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**NORWAY AND TURKEY AT THE EDGES OF GENDER
EQUALITY: A MIXED METHOD APPROACH IN
EXAMINING PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER
INEQUALITY**

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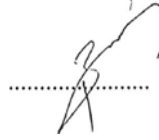
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ABSTRACT

NORWAY AND TURKEY AT THE EDGES OF GENDER EQUALITY: A MIXED METHOD APPROACH IN EXAMINING PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER INEQUALITY

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Gender inequality is of public and academic interest; and it still exists in most part of the world. Norway and Turkey represent two edges of gender equality; one takes the lead on gender equality indexes for years, one maintains a patriarchal stance with more inequalities between men and women. They are also distinct from each other in their power distance and masculinity levels. Norway has lower power distance and higher femininity; while Turkey has higher power distance and higher masculinity. However, gender pay-gap persists in these two different samples; and continues to affect women. Even so, the awareness of the magnitude of gender pay-gap is generally low around the world. Thus, in Study 1, experiences of gender inequality of young, educated Norwegian and Turkish participants were investigated using focus-group discussions. It was found that in both samples gender pay-gap was a question of debate; and it was a common problem for both samples. Then in Study 2, Scandinavian and Turkish participants were compared in their gender specific system justification (GSSJ) levels, and their estimations of gender pay-gap. In general, male participants estimated lower gender pay-gap than females. Male participants had higher GSSJ scores and showed higher accuracy in their estimations compared to female participants. Scandinavian participants were also scored higher on GSSJ; and had more accurate estimations than Turkish participants. It was also shown that GSSJ mediated the effect of sex and culture on inaccuracy scores of participants in their estimations of gender pay-gap; and participants with higher GSSJ scores were found to be more accurate in their estimations.

Keywords: gender specific system justification, gender discrimination, gender pay gap, perception of gender inequality.

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET EŞİTLİĞİNİN İKİ UCUNDA NORVEÇ VE TÜRKİYE: TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET EŞİTSİZLİĞİ ALGISINI İNCELEMEDE KARMA YÖNTEM

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Norveç ve Türkiye cinsiyet eşitliğinin iki ucunu temsil etmektedir. Norveç cinsiyet eşitliğinde lider ülkelerden biriyken, Türkiye kadın ve erkekler arasında daha fazla eşitsizliğe sahip ataerkil bir duruş sergilemektedir. Ayrıca Norveç daha düşük güç mesafesine ve daha yüksek dişillliğe sahipken, Türkiye daha yüksek güç mesafesine ve daha yüksek erillliğe sahiptir. Ancak, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ücret eşitliği her iki ülkede de devam etmektedir. Buna rağmen, dünya çapında cinsiyetler arası ücret farkının büyüklüğü konusundaki farkındalık genellikle düşüktür. Çalışma 1’de eğitimli ve genç Norveçli ve Türk katılımcıların toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği deneyimleri odak grup görüşmeleri kullanılarak karşılaştırılmıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ücret eşitsizliğinin her iki kültürde de tartışmalı bir konu olduğu saptanmış ve her iki kültürde de yaşanan bir problem olduğu bulunmuştur. Ardından Çalışma 2’de Türk ve İskandinav katılımcılar cinsiyete dayalı sistemi meşrulaştırma (GSSJ) ve cinsiyete dayalı ücret eşitsizliği tahminleri bakımından karşılaştırılmıştır. Genel olarak, erkek katılımcılar kadınlara göre daha düşük cinsiyet eşitsizliği tahmininde bulunmuştur. Erkek katılımcıların GSSJ skorlarının daha yüksek olduğu ve tahminlerinde kadın katılımcılara göre daha yüksek doğruluk gösterdikleri saptanmıştır. İskandinav katılımcıların da Türk katılımcılara göre daha yüksek GSSJ puanı aldığı ve Türk katılımcılardan daha doğru tahminlere sahip olduğu bulunmuştur. Ayrıca cinsiyet ve kültürün katılımcıların cinsiyete dayalı ücret farkı tahminleri üzerindeki etkisine GSSJ'nin aracılık ettiği gösterilmiştir; ve daha yüksek GSSJ skorlarına sahip katılımcıların tahminlerinde daha doğru olduğu bulunmuştur.

Anahtar sözcükler: toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı sistemi meşrulaştırma, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği, ücret eşitsizliği, algılanan cinsiyet ayrımcılığı

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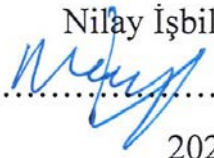
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Nilay İşbilir
Izmir, 2020

TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirmed that my study, titled “Norway and Turkey at the Edges of Gender Equality: A Mixed Method Approach in Examining Perceptions of Gender Inequality” and presented as a Master’s Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions. I declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all content and ideas drawn directly or indirectly from external sources are indicated in the text and listed in the references.

Nilay İşbilir



2020

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

GSSJ: Gender Specific System Justification

SDT: Social Dominance Theory

SDO: Social Dominance Orientation

WEF: World Economic Forum

ILO: Internatinal Labor Organization



CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

Turkey and Norway are two countries that differ dramatically from each other in many aspects. Turkey scores high on both uncertainty avoidance and power distance dimensions of Hofstede Insights (n.d.), and is highly populated country that includes different ethnic backgrounds and values; while Norway scores lower on uncertainty avoidance and power distance dimensions, and is a underpopulated, homogeneous country (Hofstede Insights, n.d.; Sümer, 1998). Turkey and Norway are also two disparate countries in terms of gender policies and the history of women's movement. While women's movement has historically been stronger in Norway, it was weaker and developed rather late in Turkey (Sümer & Eslen Ziya, 2017). Despite their different characteristics, gender pay-gap still affects both of them and continues to be a problem for women in these countries as it does all around the world (International Labor Organization, [ILO], 2018; World Economic Forum, [WEF], 2018). Hence, it is important to address the awareness of people in gender pay-gap in order to conduct more effective policies regarding gender equality (Gimpelson & Treisman, 2018).

Nordic gender model is characterized as the combination of feminism from below with the demands of activists, and feminism from above with social policies and welfare state interventions (Hernes, 1987). Norway has valued women's economic independence and political participation as key factors in gender equality (Sümer & Eslen Ziya, 2017); and Leira (2006) indicated that as Norwegian women's earning opportunities increased, they became less dependent on men and the mutual dependence between the state and women increased.

When it comes to Turkey, between the years of 1920 and 1930, Turkey experienced radical changes in economy, politics, and social life with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. These changes aimed modernization of Turkish society, and secularizing of state institutions (Engin & Pals, 2018). Although Turkey showed drastic changes and was seen as a modern society in twentieth century, patriarchal attitudes are recently on the rise (Hansen, 2013; Engin & Pals, 2018). Engin and Pals (2018) argued that Turkey experiences a backlash in egalitarian attitudes in recent years. During the last decades, the Turkish government began to maintain a patriarchal stance; and to limit women into traditional gender roles. Women are expected to be good mothers and wives above all things (Sümer & Eslen Ziya, 2017). Conservative

social and economic policies began to be adopted for women; and these policies usually restrain women to home and to caregiving role. (Yenilmez, 2015). Even though Labor Act mainly targets on “the equal pay for equal work” in equality policies, implementation of the policies are not well-organized and sustained (Yenilmez, 2015). Thus, it can be said that unlike Norway, Turkey can be described as “state anti-feminism” (Sümer & Eslen Ziya, 2017).

Despite the differences between the two countries, gender pay gap still exists in both Norway and Turkey (OECD, 2020; TUIK, 2018). In 2015, gender pay-gap in Norway was 7.1% which is lower than OECD average (OECD, 2020). It was also revealed that 70.6% of men and 56.6% of women between 15-65 years old were full time employed; while for part-time employment these rates were 11% and 30% relatively. However, it was also shown that women spend significantly more time to unpaid work and care activities than men. While men spend 152 minutes per day for unpaid work, women spend 225 minutes. (OECD, 2018). Thus, the reason why women tend to go into part-time jobs might be that they are primarily responsible for domestic housework, as well as care for children and elderly. In Turkey, on the other hand, gender pay-gap is wider than in Norway. Gender pay-gap in Turkey is 12.5%; and while this gap is 14.3 for high school graduates, it raises to 20.7% for primary school graduates (TUIK, 2018). However, whether people are aware of wage inequality between men and women should also be addressed.

Overall, the discrepancy between Norway and Turkey regarding their gender policies and cultural differences, make them rather interesting countries to compare. In Study 1, a qualitative focus group study was conducted with young, educated, urban living Turkish and Norwegian participants. My aim was to investigate their attitudes towards and experiences of gender inequality. Then in Study 2, I used quantitative method to compare Scandinavian participants to Turkish participants in their gender specific system justification and estimations of gender pay gap. The relationship between gender specific system justification and estimation of gender gap was also investigated.

CHAPTER 2

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Gender and Culture: Comparison of Norway and Turkey

Gender is defined as follow: “Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men, such as norms, roles, and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed” (World Health Organization [WHO], 2011, p. 134). Even though physiological differences between males and females are similar across cultures, culture has an important role in determining appropriate behaviors and roles (Eagly & Wood, 1999; Krumov & Larsen, 2013).

Krumov and Larsen (2013) indicated that while traditional gender roles of women is to be home-maker, and to look after the emotional needs of the family; men’s role is to be the breadwinner, head of the family, and the decision maker. On the other hand, egalitarian gender roles diminish the differences between males and females (Krumov & Larsen, 2013). Previous studies indicated that females tend to hold more egalitarian perspectives in gender roles compared to males (Gibbons, Stiles & Shkodriani, 1991). Men benefit more from traditional gender roles which enables them to have control over women; whereas women are increasingly becoming aware of this injustice (Krumov & Larsen, 2013). Therefore, it is not surprising that women are more likely to support egalitarian gender roles than men (Krumov & Larsen, 2013).

Western cultures generally perceive females as weaker, more emotional, and more obedient; whereas males were perceived as more independent, dominant, and assertive (Krumov & Larsen, 2013). However, Hofstede (1980) argued that the degree which gender roles differentiate from one another depends on cultural values. Thus, feminine or masculine behaviors vary across different cultures (G. Hofstede, G. J. Hofstede & Minkov, 2010). Hofstede (1980) introduced four dimensions of cultural values as power distance, individualism-collectivism, power distance, and masculinity-femininity. Power distance indicates the degree to a society accepts power to be distributed unequally. Norway scores low on this dimension, while Turkey scores high (Hofstede Insights, n.d.). Thus, power is centralized, and hierarchy is valued in Turkey. Fathers are seen as patriarchs and they are expected to be in control. In contrast, power is decentralized and equal rights are more valued in Norway (Hofstede Insights, n.d.).

Another dimension that was introduced by Hofstede (1980) was masculinity-

femininity. According to Hofstede et al. (2010):

A society is called masculine when emotional gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. A society is called feminine when emotional gender roles overlap: both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. (p. 140)

Masculine countries consider decisiveness, liveliness, and sense of responsibility as characteristics for men; whereas they consider caring and gentleness as women's characteristics (Hofstede et al., 2010). On the other hand, these terms can be applicable for both genders in feminine societies. Therefore, in Norway, sex differences do not play a big role since Norway score low on masculinity dimension (Hofstede et al., 2010).

In a study conducted with Norwegian, Turkish and US men, Lease et al. (2013) demonstrated that Norwegian men had lower scores on traditional masculinity scale than US and Turkish men. Norway emphasizes egalitarian gender roles and gender equality, and Norwegian men also support fluid gender norms. This means that Norwegian men have lower endorsement of status, anti-femininity and toughness norms compared to Turkish and US men. (Holter & Olsvik, 2000; Lease et al., 2013). On the other hand, in Turkey people generally hold traditional gender norms while there is a shift towards egalitarian gender roles, especially in urban areas (Sakallı, 2001; Lease et al., 2013).

Turkish society is accepted as patriarchal, and collectivistic (Dildar, 2015; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). In patriarchal societies, people generally think that “women's place is in the home”; whereas men are usually seen as the head of the family, having control over women (Çaha, 2010; Tekkas, Beser, & Park, 2020). Therefore, patriarchal beliefs creates gender stereotypes and gender inequities (Tekkas et al., 2020). However, Sümer and Eslen-Ziya (2017) suggested that Norway has strong egalitarian values; supports gender equality and social inclusion with policies. Therefore the authors stated that Turkey and Norway have different gender regimes. In “individual earner-carer regime”, there is greater equality between men and women; and both gender is involved in earning and caring. However in “male breadwinner regime”, men are expected to earn money, while women are expected to care for the family (Sainsbury, 1999). Although Norway moved closer to “individual earner-carer regime”, Turkey

traditionally has been “male breadwinner” country (Sümer & Eslen-Ziya, 2017).

Despite the differences between gender regimes, both countries have gender pay gap (OECD, 2020; TUIK, 2018). Bertrand, Black, Lleras-Muney, and Jensen (2019) indicated that even though women in boards are younger and more educated than men, they still occupy less top positions and earn less than men. In addition, even after Norway made it mandatory to represent 40% of each gender in boards, there is pay gap between men and women; and the gap is larger at the top of the income distribution in Norway (Bertrand et al., 2019). In Turkey, it was found that gender pay gap is wider among primary school graduates (Aktuğ, Kuzubaş, & Torul, 2020). In 2017, it was also revealed that the overall gender gap was 13%. However, when disaggregated by education, the gap is 24% for lower educated employees, whereas it was 9% for higher educated employees (Tekgüç, Eryar, & Cindoğlu, 2017).

2.2. Differences Between Scandinavian Countries and Turkey in Gender Equality

Scandinavian countries are known as “women-friendly societies” (Hernes, 1987); and compared to other cultures, their success in gender equality is worthy of praise (Holst, 2018). Hernes (1987) was one of the first theorists who indicated that labor between market, family and the state determines the welfare of women in the society. She argued that eliminating gender based injustice without increasing other forms of inequality between women makes it possible to transform Nordic countries into women-friendly societies. Holst (2018) also argued that Scandinavian feminism depends on social democracy and welfare state; and the key is to protect universal social rights.

Pascall and Lewis (2004) stated that paid work, care work, income, time and voice constitutes the key elements in gender regimes. Therefore, inclusive citizenship requires that women and men have equal rights and responsibilities to participate in the labor market, but in the meantime, caregiving activities will be recognized and valued (Knijn & Kremer, 1997). Nordic countries acknowledged the gender inequalities in combining work and care earlier than the other European countries; thus, they began to intervene earlier which place them on top of the various gender equality measures (Sümer, 2014). Scandinavian region surpasses other countries with gender equality policies; female labor participation as well as public care for children and elderly has been the focus of these states since 1960s (Holst, 2018).

WEF (2018) showed that while Scandinavian countries ranked top of the list

on Gender Gap Index across economic, health, politic, and education domain; Turkey has a long way to go in order to achieve gender equality. In Turkey, 36.1% of working age females are in the labor force, while this rate is 77.3%, 75.9%, and 80.6% in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, respectively. On the other hand, Norway and Sweden have non-discrimination laws; whereas Denmark and Turkey do not. Proportion of unpaid work also significantly differ in Turkey and Scandinavian countries. In Turkey, females undertake huge amount of unpaid work per day with 75.3% compared to men. However, this rate is no more than 55.5% in Scandinavian countries (WEF, 2018). Therefore, Turkey shows more traditional gender pattern with women handling most of the unpaid work, and participating much less in the labor force. Thus, it is no surprise that gender pay gap is wider in Turkey compared to Scandinavian countries.

Overall, Scandinavian countries take the lead on gender equality; they closed the gender gap more than most of the countries (WEF, 2018). However, despite the progresses in gender equality, some gaps are remained to be fulfill. Gender segregation and pay gap is still persistent. More women work part-time than men; and men tend to occupy top positions more than women (Holst, 2018). Borchorst and Siim (2008) argued that gender inequality increased during last years; and segregation in labor force increased gender pay gap. Researchers suggested that with increasing immigration, Scandinavian population became more diverse and differences between women enlarged. Thus, new questions regarding equality has been emerged in Nordic welfare model.

Turkey and Scandinavian countries show distinct features regarding their gender policies and cultural aspects (Sümer & Eslen Ziya, 2017). However, gender pay gap persists both in Turkey and Scandinavian countries (WEF, 2018). Therefore, I believe that it is crucial to investigate the differences between Scandinavian and Turkish participants in their perceptions of pay gap; and its relation with gender specific system justifying attitudes.

2.3. Underestimation of Gender Pay Gap

Wage inequality between men and women persist all over the world. WEF (2018) showed that globally 63% of gender pay gap closed; and economic power is still under men's control. Although Scandinavian countries are in a better condition in achieving gender equality in income, Turkey is far behind them. According to WEF (2018), Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Turkey closed 73%, 78%, 78,5%, and 43% of their gender gap in wage equality, relatively. However, there is a persistent lack of

awareness of the pay-gap (Tharenou, 2013); and to what extent people are aware of gender pay gap should also be addressed.

Previous studies examined the perception of people in distribution of income. Kraus, Onyeador, Daumeyer, Rucker, and Richeson (2019) indicated that participants perceived Black-White pay gap as 80% smaller than its actual size. They estimated that for every 100\$ that a White family has, a Black family has 90 \$; when in fact a Black family only makes 10\$ for every 100\$ a White family makes. The authors argued that high income White Americans might overlook income differences, because it is psychologically threatening to think that one's high-socioeconomic status partly depends on accidental chance rather than their individual merit. Kaplowitz, Fisher, and Broman (2003) showed that although White people were aware of disadvantaged position of Black people, they still underestimated the race differences; and tend to deny racial discrimination. On the other hand, Black people indicated larger differences than White people. It was also found that people with low income were more susceptible to income inequality (Kaplowitz et al., 2003). In addition, people who live in states where income inequality is wider were more likely to perceive unfairness of income distribution (Xu & Garand, 2010).

To my knowledge, there are very few studies that examined perceptions of wage inequality between men and women. Mårtensson, Björklund, Bäckström, and University (2019) indicated that men underestimated the wage inequality more than women; while estimations of women were closer to the actual gap. These findings are in line with Goh, Rad, and Hal (2016) study which indicated that women were more accurate than men to detect sexist behavior. The authors suggested that high accuracy of women might serve as an adaptive function; and men do not have to protect themselves to sexist behaviors as they hold more power compared to women (Goh et al., 2016). In addition, according to self-referent effect, people who are belonged to advantaged group tend to underestimate income differences; thus women might be more accurate in their estimation since they have more experience of economic disadvantage (Klein & Loftus, 1988; Rogers, Kuiper, & Kirker, 1977; Mårtensson et al., 2019).

Beyer (2018) found out that although people are aware of gender inequality in income, they were still over optimistic about women's wage, and had low awareness in magnitude of gender pay gap. The author claimed that people who were high on Modern Sexism underestimated the pay gap even more, otherwise their belief in just

world would be challenged (Beyer, 2018). In addition, system justifying beliefs might lead to the beliefs that unfair distribution of resources is fair (Jost & Banaji 1994; Jost & Hunyady 2005). Lips (2013) suggested that justification in gender inequality usually has their origins in the notion of difference. Women and men are seen as different both physically and behaviorally; and these differences used to rationalize any discrimination towards women (Lips, 2013). For instance, it is believed that women's commitment to work will decrease after having a child which results in lower wage and biases in promotions; whereas there is no such effect for men (Roth, 2006).

Overall, I think it is important to explore people's perception of gender pay-gap. Gimpelson and Treisman (2018) indicated that not actual economic inequality, but perceived inequality determines support for economic distributions; and Mårtensson et al., (2019) argued that inaccurate perceptions of gender pay-gap may lead to the policies that should not be accepted.

2.4. Social Role Theory

Social role theory builds upon gender roles which can be defined as “shared expectations about appropriate conduct that apply to individuals solely on the basis of their socially identified sex” (Eagly & Wood 1991, p. 4). Eagly (1987) argues that these roles caused by the distribution of men and women into different roles, different assignments and different occupations. Thus, social role theory indicates that one of the reasons why people often confirm gender stereotypes is that they have a tendency to behave in accordance with their social roles (Eagly, 1987). For instance, women are more likely than men to be caregivers for children and elderly in the family, while men are more likely to work outside the home. Therefore, women more often exhibit nurturance and concern over personal relationships, whereas men more often show assertiveness and leadership qualities (Vogel, Wester, Heesacker, & Madon, 2003). Social role theory proposes that men and women perform different roles that requires different social demands; and these different roles shape and define their skills which result in confirming gender stereotypes (Vogel et al., 2003).

In social role theory, it is predicted that there would be stronger gender roles and gender differences in gender inequalitarian societies; while there would be weaker gender roles in egalitarian societies (Eagly, Wood, & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2004). Because men and women are positioned more equally in the social structure in egalitarian societies, they become more similar to each other psychologically as well. In addition, psychological gender differences are expected to be weakened as women and

men have more similar roles in a given society, and as traditional gender roles weaken over time (Eagly et al., 2004). Researchers found out that there is a transformation in public opinion and the new cohorts is more egalitarian than earlier cohorts. However, this transformation mostly occurs in workplace, and traditional gender roles seem to be maintained in the social domain. Women are still expected to show nurturance, and be other-oriented more than men (Spence & Hahn, 1997; Smith, 1999; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). Eagly et al., (2000) proposed that since more women are in workforce than before, and gender division of labor decreased, egalitarianism in the employment domain increased. However, there is less change in the social domain. Gendered division of labor is still rewarded in social domain; and men expect women to perform more expressive traits more than themselves. In addition, women experience strong pressure and strong positive incentives to maintain traditional gender roles in social domain (Eagly et al., 2000; Anderson & Johnson, 2003).

Anderson and Johnson (2003) conducted a study with undergraduate students who were between 17 and 32 years old in the USA, California. The researchers aimed to investigate gender role egalitarianism of the participants in social and work domains; they found out that women tend to be more egalitarian than men, especially in the workplace domain. However, it was found that there is a bigger between-domain difference for women. Although women reject sexism in the employment domain, they maintain inequalitarian attitudes in the social domain. Researchers argued that women are more likely to face pressure to show communal traits such as nurturance and kindness compared to men; therefore traditional gender roles are reinforced (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Anderson & Johnson, 2003).

Overall, according to social role theory one can expect women and Norwegian participants to endorse more egalitarian beliefs than men and Turkish participants.

2.5. Social Dominance Theory

Social dominance theory (SDT) indicates that people are motivated to maintain group-based social hierarchies. It was theorized that this tendency have a motivational core which is social dominance orientation (SDO); and that people tend to develop group-oriented social hierarchies. (Sidanius & Liu, 1992; Wilson, 2006). SDT claims that people are motivated to perceive social groups as superior and inferior; and to support social inequality. Thus, people who score high on SDO are expected to legitimize hierarchical systems more than people score low on SDO (Caricati, 2007). There are three different stratification systems in SDT which are age-set systems where

the oldest are powerful, gender-set system where men are more powerful, and arbitrary-set system where the powerful one is defined by social characteristics such as ethnicity or race (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The researchers suggested that even though subordinates also often legitimize the hierarchy, dominants are typically expected to endorse hierarch-legitimizing myths more than subordinates. This is known as *ideological asymmetry* (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994).

According to gender-set system, it is assumed that men will have more anti-egalitarian beliefs than women due to disproportionate power they hold; and this is the foundational hypothesis of SDT (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Wilson, 2006). Invariance hypothesis in SDT claims that gender differences in SDO are invariant and is not affected by contextual variations (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Schmitt & Wirth, 2009). Sidanius and Pratto (1999) claimed that due to different reproductive strategies of women and men, men “chronically” tend to develop group-based social hierarchies (SDO) more than women. However, Caricati (2007) criticized this for being insensitive to cultural factors.

Caricati (2007) carried out a study with undergraduate students in Italy to investigate the relationship between SDO, gender and social values. Struch, Schwartz and van der Kloot (2002) described social values as follow: “desirable, transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people’s lives”; power, achievement, benevolence, and universalism are more relevant in SDO (Caricati, 2007). Power is defined as the motivation to have a control and domination over other people and resources; whereas benevolence is defined as the concern over wellbeing of one’s inner circle (Schwartz, 1992). The author illustrated that men had the same levels of SDO as women when controlled for power and benevolence. Therefore, the researcher suggested that since women and men have different levels of power and benevolence, their SDO levels are also different (Caricati, 2007).

Wilson and Liu (2003) found out that males had significantly higher SDO scores than females in a study conducted in New Zealand. However, they also suggest that gender identification moderates the relationship between SDO and gender. The authors defined gender identification as “the degree to which people identify with their gender group” (Wilson & Liu, 2003, p. 188). Females showed lower SDO if their gender identification is higher, whereas there was no significant relationship between SDO and gender identification for males. Some low identifying females even showed

higher SDO levels than males with high gender identification. Therefore the authors suggested that women may show higher SDO levels than males in some conditions (Wilson & Liu, 2003). Ryan, David and Reynolds (2004), on the other hand, found out that higher SDO was related to lower gender identification for females; while it was related to higher gender identification for males.

Rollero, Bergagna and Tartaglia (2019) claim that people who have higher scores on SDO are less likely to recognize limitation of freedom as a type of violence; instead they are more likely to perceive it as a normal behavior. The authors suggest that people who are social-dominance oriented try to maintain their superior position by preventing others to have the same freedom and rights as they do. Thus, it can be said that people with higher SDO levels are more likely to resist equality-enhancing behaviors (Rollero et al., 2019; Berke & Zeichner, 2016).

Overall past research showed that men tend to have higher SDO levels than women; and this relationship can be moderated by gender identification. It was also found that individuals who have higher SDO levels tend to be more hostile towards women, and less likely to recognize subtle forms of violence. (Ryan, David & Reynolds, 2004; Wilson & Liu, 2003; Schmitt & Wirth, 2009; Rollero et al., 2019; Berke & Zeichner, 2016).

2.6. System Justification Theory

“People want to and have to believe they live in a just world so that they can go about their daily lives with a sense of trust, hope, and confidence in their future” as Lerner (1980, p. 14) suggested in just world hypothesis. Accordingly, system justification theory indicates that people tend to justify and rationalize the things in such a way that current social, economic, and political systems continued to be seen as reasonable and legitimate (Jost & Banaji, 1994). System justification theory states that people not only perceive existing social arrangements as justifiable and rational but also as natural and indispensable (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, Sulloway, 2003). The researchers stated that people sometimes justify the system by even sacrificing their own or collective interests (Jost et al., 2003).

According to dissonance theory people from disadvantaged groups are motivated to justify their sub-ordination in the society and rationalize their suffering; therefore they might support the status quo more than the members of advantaged group (Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003). Thus, Jost et al. (2003) proposed a hybrid theory of ideological dissonance theory; and argued that the motivation to

justify current social order might be stronger for members of disadvantaged groups in some situations. The authors showed that low-income participants and ethnic minorities were least likely to question or reject the current system; and they were more likely to endorse system justifying motives (Jost et al., 2003).

Despite various research states that disadvantaged people legitimize the system more than the advantaged ones, there are other studies that shows the opposite. Brandt (2013) revealed that people with high education and high social class, Whites, and men scored higher on system justification than people with lower education and low social class, ethnic minorities, and women. Therefore, the results were contrary to Jost et al. (2003)'s status legitimacy hypothesis. It was also argued that there is a significant interaction between SES and political ideology (Dirilen-Gümüş, 2011). The researcher expressed that leftists females had the lowest score on system justification, while rightest males had the highest score. Thus, members of disadvantaged groups do not always support the status quo (Dirilen-Gümüş, 2011).

Even though there are mixed results in the literature whether people from disadvantaged or advantaged groups justify the system more, system justifying motives found to be associated with psychological benefits for both groups (Bahamondes, Sibley, & Osborne, 2019). The authors demonstrated that system justification increased self-esteem levels of ethnic minorities and women by reducing perceived discrimination toward their groups, and by motivating them to believe that current social structure is fair. Thus, people might overlook discrimination and perceive the existing system as legitimate and non-threatening (Bahamondes et al., 2019). System justification was also found to be associated with reduced guilt and moral outrage among advantaged group, while it was related with reduced frustration levels among disadvantaged group (Jost, Wakslak, & Tyler, 2008). Various studies also revealed that system justification was linked with increased self-esteem among advantaged groups, life satisfaction, and decreased emotional distress for both groups (Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Jost et al., 2008).

Jost, Blount, Pfeffer, and Hunyady (2003) revealed that power distance orientation was positively associated with system justification. Jost and Hunyady (2005) pointed out that people who show high need for uncertainty avoidance and threat are more likely to hold system justifying ideologies. Meta-analysis of Jost et al. (2003) revealed that system justification was positively related to uncertainty avoidance; intolerance for ambiguity; needs for order, structure, and closure. On the

other hand, it was negatively linked with openness to experience, and uncertainty tolerance. The researchers stated that people who have high need for reducing uncertainty and threat are more likely to preserve the existing system since it allows them to avoid the unknown while maintaining a familiar system (Jost & Hunyady, 2005).

2.6.1. Gender Specific System Justification

Gender specific system justification (GSSJ) is the belief that men and women have the same opportunities to succeed; thus, believing any status difference between them are fair (Jost & Kay, 2005). Researchers argued that it is easier to challenge the perception that gender inequality exists than resisting gender inequality. They also stated that gender inequality systematically tries to keep women “in their place” as much as it tries to keep men in their relatively privileged place (Chapleau & Oswald, 2014). Therefore, it is comprehensible that men often have higher GSSJ scores than women due to their upper positions in the society (Jost, Burgess, & Moss, 2001; Sönmez & Adiller, 2015).

Sönmez and Adiller (2015) showed that men had higher GSSJ scores than women in Turkey, and GSSJ scores were negatively related with their attitudes toward working women. Jost and Kay (2005) revealed that although men generally had higher scores on GSSJ, women’s scores differed depending on their exposure to communal gender stereotypes. Women who were exposed to communal stereotypes had higher GSSJ scores compared to those who were not exposed to them. Therefore, researchers argued that there is a causal connection between exposure to gender stereotypes and support for gender relations (Jost & Kay, 2005).

Kray, Howland, Russell and Lackman (2017) indicated that people who have fixed gender roles might tend to ascribe “caretaker” role to women, and “breadwinner” role to men. Thus, this categorization might lead them into believing that existing gender relations are fair; and that any inequality is inevitable due to inherent differences between men and women. Therefore, they might end up preserving the status quo. The authors demonstrated that men who have fixed-gender role theory had more in-group identification, which motivated them to perceive the system as fair. On the other hand, men who believed that gender roles are changeable, had lower in-group identification and lower need for supporting the status quo (Kray et al., 2017).

Various researchers explained that system justifying beliefs might prevent people to become aware of unfairness in the society, and lead them to rationalize the

status quo (Lips, 2013). In addition, previous studies proposed that people avoid admitting being either perpetrators or victims of inequality (Lips, 2013). Instead, people use system justifying beliefs to rationalize and maintain unfair systems where resources distributed unequally (Jost & Banaji 1994; Jost & Hunyady 2005).

Present Study

I aimed to investigate cultural differences between Turkey and Norway in their experiences of gender inequality. There is mixed evidence in the literature regarding men's and women's views towards gender based injustice in different cultural contexts. Since the first study would be exploratory which will provide a basis for quantitative study, rather than posing formal hypotheses about attitudes towards and experiences of gender inequality of young, educated, urban living Norwegian and Turkish participants, I posed the following research questions:

Research Question 1: What are the similarities and differences between Norwegian and Turkish participants regarding gender roles, and social roles?

Research Question 2: How do Norwegian and Turkish participants perceive and experience gender inequalities in their daily lives?

Research Question 3: What are the gender specific differences within these two countries regarding views of gender roles and experiences of gender inequality?

To compare the experiences of gender inequality of Turkish and Norwegian young adults a mixed-method research approach was used. The phases of data collection was sequential: The first phase was drawn on qualitative focus group interviews, whereas the second contained quantitative statistical analysis.

My rationale for using a mixed-method approach was three-fold. First, I wished to look at my research question from different angles, both descriptive and exploratory. In addition, and relatedly, I wanted to elaborate and build on findings from qualitative study by conducting a quantitative study. All in all, the mixed-method can provide a more comprehensive understanding of my research questions.

The mixed-method approach allows researchers to integrate different models, designs, methods, analysis, and interpretations (Fetters & Freshwater, 2015). With mixed method design, numbers and words can give meaning to each other; and researchers can gain insight and understanding that might not be evaluated from a single method (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Moreover, Folch-Lyon and Trost (1981) argued that qualitative research methods can provide an important input and rich information to quantitative research; and that multiple research approach is useful

in acquiring more comprehensive view of different dimensions of a studied topic. There are other advantages of using mixed-method approach regarding cross-cultural studies. As Karasz and Singelis (2009) indicate, cross-cultural research should employ mixed-method research in order to gain in-depth understanding of different cultural contexts. The researchers argued that while cross cultural researchers often conceptualize culture as a grouping variable, qualitative methods can make “culture” more concrete; and are useful in acquiring in-depth understanding of the perceptions and experiences of participants from other societies (Karasz & Singelis, 2009). Since qualitative and quantitative methods are susceptible to different dimensions and levels of cultural variation, mixed method approach can allow researchers to create a more coherent understanding of different cultures (Schrauf, 2017).



CHAPTER 3

STUDY 1

3. METHOD

3.1. Participants

Data was collected from Bergen, Norway; and Izmir, Turkey. Thirty six participants took part in the qualitative study in total. Ten participants were from Bergen, and 26 participants were from Izmir. Participants' ages ranged from 19 to 30 ($M = 24.00$; $SD = 3.25$). The mean age of Norwegian participants was 24.90; and the mean age for Turkish participants was 23.65. Gender division was as follow: 5 (50%) of Norwegian participants were female, and 5 (50%) of them were male; while 15 (57.69 %) of Turkish participants were female, and 11 (42.31%) of them were male.

All participants were given pseudonyms randomly before the analysis, and their pseudonym were used in the rest of the paper in order to protect their privacy.

Table 1

Demographic variables of the participants

Group	Pseudonym	Place of residence	Mean age
NFG 1	Leila, Margit, Anna	Bergen	26.66
NFG 2	Olav, Steinar, Henrik	Bergen	24.33
NFG 3	Rita, Thor, Einer, Lillian	Bergen	24.00
TFG 1	Berkan, Erman, Ferhat, Bahadır	Izmir	26.50
TFG 2	Feyza, Çağla, Işıl, Melike, Gamze, Defne, Hande	Izmir	22.29
TFG 3	Kaan, Aykut, Haluk, Özge, Sude	Bodrum	25.40
TFG 4	Taner, Barış, Deniz, Murat	Izmir	23.00
TFG 5	Fulya, Seda, Şeyma, Yeşim, Aydan, Nehir	Izmir	22.33

3.2. Materials

3.2.1. Focus-Group Discussions

Focus-group approach was used as a qualitative method. Morgan (1988) defined focus groups as group interviews where participants “focus” on a given topic; and the group involves in collective activity such as discussing a given issue, or sharing experiences (Kitzinger, 2005). Focus groups are guided by a moderator in order to ensure that all topics of interest are covered (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981).

Focus groups can be useful in exploratory studies and in acquiring in-depth information about a particular topic (Morgan, 1988; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). In addition, participants in the group can comment and build on each other’s ideas which allows for creating new ideas and perspectives (Marrelli, 2008). Gorman (2015) stated that focus group allows researcher to conduct more natural observation than individual interview since participants will influence each other as they do in real life. Group discussions might encourage participants to reveal personal issues than they would do in one-to-one interviews, since they would feel more comfortable and secure in group interviews (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981). Furthermore, focus group can provide insight about a variety of ideas and feelings of individuals on a certain topic, and can highlight the differences in their perspectives in a relatively short time (Rabiee, 2004). However, the aim of group interviews is not finding out group norms, traits or characteristics; instead it seeks to understand the underlying attitudes and opinions (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981). Therefore, focus group interviews can provide insights to conduct further analysis in perceptions of gender inequality of Turkish and Norwegian participants.

3.2.2. Demographic Variables

There were 5 demographic variables which are gender, place of residence, age, university affiliation and department.

3.3. Procedure

At the beginning of the 2018-2019 spring semester, I applied to Centre for Women and Gender Research (SKOK) at Bergen University for Erasmus+ research internship and sent the research proposal to get their permission for conducting my research. After I have been accepted to the center, I presented my research proposal to the professors in Yasar University. Then ethical approval from Yasar University Research Ethics Committee was obtained. I completed my internship between 30 August and 28 October 2018; and conducted focus group interviews with Norwegian participants during this period. After I completed my internship, I came back to Izmir

where I also carried out focus group interviews with Turkish participants.

I used snowballing sampling method and convenience sampling to recruit participants. I made announcement in various lectures, and through social media in order to find voluntary participants. Participants were also asked if they can bring a friend to the focus group discussions.

All participants received informed consent (see Appendix I) which indicates that audio-recorded discussions will last between 60 to 90 minutes and that they can withdraw from the study anytime without any consequences. Participation was voluntary, and they were offered tea, coffee and snacks during the sessions. They completed a demographic questionnaire before the interview (see Appendix II).

The focus group was conducted in English for Norwegian participants and in Turkish for Turkish participants. Focus group discussions in Norway took place in the meeting room of SKOK (Center for Women's and Gender Research), at Bergen University; and the discussions in Turkey took place in the psychology laboratory at Yasar University, Izmir. The shortest discussion took 1 hour and 6 minutes; while the longest discussion took 1 hour 50 minutes. Participants were asked about their opinions on feminism, gender equality in their countries, and their experiences as a man or woman in their own country. Full focus-group guide can be found in Appendix III.

Three focus groups were conducted in Norway, while five focus groups were administered in Turkey. Prior studies suggested that three or four focus groups are sufficient for a simple research question (Rabiee, 2004). Initially, five focus groups were planned in Norway too. However, due to last minute cancellations and time limitation, I was not able to conduct more focus group interviews. One of the focus groups was mixed-gender in each sample in order to allow participants to be involved in more heated discussion. Participants were able to influence each other as they do in real life settings, and this situation created an opportunity to observe how interactions between men and women shape their views about gender equality and feminism. The other focus groups for each sample was same-sex groups and contained only men or only women. My consideration in this decision was that in same-sex groups participants might be more comfortable and inclined to talk about the issues that they would hesitate to do in mixed-gender groups (e.g. sexuality). They might not open some topics up for discussion as much due to stereotypes or social desirability in mixed-gender groups. Thus, by using same-sex focus groups I was able to gain insight

about their ideas in gender equality and feminism in a setting they would feel relatively free.

My role in the group discussions was that of the moderator. This entails to ask open-ended questions for the participants to discuss. The moderator needs to make sure that each participant in the focus group expresses his/her opinions. It is also important to remain eye contact and to listen without commenting on the discussion in order not to influence the interaction between the participants (Mette, Tine, Charlotte de, & Charlotte, 2011).

3.4. Data Analysis

Recorded discussions were transferred to a computer in MP3 format, and then transcribed verbatim into word documents by noting the hesitations, silences, and other psychological indicators (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981). Thematic analysis was used to analyze and compare Norwegian and Turkish focus group discussions. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 6) describe thematic analysis “as a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data”; and the researchers stated that it is a useful method for describing the similarities and differences across the data set as well as summarizing the key features of a large data.

Braun and Clarke (2006) suggested that there are two forms of thematic analysis of which one is inductive (bottom up) and the other is deductive or theoretical (top down). In inductive analysis, researchers do not try to fit the data to existing coding frame, and it is therefore data-driven. However, theoretical analysis is driven by theoretical interest of the researcher, and thus it is analyst-driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I employed inductive approach since the first part of my research was exploratory with research questions that were formulated more openly (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Braun and Clarke (2006) state that process of thematic analysis may start even during data collection; researcher begin to seek for patterns of meaning in the data set. Thematic analysis requires researcher to shift between the entire data set, the coded extracts, and the analysis that is being produced (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Table 2

Phases of thematic analysis

Phase 1	Familiarizing with the data set
Phase 2	Generating initial codes
Phase 3	Generating potential themes and sub-themes
Phase 4	Reviewing themes
Phase 5	Defining and naming themes
Phase 6	Writing the report

Note: Adapted from “Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology”, by V. Braun & V. Clarke, 2006, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, pp. 77-101.

The first step in analyzing the data is familiarizing with the data set which can be achieved by reading your data multiple times. Reading the data should be in active way, and researcher should begin to search for meanings and patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Second step involves generating initial codes of the data which means identifying the basic elements of the data that can be evaluated meaningfully (Boyatzis, 1998). In the next step researcher begins to look for themes which are broader than initial codes; and researcher identify the themes by considering how different codes may combine to generate a theme. Essentially, researcher generate potential themes and sub-themes in this step as well as unclassified codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Patton (1990) suggested that there should be homogeneity within the themes, and heterogeneity between the themes. Thus, researcher need to review the themes in the fourth step of the analysis, and decide if candidate themes create a coherent pattern (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The authors suggested that researchers must work on the themes by eliminating the codes, and generating new themes until all themes sufficiently captures the initial codes. After themes and subthemes are named and described, researcher begin to produce the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

CHAPTER 4

4. RESULTS

Themes, subthemes and topics in focus groups discussions were described and illustrated with quotes and contributions from the participants. When employing focus groups in a research project it is not uncommon to analyze the interactional dynamics within the group (Farnsworth & Boon, 2010). However, as the emphasis of this projects lays in the content of participants' contributions, group dynamics were only discussed as they directly relate to the research questions.

4.1. Experiences of Gender Inequality

Table 3.1

Cross-cultural comparison of the major theme and its subthemes, and their description.

Themes	Subthemes		Description
	Turkey	Norway	
Areas of Inequality	Intimate relationships	Intimate relationships	This theme illustrates how gender inequality can be observed and experienced
	Public space	Public space	
	Work life	Work life	
	Politics	Ethnicity discrimination	
Equality in Norway	---	Process Towards Equality Areas of Equality	In this theme, participants explained how gender equality showed progress over time and what Norway did good about it
Determinants of Inequality	Cultural Political Religious Differences in upbringing	Socialization of gender	This theme shows us the different factors that play role in gender inequality

Resistance & Contribution	Resistance Contribution	Resistance Contribution	This theme illustrates how one can resist or contribute gender inequality even unconditionally
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Table 3.1 illustrates the themes, subthemes and topics. Three themes were emerged for Turkish sample as “areas of inequality”, “determinants of inequality” and “resistance and contribution”; while four themes were revealed for Norwegian sample with the addition of “equality in Norway” theme.

Participants shared their own experiences of gender inequality as well as general conditions in their countries. There were notable differences between Turkish and Norwegian participants in terms of how they experience gender inequality and how they perceive it. Turkish participants emphasized gender inequality in public space more than Norwegian participants; while Norwegian participants discussed inequalities in work life more extensively. The other difference between two samples was that Norwegian participants did not focus on determinants of inequality; but Turkish participants had debates and discussions on the question of how these inequalities come about. Participants of both samples explained how to stand up against, that is, resist gender inequality; and how people contribute to the gender inequality on more unconscious level. Moreover, Norwegian participants tool intersectional themes more into consideration (such as other ethnicities, sexualities, and gender identities) than Turkish participants did.

There were also differences between male and female participants. In Turkey, female participants mostly described the inequalities in public space and work life when they were asked about advantages or disadvantages of being a woman / men in Turkey; whereas male participants mostly expressed inequalities in romantic relationships. On the other hand in Norway, male and female participants had opposite views in some topics about gender inequalities in public space and work life. However, they usually agreed on the other themes.

4.1.1. Areas of Inequality: Intimate Relationships, Public Space, Work Life, Politics

Table 3.2

Subthemes and topics in the theme of Areas of Inequality

Subthemes	Topics	
	Turkey	Norway
Intimate Relationships	Money	Biological differences
	Sexuality	Dating rituals
	Being “Alpha man”	Unpaid work
Public Space	Harassment & Abuse	Harassment & Abuse
	Feeling of Insecurity	Stigmatization of women
	Codes of conduct	Bodily appearance
		Heteronormativity
Work life	Pay-gap	Pay-gap
	Power & Responsibility	Quota
	Credibility	Credibility
	Differences in Jobs	Differences in Jobs
Politics	Women are not represented	X
Ethnicity	X	Lack of support
Discrimination		Lower chance of being employed
		Harassment based on ethnicity
		Lower place in the hierarchy

Note. The topic of “politics” was not emerged for Norwegian sample; while the topic of “ethnicity discrimination” was not emerged for Turkish sample.

Participants described areas of inequality that they observe in Turkey and Norway. Four subthemes were emerged in each sample. Although Turkish and

Norwegian participants share almost the same subthemes; there were some differences in topics they highlighted the most. Thus, each group emphasized different topics more than the others; and each group discussed different problems regarding gender inequality.

Turkish participants mostly emphasized inequalities in intimate relationships, public space, work life and politics. Norwegian participants shared the same subthemes except the subtheme of “politics”; instead they mentioned “ethnicity discrimination”.

Intimate Relationships

Male participants in Turkey mostly described unjust treatment in earning and spending money as well as the pressure on them to be strong and so called “alpha man”. All these three concepts which are money, sexuality, and being “alpha man” seem to be overlapped with each other. On the other hand, female participants in Turkey also emphasized the heavy responsibilities of men in intimate relationships, and blamed some women for not taking enough responsibility and not showing assertiveness when needed. When it comes to Norwegian participants, both men and women discussed gender roles in dating rituals. In addition, women focused more on unpaid work that women take, while men emphasized biological differences more.

In Turkish only-men groups, some participants pointed out that men feel lots of pressure in their relationships since they have to be the powerful one. They are expected to pay for the dates, take their partners out by their car, or choose a date place. They seemed overwhelmed by the responsibilities they shoulder in their relationships. For instance, Haluk said: “Men are responsible of paying for the wedding, buying the house and the car, receiving loan for all the expenses. That is not fair.”

The other male participants generally shared the same idea. They argued that it is a burden for men to be responsible of financial hardship in the family on their own; and some of them pointed out that men are often left alone in earning their family’s lives and they do not share this responsibility or their worries with their wives.

Some of the participants in Turkey, both males and females, believed that men shoulder financial responsibility to be the “strong” men, but also to have the control over their wives. They thought that men use their money to control their partners even though they suffer from this inequality. Gamze explains this as “When they (men) think of their privileges and disadvantages what would weight more? They might not care their disadvantages when they also hold so many privileges by them.”

On the other hand, some Turkish participants pointed out that not only men, but women also have advantages because they do not have to worry about financial issues or do not have to work to earn money. Therefore it is easy for them to sit at home and be content with what they have. Hence, participants think that there are different sides of inequality; and both parties benefit and suffer from these at the same time.

Alimony was criticized by many participants in Turkish sample, only 3 out of 16 participants who discussed this topic supported women's right for alimony. Alimony for child support was seen as more positive by the participants, they did not even discuss its necessity; however alimony for ex-wives received a lot of negative comments and discussions between the participants. Some participants believed that getting alimony degrades women. Kaan explains this as:

Colloquially, this is like buying a car. Now the car is second-hand, and you need to pay for differential. This is what alimony looks like to me. If someone has to do this, it must be the government; so that women would not have to lean on their ex-husbands.

In addition to this, some female participants in one of the female-only focus groups admitted that it would hurt their pride to get alimony from their ex-husbands. Two female and one male participant, on the other hand, defended women's right for alimony. Gamze explained:

You possibly locked your wife to home after get married by giving her child-care task and all the responsibilities of house chores. You took her away from business life and made her lose her salary. (...) That is why you should pay alimony to provide equality now.

They also added that most alimonies are not even enough for a woman to maintain her life. Participants who supported alimony also argued that women are often blamed by the society when they get divorced and they also do not get the same salary with men for the same job. That is why they thought that it is women's right to receive alimony after divorce. The dynamics and interactions in the focus group discussions indeed showed that women are often accused of being after money; and that alimony is seen as an unjust treatment towards men.

Most Turkish participants criticized women for "using" men by spending their money. This was also another reason why some participants were against alimony. In

some focus group discussions, both male and female participants agreed that some women use their gendered position in the society and aim to find a rich man to receive alimony shortly after they get married. Özge recalled her friend who got divorced after 3 months of marriage, and had to pay alimony. Then he found out that the sisters of his ex-wife also did the same several times with different men. Haluk made a comment on this by saying “You see? It is much worse than being a whore who make money by selling their body.” Even though this statement can be easily seen as provocative and hostile, none of the participants responded to him. His statements was often seen as non-serious and harmless humors by the other participants. They usually responded his “humors” with sarcasm or a slubbering laugh if they showed any reaction at all.

The first step in romantic relationships was also an issue discussed largely by younger participants in both Norwegian and Turkish focus groups. In Turkey, men complaint about the pressure on them to take the first step, while women said that they are often labeled as an “easy girl” if they make the first move. Male participants, on the other hand, usually told that men are expected to take the first step and it creates tension on them. Similarly, male participants in Norwegian sample pointed out that despite the progressions in gender equality, dating rituals did not change much; and that most women and men agree on traditional dating rituals. One women and four men also stated that men are expected to pay for the drinks and the food, and that men should make the first advance. Olav, for example, said, “In dating it’s still common for men to be the approacher and to approach women. It feels like it’s still traditional gender roles.”

Number of Norwegian male participants told that it puts pressure on them in the beginning of the relationship. Some of them also believed that the reasons why some gender roles did not changes is biological differences of males and females. Steinar explained, “It’s like very primal kind of thing like biological. We are biologically supposed to chase the girls.” On the other hand, they pointed out that these roles are changing; and that women do not hesitate to take the first step anymore.

Jealousy and trying to control partner’s life were also discussed by the participants in Turkish sample. Feyza gave an example from her past relationship and criticized her past-self by saying, “I used to enjoy jealousy of men when I was between 18-20 years old. I used to think that jealousy stems from love and it is good to lean on a strong men.” The other female participants approved her and said that they used to think love equals to jealousy when they were younger. However, they expressed that

they have changed and do not see jealousy as a sign of love now.

Another topic that was discussed by Norwegian male participants was parenting. They pointed out that women spend more time for childcare than men; and some men find it easier to work than child care. They believed that biologically females have more intimate relationship with their children; and that they have the primal connection with babies through breastfeeding. They argued that that is why women want to stay home and take care of the baby more than men do. They stated that for the first months of a birth, women should have the primal caring; because as a mother if you want to go back to work straight away, that might make things worse for the child. One of the male participants criticized this approach and said:

It's always structured around 'If the mother wants to go back to work' then that would be sort of a violence towards the kid; whereas if the father doesn't want to stay at home, that's not the violence against kid. So that's very interesting.

He also pointed out that gender discussions are narrow because they are heteronormative; and people do not take into account same-sex couples in these discussions. Then the other participants agreed that both women and men are equally capable of raising a child. Norwegian participants overall, were concerned to be seen as they are opposed to gender equality; and they usually corrected themselves when they noticed their sexist discourses.

While Norwegian male participants were concerned about dating rituals and parental rights; Norwegian female participants pointed out the unpaid work that women undertake. For instance, Anna said:

Women don't get paid for being a housewife and the carers of children. They are also primal clean ladies and laundry ladies and staff... The work women do at home is not valued in terms of money and rights. If you are stay at home mum, you basically have no income and no rights.

Overall, topics that have been described under the subtheme of "Intimate Relationships" can be described as an overlapping and inter-related three topics which are money, sexuality and being "alpha man" in Turkey; while participants in Norway mostly discussed biological differences, dominance, and unpaid work.

Public space

In Turkey, the most common topics that participants told about were harassment, abuse, feeling of insecurity, and codes of conduct. Topics of harassment,

abuse, and feeling of insecurity were overlapped and can be thought as inter-related. On the other hand, five topics emerged in Norwegian focus groups; and these were harassment and abuse, stigmatization of women, bodily appearance, and heteronormativity in the society.

The majority of women in Turkish sample stated that they experience sexual harassment in their everyday life, and often feel insecure. On the other hand, false accusations seems to be the biggest concern of Turkish men when it comes to harassment. When Barış told “When a woman tells that she was harassed, it can be an evidence itself; because most women cannot say this out loud”, the other male participants strongly rejected this opinion. Then Barış continued to explain that the real number of harassment or rape cases is much more than we know; and that in most of the cases women are silent. He pointed out that the reason most women do not talk about harassment is that society often blames women by saying she probably deserved this; or by protecting and not punishing men. However, the other male participants insisted that women can accuse a man they do not like with harassment just to punish him. They also expressed that men can be subject to violence by other people around because of this false accusation. Even though Barış continued to defend women’s rights in harassment cases, the other participants ignored what he has been saying and focused on the possibility of false accusations; and consistently suppressed him. Eventually, Barış gave up explaining himself, and stopped talking about this topic.

In one of the female-only focus groups Yeşim recalls that when she explained to a man that thanks to the a new regulation, now every women can demand suspension and protection if she feels uncomfortable of a man; he said that this regulation is open to misuse, and that women can take advantage of it. Then she criticized this opinion by saying:

Millions of women are subject to violence every day, thousands of women cannot report that they were raped. Still he shows empathy for a million to one chance. Show empathy for the women who are murdered just once. This is making me mad. (...) Each one of us is exposed to economical and psychological violence every single day. It (what he said) made me so angry.

Both Norwegian women and men pointed out that women get more unwanted sexual attention more than men; and they discussed the boundaries in sexual harassment. They explained that people are more aware of the consequences of their

acts and what is considered as harassment. Although Norwegian male participants admitted that men don't have the experiences of same sexism and sexual harassment as women, they also seemed to be concerned with false accusations as Turkish male participants did. They argued that "powerful" guys (e.g. celebrities, movie directors etc.) who use sex as a power tool deserve all negative reactions, but as normal guys they do not deserve the same attitude. They found it hard to draw a line in what is considered as harassment and what is not. They were concerned that even though women approach them first, they can be still accused with harassment; and that some women can tell lies about sexual harassment. They pointed out that people have different opinions on what is harassment and what is not; and that it makes it difficult to draw a line.

While Turkish and Norwegian men were concerned about false accusations, almost all Turkish women in the study had a harassment experience to share, and stated that they often feel threatened and try to find ways to keep themselves safe. In addition, female participants in this focus group agreed that women are often left alone in harassment situation. They argued that bystanders only support women if they have any benefits out of it. Fulya told a memory of her being sexually harassed during sports competition:

Last year during Ramadan, we were competing in Erzurum. It was June and we were looking for a place to buy some water. I was wearing tights, I did not wear my joggers since it was too hot. I asked for water, he replied to me 'You will learn how to dress properly first. They will break your legs, bail you up. No one can find your dead body.' I was shocked and panicked. (...) Can you imagine this? You are going on a national competition, and people who are watching you scream at you saying 'We will break your legs, cut your arms with razor so you would not be able to throw anything like this, we will throw nitric acid to your face.'

Several other Turkish female participants shared their own experiences of harassment. They all vividly remembered what happened with details; and reflected how they felt at the moment. They often felt helpless, insecure, and angry.

Norwegian women did not share personal experiences of sexual harassment as much as Turkish women did, but still they underlined that sexual harassment happens in all areas of women's lives and that it is a common problem for all women. They

explained that even though they are proud of their equality, it is not necessarily true and that it is still difficult to talk about harassment. There is still a lot of shame involved that makes it hard for victims to speak up. People may not believe that your harassment experience is true and might blame you for victimizing yourself. Nevertheless, they argued that there should be more laws in sexual harassment cases, and harassers should get more punishment. They told that if the harasser is a powerful guy, they can continue their lives without any serious consequences and people often continue to support them. On the other hand, women would not get the same treatment as men. Anna, for example, told:

So a lot of these things (when a powerful guy harass women) really didn't get any consequences. If you compare these to women who got bad reputations like porn stars or sex workers, it captures them for the rest of their lives. But this men, they still kinda like 'Oh I'm sorry I did this, I changed and here is my new thing', and people don't care as much. They still got followers, they still get some attention.

In Norway, some participants also criticized that there is little emphasis on gays and queer community in harassment discussions; and that people are usually heteronormative. They argued that people have ingrown conceptions of general sexuality, and often fail to notice different sexualities and gender identities. They emphasized that trans and non-binary people are more disadvantaged compared to cis people in the society, and that there should be more awareness for different sexualities.

While Turkish women were concerned about sexual harassment the most, Turkish men either focused on false accusations, or the unwritten codes of conduct for men in Turkey. One of the male participants recalled that when he was 13 years old, he put an earring and went to his old neighborhood. All of his friends made fun of him by saying he was wearing an earring like a "bitch". He explained, "We are being dominated; and this domination is masculine. Everyone can be dominated; women, men, or LGBTI or however one describes oneself. Nature of this dominance is masculine. We all unite at the same point: male dominance."

All the male participants in Turkey agreed that manhood is something to be achieved and proved through systematic acts; and that they need to earn to be a "man". In order to earn their manhood, they need to show certain gestures, body language or have a "manly" appearance. Most men stated that they would hear a lot of negative

comments if they had long hair or if they put an earring. They also expressed that if they had an earring, get a tattoo or grow their hair, even their father would have intervened these changes; and that society put a lot of pressure on how a man should act or dress as much as they do for women. Berkan shared his memory with his dad:

I was living with my mother from the first grade until eighth, so I was looking at her and most likely model her. When I started high school, I went to my dad's place in Marmaris. We did not have much communication, and we did not know each other much. I was sitting on the couch one day, he came to the living room; and I was probably sitting like this (His legs stick together). He saw me and said 'What are you doing? You are sitting like a girl. I will teach you, so you won't sit like a woman anymore.' I immediately spread my legs.

Although Norwegian men did not emphasized manhood as much as Turkish men, they pointed out that there is still some stereotypes about genders in terms of bodily appearance. Two male participants explained that long hair is still considered as feminine. They recalled that people mistook them for women because they have long hair; and they told that it was embarrassing for those people. Thus, while Turkish men were more concerned about other people's opinions on their masculinities, Norwegian men did not care as much and found it meaningless.

Overall, harassment, abuse, feeling of insecurity and codes of conduct were the most discussed topics under the subtheme of inequalities in public space in Turkey. On the other hand, topics that Norwegian participants emphasized differed from what Turkish participants focused on. They criticized harassment and abuse, bodily appearance, and heteronormativity.

Work life

Participants described inequalities between men and women in work life. In Turkey, female participants mostly mentioned gender discrimination in employment, wage inequality, and unequal power distribution between men and women; while men did not focus on inequalities in work life as much as women did. In Norwegian sample, both male and female participants emphasized gender inequalities in work life; but they had opposite ideas about gender quotas and gender pay-gap.

Both Norwegian and Turkish participants emphasized gender stereotypes in jobs. There were many participants in each sample who pointed out that caring jobs are associated with women, while jobs that require physical strength are often seen as

more suitable for men. This was one of the few topics that all participants agreed on in the theme of “work life”.

Both Norwegian and Turkish women argued that there is hostility towards women in work life. Some of the Turkish women explained that it is hard to work as a female architect in construction yard; and that employers are mostly men who are coming from suburbs, lower socioeconomic status, and more conservative cultures. “You cannot be a woman in the construction yard” Özge said, “You need to be masculine (...) Otherwise you can even get raped.” They also pointed out that if a woman plans to get married or to get pregnant, employers do not recruit them. They also explained that in male-dominated jobs like engineering, employers often hesitate to recruit a woman; and they usually turn women down when they apply for a job. Yeşim said: “They cannot even imagine that there can be an engineer who wears skirt. (...) He turned me down only because of my gender.” Three out of ten Turkish men also told that in male-dominated jobs, women are often not taken seriously by the other male workers; and they need a male partner by their side to manage the employers. Therefore overall, participants seemed to agree that there is a hostile environment towards women in male-dominated jobs. Similarly, Norwegian women admitted that women tend to chop out or quit the job because of the hateful environment in male-dominant jobs. They argued that in jobs like military, people see women as something lower than men; and women need to work harder to prove themselves. That is why they argued that there should be adjustment and educational programs to ensure that women will continue to work.

In Turkey, another topic that has been told by mostly female participants was to be restrained back in their career by other male coworkers. Sude, for instance, recalled that one of her female friends got a job as a construction engineer and that employers did not train her for the job as they trained male employees. Some female participants also told that their success is often seen as a stroke of luck or as a result of using their femininity. Feyza commented on this by saying, “It is the same in marketing. If you sell more product than a man, they say ‘But you are wearing a skirt when selling your products.’”

Gender quotas was another topic that was discussed largely by Norwegian participants; and women and men had opposite ideas about it. They explained that in jobs that women are underrepresented, employers often employ women over men; even though they have equal opportunities, equal education and skills. They also do

the same for men if men are underrepresented in that job. Men argued that gender quota is an inequality for both genders. They criticized the different standards for men and women in military and police force. They explained that women have a lot less rigid demands for these jobs; and that it is a discrimination against both men and women. They believed that it somehow confirms the stereotype that men are stronger than women; while men need to show higher performance to get the job. They also told that it is unnecessary to give women extra points in order to balance number of men and women since women are already doing better at school than men. Olav, for example, said:

We have primarily female gender quotas, in a contrary the school system is more or less aim towards female attributes; concentration, the theories, and a lot less focus on practical subjects which men tend to excel a lot better in. (...) So it seems like there is no real reason behind why we should give women extra points for applying to a course.

Norwegian women did not have the same opinion as Norwegian men, they stated that gender quotas are great to achieve gender equality and to provide gender balance. They explained that gender quotas get so much negative comments; and one of the reasons for these negative views is that women are being recruited into top or “cool” positions, and men are being recruited into jobs that are considered as women’s job like nursing or kindergarten teaching. They also stated that men started to feel anxious because women are taking over and in some jobs there are now more women than men. Anna, for example, told:

Is that such a bad thing there is more women to be doctors? It’s been maybe forty years since women are even allowed in the universities. So it just seems unfair. (...) I’m super happy to see girls doing better at school than men because of the history of women get into school.

Although there were differences between Norwegian and Turkish participants, they all agreed that men usually hold higher positions. Turkish participants expressed that although there are many women in the academia, heads of the department are usually men. They pointed out that men are often seen as more competent leaders than women, and that we can see more male leaders than females. Female participants in Turkey also criticized that men are often seen as more capable and qualified. Hande explains this as “When we watch TV shows, psychologists are mostly men (...) But

when you look into the real life, to classroom, there are no men.”; and they pointed out that people who organize training courses in psychology are mostly men while the psychology departments are full with female students.

Wage inequality between men and women were discussed by both Norwegian and Turkish participants. In both samples, I observed a similar pattern of discussion. While female participants argued that women significantly earn less than men for equal work, male participants claimed that gender pay-gap does not exist anymore, and even if it exists, it exists due to different negotiation skills, different work hours, or different positions.

In Turkish sample, although several participants explained that women often get paid less than men for the same job; some male participants strongly insisted that wage inequality does not exist anymore, and that women exaggerate this. Therefore, there was a disagreement between the participants in Turkey about wage inequality. Sude said: “People say women and men should be equals, but men earn more than women for years. They are seen as the primary breadwinner in the family; so people think that men should earn more than women.” However, some male participants in the focus group argued that although there used to be wage inequality between men and women, this gap does not exist anymore; and that there is progress in enhancing gender equality in work life. On the other hand, Çağla said:

There is no equal pay for equal work concept in Turkey. Because traditionally it is believed that primary role of the men in the family is to be the breadwinner; while women have the supporting role; so you cannot earn equal salary even if you work in the same position.

In Norwegian sample, men and women also held different views about this topic. Norwegian men questioned whether or not there really is a gender pay gap. They also believed that if there is wage inequality, it stems from personal choices, not gender discrimination. They argued that women do not negotiate salary as much as men do; and that they tend to go into professions that pay less. They also believed that women earn less money because they tend to work part time jobs. For instance, Einar said: “No offense but women are not so good at negotiating salary; and I think it’s because they are just happy with the salary, and they don’t really try. Men at least try to get more salary.” On the other hand, Olav told:

It’s really hard to just say that women only make 0.7 kroner for every krone that men earns. (...) Do you think there will be a situation that they will hire

you with less money? Unless it's a private job. I can understand like a guy negotiating a higher salary at the job interview for example. Because guys could be more aggressive, but girls ... like they will say yes earlier. (...) Also I think that one of the reasons why women tend to make less than men across the board is because they tend to go into professions that pay less.

While male participants in Norwegian sample associated wage inequality with personal choices of women, female participants pointed out that women get paid 10% less than men for the same jobs and the same amount of work. Anna, for instance, said:

We make 8-9 krone per 10 krone a man makes in a general studies. Even though there are women in position of power, they didn't get paid more than a man. (...) Statistically women get paid like 10% less than men. We're just higher than most countries but still... for the same jobs... same amount of work, we don't get the same money; and the work that women do at home is not valued in terms of money and rights.

Overall, participants in both samples pointed out that women tend to hold lower positions; and that caring jobs are assigned to women, while jobs that require strength are assigned to males. Interestingly, even though they were aware of the unequal power distribution in work life, male participants in both samples claimed that even if wage inequality exists, it is a consequence of personal choices rather than gender discrimination. However, female participants in both samples argued that women earn less than men for the same amount of job.

Politics

Norwegian participants did not focus on gender inequality in politics; that is why I only evaluated this subtheme for Turkish participants. Participants overall, did not speak openly about political situation in Turkey. Even when they quote from a politician, they did not tell their names and they often refer politicians and ministries from the ruling party by using "they" pronoun. Even though I asked participants to elaborate the political topics that they were referring to more, they were usually tend to stay silent about it; and they often referred people who are opposition of the ruling party as "we", and people who support the ruling party as "they".

Participants complaint that women are not represented in the government and that instead of women, men make decisions about women's body and life. This criticism mostly came from women in the study while men did not comment on this topic. Almost all female participants pointed out that men shouldn't have a right over

the women's body by referring the past discussions of restricting abortion, and speeches of politicians about women's appearance. However, they avoided talking openly about these topics. They also expressed that politics in Turkey is men's politics and that women are not represented at all. In addition to these, some of the female participants expressed that they do not find politicians talking about equality as sincere, instead they think that they are just using this term for their own benefits.

Ethnicity Discrimination

This subtheme was evaluated for Norwegian participants, since Turkish participants did not emphasize ethnicity discrimination. Two of the female participants in Norway argued that ethnic differences are also important; and that they feel a lot more discrimination for being minority women. They stated that women are already below men in the society, and being a minority women is much harder.

They explained that people often do not notice and understand ethnicity discrimination; and that they are often left alone. They also stated that they often experience sexual harassment in racial ways; and that people often comment on their ethnicities. Lillian, for example, said:

I don't worry much about being a female, I worry more about being an Asian female. Considering sexual harassment, it's always racial words, it's always 'I have a thing for Asian girls'." Then she added, "I'm not black so people don't come to my defense. They say 'yeah you are privileged' ... which is true to some extent. You got so much discrimination which people don't see. They don't care about it. So being a woman is not something I worry too much about, it's being a minority women.

The other topic that they emphasized about ethnicity discrimination was that they hold lower positions in the society. They argued that while heterosexual, cis men is in the central, and everyone else is lined after him; non-Norwegian women are at the very bottom. They are in a lower position than Norwegian women. They get discriminated against because of their different cultural backgrounds and they are not much preferred in recruitments compared to Norwegian women.

All in all, two Norwegian women pointed out that when it comes to gender inequality, there is more to add than just gender; and that there are more layers in the society that people do not even notice.

4.1.2. Gender Equality in Norway

Table 3.3

Subthemes and topics in the theme of Equality in Norway

Subthemes	Topics
Process Towards Equality	Ongoing process
Areas of Equality	Norway as a modal
	Parental rights
	Politics

Turkish participants did not mention any experience of gender equality. Instead, they only emphasized the inequalities that they experience in their everyday lives. Their frustration and anger was so intense in this topic that they could not think of any area that men and women are equals. However, Norwegian female participants explained that Norway has achieved a lot in closing their gender gap in certain areas; and that they are still working to improve themselves. On the other hand, male participants did not comment on this topic.

All female participants in Norway stated that Norway is higher in gender equality compared to most countries; and that it is much safer for women. They pointed out that even though there is still pay-gap between men and women; this difference is much smaller than other cultures. They also emphasized maternal rights as being more advantageous. In addition to those, they mentioned they have equal amount of women in the government which is pretty unique in the world.

They were proud to live in a country that is considered as a model in gender equality. They appreciated the hard work behind this achievement, and stated that the other countries can look up to Norway to fight for equality as well. For instance, Anna said:

The rest of the world don't have the privilege. So that we have that privilege today is the miracle. It's miracle and it's a good feministic work and it's a lot of political forces and activism; and we should acknowledge that more.

In addition, they also saw the changes in gender equality as an ongoing process, and they believed that there are still some work to do in order to fully achieve gender equality.

4.1.3. Determinants of Inequality: Cultural, Political, Religious, Differences in Upbringing

Table 3.4

Subthemes and topics in the theme of Determinants of Inequality

Subthemes	Topics	
	Turkey	Norway
Cultural Factors	Patriarchy Gender norms Social media & TV Sexuality as a taboo	Socialization of gender
Political Factors	Public statements of politicians Justice system	
Religious Factors	Legitimizing to oppress women	
Differences in Upbringing	Pressure vs. Freedom Responsibility vs. Condonation	

Participants described determinants of gender inequality in the society. Turkish participants mentioned several factors for the inequality that can be categorized under four subthemes: Cultural, political, and religious factors, and differences in upbringing. Interesting to note, neither political nor religious factors were mentioned by Norwegian participants. They only pointed out socialization of gender as the determinant of inequality. Although Turkish participants also mentioned differences in upbringing, the topic of “Socialization of gender” in Norwegian sample were categorized under the subtheme of cultural factors. This is because Norwegian

participants did not only described this topic in the family context, instead they talked about it in a broader context and mostly viewed it from a cultural aspect.

Cultural Factors

Turkish participants mostly mentioned effects of patriarchy, accepted gender norms in the society, influence of social media and TV, and sexuality being a taboo topic under the subtheme of cultural factors of gender inequality. On the other hand, Norwegian participants explained how we socialize into gender roles; and how society as a whole plays a role in socialization of gender under this subtheme.

Participants in Turkey thought that patriarchy is one of the main reasons for gender inequality and this patriarchy affects us deeply, even unconsciously. Gamze explained this:

We are living in a patriarchal society, we see this from the beginning of our lives. So now it affects us so deeply. If your family is also patriarchal and if you are not interested in or care about this, you do not even notice this inequality. It becomes ordinary for you.

Male participants mostly held a similar opinion and they said that since we are coming from a patriarchal society, people just maintain what they have seen from their ancestors. Even though both male and female participants thought that patriarchy results in gender inequality, they slightly differed in their views. Most women and one out of eleven men thought that women are oppressed more than men; and that women are under a lot more pressure compared to men. On the other hand, most men thought that men are oppressed too but oppression of women is more visible. They usually came up with their own disadvantages as a man when someone mentioned discrimination against or oppression of women. However, although male participants mostly changed the direction of topic to themselves when it comes to consequences of patriarchy, most of the female participants and one man agreed that men are affected negatively from patriarchal society too. Barış explained:

We are living in a patriarchal society; so it is not surprising that it also shapes ideas of women. Patriarchy affects women and men; and shapes both gender as it likes. This shaping creates a manhood, not a man, but manhood. (...) Patriarchal system becomes a shackle for men too.” (...) “You have some roles that are determined before (as a man and woman); and after a while you just start to play that role instead of being yourself. All these roles restrain a

relationship, a friendship, or romantic and sexual relationship when it can be beautiful.

Similarly, several female participants pointed out that men feel pressure to earn money for the family or to be strong and tough. They are also impregnated such ideas and they suffer from these expectations. Women, on the other hand, are expected to be timid and modest compared to men.

Another topic that has been largely discussed was the influence of social media and television programs. Participants seemed to agree that TV shows encourage violence and gender inequality. Female participants criticized some famous TV shows for normalizing suppression of women and use of violence as a tool. One of the TV shows that they criticized was “Sen Anlat Karadeniz”, which also had a lot of negative public discourse and discussions in Turkey. In one of the episodes, there was a scene showing a man torturing his wife. This scene received massive negative reactions from the society, but it was also supported by a lot of people since they thought it increases the awareness about violence toward women. The same situation was observed in one of the female-focus groups as well. Some participants pointed out that these scenes normalize violent behavior and teaches you that the same can happen if you want to divorce your husband. In addition, they expressed that violent TV shows in Turkey are increasing and that being exposed to such TV shows increases violent behaviors.

The other reason why female participants criticized TV shows, news or music videos was that because they turn women into a sex object. Özge explained:

Almost in every music video women are dancing in the back half-naked, or women are used as an object in commercials to increase sales. You put her as a sex-object, we always see women as sexual objects -nothing more; so how do you expect people to treat women?

Özge’s words summarized how majority of female participants in this study thought that we normalized to see women as a sex object because of the mass media and this needs to be changed.

Last but not least, Turkish participants mentioned sexuality being a taboo topic in Turkey. Özge described this as:

There is a ‘hunger for sex’ situation in our country; because sexuality is a taboo. Men have ‘hunger for sex’, women are sexually oppressed or labeled (if they are sexually active). (...) That is why men usually approach women

differently (sexually) even if women act friendly.

Both male and female participants were on the same page, they thought that women are sexually oppressed more than men, while men are expected to have many sexual experiences, and they feel relatively free. Some of the participants also compared Turkey to European countries. Taner, for example, expressed that when he was studying abroad, he noticed the difference between Turkish girls and foreign girls. He told that foreign girls were more comfortable with men and that men do not stare at girls even if they are half-naked. Moreover, he linked this attitude to freedom of sexuality. Some of the other male participants thought the same about differences between European and Turkish girls. For instance, Kaan said:

Some say that European girls are more beautiful. Do you know what makes them look good? When you look at her (a foreign girl) face, she smiles. She smiles when she says hello; because she never experienced harassment just because she smiled. That is why she is comfortable; but here in Turkey, women cannot do this. She thinks 'they will say that I am giving a green light' or 'they can harass me'; so they are under a lot of pressure here.

While Turkish participants emphasized effects of patriarchy, accepted gender norms in the society, influence of social media and TV, and sexuality being a taboo topic; Norwegian participants only pointed out the importance of socialization of gender in gender inequality. They explained that even though males and females have biological differences, gender is constructed by the culture and how we socialize into gender roles is the main reason for gender inequality. They also stated that gender roles starts from childhood, and children grow up seeing these norms in the society. Women mostly argued that even the perception of beauty is shaped in our childhood. They pointed out that dolls have big breasts, big eyes with thin bodies which frames our perception of beauty later in our lives. Most of the men also supported that culture have more effect on shaping gender roles and gender inequality, although they emphasized biological differences of males and females more than women did.

Overall, Norwegian participants did not mention more about this topic; that is probably because they mostly believed that Norway has come a long way in achieving gender equality compared to other cultures. On the other hand, gender inequalities have currently been hot topic in Turkey and therefore Turkish people can more readily express these factors. In addition, differences between the two genders are more

readily seen in Turkey. Thus, Norwegian participants did not focus on factors for gender inequality as much as Turkish participants did.

Political Factors

Turkish participants expressed that sometimes politicians in Turkey encourage violence towards women and children, and confirms the gender inequality through their speeches. Moreover, they explained that absence of properly operated justice system increases the incidents. However, I expected Turkish participants to mention more about the political factors given that Turkey has a relatively restrictive environment, however they did not seemed comfortable talking about politics. They usually used the terms like “they”, “one side of Turkey”, or “the group that we are criticizing” when talking about politicians and their supporters. On the other hand, Norwegian participants did not mention any political factors for gender inequality at all.

Female participants mostly focused on the public statements of politicians while both male and female participants pointed out the lack of justice system in Turkey. Eight out of fifteen women explained that politicians can shape opinions of massive amount of people. They expressed that if a person who is supported widely blames the victim in harassment cases by pointing out her outfit or her behaviors, a lot people will be affected from this; and they will also blame the victim in the same situation.

Then some female participants recalled that another minister once told women not to laugh out loud in public. They criticized these politicians for intervening women’s lives and choices consistently. Yeşim also said, “Politicians legitimates child abuse, murders of women, and all kinds of crimes against women through their speech. These discourses are consistently increases, we witness a lot of hate speech on the agenda.”

Another topic that was discussed was the lack of justice system in Turkey. Taner, for example, told:

Even people who sexually abuse children do not receive prison sentence, let alone people who rape or harass women. It does not matter if people say ‘Do not abuse children’, it happens all the time; and he does not have a jail time. (...) There is an injustice system in our country: He rapes, goes on news, and takes no punishment. When people see nothing happens to rapists, these incidents continue to happen in other parts of Turkey.

Participants overall agreed that when perpetrators do not get enough sentence, sense of trust and security of people decreases; and rape incidents increases.

Religious Factors

One of the topics that has been described as a reason for gender inequality in Turkey was religious factors. Turkish participants viewed religion as a factor that legitimizes oppressing women; whereas religion was not emphasized as a determinant of gender inequality by Norwegian participants. Two male and three female participants in the study mentioned religion as one of the factors in gender inequality. Although I expected more participants to mention religion under this theme, they mostly did not open up this topic. This might be because all participants were coming from secular and democrat cities, and they did not encounter pressure as much as they would do in more conservative cities in Turkey.

Some participants explained that Islam allows men to marry four women; and that this might shape people's mind about gender roles and equality. In addition, female participants thought that not only Islam but other religions also place women lower in the social hierarchy. Thus, they argued that religion plays a big role in gender inequality in the society.

Differences in upbringing

Turkish participants described the differences in upbringing and how parents treats girls and boys differently from the beginning of their lives. Most of them recalled their childhood memories and especially female participants strongly blamed those differences as one of the reasons for gender inequality. Participants mentioned the pressure they were exposed to or the freedom they were given as a child; as well as feeling responsible towards their family or being tolerated for their behaviors.

Turkish participants, overall, thought that there were differences in raising girls and boys. Çağla, for example, told:

Even though girls and boys are almost the same physically, we are raised differently. Thus our brains are developed differently. They (parents) give boys toy blocks, and boys learn to construct, their hand-coordination improve; but they give us barbies and teach us how to feed them.

Barış, on the other hand, explained:

Manhood is an illusion itself. It is actually an illusion, a fallacy. We have been raised like this since our early childhood, like we can get whatever we want

(...) We are much more free compared to girls, you (as a boy) can even show your wienie, but if a girl opens her legs in metro, they immediately warn her to close her legs.

The other participants also agreed that boys are usually more free and social when they grow up, they can go out at night while girls are not allow to do so even in older ages compared to boys; and they are usually more restricted by their parents.

“Going out at night” and “being in the street” seems to be the concepts that indicate (in)equality in the family for the participants. In almost all focus-group sessions in Turkey, participants described differences between boys and girls in their routines of being outside of home. Several male participants recalled that when they and their sisters were children, they were able to go outside to play with his friends; however their sisters were not allowed to go out until she is at certain age. They told that parental control and protection was always stronger for their sisters; they argued that even though boys are more free compared to girls, girls are protected more. Some male participants said that parents usually make their sons work somewhere when he is a child in order to teach him to be toughen up, however girls stay at home and learn house chores.

Male participants in this study agreed that men are raised to be more self-confident and were consistently encouraged to try something new. This idea found support among not only male but also female participants as well. Female participants explained that boys are held in high esteem in the family. They also criticized that boys are not given much responsibility, they are consistently tolerated for their misbehaviors, and are being praised all the time.

All in all, participants agreed that boys and girls are raised differently and gender inequality partly stems from this difference.

4.1.4. Contribution & Resistance

Table 3.5

Subthemes and topics in the theme of Resistance and Contribution

Subthemes	Topics
Turkey	Norway

	Education	Education
Resistance	Taking responsibility Being vocal	
Contribution	Women confirm inequality Benefits for both parties	Women confirm inequality

Contribution

Turkish participants explained that women also have responsibility in maintaining gender inequality, and that sometimes they confirm inequality through their actions as well. In fact, both male and female participants were more likely to hold women responsible for gender inequality more than men. In addition to this, they argued that both women and men have some benefits from gender inequality which also contributes gender inequality. Norwegian male participants also shared the same idea; while Norwegian female participants did not discuss this topic at all.

Some Turkish participants thought women contribute to gender inequality as well; and blamed women for not being more aware of it. For instance, Erman told:

I had a long term relationship with a girl. I did not expect her to cook for me since I did not think it was her job or obligation. But after a while I noticed that this became a problem; because being able to cook good food was something she wanted to do in order to be appreciated. She learnt this through gender roles; and she wanted to do this not because she wants to do but she wants to say ‘I am a qualified woman’.

Other male participants in various focus groups also believed that gender roles make women happy and that women confirm these roles willingly. In addition to these, seven out of eleven men expressed that in romantic relationships, women expect men to be jealous in the presence of other men, and that they expect men to react aggressively. They argued that even though they do not want to confirm these roles, their partners usually expect them to do so.

In Turkey, not only male participants but also eleven out of fifteen female participants shared the same opinion; they explained that women also have responsibility in gender inequality. Şeyma recalled that when she went for internship

interview to the courthouse, one of the female psychologists asked her why she came for an internship when she can be a model instead. She said: “Men are already doing this all the time. Because they have benefits etc... but women have this perception as well. The other reason we are in this situation is that women are also stupid.”

The other female participants also explained that even though men harm women, women also harm other women; and that women often label or stigmatize other women more often than men do. Thus, Turkish participants overall, thought that women have responsibility –and guilty- of gender inequality even more than men.

Norwegian male participants also argued that women have a role in maintaining gender inequality; and they believed that women are the ones who contributes to gender inequality in some cases. They expressed that women are also responsible of gender pay gap as discussed earlier in the subtheme of “work life”. Olav, for example, said

I think that one the reasons why women tend to make less money than men is because they tend to go into professions that pay less. (...) Most women tend to choose part time because they can spend some time on family.

However, they did not questioned the factors that led women to choose part-time jobs; and they did not address the unequal pay for equal work between men and women.

Turkish participants thought that although women and men suffer from gender inequality, they also benefit from it; thus it is easy to maintain unequal gender norms for them. Some of the female participants in the study explained that some women find it easy not to work and wait for their husbands to earn their keep. Similarly, some male participants also argued that women benefit from gender inequality as much as men do. They believed that women sometimes prefer to stay at home and be submissive instead of working outside the home; because they do not need to worry about economical struggles and their husbands can be the “bread-winner”. On the other hand, men prefer to be the only one who works and earns money just because they can more easily control their wives. Therefore, both male and female participants in Turkey thought that patriarchy and gender inequality have some advantages for both parties, and that is the another reason why people are not motivated to change existing gender norms.

In short, women were blamed for creating gender inequality through their

choices by some Turkish participants and Norwegian men; while Norwegian women did not make any comment about the factors that contributes gender inequality. Moreover, Turkish participants pointed out that since both men and women have advantages that stems from gender inequality, they are not willing to fight against it.

Resistance

Participants also explained the ways to resist gender inequality and to achieve equality instead. Turkish participants emphasized that people should take responsibility and be more vocal about the injustices in the society; while Norwegian participants focused on the importance of education.

Bariş explained:

Everyday women are getting raped, harassed, murdered; all these go on the news, all of this has a judicial process. However it seems like if public opposition is not there, there is no punishment either. That is why we should take women's objections seriously. This can change lots of things in short term. (...) Yes, there are lots of thing to do about it in the long-term; but in the short-term we are all responsible. All men are responsible; and in the short term all men should work with this issue starting from himself. What are you going to do when you see harassment in public transportation? Are you going to think that women must be lying, or are you going to show that you understand her and that you will stand by her? All these decisions can change one's life in the short term.

In addition to Barış's opinions, female participants pointed out that when women's movement is visible in mass media, there is a decrease in homicides of women; and that people change when women's movement is in the forefront. They also underlined the importance of educating children from the early ages about gender in order to achieve gender equality. Similarly, they emphasized that change can happen through education, and adequate laws as well as modifications in social life instead of only talking and protesting on social media.

There were different and rather contradicting ideas about protesting against gender inequality. Interestingly, protests were seen as equal to social media protests; ten of the male participants and six of the female participants believed that this is why protests are useless and unnecessary. Only 1 out of 11 male participants believed that people should resist and actively protest gender inequality in order to achieve equality.

On the other hand, nine of the female participants argued that it is necessary to protest inequality and be vocal about all the inequalities that people encounter in their everyday lives. Çağla, for instance, told:

Women have been oppressed for years, (...) and it became ordinary, everyone normalized it; so there is no punishment. (...) If we do not go out there and protest to change the laws, we cannot achieve gender equality through sitting at our homes and tweeting against news.

Norwegian female participants pointed out the importance of early education in order to achieve gender equality. They defended that we should teach new generation about feminism and gender so that they will grow up internalizing gender equality; because they believed that gender roles can be taught or changed through education. They also stated that women and men should stand by each other and be united to fight against gender inequality; and that we need each other. Norwegian male participants, on the other hand, argued that if women want to be equals, they should take care of their social life to see the change; and that we should be equals in intimate heterosexual relationships too. It is consistent with their views in contribution subtheme where they explained women are also responsible for inequality.

5. DISCUSSION

Given the differences between Turkey and Norway, it was not surprising that participants in the two samples also differed from each other. However, it is important to note that there are some limitations of using qualitative methods. Smaller sample size in this method might create problems in generalizing the results to whole research population (Harry & Lipsky, 2014; Harper & Thompson, 2011). Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that results acquired from the focus groups are gathered in a specific context within a specific culture; and might not be representative of the population (Gibbs, 1997; Queiros, Faria, & Almeida, 2017). However, despite these limitations, focus group interviews can provide useful insights, which can be further investigated using quantitative method in order to understand the given topic (Karasz & Singelis, 2009).

In Norwegian sample, participants often stated that they were thankful for the progress in gender equality in their countries, and were aware of their “privileged” position. However, they thought that they still have long way to achieve gender equality. In Turkish sample, participants mentioned many problems and experiences regarding gender inequality when they were asked about disadvantages and advantages of being women or men. In Norwegian sample, on the other hand, when participants were asked the same questions, they often struggled to find any disadvantage or advantage that only stems from their gender. Additionally, they reflected that in most cases, gender is seen as neutral in Norway; therefore they do not have same conceptualizing as it would be in other countries. This result is consistent with social role theory which indicates that psychological gender differences are weaken in societies where women and men have more similar roles, and traditional gender roles are weaker (Eagly et al., 2004).

One of the differences between Norwegian and Turkish samples was that in Turkish sample many subthemes emerged under the theme of “Determinants of Inequality”, while it was not really emphasized in Norwegian sample. This might be related to more gender-equal atmosphere of Norway (Sümer & Eslen-Ziya, 2017). However, since gender inequality is more observable in Turkey (Dildar, 2015; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996), participants might be more likely to focus on determinants of this inequality as well.

Although there were differences between Turkish and Norwegian participants in their experiences and perceptions of gender inequality; harassment and gender pay

gap were common problems for both samples. These two topics created similar discussions between male and female participants in both samples. Female participants mostly expressed that they do not feel safe because of harassment and sexual abuse cases, and that there should be more punishment for perpetrators of sexual abuse cases. They also argued that gender pay gap still persists and that women earn significantly less than men for the equal job. On the other hand, male participants in both samples were more concerned about false accusations rather than sexual abuse itself. They also argued that gender gap does not exist anymore; or even if it exists, it stems from differences in work hours, or individual merits.

In Turkish sample, women often stated that they feel insecure, anxious and controlled; while men were concerned about false accusations in harassment cases. Durmuş (2013) indicated that among 1478 Turkish university students, 60.69% of them reported they were disturbed through gazing, 45.48% of them reported they experienced physical touch without their consent, and 30.58% of them reported that they were pressed deliberately on public transportation. The most common emotions that were experienced by victims were anger, sorrow, and embarrassment. Despite the negative emotions, 70.10% of them stated that they did not do anything when they faced sexual harassment. The most common reasons why they did not react were “being misunderstood by others”, “being blamed”, and “self-blaming” (Durmuş, 2013).

In Norway, some researchers argued that underreporting sexual harassment is common; and that victims may feel shame and embarrassment. In addition to these, some scholars expressed that people may not admit sexual harassment and abuse until they are more mature; and that is why there might be difference between age groups in reported cases (Brackenridge, 1997). However, Piene (2007) showed that although 40% of 505 Norwegian men in the study acknowledge sexual harassment to be a societal problem, 48% of them thought that if a woman is flirting, she is responsible of sexual abuse; and 30% of them thought if she wore sexually provoking clothes, sexual harassment is her own fault. Thus, researchers argued that men have double moral standard; and that it is important to challenge male gender culture (Fasting, Chroni, Hervik, & Knorre, 2011; Piene, 2007).

Previous studies revealed that GSSJ predicted men’s tendency to blame a female rape victim; while GSSJ score were not related with victim blaming for women (Ståhl, Eek, & Kazemi, 2010). However, other studies found a significant relationship

between system justification beliefs and rape myth acceptance. Researchers argued that women might decrease the stress of being discriminated against by justifying the status quo; and therefore they might also think that rape victims provoked the assaults (Papp & Erchull, 2017; Hafer & Choma, 2009). Chapleau and Oswald (2014) also found similar results with men showing higher GSSJ, lower moral outrage, and higher rape myth acceptance than women. However, they also pointed out that GSSJ scores of women predicted lower moral outrage and higher rape myth acceptance as well. Thus, the authors argued that believing sexual assaults are a result of women's failure to comport themselves around men, is also associated with believing women and men have the equal chance to succeed and any inequality is a result of women's failure to compete with them (Chapleau & Oswald, 2014).

The other topics that created unresolved disagreements between the participants were gender based pay-gap and gender quotas. In January 2006, Norway made it compulsory for companies to represent 40% of each gender on the board of directors; and by 2008, percentage of female board members rose 40% among public limited companies (Bertrand et al., 2019). Quotas can help women to overcome gender based discrimination in business (Rao, 2013). Bertrand et al. (2019) showed that young women's expectations in their careers increased; they mostly viewed the reform positively and believed that it increases their possibility to earn more, and to reach top positions. On the other hand, gender quotas remain to be controversial (Guldvik, 2008). Guldvik (2008) revealed that while some politicians perceive gender quotas as an effective way to increase the number of women in politics, some others thought that gender quotas are "insult to women", and "discrimination against men". The researcher pointed out that female politicians were usually pro quotas, whereas male politicians were against them (Guldvik, 2008).

I also observed a similar discussion between male and female participants in Norway. While male participants argued that gender quota is a discrimination against men, and that it might result in recruiting less qualified employees; women argued that it is a great way to achieve gender equality, and they were happy to see women and girls getting into top positions more than before. Previous research suggested that people who are social-dominance oriented might try to prevent others to have the same rights as they do in order to maintain their superior position (Rollero et al., 2019). In addition, people with higher SDO levels are less likely to endorse equality-enhancing behaviors (Berke & Zeichner, 2016). Therefore, negative views of men against quotas

in Norwegian sample might be related with their higher SDO levels.

However, Turkey does not have gender quotas as in Norway; therefore this topic was not discussed by the participants. On the other hand, female and male participants had opposite ideas about gender pay-gap in both Norwegian and Turkish samples. Male participants, both in Turkish and Norwegian samples, questioned the existence of gender pay gap; and claimed that women prefer part-time jobs, or they tend to work in low-paying jobs, and do not negotiate salary as much as men. Female participants argued that there is wage inequality between men and women even if they are in the same position and have the same working hours. Lips (2013) examined these arguments and concluded that different work patterns and gender-segregated occupations are not enough to explain gender pay gap. Although part-time jobs are associated with lower pay compared to full-time jobs, and more women are working part-time than men, the researcher argued that we should question why women are more likely to work part-time than men (Lips, 2013). According to social role theory of Eagly (1987), people expect men and women to adopt gender-congruent roles; therefore when women performs traditionally masculine behaviors (e.g. leading, being authoritative), they can be evaluated and rewarded differently (Tharenou, 2013). This might result in questioning women's ability in high paying work such as leadership roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Carli, 2012).

The researchers also proposed that people may not like to admit that gender pay gap stems from discrimination (Khoreva, 2011); and in accordance with system justification theory, instead of acknowledging being perpetrators or victims of inequality, people might rationalize and maintain unfair systems through system justifying beliefs (Lips, 2013; Jost & Banaji 1994; Jost & Hunyady 2005). Consistent with past research, male participants in Study 1 also either denied the gender pay gap or tried to rationalize it. However, female participants were more aware of the gender pay gap; and more often attributed it to gender discrimination than men. This difference between men and women might stem from self-reference effect; which means when an information is relevant to an individual, it is retrieved quicker and more accurately (Klein & Loftus, 1988; Rogers et al., 1977). Past research indicated that economically disadvantaged group is more susceptible to the information of wage inequality; therefore less likely to underestimate the pay gap (Xu & Garand, 2010; Kaplowitz et al., 2003).

All in all, despite the differences between both samples in their perceptions of

gender discrimination, male and female participants had similar disagreements about sexual harassment and gender pay gap in both samples.



6. CONCLUSION

Although Norway and Turkey have distinct cultural values and gender policies (Sümer & Eslen Ziya, 2017), focus group discussions in Study 1 revealed that sexual harassment and gender pay gap were shared problems in both samples. These two topics led similar discussions and disagreements between male and female participants. However, gender pay gap was the most controversial topic among all, and attitudes of female and male participants similarly opposed each other in both Norwegian and Turkish samples. Men usually argued that gender pay gap does not exist anymore, or gender pay gap exists due to personal reasons rather than gender discrimination. For instance they expressed that because women “choose” to work in part-time jobs, or do not negotiate salary, they tend to earn less. Women, on the other hand, claimed that women earn less than men even if they work in the same position, and for same hours. Since women generally make less money than men (WEF, 2018), they might be more aware of the wage inequality than men due to self-referent effect (Klein & Loftus, 1988; Rogers et al., 1977). In addition, men’s relatively higher gender specific system justifying attitudes than women (Jost, Burgess, & Moss, 2001; Sönmez & Adiller, 2015) might result in less awareness of gender inequality (Lips, 2013).

Previous research showed that when people ignore the size of wealth gap, or believe that this gap naturally decreases over time; progressive economic policies were not supported both by public and politics (Kraus et al., 2019; Hamilton & Darity, 2010). There is limited study in the literature that examined the perceptions of gender pay gap. However, it is important to examine people’s perception of gender pay-gap in order to develop effective gender policies, and to increase the support for enhancing gender equality. Therefore, I aimed to investigate whether or not people are aware of the magnitude of gender pay gap; whether it is related with system justifying attitudes; and cultural and gender specific differences regarding these two issues.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 2

I aimed to investigate whether sex and culture have an effect on inaccuracy of gender pay gap estimations as well as on GSSJ. The other aim of this study was that whether GSSJ mediated the effect of sex and culture on inaccuracy of gender pay gap estimations. Previous research suggested that women estimated the pay-gap more accurately than men, possibly due to self-referent effect (Mårtensson et al., 2019). Furthermore, people who live in places where income inequality is wider were found to be more susceptible to unfairness of income distribution (Xu & Garand, 2010). Therefore, I expect women and Turkish participants to be more accurate in their estimations of gender pay-gap. It was also revealed that people might underestimate gender differences in wage, otherwise their belief in just world would be challenged (Beyer, 2018). Thus, I hypothesized that GSSJ will mediate the effect of sex and culture on inaccuracy of gender pay-gap expectations; and that people with higher GSSJ scores will be more inaccurate in their estimations. However, there is mixed evidence in literature regarding how different cultures vary in their acceptance of status quo. Although there are studies indicating that cultures with high power distance scores will legitimize the system more (Jost et al., 2003), some researchers suggested that people from advantaged groups (e.g. Whites, high educated people) are more likely to legitimize the status quo (Brandt, 2013). Since Scandinavian countries are more “privileged” in their welfare system and gender equality; and protect their top position across Gender Gap Index for years (WEF, 2018), I expect Scandinavian participants to score higher on GSSJ than Turkish participants. Therefore, based on past research, I proposed the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Male participants will have higher scores on GSSJ than female participants.

Hypothesis 1b: Scandinavian participants will have higher scores on GSSJ than Turkish participants.

Hypothesis 2a: Female participants will more accurately estimate gender pay gap than male participants.

Hypothesis 2b: Turkish participants will more accurately estimate gender pay gap than Scandinavian participants.

Hypothesis 3a: GSSJ will mediate the relationship between accuracy of gender

pay gap estimation and sex.

Hypothesis 3b: GSSJ will mediate the relationship between accuracy of gender pay gap estimation and culture.

In this study, “sex” and “culture” are the predictor variables whereas “accuracy of gender pay gap estimation” is the criterion variable. GSSJ acts as the mediator. I hypothesized that “sex” and “culture” has statistically significant effect on “accuracy of gender pay gap estimation” with the mediator effect of GSSJ (Figure 1).

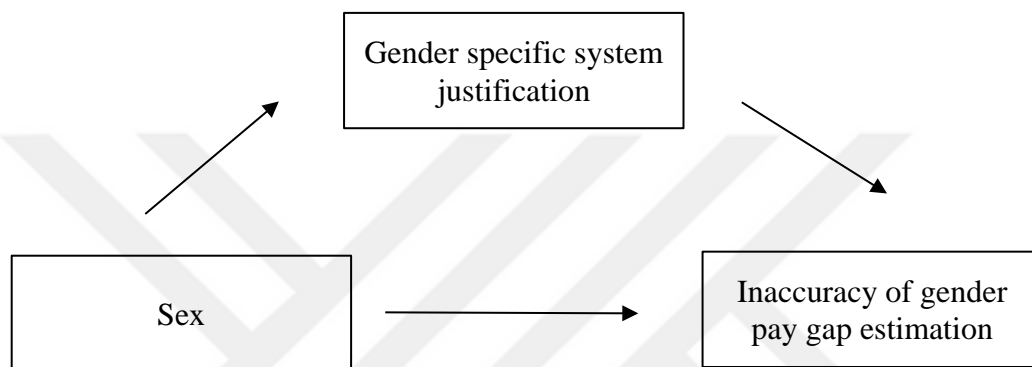


Figure 1. Predicted mediation model of the relationship between sex and inaccuracy of gender pay gap estimations, gender specific system justification as the mediator.

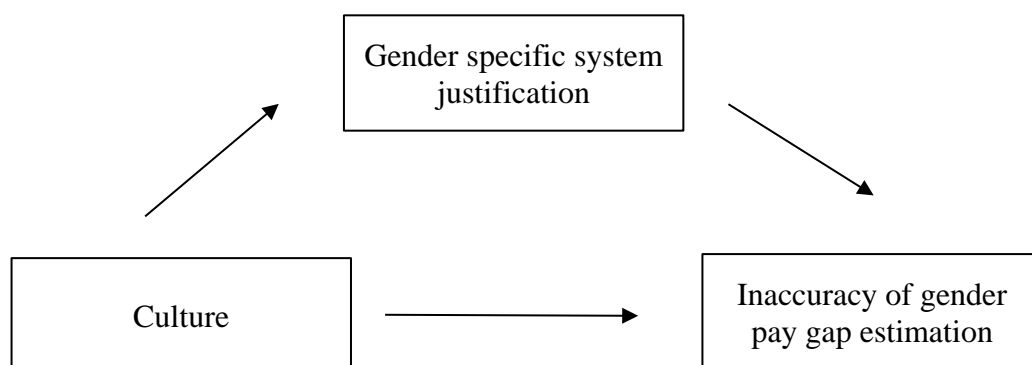


Figure 2. Predicted mediation model of the relationship between culture and inaccuracy of gender pay gap estimations, gender specific system justification as the mediator.

CHAPTER 6

7. METHOD

7.1. Participants

A total of 607 people participated in the study. Four participants who did not fill out estimations of income section and 10 participants who were not from Scandinavian countries or Turkey were excluded from the study. Two participants who indicated themselves as “other” were deleted because I aimed to conduct an analysis between males and females. Eight other participants excluded since they do not have at least high school graduation, and 17 of them excluded because they were not between 18 and 35 years old. The remaining sample consisted of 566 participants.

Among 566 participants, 272 of them were recruited from Scandinavian countries which are Denmark, Sweden and Norway; while 294 participants were recruited from Turkey. The age range of the participants was between 18 and 35 years old. The mean age for Scandinavian participants was 24.87 ($SD = 4.70$); and 24.92 ($SD = 4.44$) for Turkish participants. There were 94 females and 178 males in Scandinavian sample; whereas there were 172 females and 122 males in Turkish sample. In Scandinavian sample 115 participants were high school graduates, 114 participants were university graduates, 40 people had master’s degree, and 3 people had doctoral degree. In Turkish sample, they were 9, 214, 53, and 18, respectively.

7.2. Materials

7.2.1. Estimations of Gender Pay-Gap

Participants were asked to make an estimation of how much a woman and a man earn monthly in eight professions which are politicians, administrative managers, production and specialized services managers, hospitality, retail and other services managers, engineers, customer service clerks, bus and tramway drivers, cleaners and helpers. Questionnaire for estimation of gender pay-gap was illustrated below in Table 4.

Table 4.

Questionnaire for Estimation of Gender Pay-gap

Eight occupations were given below. Please indicate how much monthly income a woman has in these professions versus a man in the same profession in your own currency.

1. Politicians
a) Women:
b) Men:
2. Administrative managers
a) Women:
b) Men:
3. Production and specialized services managers
a) Women:
b) Men:
4. Hospitality, retail and other services managers
a) Women:
b) Men:
5. Engineers
a) Women:
b) Men:
6. Customer services clerks
a) Women:
b) Men:
7. Bus and tramway drivers
a) Women:
b) Men:
8. Cleaners and helpers
a) Women:
b) Men:

Real statistics of gender pay gap were calculated based on national statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK, 2014), Statistics Denmark (StatDenmark, 2018), Statistics Sweden (SCB, 2018) and Statistics Norway (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2018). Gender pay-gap was calculated using “(Men’s earning-Women’s earning) / Men’s earning*100)” formula for both real statistics and estimation of participants.

In order to calculate how participants’ estimations deviated from real gender pay-gap (deviance scores), gender pay-gap in real statistics was subtracted from their estimated gender pay-gap. Scores below 0 indicated underestimation of pay-gap; while scores above 0 indicated overestimation of pay-gap. Zero indicated accurate

estimation. Lastly, absolute values of these scores were calculated in order to measure their distance to 0; in other words, absolute values were used to understand how inaccurate the participants were in their estimations of gender pay gap. Absolute values of participants who overestimated the gender pay-gap was the same as their deviance scores, and absolute values of participants who underestimated the gender pay-gap were calculated by converting their deviance scores into a positive score. Lower absolute values indicated more accurate estimations.

7.2.2. Gender Specific System Justification Scale

Gender specific system justification scale (GSSJ) was developed by Jost and Kay (2005) by rewording the general system justification scale of Jost (2003). The researchers aimed to evaluate tendency of people to justify the gender-related system. Total of eight items such as “Most policies relating to gender and the sexual division of labor serve the greater good.” and “Society is set up so that men and women usually get what they deserve.” were rated on a 9-point scale with two reverse coded items. High scores on the scale show high tendency to justify the system. The internal consistency reliability of GSJ was found to be .65 by Jost and Kay (2005). The scale was translated into Turkish by Işık and Sakallı-Ugurlu (Ercan, 2009), and was used by Ercan (2009). The researcher used GSSJ as a 7-point scale. Cronbach’s alpha was .74 with an explained variance of 35.4% in Ercan (2009)’s study. In this study, fifth item in GSSJ scale, “Most policies relating to gender and the sexual division of labor serve the greater good”, revealed low reliability ($r=.026$) in item-total correlations; therefore excluded from the analysis. After deleting fifth item, Cronbach’s alpha for GSSJ scale was .88.

7.2.3. Demographic Questionnaire

There were 7 demographic variables which are sex, age, occupation, educational status, place of residence. In addition, participants indicated the degree to which they consider themselves as religious and the degree to which they consider themselves as liberal or conservative on 7- point scale. High scores on the scale indicates higher religious and conservative scores.

7.3. Procedure

Among 272 Scandinavian participants, 239 of them were recruited through Prolific. Prolific offers a paid participant pool that can be selected based on their demographic variables. Palan and Schitter (2018) suggested that Prolific is a useful

platform since it provides transparency for both researcher and participants. While participants know about the payments, their rights and obligations; researchers have the opportunity to pre-screen participants so that the researcher know they are eligible to the study. On Prolific, I advertised my study as a psychological research about gender differences. Participants were directed to Google Forms; and first indicated consent. Then they completed the anonymous survey and demographic form. First they filled out their estimation for pay-gap, then took gender-specific system justification scale. Participants were given £.27 as compensation for their participation. Thirty three Scandinavian participants were recruited through snowballing sampling method. They took the measures in the same order; and participation was voluntary.

Among 294 Turkish participants, 198 of them were recruited online by using Google Forms; I used snowballing and convenience sampling methods. The remaining 96 participants received the survey paper-based; and they were recruited from Yasar University psychology department, and Ege University Medicine department. They took the measure in the same order Scandinavian participants did; and participation was voluntary. The average time spent on the survey was 10 minutes for both samples.

7.4. Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, frequencies) and demographic variables of the participants (sample, age, sex, education status) were computed by using SPSS version 22. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients were measured for internal consistency of GSSJ scale. Independent samples t-tests were conducted in order to test the effect of sex and culture on GSSJ and inaccuracy of pay gap estimations. PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) was used to find out whether GSSJ mediate the relationship between sex and inaccuracy of pay gap estimations as well as culture and inaccuracy of pay gap estimations.

CHAPTER 7

8. RESULTS

The result section consists of three subsection which are “data cleaning”, “preliminary analysis”, and “hypothesis testing”. In the first subsection, I presented data cleaning, and in the second subsection descriptive statistics were shown. Lastly, in third subsection, hypothesis testing is presented in order to find out whether the effect of sex and culture on GSSJ and inaccuracy of pay gap estimations is significant; and whether GSSJ mediates the relationship between culture, sex and inaccuracy of pay gap estimation.

8.1. Data Cleaning

Four participants who answered “estimation of income” section with random numbers were excluded from the study. Ten participants who were not from Scandinavian countries or Turkey were also deleted. Eight other participants excluded since they do not have at least high school graduation, and 17 of them excluded because they were not between 18 and 35 years old. Finally, 2 participants who indicated their sex as “other” were also excluded from the study. Further analyses were conducted for 566 participants.

8.2. Preliminary Analysis

The means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables are presented in Table 5 and Table 6. Pearson zero-order correlation indicated that there is a significant negative correlation between gender specific system justification and accuracy of gender pay-gap estimations ($r = -.41, p < .01$).

Table 5.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Variables in Turkish Sample

	Females		Males			
Measure	M	SD	M	SD	1	2
GSSJ	16.58	.53	21.04	.63	(.63)	
Inaccuracy Scores of the Participants	5.05	.52	1.65	.62	-.146*	
Age	24.16	4.35	25.98	4.37	.059	-.050
<i>Note.</i> N= 294. Value in parentheses along the diagonal is Cronbach's alpha. * Correlation is significant at $p < .05$ (two tailed)						

Table 6.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Variables in Scandinavian Sample

	Females		Males			
Measure	M	SD	M	SD	1	2
GSSJ	28.60	.72	36.35	.52	(.86)	
Inaccuracy Scores of the Participants	1.38	.71	-1.77	.52	-.172**	
Age	25.56	4.75	24.50	4.64	-.159**	-.050
<i>Note.</i> N= 272. Value in parentheses along the diagonal is Cronbach's alpha. ** Correlation is significant at $p < .01$ (two tailed)						

8.3. Hypothesis Testing

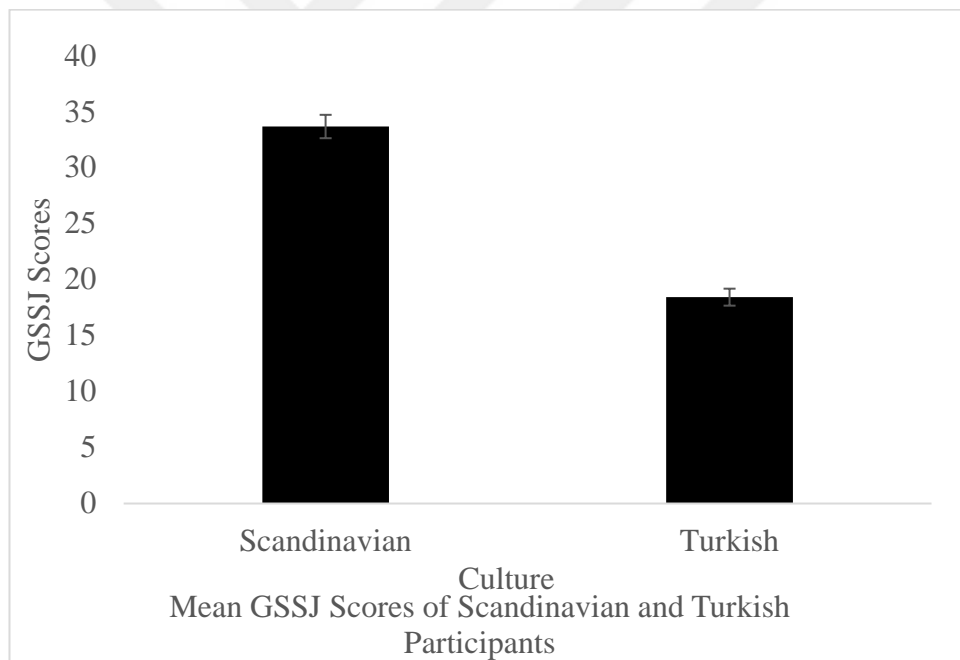
Independent samples t-tests were conducted in order to test whether there is an effect of culture and sex on inaccuracy scores of the participants in their estimations of gender pay gap and GSSJ. In addition, mediation analysis was conducted through PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) to find out whether GSSJ mediates the relationship between culture and inaccuracy of gender pay gap estimations; as well as sex and inaccuracy of gender pay gap estimations.

8.3.1. Effect of Culture on GSSJ Scores

Independent samples t test was conducted to test whether culture has an effect on GSSJ scores. The difference between Scandinavian and Turkish participants in their GSSJ scores was statistically significant, $t(564) = 23.889$, $p < .001$ (Table 7.1).

Figure 3.

GSSJ Scores of the Participants by Culture



Note. Error bars show 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 3 showed that Scandinavian participants had higher GSSJ scores ($M = 33.67$, $SE = .52$) than Turkish participants did ($M = 18.43$, $SE = .38$). Therefore, hypothesis 1a was supported.

Table 7.1
Effect of Culture on GSSJ

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
		<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
GSSJ Scores	Equal variances assumed	28.967	.000	23.889	564	.000	15.241	.638
	Equal variances not assumed			23.635	502.658	.000	15.241	.645

8.3.2. Effect of Sex on GSSJ Scores

Independent samples t test was conducted to test whether sex has an effect on GSSJ scores. The difference between male and female participants in their GSSJ scores was statistically significant, $t(564) = 4.935$, $p < .001$ (Table 7.2).

Figure 4.

GSSJ Scores of the Participants by Sex

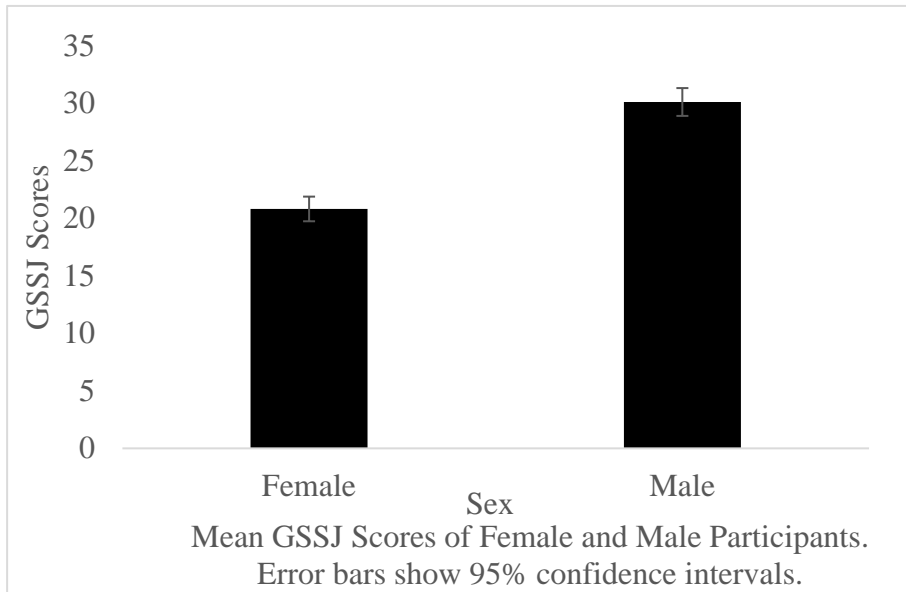


Figure 4 showed that male participants in general scored higher on GSSJ scale ($M = 30.12$, $SE = .61$) than female participants did ($M = 20.82$, $SE = .54$). Therefore, hypothesis 1b was also supported.

GSSJ scores of male and female participants then were compared for Scandinavian and Turkish samples individually through independent samples t-test (Table 7.3). Results indicated that males and females were significantly differed in their GSSJ scores in Scandinavian sample, $t(270) = -7.807$, $p < .001$. Scandinavian males had higher GSSJ scores ($M = 36.35$, $SE = .57$) than Scandinavian females ($M = 28.60$, $SE = .85$). GSSJ scores of male and female participants in Turkish sample were also significantly differed from each other, $t(292) = -6.165$, $p < .001$. Turkish males had higher GSSJ scores ($M = 21.04$, $SE = .62$) than Turkish females ($M = 16.58$, $SE = 21.04$).

Table 7.2

Effect of Sex on GSSJ

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
		<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
GSSJ Scores	Equal variances assumed	21.124	.000	-11.386	564	.000	-9.300	.817
	Equal variances not assumed			-11.509	561.918	.000	-9.300	.808

Table 7.3

Effect of Sex on GSSJ for Scandinavian and Turkish Samples

			Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
			<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
Scandinavian	GSSJ Scores	Equal variances assumed	.869	.352	-7.807	270	.000	-7.753	.993
		Equal variances not assumed			-7.611	176.389	.000	-7.753	1.019
Turkish	GSSJ Scores	Equal variances assumed	4.454	.036	-6.165	292	.000	-4.465	.724
		Equal variances not assumed			-5.936	222.871	.000	-4.465	.752

8.3.3. Effect of Culture on Estimations of Gender Pay-Gap

Independent samples t test was conducted to test whether culture has an effect on gender pay-gap estimations of participants. The difference between Scandinavian and Turkish participants in their gender pay-gap estimations was not statistically significant, $t(564) = -1.475$, $p = .141$ (Table 7.4). Even though the effect was not significant, Scandinavian participants estimated slightly less gender pay-gap ($M = 38.76$, $SE = 47.54$) than Turkish participants did ($M = 45.53$, $SE = 60.30$).

8.3.4. Effect of Sex on Estimations of Gender Pay-Gap

Independent samples t test was conducted to test whether sex has an effect on gender pay-gap estimations of participants. In general, the difference between males and females in their gender pay-gap estimations was statistically significant, $t(564) = 6.110$, $p < .001$ (Table 7.5). Male participants estimated less gender pay-gap ($M = 29.48$, $SE = 50.74$) than female participants did ($M = 56.71$, $SE = 55.28$). When tested for each sample individually, it was revealed that in Scandinavian sample, the difference between males and women was statistically significant, $t(270) = 4.645$, $p < .001$ (Table 7.6). Scandinavian males estimated lower gender pay-gap ($M = 29.38$, $SE = 46.22$) than Scandinavian females ($M = 56.52$, $SE = 45.07$). In Turkish sample, the difference between males and females was also statistically significant, $t(292) = 3.902$, $p < .001$ (Table 7.6). Turkish males had lower estimation of gender pay-gap ($M = 29.61$, $SE = 56.90$) than Turkish females ($M = 56.82$, $SE = 60.26$).

Table 7.4

Effect of Culture on Estimations of Gender Pay-gap

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
		<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
Inaccuracy Scores	Equal variances assumed	21.757	.000	-1.475	564	.141	-6.768	4.589
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.488	550.339	.137	-6.768	4.547

Table 7.5

Effect of Sex on Estimations of Gender Pay-gap

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
		<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
Inaccuracy Scores	Equal variances assumed	7.639	.006	6.110	564	.000	27.235	4.457
	Equal variances not assumed			6.079	541.153	.000	27.235	4.480

Table 7.6.

Effect of Sex on Estimations of Gender Pay-gap for Each Sample

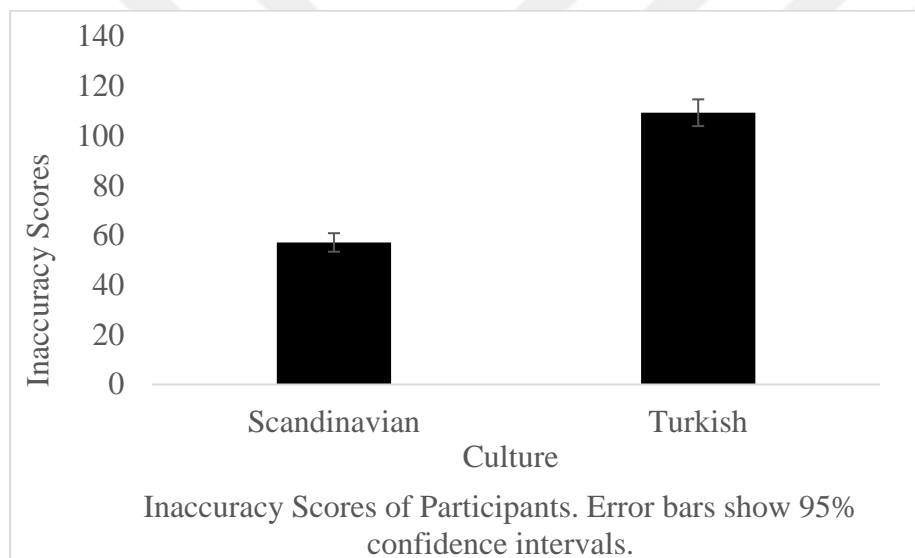
			Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
			<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
Scandinavian	Inaccuracy Scores	Equal variances assumed	.407	.526	4.645	270	.000	27.14	5.84
		Equal variances not assumed			4.681	193.606	.000	27.14	5.80
Turkish	Inaccuracy Scores	Equal variances assumed	2.535	.112	3.902	292	.000	27.20	6.98
		Equal variances not assumed			3.940	269.443	.000	27.20	6.90

8.3.5. Effect of Culture on Inaccuracy Scores of Participants in Their Estimations of Gender Pay-Gap

Independent samples t test was conducted to test whether culture has an effect on inaccuracy scores of the participants. The difference between Scandinavian and Turkish participants in their inaccuracy scores was statistically significant, $t(564) = 4.935, p < .001$ (Table 7.7). Scandinavian participants more accurately estimated the gender pay-gap ($M = 57.15, SE = 1.86$) than Turkish participants did ($M = 109.35, SE = 2.69$). Therefore, hypothesis 2a was not supported. Figure 5 shows inaccuracy scores of Scandinavian and Turkish participants.

Figure 5.

Inaccuracy Scores of Scandinavian and Turkish Participants



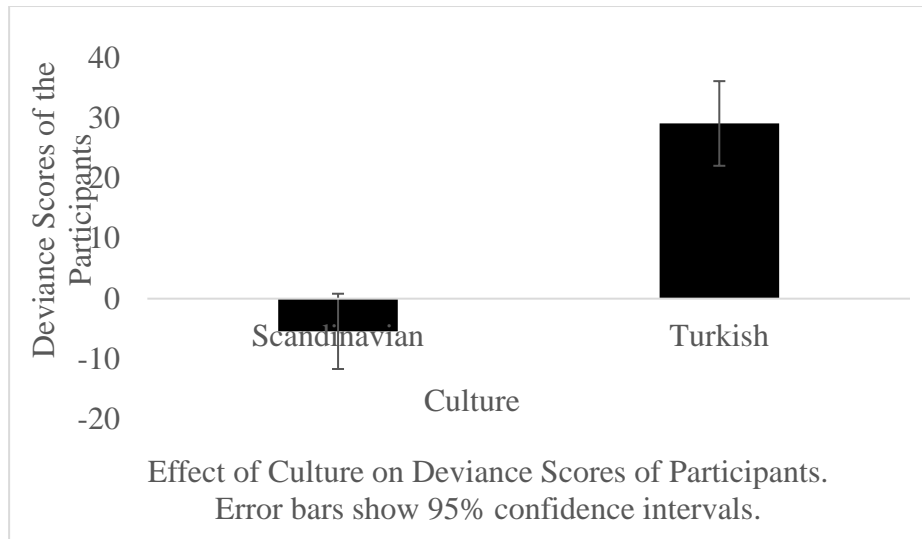
Note. Lower scores indicate higher accuracy.

Then deviance scores of Scandinavian and Turkish participants were analyzed by using one sample t-test in order to understand which sample tends to underestimate or overestimate gender pay-gap (Table 7.8). Results showed that deviance scores of Scandinavian participants were not significantly different from zero, $t(271) = -1.737, p = .083$; whereas deviance scores of Turkish participants were significantly different than zero, $t(293) = 8.286, p < .001$. Therefore results indicated that Turkish participants were more likely to overestimate the gender pay gap ($M = 29.14, SE = 3.52$); while estimations of Scandinavian participants were not significantly different than accurate gender pay-gap. Thus, Scandinavian participants made more accurate estimations of

real gender pay-gap ($M = -5.44$, $SE = 3.13$). Figure 6 shows deviance scores of Scandinavian and Turkish participants.

Figure 6.

Deviance Scores of Participants by Culture



Note. Deviance scores below zero indicates underestimation of pay-gap, while the scores above zero indicates overestimation of pay-gap. Zero indicates accurate pay-gap.

Table 7.7

Effect of Culture on Inaccuracy Scores of the Participants in Their Estimations of Gender Pay-gap

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
		<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
Inaccuracy Scores	Equal variances assumed	32.702	.000	-15.759	564	.000	-52.212	3.313
	Equal variances not assumed			-15.998	513.213	.000	-52.212	3.264

Table 7.8

Deviance Scores of Scandinavian and Turkish Participants

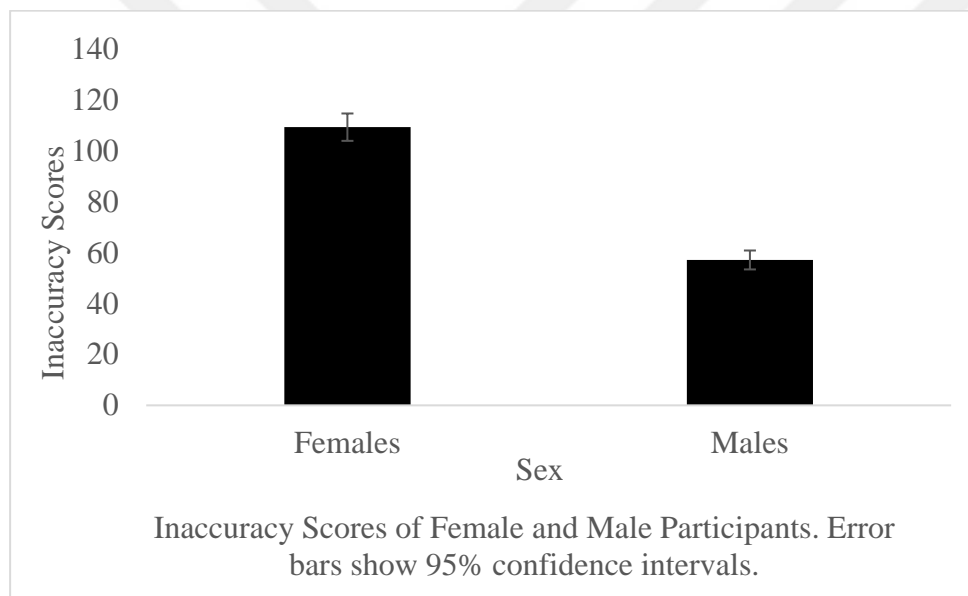
		Test Value = 0			
		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>
Scandinavian	Deviance Scores	-1.737	271	.083	-5.440
Turkish	Deviance Scores	8.286	293	.000	29.140

8.3.6. Effect of Sex on Inaccuracy Scores of Participants in Their Estimations of Gender Pay-Gap

Independent samples t test was conducted to test whether sex has an effect on inaccuracy scores of the participants. The difference between males and females in their inaccuracy scores was statistically significant, $t(564) = 4.935$, $p < .001$ (Table 7.9). Male participants more accurately estimated the gender pay-gap ($M = 57.15$, $SE = 1.86$) than female participants did ($M = 109.35$, $SE = 2.69$). Therefore, hypothesis 2b was not supported. Figure 7 shows inaccuracy scores of female and male participants.

Figure 7.

Inaccuracy Scores of Female and Male Participants



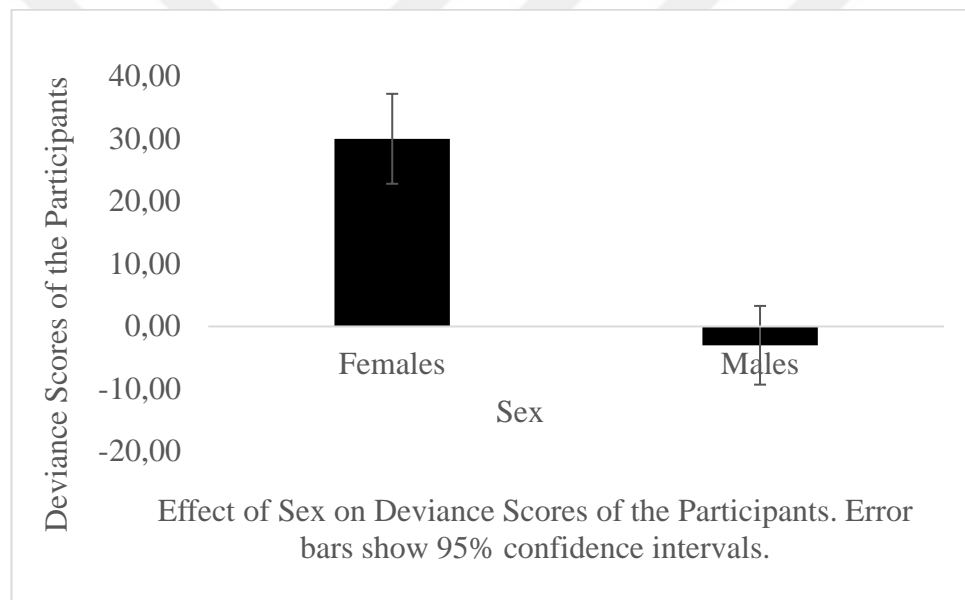
Note. Lower scores indicate higher accuracy.

Then, inaccuracy scores of male and female participants were compared for Scandinavian and Turkish samples individually by using independent samples t test (Table 7.10). Results showed that males and females did not significantly differ in their inaccuracy scores in Scandinavian sample, $t(270) = .462$, $p = .645$; whereas there was a significant difference between males and females in their inaccuracy scores in Turkish sample, $t(292) = 2.158$, $p = .032$. Turkish male participants more accurately estimated the gender pay-gap ($M = 102.51$, $SE = 3.61$) than Turkish female participants ($M = 114.20$, $SE = 3.77$).

Deviance scores of male and female participants were also analyzed by using one sample t-test in order to understand which sex tends to underestimate or overestimate gender pay-gap (Table 7.11). Results showed that deviance scores of male participants were not significantly different from zero, $t(299) = -.957$, $p = .339$; whereas deviance scores of female participants were significantly different than zero, $t(265) = 8.347$, $p < .001$. Therefore results indicated that female participants were more likely to overestimate the gender pay gap ($M = 30.04$, $SE = 3.60$); while estimations of male participants were not significantly different than accurate gender pay-gap. Thus, male participants made more accurate estimations of real gender pay-gap ($M = -3.01$, $SE = 3.15$). Figure 8 shows deviance scores of female and male participants.

Figure 8.

Deviance Scores of Participants by Sex



Note. Deviance scores below zero indicates underestimation of pay-gap, while the scores above zero indicates overestimation of pay-gap. Zero indicates accurate pay-gap.

Table 7.9

Effect of Sex on Inaccuracy Scores of the Participants in Their Estimations of Gender Pay-gap

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
		<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
Inaccuracy Scores	Equal variances assumed	12.570	.000	4.935	564	.000	19.232	3.897
	Equal variances not assumed			4.878	514.063	.000	19.232	3.942

Table 7.10

Effect of Sex on Inaccuracy Scores of Participants for Scandinavian and Turkish Samples

			Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
			<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
Scandinavian	Inaccuracy Scores	Equal variances assumed	.224	.636	.462	270	.645	1.804	3.908
		Equal variances not assumed			.476	206.242	.635	1.804	3.791
Turkish	Inaccuracy Scores	Equal variances assumed	3.395	.066	2.158	292	.032	11.688	5.415
		Equal variances not assumed			2.239	287.324	.026	11.688	5.221

Table 7.11

Deviance Scores of Female and Male Participants

Test Value = 0					
		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>
Female	Deviance Scores	8.347	265	.000	30.04
Male	Deviance Scores	-.957	299	.339	-3.01

Independent samples t-test was used in order to find out whether there is difference between Scandinavian and Turkish participants in their inaccuracy scores of estimation of gender pay gap for each occupation (Table 7.12). Effect of culture on inaccuracy scores for politicians was statistically significant, $t(564) = -9.561, p < .001$; Scandinavian participants more accurately estimated the gender pay-gap ($M = 9.54, SE = .58$) than Turkish participants did ($M = 16.43, SE = .45$). Inaccuracy scores for administrative managers was statistically not significant, $t(564) = -1.932, p = .054$. Inaccuracy scores for production managers was statistically not significant, $t(564) = -1.060, p = .290$. Inaccuracy scores for hospitality managers was statistically significant, $t(564) = -4.755, p < .001$; Scandinavian participants had more accurate estimation of gender pay-gap ($M = 9.131, SE = .52$) than Turkish participants did ($M = 13.54, SE = .75$). Inaccuracy scores for engineers was statistically significant, $t(564) = -26.505, p < .001$; Scandinavians had more accurate estimation of gender pay-gap ($M = 6.79, SE = .45$) than Turkish participants did ($M = 33.26, SE = .87$). Inaccuracy scores for customer services clerks was statistically significant, $t(564) = -9.190, p < .001$; Scandinavian participants had more accurate estimation of gender pay-gap ($M = 4.22, SE = .29$) than Turkish participants did ($M = 10.17, SE = .56$). Inaccuracy scores for bus and tram drivers was statistically not significant, $t(564) = -1.497, p = .151$. Inaccuracy scores for cleaners and helpers was statistically significant, $t(564) = -5.907, p < .001$; Scandinavian participants more accurately estimated the gender pay-gap ($M = 5.71, SE = .45$) than Turkish participants did ($M = 10.86, SE = .73$).

Independent samples t-test was used in order to find out whether there is difference between male and female participants in their inaccuracy scores of estimation of gender pay gap for each occupation (Table 7.13). Effect of culture on inaccuracy scores for politicians was statistically significant, $t(564) = 3.449, p = .001$; males predicted gender pay-gap more accurately ($M = 11.87, SE = .52$) than females did ($M = 14.53, SE = .57$). Inaccuracy scores for administrative managers was statistically not significant, $t(564) = 1.210, p = .227$. Inaccuracy scores for production managers was statistically significant, $t(564) = 3.216, p = .001$; males predicted gender pay gap more accurately ($M = 9.52, SE = .32$) than females did ($M = 11.89, SE = .70$). Inaccuracy scores for hospitality managers was statistically significant, $t(564) = 3.055, p = .002$; males had more accurate estimation of gender pay-gap ($M = 10.07, SE = .56$) than females did ($M = 12.94, SE = .77$). Inaccuracy scores for engineers was statistically significant, $t(564) = 4.606, p < .001$; males more accurately predicted

gender pay-gap ($M = 17.35$, $SE = .95$) than females did ($M = 24.13$, $SE = 1.14$). Inaccuracy scores for customer services clerks was statistically not significant, $t(564) = .362$, $p = .718$. Inaccuracy scores for bus and tram drivers was statistically not significant, $t(564) = 1.883$, $p = .060$. Inaccuracy scores for cleaners and helpers was statistically significant, $t(564) = 2.368$, $p = .018$; males more accurately predicted gender pay-gap ($M = 7.39$, $SE = .32$) than females did ($M = 9.51$, $SE = .88$).



Table 7.12

Effect of Culture on Inaccuracy Scores of Participants in their Estimations of Gender Pay-gap for Each Occupation

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					Absolute Deviance Scores of the Participants		
		<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>	Scandinavian	Turkish	Accurate Sample
Absolute Scores in Politician	Equal variances assumed	20.261	.000	-9.561	564	.000	-6.894	.721	9.54	16.43	Scandinavian
	Equal variances not assumed			-9.482	520.429	.000	-6.894	.727			
Absolute Scores in Administrative Managers	Equal variances assumed	97.251	.000	-1.932	564	.054	-1.672	.866	8.33	10.00	Scandinavian
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.969	484.067	.050	-1.672	.850			
Absolute Scores in Production Managers	Equal variances assumed	3.369	.067	-1.060	564	.290	-.787	.742	10.22	11.01	Scandinavian
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.063	563.943	.288	-.787	.740			
Absolute Scores in Hospitality Managers	Equal variances assumed	62.844	.000	-4.755	564	.000	-4.410	.927	9.13	13.54	Scandinavian
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.826	514.639	.000	-4.410	.914			
Absolute Scores in Engineers	Equal variances assumed	180.746	.000	-26.505	564	.000	-26.475	.999	6.79	33.26	Scandinavian
	Equal variances not assumed			-27.137	436.417	.000	-26.475	.976			

Absolute Scores in Customer Services	Equal variances assumed	5.828	.016	-9.190	564	.000	-5.955	.648	4.22	10.18	Scandinavian
	Equal variances not assumed			-9.406	439.493	.000	-5.955	.633			
Absolute Scores in Drivers	Equal variances assumed	52.760	.000	-1.437	564	.151	-.870	.606	3.19	4.06	Scandinavian
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.470	447.577	.142	-.870	.592			
Absolute Scores in Cleaners	Equal variances assumed	.689	.407	-5.907	564	.000	-5.149	.872	5.71	10.86	Scandinavian
	Equal variances not assumed			-6.019	481.923	.000	-5.149	.855			

Table 7.13

Effect of Sex on Inaccuracy Scores of Participants in their Estimations of Gender Pay-gap for Each Occupation

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					Absolute Deviance Scores of the Participants		
		<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2- tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	Accurate Sex
Absolute Scores in Politician	Equal variances assumed	2.625	.106	3.449	564	.001	2.656	.770	14.53	11.87	Males
	Equal variances not assumed			3.442	551.051	.001	2.656	.771			
Absolute Scores in Administrative Managers	Equal variances assumed	22.164	.000	1.210	564	.227	1.051	.868	9.75	8.70	Males
	Equal variances not assumed			1.194	503.428	.233	1.051	.880			
Absolute Scores in Production Managers	Equal variances assumed	15.307	.000	3.216	564	.001	2.371	.737	11.89	9.52	Males
	Equal variances not assumed			3.098	371.078	.002	2.371	.765			
Absolute Scores in Hospitality Managers	Equal variances assumed	16.688	.000	3.055	564	.002	2.869	.939	12.94	10.07	Males
	Equal variances not assumed			3.008	493.887	.003	2.869	.954			
Absolute Scores in Engineers	Equal variances assumed	2.039	.154	4.606	564	.000	6.776	1.471	24.13	17.35	Males
	Equal variances not assumed			4.573	533.602	.000	6.776	1.482			
Absolute Scores in Customer Services	Equal variances assumed	8.188	.004	.362	564	.718	.252	.695	7.45	7.20	Males
	Equal variances not assumed			.372	505.985	.710	.252	.677			

Absolute Scores in Drivers	Equal variances assumed	20.543	.000	1.883	564	.060	1.140	.605	4.25	8.43	Females
	Equal variances not assumed			1.844	466.144	.066	1.140	.618			
Absolute Scores in Cleaners	Equal variances assumed	.702	.402	2.368	564	.018	2.118	.895	9.51	7.39	Males
	Equal variances not assumed			2.263	332.526	.024	2.118	.936			

8.3.7. Mediating Role of GSSJ in the Relationship Between Culture and Inaccuracy of Pay-Gap Estimations

Mediation analysis was conducted using PROCESS tool to examine the relationship between culture and inaccuracy scores of the participants through gender specific system justification. Scandinavian was coded as 1; and Turkish was coded as 2 in the data set. The results indicated that culture significantly predicted gender specific system justification, $b = -15.24$, $t = -23.89$, $p < .001$; meaning that Scandinavian participants had higher scores on GSSJ. Culture significantly predicted inaccuracy scores of the participants, $b = 40.42$, $t = 8.69$, $p < .001$; meaning that Turkish participants tend to be more inaccurate in their estimations of gender pay-gap. Gender specific system justification significantly predicted inaccuracy scores of the participants, $b = -.77$, $t = -3.57$, $p < .001$; this means that participants with higher GSSJ scores were more accurate in their estimations of gender pay-gap. As a result of mediation analysis by PROCESS tool, there was a significant indirect effect of culture on inaccuracy scores of the participants through gender specific system justification, $b = 11.79$, 95% CI [5.88, 18.18]. Therefore, Turkish participants were more inaccurate in their estimations of gender pay-gap partly because they had lower scores of GSSJ. This modal explains 30% variance in total.

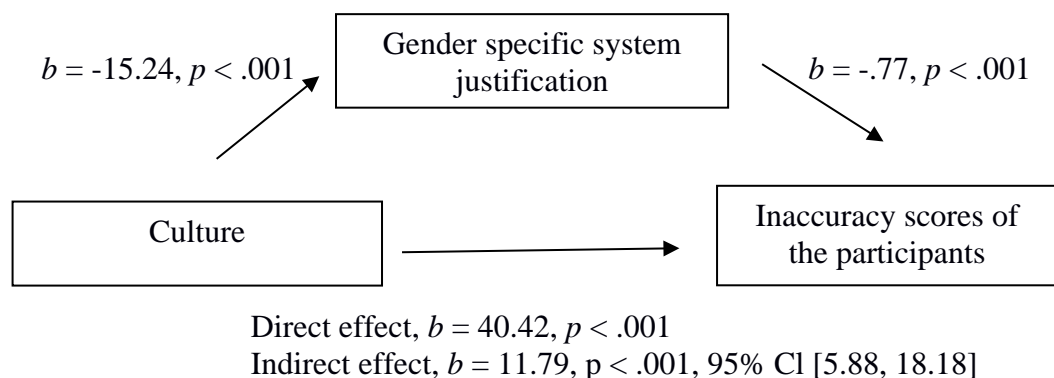


Figure 9. Modal of culture as a predictor of inaccuracy of participants in their gender pay-gap estimations, mediated by gender specific system justification. The confidence interval for the indirect effect is a Bca bootstrapped CI based on 1000 samples.

8.3.8. Mediating Role of GSSJ in the Relationship Between Sex and Inaccuracy of Gender Pay-Gap Estimations

PROCESS tool was conducted to examine the relationship between sex and inaccuracy scores of the participants through gender specific system justification. Female was coded as 0; and male was coded as 1 in the data set. The results indicated that sex significantly predicted gender specific system justification, $b = 9.30$, $t = 11.39$, $p = .001$; meaning that males had higher GSSJ scores than females did. Sex did not significantly predict inaccuracy scores of the participants, $b = .45$, $t = .12$, $p = .91$. Gender specific system justification significantly predicted accuracy of gender pay-gap estimations, $b = -2.17$, $t = -11.75$, $p < .001$; which indicates that as participants GSSJ scores increases, they tend to be more accurate in their estimation of gender pay-gap. As a result of mediation analysis by PROCESS tool, there was a significant indirect effect of sex on inaccuracy scores of the participants through gender specific system justification, $b = -19.69$, 95% CI [-24.38, -15.51]. Therefore, females were more inaccurate in their estimations of gender pay-gap partly because they had lower scores of GSSJ.

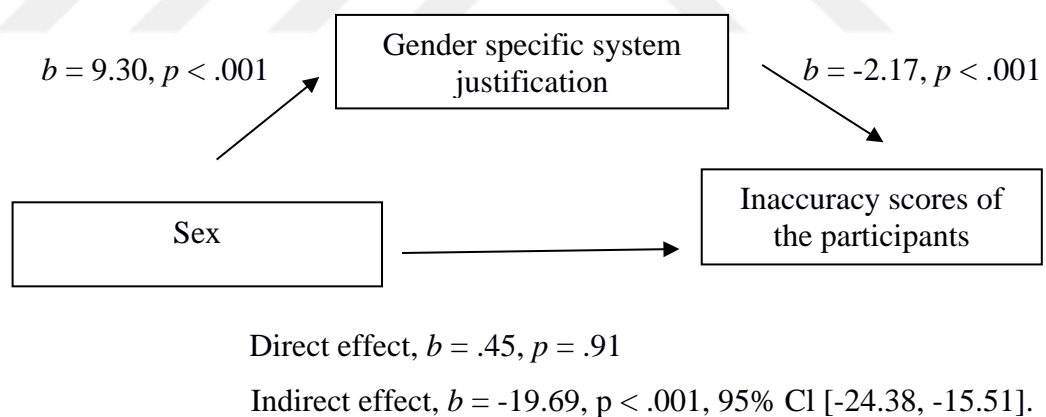


Figure 10. Model of sex as a predictor of inaccuracy of participants in their gender pay-gap estimations, mediated by gender specific system justification. The confidence interval for the indirect effect is a BCa bootstrapped CI based on 1000 samples.

9. DISCUSSION

In Study 2, the effect of sex and culture on GSSJ and accuracy of gender pay gap estimations was investigated. It was revealed that in this sample, males had higher GSSJ scores than females, and they estimated lower gender pay-gap compared to females. On the other hand, male participants more accurately estimated gender pay-gap compared to females. Scandinavian participants were also found to be higher in their GSSJ scores; and had more accurate estimations of gender pay-gap compared to Turkish participants. Furthermore, Study 2 showed that GSSJ mediated the effect of sex and culture on inaccuracy scores of participants in their estimations of gender pay-gap; interestingly, participants with higher GSSJ scores more accurately estimated gender pay-gap.

Although status legitimacy hypothesis indicated that disadvantaged groups are more likely to support the status quo (Jost et al., 2010); some studies are inconsistent with status legitimacy effect (Hetherington, 1998; Jost & Burgess, 2000; Lee, Pratto, & Johnson, 2011; Brandt & Reyna, 2012). Brandt and Reyna (2012) argued that high status groups tend to view their government and societies as more legitimate than low status groups; and Hetherington (1998) indicated that people who have higher income tend to show more trust toward their government than people who have lower income. Thus, it is not surprising that male participants in this study also had higher justification levels than female participants. In addition, Jost and Burgess (2000) found out that people show more legitimacy if they were manipulated to believe that their social status is higher; and Lee et al., (2011) showed that people from low status groups did not support the unfair conditions that they were exposed to. Past research revealed that males have generally higher GSSJ scores than females (Douglas & Sutton; 2014, Jost et al., 2001; Jost & Kay, 2005). Moreover, Jost et al. (2001) indicated that since males have generally upper positions in the society, they are more likely to hold system justifying attitudes than females. In line with these findings, male participants in this study legitimized the gender related status quo more than female participants.

Hofstede (1980) also stated that individuals who hold less power in the society are more likely to have accurate view of power differences. On the other hand, individuals with more power might not vary in their acceptance of power differences across different cultures (Hofstede, 1980). Results of this study also supported past research; and Study 2 showed that males in both Scandinavian and Turkish samples

had higher GSSJ scores than females.

It was also found that Scandinavian participants had higher GSSJ scores than Turkish participants. Jost et al. (2003) suggested that cultures with high power distance tend to support status quo than cultures with low power distance; and system justifying attitudes were found to be positively correlated with uncertainty avoidance and intolerance for ambiguity. Although according to Hofstede Insights (n.d.) Turkey scores higher in power distance and uncertainty dimensions than Scandinavian countries, Turkish participants had lower levels of GSSJ in this study; therefore showing contrary results to Jost et al. (2003)'s study. However it is important to note that gender equality is an important term and is deeply embedded in Nordic cultures (Skarpenes & Nilsen, 2014); and there is a high level of trust between the state and society which enables them to build gender-equal atmosphere (Kabeer, 2008). According to evaluations of WEF (2018), Norway, Sweden and Denmark protected their top positions across Gender Gap Index for years. Therefore, it can be speculated that Scandinavian participants might be content with achievements in gender equality in their countries. Rather than overlooking gender inequality and ignoring injustice treatments, they might actually think that conditions in their countries regarding gender equality is somehow satisfying. Thus, GSSJ scale might not be as valid in Scandinavian countries as in other Western countries in assessing justification of the status quo.

When it comes to Turkey, Yakley (2018) argued that women's rights in Turkey are currently declining. Violence against women is still the most important problem of women in Turkey (Kadir Has University, 2018); and We Will Stop Femicide Platform (2019) established that in Turkey, 440 women were killed by men in 2018. The effect of violence against women is not only short term nor only affects women who are exposed to it; but it might also result in low trust level in the society (Kayaoğlu, 2019). In addition, there is still economic disparity between men and women in Turkey. Women earn less than men; and men occupy higher positions more than women (WEF, 2018). As Zimmerman and Reyna (2013) argued that people from low-status groups were less likely to think the current state of the society as ideal. Furthermore, Glick (2005) argued that intergroup comparisons can lead people to realize unfair treatments of subordinated groups; therefore might decrease support for power differences. Therefore, ongoing inequalities between men and women in Turkey might lead people to question status quo. It is also important to note that participants in this study were

largely from Western cities of Turkey, and educated. Given that Western-living and educated people in Turkey often have more egalitarian views of gender equality (Başar & Demirci, 2018), it is not surprising that they are more critical towards the current state of gender inequality, therefore have low levels of GSSJ.

Study 2 also revealed males estimated lower gender pay-gap than females across two samples. Mårtensson et al. (2019) indicated that men underestimated gender pay-gap to a greater extent than women did. Hence, in line with the literature, males in this study also had the perception of lower gender pay-gap than females did. However, when it comes to how accurate were the participants, it is important to note that calculating gender pay-gap has been a controversial topic; and that there is no consensus on how to assess it (ILO, 2018). Since national statistics of Scandinavian countries and Turkey were used as a reference to calculate inaccuracy levels of the participants, they might as well not be reliable.

Past research investigated perception of people in pay-gap. Although Mårtensson et al. (2019) found out that women had more accurate views of gender pay-gap, the other finding of this study was that male participants were more accurate in their estimation of gender pay-gap than females. When compared how “inaccurate” male and female participants were in their estimations of gender pay-gap, while estimations of male participants did not significantly differed from real gender pay-gap, female participants tend to overestimate it. Previous research about the pay gap between Whites and ethnic minorities revealed that economically disadvantaged groups were more accurate in their estimations of pay-gap (Kaplowitz et al., 2003). Researchers indicated that since they were more often exposed to inequality in their lives, they might be more likely to susceptible to wage differences. On the other hand, Whites tend to underestimate the pay-gap between themselves and economically disadvantaged groups such as Blacks and Latinos (Kaplowitz et al., 2003). Similarly, Beyer (2018) revealed that people were not aware of the magnitude of wage inequality and tend to underestimate gender pay-gap by consistently overestimating women’s earning. Therefore, results in Study 2 were contrary to previous research; and males, even though they are belonged to the advantaged group were found to be more accurate than females in their estimations of gender pay-gap.

Female participants overestimated the gender pay-gap more than male participants. Foley, Ngo, and Loi (2006) found out that people with high gender identification tend to be more susceptible to gender discrimination, therefore perceive

it more than people with lower gender identification. Gender identification shows that to what extent people identify with their gender group and think that their gender is an important part of their identity (Foley, Ngo, Loi, & Zheng, 2015). In addition, social identity theory proposes that an important factor in perception of discrimination is the position of one's group in the society (Cameron, 2001; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Kappen, 2003). Therefore, women in this study might have perceived more economical disparity since they are belonged to a disadvantaged group in the social structure; or they might identify with their gender strongly. In addition, women usually rely on formal procedures to access organizational outcomes since they were excluded from fair decision making processes because of long-lasting gender discrimination. However men often obtain information through informal communication about pay, pay raises, bonuses and promotions (Powel & Mainiero, 1992). Therefore, one of the explanations why women in this study had inaccurate perception of gender pay-gap might be related with their lack of access to informal network. Moreover, their lack of accuracy in estimations of gender pay-gap might also be associated with their high gender identification and lower position of their group in the society (Foley et al., 2006; Cameron, 2001; Schmitt et al., 2003).

It was also found that culture has an effect on the inaccuracy scores of participants in their estimations of gender pay-gap; and Scandinavian participants were more accurate in their estimations than Turkish participants were. In addition, the difference between male and female participants in their estimations of gender pay-gap did not significantly differ from each other; while in Turkish sample, male participants were more accurate in their estimations and female participants tend to overestimate it. According to anticipatory injustice, people who anticipate injustice tend to perceive more discrimination than people who do not anticipate it (Shapiro & Kirkman, 2001). Since there is higher income inequality between men and women in Turkey compared to Scandinavian countries (WEF, 2018); Turkish participants might have more readily recalled economic disparity which results in perception of higher gender pay-gap. This might also be the reason why there is a difference between male and female participants in their perception of gender pay-gap in Turkey.

One of the findings in this study was that GSSJ mediated the effect of culture on the inaccuracy scores of participants in their estimations of gender pay-gap; and participants with higher GSSJ scores were more accurate in their estimations than participants with lower GSSJ scores. Similarly, sex has an effect on the inaccuracy

scores of participants in their estimations of gender pay-gap through GSSJ in the same way with previous modal. Equity theory (Adams, 1965) indicates that people who feel that they are under-rewarded are more likely to experience distress which in turn they tend to perceive more discrimination. People who feel less pay fairness might perceive more injustice in wage distribution than people who feel more pay fairness (Khoreva, 2012). Therefore, in line with these findings, women which is the group who are more likely to experience gender discrimination including economic inequality (OECD, 2020) showed higher GSSJ levels and overestimated the gender pay-gap. In addition, Turkish participants also overestimated the gender pay-gap and displayed lower GSSJ levels than Scandinavian participants did. This finding is also in line with Adams (1965) and Khoreva (2012)'s findings, since Turkey experiences more economic disparity between men and women compared to Scandinavian countries (WEF, 2018); they might perceive more inequality between men and women. In other words, participants who had higher scores of GSSJ might perceive more gender discrimination which result in perceiving higher gender pay-gap than reality.

To my knowledge, little is known about the mediating effect of system-justifying attitudes on the relationship between sex, culture, and perception of gender pay gap. However, previous studies investigated GSSJ as a mediator of the effect of gender on attitudes towards sexist language (Douglas & Sutton, 2014); and belief in a just world found to have an effect on the increased perceived gender discrimination (Choma, Hafer, Crosby, & Foster, 2012). For instance, Douglas and Sutton (2014) found out that men favored sexist language more than women, and had higher scores of GSSJ. The researchers argued that while non-sexist language challenges traditional gender role expectations, sexist language serve to protect existing gender roles. Compared to women, men perceive the existing social structure as more fair, and support the group-based hierarchies more (Douglas & Sutton, 2014). Thus, it is not surprising that male participants in this study estimated lower gender pay-gap than female participants did.

Lastly, Choma et al. (2012) found out that people who have high belief in a just world perceived less discrimination when they were not informed that other women are also discriminated against. Previous research also showed that belief in a just world and perceived discrimination against one's group were negatively correlated (Neville, Lily, Duran, Lee & Browne, 2000). Consistent with these findings, Study 2 showed that participants with lower GSSJ perceived more economic disparity than

participants with higher GSSJ. However, unexpectedly, participants with lower GSSJ scores also found to be more inaccurate in their estimations than participants with higher GSSJ scores. One possible explanation for this result is that when people think that their subordinated position is illegitimate, they perceive discrimination more strongly and have less trust towards the distribution of funds (Hornsey, Spears, Cremers & Hogg, 2003). Furthermore, if people perceive their current status as illegitimate, they feel more insecure towards the social structure (Turner & Brown, 1978). On the other hand, people who are belonged to high status groups were more likely to deny institutional forms of discrimination because it indicates greater threat to the fairness of society (Blodorn, O'Brien, & Kordys, 2012). Thus, women and Turkish participants in this study might also felt less trust that distribution of wages are fair which might result in overestimating gender pay-gap.

CHAPTER 8

10.GENERAL DISCUSSION

In Study 1, focus group discussions were conducted with 10 Norwegian and 26 Turkish participants between the ages of 18 and 35 in order to investigate their experiences and perceptions of gender inequality. As result of thematic analysis, four themes were emerged which are “Areas of Inequality”, “Gender Equality in Norway”, “Determinants of Inequality”, and “Contribution and Resistance”.

Under the theme of “Areas of Inequality”, women in both samples emphasized harassment; whereas men in both samples focused more on the unfair gender roles in intimate relationships. One of the differences between Norway and Turkey was that Norwegian participants did not focus on determinants of inequality; whereas Turkish participants had debates on the question of how these inequalities come about. In addition, Norwegian participants tool intersectional themes more into consideration (such as other ethnicities, sexualities, and gender identities) than Turkish participants did. On the other hand, in both samples, male and female participants had a similar discussion about gender pay-gap. Male participants argued that gender pay-gap does not exist anymore, or even if it exists, it is a result of personal choices and individual merits; while female participants argued that gender pay-gap affects women all over the world, and it is a result of gender discrimination. Therefore, I decided to conduct another study to investigate people’s perception of gender pay-gap in Denmark, Sweden and Norway which constituted Scandinavian sample of this study compared to Turkish sample.

In Study 2, I aimed to compare Scandinavian and Turkish participants in their estimations of gender pay-gap and their gender specific system justification levels. Mediating effect of GSSJ on the relationship between sex, culture, and estimations of gender pay-gap was also investigated. 272 Scandinavian and 294 Turkish participants were recruited; and it was revealed that Scandinavian participants showed higher justification levels than Turkish participants. It was also found that males, compared to females, had higher scores of GSSJ in both samples. In addition, males were more accurate in their estimations of gender pay-gap; while females were more likely to overestimate it. However, this effect was only found for Turkish sample, there was no difference between male and female participants in their inaccuracy of gender pay-gap estimations in Scandinavian sample. The other finding of this study was that GSSJ

mediated the effect of culture and sex on the participants' estimations of gender pay-gap. Surprisingly, participants with higher GSSJ were more accurate in their estimations.

10.1. Possible Explanations For Results

Gender inequality still persists in most societies and seems to be self-sustaining (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). WEF (2018) indicated that we need 108 years to close overall gender gap globally. Scandinavian countries, namely Denmark, Sweden, Norway as opposed to Turkey represents two sides of gender equality; Scandinavian countries consistently places on top of the Gender Gap Index, while Turkey maintains a patriarchal stance with higher gender inequality (Sümer & Eslen Ziya, 2017; WEF, 2018). Despite their discrete characteristics, qualitative and quantitative data suggests some similarities and differences between these samples.

Study 1 revealed that harassment was widely discussed by female participants in both Norwegian and Turkish samples; while male participants in both samples focused on false accusations. Ståhl et al. (2010) argued that high GSSJ levels predicted high victim blaming among men; while GSSJ levels were not predicted victim blaming among women. Previous research suggested that people who are high on rape myth acceptance were also less likely to acknowledge that rape incidents are fit into the legal description of rape (Fischer, 1986; Norris & Cubbins, 1992). Rape myths are defined as, “attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women” (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 134). Similarly, qualitative data suggested that male participants in Norwegian sample discussed which behaviors should be considered as sexual harassment; while Turkish male participants had debates on whether victims of rape could be lying. On the other hand, female participants, especially Turkish females, argued that even though harassment is commonly experienced by many women, they generally do not report it. Indeed, past research also indicated that women are reluctant to report sexual harassment due to embarrassment, or concerns of “being misunderstood by others”, “being blamed”, and “self-blaming” (Brackenridge, 1997; BRA, 2005; Durmuş, 2013).

One of the differences between Norwegian and Turkish participants in focus group discussion is that Turkish participants had many debates regarding determinants of inequality, while Norwegian participants only mentioned socialization of gender as a factor for gender inequality. On the contrary, Norwegian participants discussed how

gender equality developed in time in their country; while this theme was not revealed for Turkish sample. Turkish participants mostly indicated that there is still long way to achieve gender equality in Turkey. One of the possible explanations for why Norwegian participants did not discuss determinants of gender inequality might be related with social role theory. It indicates that traditional gender roles are weaker in societies where women and men have similar roles (Eagly et al., 2004). Furthermore, femininity-masculinity dimension of Hofstede et al. (2010), gender roles are clearly set in masculine societies, whereas in feminine societies, gender roles are overlap. Since Norway scores low on masculinity dimension (Hofstede et al., 2010) they might not have the same distinctions between men and women as in Turkey; therefore they might not have as much ideas about how gender inequality comes about.

Both Norwegian and Turkish participants in focus group discussions commented on how to resist gender inequality. While Norwegian participants focused on the importance of education regarding gender and feminism, Turkish participants also pointed out that people should actively protest against gender inequality. Tajfel (1978) argued that disadvantaged groups tend to resist their subordinated position when they see legitimate alternatives to current status quo, and when they have enough collective power. On the other hand, Norwegian male participants and some Turkish participants partly held women responsible of gender inequality. For instance, they argued that women willingly accept traditional gender roles in intimate relationships, and they mostly indicated that women “choose” not to work, or to work part-time which explains the gender gap in monthly earnings. Male participants in both samples endorsed essentialist explanations which imply that gender differences are caused by biological differences, and these differences are fixed, therefore cannot be changed (Bem, 1993). For example, they argued that since women are higher on nurturance, it is inevitable that they quit work to take care of children. Past research revealed that men who are high in sexism tend to hold essentialist explanations when they read that gender inequalities were diminishing. Therefore, researchers argued that acquiring essentialist explanations for gender differences might be related to the motivation to protect status quo (Brescoll, Uhlmann, & Newman, 2013).

One of the findings in Study 1 that led to Study 2 was that male and female participants in both Norwegian and Turkish samples conflicted with each other on income differences between women and men. Female participants argued that women still suffer from gender pay-gap; while male participants argued gender pay-gap is a

consequence of personal choices rather than gender discrimination. Stephens and Levine (2011) indicated that when people see women leaving the workforce as their choice, they fail to acknowledge gender discrimination and barriers for women that leads to inequality. Wage inequality between men and women continues to be problem for most countries; and according to evaluations of WEF (2018), it will take 202 years to close gender gap in economic dimension globally. Previous research indicated that men's relatively higher gender specific system justifying attitudes than women (Jost, Burgess, & Moss, 2001; Sönmez & Adiller, 2015) might result in less awareness of gender inequality (Lips, 2013). Therefore; I decided to conduct another study to investigate Scandinavian and Turkish participants' GSSJ levels, and their estimations of gender pay-gap. Although Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Turkey closed 73%, 78%, 78,5%, and 43% of their gender gap in wage equality, relatively (WEF, 2018); female and male participants in Scandinavian and Turkish samples had different perceptions of gender pay-gap.

Male and female participants in both samples differed in their GSSJ levels with males showing higher gender specific justification. Schmitt et al. (2003) argued that system justifying myths protect the status and power of the privileged group, while equality means a decrease in their power; therefore they provide a positive group identity by suggesting that their high power is deserved. On the other hand, equality represents higher status and power for disadvantaged group; therefore it provides a positive group identity for them. Thus, Schmitt et al. (2003) suggested that it is not surprising that privileged groups favor inequality more than disadvantaged groups. The researchers found out that men, compared to women, had more positive attitudes toward inequality that favors men (Schmitt et al., 2003). Brandt (2011) revealed that across 57 countries, men had more sexist attitudes compared to women in 56 of them. Therefore, males having higher GSSJ levels than females in both samples is consistent with past research.

Scandinavian participants were found to be more accurate in their estimations of gender pay-gap; and reported higher levels of GSSJ compared to Turkish participants. It was also revealed that male and female participants in Turkey differed in their estimations of wage inequality; and male participants had more accurate estimations, while female participants overestimated it. On the other hand, such effect was not found for Scandinavian sample. Previous research indicated that people who anticipate injustice were more likely to perceive discrimination than people who do

not anticipate it as much (Shapiro & Kirkman, 2001). Moreover, Adams (1965) argued that when people feel under-rewarded, they were more likely to experience distress which results in perceiving more discrimination. Similarly, Khoreva (2012) argued that people might perceive more economic disparity if they feel less pay fairness. Given that gender inequality is more salient in Turkey than Scandinavian countries (WEF, 2018), Turkish participants, especially females, might have perceived less fairness and trust towards society which resulted in perceiving more gender gap in wages. In addition, it was found that participants with higher GSSJ scores more accurately estimated gender pay-gap than those with lower GSSJ scores. One of the possible explanations for this result is that when people perceive their subordinated position in the society as being illegitimate, they were more likely to perceive discrimination more strongly; had less trust in the distribution of funds, and feel more insecure towards the social structure (Turner & Brown, 1978; Hornsey et al., 2003).

10.2. Scientific Contributions

There are limited number of studies that compared people's perception and experiences of gender inequality in Scandinavian and Turkish contexts; and this study contributes to the literature with its cross-cultural nature. There are also very few studies that investigated people's perception of gender pay-gap in different cultures; and how GSSJ mediates the effect of sex and culture on the estimations of gender pay-gap. Therefore, this study provides new knowledge about the effect of culture and sex on the misperception of wage inequality between men and women; and its relation with GSSJ.

Another contribution of this study is that it provides information both qualitatively and quantitatively which gives more in-depth understanding of cultural differences (Karasz & Singelis 2009; Schrauf, 2017). Moreover, Gimpelson and Treisman (2018) argued that perceived economic inequality is important since it predicts voting behaviors, interclass conflicts, and support for economic redistribution. Thus, as Mårtensson et al. (2019) argued misperception of income differences between men and women might lead people to support policies that they would not support otherwise; and it is important to decrease the incongruity between the reality and perception of people.

10.3. Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the contributions to the literature, this study is not without limitations.

Firstly, qualitative focus group discussions was used in Study 1; and one of the disadvantages of focus groups is that it is susceptible to bias since discussions might be led by dominant participants in the group or by the moderator (Kitzinger, 1994; Kitzinger, 1995). Moreover, in some cases the data can be “messy”; because group discussions are hard to control, and participants might discuss irrelevant topics (Wong, 2008, p. 260). In addition, focus groups are hard to be arranged; and sometimes people might not show up on the date of discussion; therefore researcher might fail to recruit enough participants (Morgan, 1996). This was also the reason why there were less Norwegian focus groups and less Norwegian participants compared to Turkish sample in Study 1.

When it comes to Study 2, one of the limitations is that self-report data was used. Although Schwarz (1999) indicated that self-report measurement was one of the most preferred methods in social sciences, Moskowitz (1986) argued that self-report measurement might lead many problems regarding response biases. For instance, participants might answer in such a way that they would appear as socially desirable (Paulhus, 1991); or they might agree with the statements regardless of what the question is asking, and they might respond with extreme answers (Paulhus & Vezire, 2007). In addition, this study had correlational design which does not inform us about the causality between the variables; and it might create problems such as third variables and the direction of causality (Field, 2009).

Gender pay-gap calculations have often been controversial because of several factors. For instance, “pay” can be described in multiple ways; or each calculation depends on different subpopulation of employees. Moreover, even if same pay definition and same subpopulation were used, the choice of the researcher on how to measure gender pay-gap might lead sizeable differences (ILO, 2018). In addition, national statistics do not include people who work informally or uninsured; thus, magnitude of gender pay-gap might not be captured in these statistics (ILO, 2018). Therefore, national statistics that were used as reference to calculate participants’ inaccuracy levels might not be reliable.

The other limitation of this study is the structure of the sample. Even though participants from both samples were recruited from different cities; education level of the participants were generally higher and they were young adults. Haslam and McGarty (2014) indicated that the sample should be representative in order to generalize it to the population. Therefore, this situation might rise some restriction

regarding generalizability of the study.

Lastly, future research should include more variables when examining people's estimations of gender pay-gap and their GSSJ levels. As Beyer (2018) argued modern sexism might lead underestimating the gender pay-gap; and therefore can be investigated in future studies. Similarly, participants' attitudes towards women and their social dominance levels might be investigated as in Douglas and Sutton (2014)'s study since these measurement can also contribute to examine people's estimations of pay-gap. Furthermore, power distance and uncertainty levels of participants might also be included in order to investigate their effects on GSSJ levels and perception of gender pay-gap in different cultural settings. Additionally, future research should also take ethnicities, class differences, sexual identities and orientations into consideration. Because gender is not the only category that creates inequality; and people are belonged to many groups which creates several categorizations (Reynolds, Turner, Haslam, & Ryan, 2001). People consider themselves as advantaged or disadvantaged based on their categorization of the social environment (Schmitt et al., 2003). Thus, a heterosexual woman might feel more privileged compared to a homosexual woman in Turkish context; or a man with low SES might feel more disadvantaged compared to a woman with high SES. Therefore, it is important to investigate people's perception of economic disparity with regard to their other characteristics.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Informed Consent Form in Study 1

Yasar University, Izmir

Department of Psychology (2018-2019)

PLEASE READ THIS DOCUMENT CAREFULLY. YOUR SIGNATURE IS REQUIRED FOR PARTICIPATION. IF YOU DESIRE A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM, YOU MAY REQUEST ONE AND I WILL PROVIDE IT.

This is a focus-group interview session study in which discussions about gender issues are being evaluated. During the interview, discussions will be audio-recorded, and I will take notes. This session will take approximately 1,5 hours and you will have an opportunity to contribute to psychological research by participating in this research. If you decide now or at any point to withdraw this consent or stop participating, you are free to do so at no penalty to yourself. There will be no consequences for you if you decide to withdraw. You will be assigned a code number which will protect your identity. All data will be kept in secured files, in accord with the standards of the University, Federal regulations, and the American Psychological Association. All identifying information will be removed from as soon as your participation is complete. No one will be able to know which ones are your responses.

In all likelihood, the results will be fully available around 30 June 2019. Preliminary results will be available earlier. If you wish to be told the results of this research, please contact:

Nilay Isbilir: nilay.isbilir@gmailcom Phone: +905363705044

I will direct you to where you can read a copy of the results. In addition, since this would be my master's thesis, the results from this study will be published which would be available in many libraries. In such a publication, participants would be identified in general terms as undergraduate students at a large state university.

Your signature below indicates that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Signature / Date

Appendix 2: Demographic Questionnaires in Study 1

Demographic questionnaire for Norwegian participants

Alder:

Kjønn: ☐ Mann ☐ Kvinne ☐ Annet

Universitet:

Studie program:

Antall år utdannelse (fra barneskolen):

Bosted:

Demographic questionnaire for Turkish participants

Yaşınız:

Cinsiyetiniz: ☐ Erkek ☐ Kadın ☐ Diğer

Okuduğunuz Üniversite:

Bölümünüz:

Yaşadığınız yer:

Memleketiniz:

Kaç senedir bulunduğunuz şehirde yaşıyorsunuz?:

Appendix 3: Focus Group Guide for Focus Group Discussions in Study 1

1. What comes to your mind when you hear the word “feminism”?
2. What do you personally think about feminism?
3. Whom would you describe as a “feminist”?
4. Do you consider yourself as a feminist? (Why? Why not?)
5. Can you describe to us what it means to be a woman / man living in Norway? (What do you think about being a woman/man in Norway/Turkey?)
6. Do you see any advantages/disadvantages attached to being a woman/man in Norway/Turkey?
7. Do you think gender differences are mainly based on biology or upbringing?
8. Do you think there is gender inequality in Norway/Turkey? (How so?)
9. Can you give me an example from your personal experiences of gender inequality?
10. Are there any personal experiences for gender equality?

Appendix 4: Informed Consent in Study 2

“My name is Nilay İşbilir, and I am a masters student at Yasar University, Turkey. I am inviting you to participate in a cross-cultural research study. The aim of the study is to collect information about participants' views in their work and social lives. This will take approximately 10 min. of your time.

Participation in the study is voluntary. I will not collect any personal information. All information will be kept confidential; and will only be used for scientific purposes.

There are no foreseeable serious risks involved in participating in this study. However, if you do not wish to continue, you have the right to withdraw from the study, without penalty, at any time.

If you have any questions about the study, you can contact me:

nilay.isbilir@yasar.edu.tr

I have read and I understand the provided information. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without any penalty. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

☐ Yes

☐ No

Appendix 5: Demographic Information Form in Study 2

Sex:

☐ Female ☐ Male ☐ Other

Age:

Place of residence:

Occupation:

Educational status:

☐ Elementary education

☐ High school

☐ Bachelors degree

☐ Masters degree

☐ Doctoral degree

How religious do you consider yourself?:

1 (not religious at all)  7 (very religious)

How liberal or conservative do you consider yourself?

1 (Very liberal)  7 (Very conservative)

Appendix 6: Estimation of Gender Pay-Gap

Eight occupations were given below. Please indicate how much monthly income a woman has in these professions versus a man in the same profession in your own currency.

Politicians

Women

Men

Administrative managers

Women

Men

Production and specialized services managers

Women

Men

Hospitality, retail and other services managers

Women

Men

Engineers

Women

Men

Customer services clerks

Women

Men

Bus and tramway drivers

Women

Men

Cleaners and helpers

Women

Men

Appendix 7: Gender Specific System Justification Scale

Eight sentences were given below. Please indicate how much do you agree or disagree to these statements. 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In general, relations between men and women are fair							
The division of labor in families generally operates as it should							
Gender roles need to be radically restructured *							
For women, Norway is the best country in the world to live in							
Most policies relating to gender and the sexual division of labor serve the greater good							
Everyone (male or female) has a fair shot at wealth and happiness							
Sexism in society is getting worse every year *							
Society is set up so that men and women usually get what they deserve.							

* Reverse items