formation of a family, children seem to be an important element as widely accepted by Turkish population (Kavas, 2021). Kavas (2021) examined if there is a significant relationship between gender role attitudes and fertility decisions in Türkiye. Her data analysis which relies on face to face interviews with 1,120 respondents, however, showed no significant evidence on such relationship. Research on Turkish adolescents, (Yildirim, 1997), indicates that family is the dominant source of belongingness. Same reseach also revealed that females' self identity was more affected by non-material items such as happiness, or relationships, while males were more affected by material items such as home, TV, or sports equipment. Besides, females seem to be more altruistic and more caring about social relations, whilst males seem to be more patriotic and religious.

Figure 1. Maternal Employment Rates, latest available year
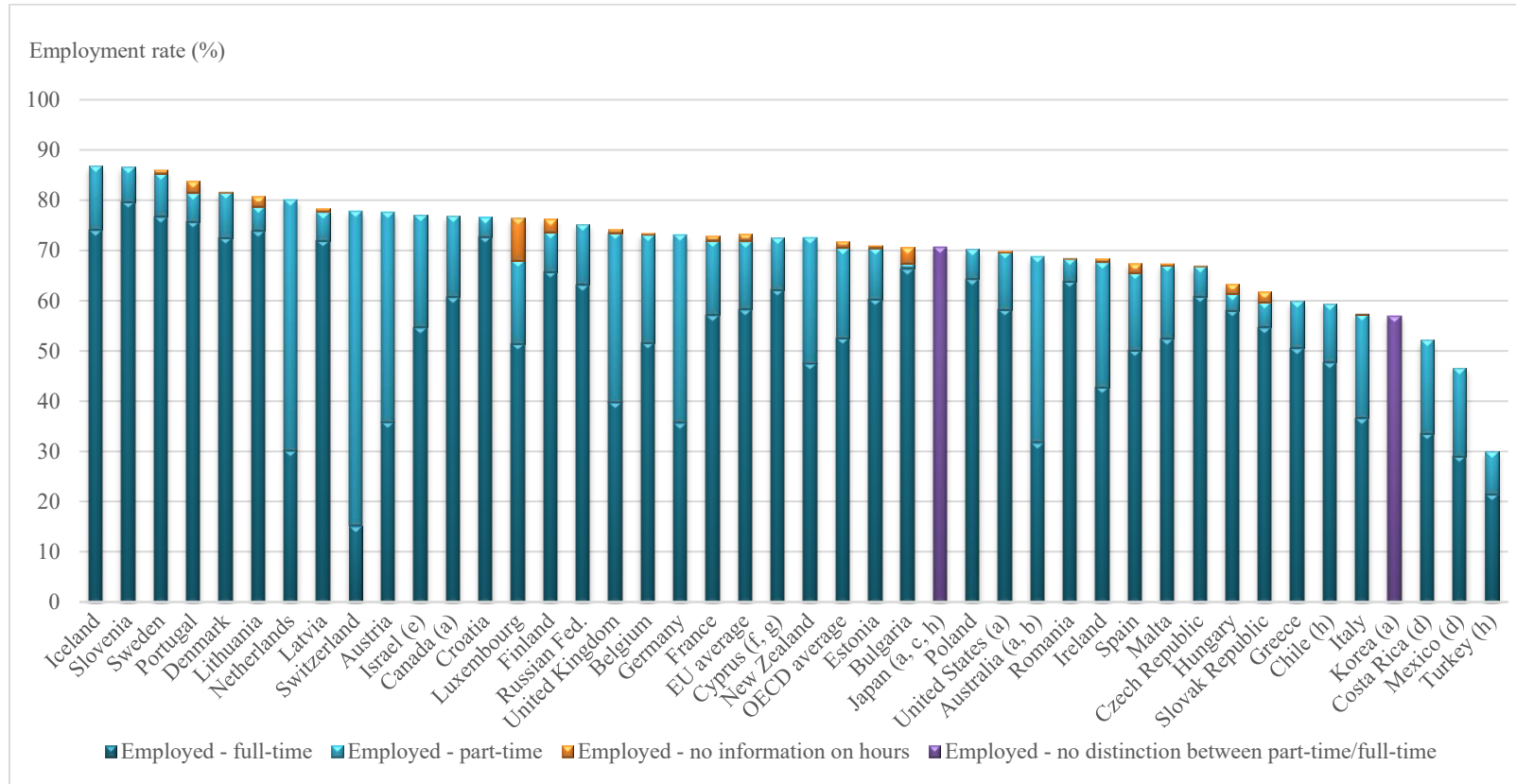
Source: OECD, available from https://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.html

Education is an important pillar on influencing views of more traditional or more egalitarian. Türkiye has experienced a few education reforms. One of them was implemented in 1997 that extended compulsory schooling to 8 years which was 5 years in the previous time period (Caner et al., 2016). Relatedly, Caner et al. (2016) examined educational gender gap in Türkiye, whether cultural bias against girls' education significantly affect educational attainment. Using this education reform, study showed that school dropout rates fell similarly on boys and girls. Nevertheless, gender gap in education that is against girls still prevails, so the reform failed to eliminate this gap.

As a reflection of traditional patriarchal view on the gender roles in Türkiye, another serious issue in society is violence against women. As highlighted by Alan Dikmen & Munevver (2020), 35 percent of women are exposed violence across the world, while it is more severe in Türkiye that is 15-65 percent exposed to physical violence, 52-66 percent exposed to verbal violence, and 6.3-15 percent exposed to sexual violence. In their study Alan Dikmen & Munevver (2020) used 847 women participants who referred to one of nine Family Health Centres in Konya/Türkiye. Findings of their analysis showed that social gender discrimination is a reality and it supports violence, and then again that violence supports social gender discrimination. Men in this country think that they hold the power and strength in the household (Adana et al., 2011). This sort of attitudes shows themselves even in early stages of life. Adana et al. (2011) investigated social gender attitudes of 116 male university students. Findings of this study indicates that those male student who witnessed violence, do not believe in gender equality, and agrees traditional gender roles like duties of a wife tend to support the idea that husband can beat his wife.

All in all, Türkiye provides an important sample to investigate gender role attitudes as traditional gender role attitudes still prevail against egalitarian attitudes. To the best of my knowledge, there is no particular research investigating the relationship between gender role attitudes and overall happiness in this country. Therefore, this research is expected to shed valuable light on how these attitudes influence individual happiness.

Rest of the paper is organised as follows: Section 2 introduces the methodology and the data that were utilised in the empirical investigation. Family Structure Survey Micro Data Set 2021 which was obtained from Turkish Statistical Institute provides several dimensions to understand family structures and attitudes in various domains. Within survey questions 3 of them were used to measure gender role attitudes. Section 3 offers the findings of the empirical analysis. Finally Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. Data and Methodology

This study uses TurkStat data to investigate gender role attitudes and happiness of Turkish people using Family Structure Survey Micro Data Set 2021. Even though this survey was conducted in 2006 and 2016 as well, the survey questions included were not consistent across waves. One particular question that was used in the subgrouping of this study was given only in the final wave of the survey. Therefore, only 2021 data set was utilised. This data set is covered within Group B Micro Data which is not publicly available and free of charge though it is provided free of charge under certain circumstances. It requires a formal process through a signed request form to send to the institution, and the data set is provided following the evaluation by the institution.

Although this number is quite higher in the original data set, the number of observations used in the empirical investigation here covers 15,024 individuals. Because all the missing observations on the variables used in the analysis were dropped, the number of observations is smaller than the original set. The survey has a variety of questions asked to the participants. The dependent variable of the analysis is happiness which is given in a Likert scale that takes 1: very happy; 2: happy; 3: neither happy nor unhappy; 4: unhappy; and 5: very unhappy. To make more observations in categories and to make the presentation easier, happiness variable was recoded. Eventually, it takes "1" if a person is happy or very happy, and "0"

if a person is unhappy or very unhappy. The responses of the survey participants show that 90 percent of those participants claimed that they are happy, while about 10 percent are unhappy.

Figure 2. Happiness, percentage
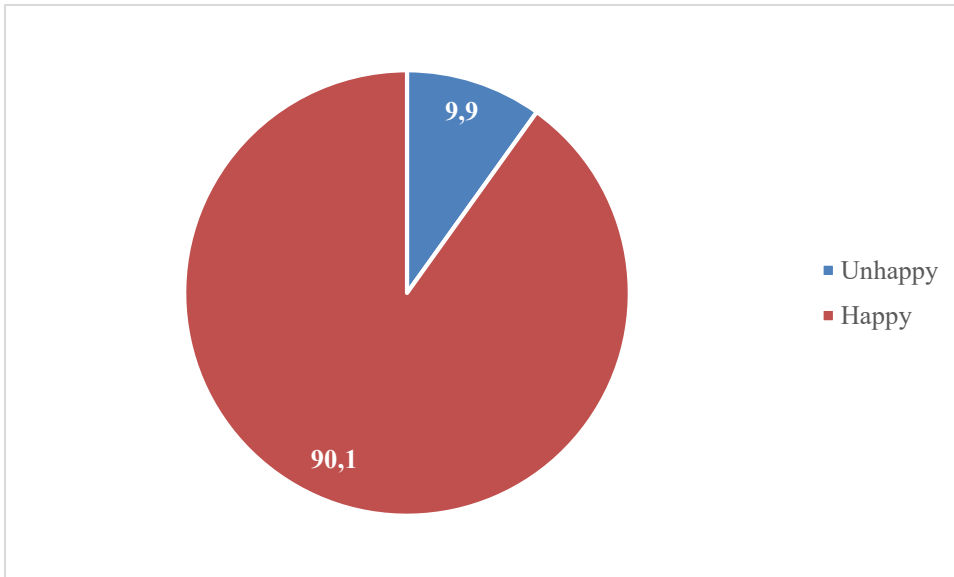
Source: Author's own illustration based on TurkStat Data

Three of those questions were used to measure gender role attitudes. These questions are asking if survey participant agree the following statements:

1. The child negatively affects the mother's work life (i.e., Mother_Work).
2. For a healthy family life, a woman should have a regular job (i.e., Women_Labour).
3. The man's primary duty is to provide for the household (i.e., Men_Livelihood).

Response categories were given in a Likert scale as strongly disagree, disagree, neither disagree nor agree, agree, and strongly agree. However, as done with the dependent variable, these variables were also dichotomised. Therefore, it takes "1" if the survey participant agrees the statement, and "0" if otherwise.

Figure 3. Distribution of the responses, percentage
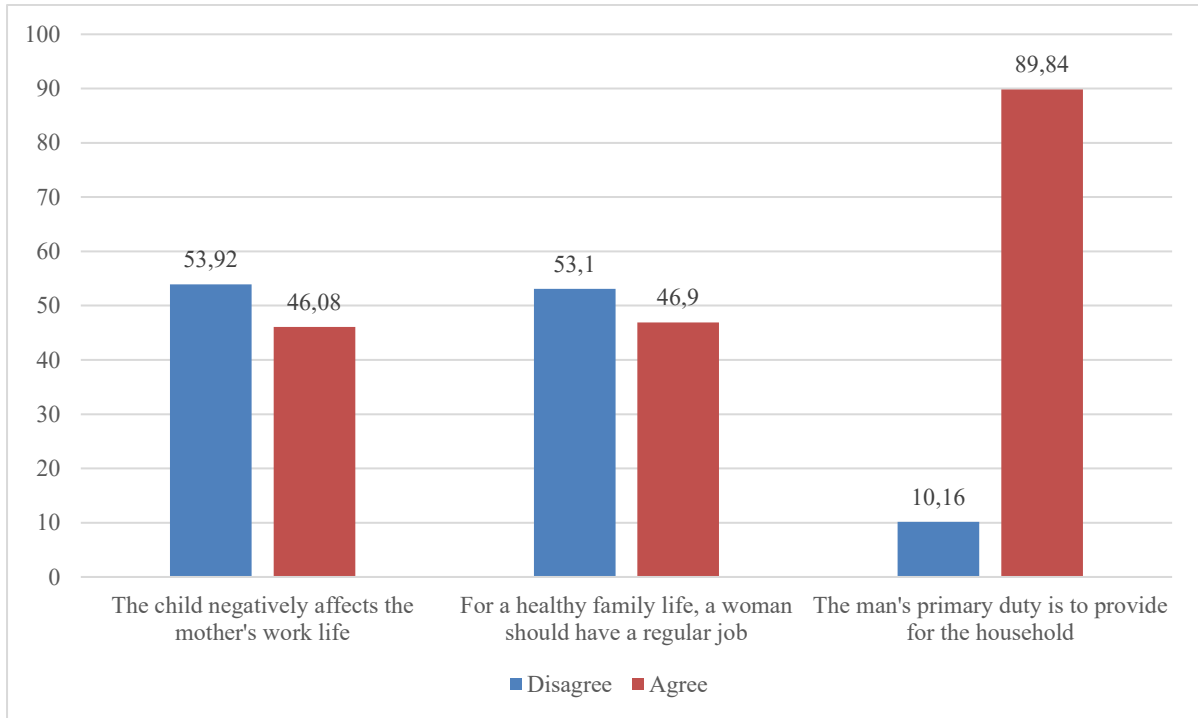
Source: Author's own illustration based on TurkStat Data

As seen in Figure 2, slightly more than 46 percent of the respondents reported that child affects mother's work life negatively. Similar to this distribution, almost 47 percent of the respondents said women should have a regular job for a healthy family life. The most interesting figure is found in the last part of Figure 2 which is about men's role in the household. Almost 90 percent of the survey participants think that men's primary duty is to provide for the household, while only 10 percent does not think the same way.

Descriptive statistics of all of the variables used in the empirical investigation is given in Table 1. It is seen that most of the participants are male (with 66 percent). In terms of marital status, 73 percent of them are married. It should be noted that those who are in a civil marriage, religious marriage, or married but separated are considered together in the category of married. About 15 percent of the participants are single, 8 percent of them are widowed, 4 percent of them are divorced, and a small percentage (i.e., 0.11 percent) lives together without a marriage.

Residence, where these participants live, is another indicator that may contribute to happiness of individuals. This variable is given in 5 categories that are abroad, city centre, district centre, town, and village. City centres and villages consist of the highest percentages with 36 and 33 percent, respectively. It is followed by district centres with about 27 percent, and about 3.5 percent lives in town or abroad. Parental characteristics such as father's education, mother's education, father's residence, mother's residence, father's birth year, and mother's birth year are also included in the empirical specification. As socio-economic indicators, employment status and income level are included. It is seen that about 62 percent of participants are employed, and income level is slightly more than 4,000 TL.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the variables used in the analysis

Variables		Freq.	Percent
Happiness			
	Unhappy	1,488	9.9
	Happy	13,536	90.1
Measures of Gender Role Attitudes			
Women_Labour			
	Disagree	7,978	53.1
	Agree	7,046	46.9
Men_Livelihood			
	Disagree	1,526	10.16
	Agree	13,498	89.84
Mother_Work			
	Disagree	8,101	53.92
	Agree	6,923	46.08
Gender			
	Male	9,930	66.09
	Female	5,094	33.91
Marital Status			
	Never married	2,177	14.49
	Divorced	647	4.31
	Widowed	1,209	8.05
	Married	10,975	73.05
	Lives together	16	0.11
Residence			
	Abroad	225	1.5
	City Centre	5,431	36.15
	District centre	4,035	26.86
	Town	293	1.95
	Village	5,040	33.55
Father_Education		4,437	29.53
	Drop out	7,194	47.88
	Primary school	1,085	7.22
	General secondary school/vocational secondary school/ primary education	1,391	9.26
	General high school/vocational high school	917	6.1
	Higher education	4,437	29.53
Father_Residence			
	Abroad	254	1.69
	City centre	4,874	32.44
	District centre	3,653	24.31
	Town	253	1.68
	Village	5,990	39.87
Mother_Education			
	Drop out	7,801	51.92
	Primary school	5,644	37.57
	General secondary school/vocational secondary school/ primary education	583	3.88
	General high school/vocational high school	706	4.7
	Higher education	290	1.93
Mother_Residence			
	Abroad	199	1.32
	City centre	4,845	32.25
	District centre	3,657	24.34
	Town	243	1.62
	Village	6,080	40.47
Employment_Status			
	Employed	9,294	61.86
	Unemployed	5,730	38.14

Variable	Obs	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Year_Residence	15024	1994.3	19.85	1927	2021
Father_BirthYear	15024	1944.17	18.10	1850	1988
Mother_BirthYear	15024	1948.15	17.72	1850	1990
Income	15024	4159.34	4747.10	0	250000

Note: log transformation was used in income variable.

The dependent variable is a binary variable as shown above. Therefore, probit mode is preferred to explain how gender role attitudes influence individual happiness in this case country. To do so, the following equation will be estimated:

$$Happiness_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1\ Gender\ Role\ Attitudes_i + \beta_2\ X_i + \varepsilon_i \tag{1}$$

where subscript i refers to an individual i; *Gender Role Attitudes* refer to the measures mentioned above (i.e., Women_Labour, Men_Livelihood, and Mother_Work); X refers to the rest of individual characteristics given in Table 1; finally ε is the random error term. This specification presents the main part of the analysis. Moreover, two subgroup specifications are also included to see if results change based on these subgroups. To do so, a survey question that asks "*Has your mother ever worked in an income generating job?*" was utilised. Because individuals' gender perception might be affected if their mothers work to generate income, those subgroups are also included. Hence, the first subgroup covers those whose mother worked in an income generating job, while the second covers those whose mother did not work to generate income.

3. Findings

This section provides the findings of the probit estimation that explain how gender role attitudes affect individual happiness in Türkiye. As coefficients obtained from the probit model are not directly interpretable in terms of the magnitude, marginal effects were calculated to enable seeing the size of the effect. Table 2 presents three specifications. The First column shows the findings of the original specification that are explained in Equation 1 above. The second column is a subgroup specification which is for those whose mother worked to generate income. Finally, the last column presents findings for those whose mother did not work to generate income.

Table 2. Findings of probit estimation, marginal effects

Variables		Original	Mother Worked	Mother not Worked
Gender Role Attitudes				
	Mother_Work	-0.036***	-0.030***	-0.037***
		(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.005)
	Women_Labour	-0.009**	-0.002	-0.013**
		(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.006)
	Men_Livelihood	0.026***	0.009	0.034***
		(0.009)	(0.015)	(0.011)
Gender (Reference: Male)				
	Female	0.029***	0.019*	0.032***
		(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.006)
Marital Status (Reference: Never married)				
	Divorced	-0.131***	-0.118***	-0.134***
		(0.021)	(0.039)	(0.025)
	Widowed	0.024	0.013	0.027
		(0.018)	(0.036)	(0.021)
	Married	0.130***	0.135***	0.128***
		(0.010)	(0.019)	(0.012)
	Lives together	-0.018	-0.355	0.026
		(0.105)	(0.322)	(0.104)
Residence (Reference: Abroad)				
	City Centre	-0.073***	-0.032	-0.092***
		(0.018)	(0.043)	(0.016)
	District centre	-0.069***	-0.047	-0.082***
		(0.018)	(0.043)	(0.017)
	Town	-0.032	0.027	-0.058*
		(0.028)	(0.053)	(0.031)
	Village	-0.043**	-0.012	-0.061***
		(0.017)	(0.042)	(0.016)
Year_Residence		-0.000	-0.000	0.000
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Father_BirthYear		-0.000	0.001	-0.001
		(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)

Table 2. Cont.

Variables	Original	Mother Worked	Mother not Worked
Father_Education (Reference: Drop out)			
Primary School	0.023***	0.006	0.027***
	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.008)
Secondary School	0.034***	0.039**	0.029**
	(0.010)	(0.019)	(0.013)
High School	0.031***	0.024	0.030**
	(0.010)	(0.021)	(0.012)
Higher Education	0.026*	-0.012	0.038***
	(0.013)	(0.030)	(0.015)
Father_Residence (Reference: Abroad)			
City Centre	0.049	0.072	0.031
	(0.040)	(0.072)	(0.047)
District Centre	0.044	0.053	0.034
	(0.040)	(0.072)	(0.048)
Town	0.053	0.086	0.037
	(0.055)	(0.106)	(0.064)
Village	0.032	0.068	0.011
	(0.039)	(0.071)	(0.047)
Mother_BirthYear	-0.000	-0.001	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Mother_Education (Reference: Drop out)			
Primary School	0.020***	0.025*	0.019***
	(0.006)	(0.014)	(0.007)
Secondary School	0.021	0.044*	0.010
	(0.013)	(0.022)	(0.016)
High School	0.049***	0.065***	0.046***
	(0.010)	(0.018)	(0.014)
Higher Education	0.024	0.049**	0.037
	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.038)
Mother_Residence (Reference: Abroad)			
City Centre	-0.042	-0.104***	0.023
	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.068)
District centre	-0.017	-0.053	0.036
	(0.036)	(0.033)	(0.069)
Town	-0.023	-0.122	0.044
	(0.059)	(0.145)	(0.084)
Village	-0.006	-0.054*	0.054
	(0.035)	(0.031)	(0.068)
Employment_Status (Reference: Employed)			
Unemployed	0.006	0.024**	-0.000
	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.007)
Income	0.038***	0.027***	0.042***
	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.004)
Observations	15,020	3,876	11,144
Pseudo-R2	0.111	0.125	0.112

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Starting from the original specification, the coefficient of *Mother_Work* is negative and statistically significant at 1 percent significance level. Accordingly, thinking in a way of "the child negatively affects the mother's work life" decreases the probability of being happy by 3.6 percentage points. This implies that this sort of attitudes that sees the child as an obstacle in women's work life makes individuals less happy. The second gender role attitude variable is *Women_Labour* which reveals negative and statistically significant at 5 percent significance level. Agreeing a woman should have a regular job for a healthy family life decreases the probability of being happy by 0.9 percentage points. The third measure of gender role attitudes is *Men_Livelihood*. The coefficient of this variable reveals positive and statistically significant at 1 percent significance level. More precisely, thinking in a way that "The man's primary duty is to provide for the household" increases the probability of being happy by 2.6 percentage points. This patriarchal view seems to influence individual happiness positively.

Findings show a gender difference on individual happiness. Being a female rather than a male increases the probability of being happy by 2.9 percentage points which is significant at 1 percent level. Regarding to the marital status, it is seen that being divorced rather than a single decreases the probability of being happy, while being married increases that probability significantly. There is also residential difference, that is to say, living in a city centre, district centre, or a village rather than living abroad decreases the probability of being happy. The size of the coefficient is largest for those who live in city centres.

In terms of parental characteristics, significant effects were found in father's education and mother's education, while the rest of variables on parental characteristics reveals not significant effect. The effect of parent's education is positive either for father or for mother. However, it should be noted that the largest and significant coefficient was found in mother's education which is high school level. So, those whose mother was graduated from a high school rather than being a drop out increases the probability of being happy by about 5 percentage points, while the effect of the rest is smaller than this level. Finally, income was found to be a statistically significant indicator of happiness. 1 percent increase in the average income increases the probability of being happy by 3.8 percentage points.

Regarding to the subgroup findings, the size of the negative effect on the gender role attitudes variables is larger for those whose mother did not work. Namely, happiness of those who has not experienced a working mother family is more affected by their gender role attitudes. For those whose mothers worked, only significant gender role attitude variable is *Mother_Work* which is negative and smaller than the original specification. Therefore, it might be said that happiness of those individuals whose mother worked is not affected by patriarchal view.

5. Conclusions

In this study, Türkiye where gender role attitudes prevail in the society was examined as case country to understand if these attitudes have any impact on individual happiness of Turkish people. To measure gender role attitudes, three particular survey questions from Family Structure Survey Micro Data Set 2021 that was obtained from TurkStat were used. These questions that are about the statements of "The child negatively affects the mother's work life", "For a healthy family life, a woman should have a regular job", and "The man's primary duty is to provide for the household" are expected to influence individual overall happiness in Türkiye.

Findings show that thinking in a way of "*the child negatively affects the mother's work life*", and "*agreeing a woman should have a regular job for a healthy family life*" decreases the probability of being happy by these findings might be explained by country's characteristics. Since Türkiye is not a country with a comprehensive childcare supports, and patriarchal attitudes are dominant, child might be seen as an obstacle in labour market for women. Because the main role of women is seen as motherhood, this attitude may contradict the idea of an active work life for mothers, on the one hand. Agreeing a woman should have a regular job for a healthy family life, on the other hand, presents an egalitarian view that treats men and women equally in their work life. Yet, thinking this way decreases the probability of happiness in this patriarchal country with traditional gender role attitudes. This implies that happiness of these individuals in a traditional society is associated with the existence of traditional way of life in labour market as well. Lastly, the third measure of gender role attitudes that is thinking in a way that "*the man's primary duty is to provide for the household*" increases the probability of being happy. This finding also confirms that staying in the traditional side that sees men as the main provider makes Turkish people happier. It must be noted that these effects are larger for those whose mother did not work.

From policy point of view, having more women who participate in the labour force seems to be an important tool to develop more egalitarian attitudes in society. In the current view, widespread traditional gender role attitudes contradict individual happiness and what they face in the labour market nowadays. Within the Sustainable Development Goals as reported by UN (2022), gender equality is the 5th goal among 17 goals. This is seen not only fundamental human right but also necessary for a prosperous, peaceful and sustainable world. From this perspective, egalitarian roles should be motivated in schools and work places, in

particular. Support system for working mothers should be widen to keep them in the labour force. The more working mothers in the labour force, the more egalitarian views to be accepted which eventually leads to a more peaceful society, along with a more effective labour market.

There are a few limitations of this study. First, the most relevant limitation is the analysis being relied on a cross section that does not cover time trends. It does not allow to see if there exists a change across years. Nevertheless, it does not seem to be possible with the current dataset retrieved from TurkStat. Second, gender role attitudes might be measured through a variety of indicators, however, only three of them were used in this analysis. A more diversified set of measures would be more intuitive to understand attitudes of Turkish people. Lastly, more subgroup specification would be useful to understand dynamics in those groups such as young participants, elderly participants, women, men, etc., even though subgrouping of those with a working mother and those with not a working mother provides important insights.

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