Gender attitudes before and after crisis: cross-cultural comparison

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Research problem

- With spread of emancipative values the difference between gender roles becomes vaguer but is still strongly dependent upon country characteristics. This is an expected consequence of economic development. Changing gender patterns is one of the results of growing existential security and spreading self-expression values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010).

- Economic crisis influenced a lot of spheres of life including labor market. It made the jobs scarcer. Hence, this fact can have an impact upon gender attitudes.

Key question

- **Objective:** to reveal how economic and social vulnerability influences gender attitudes.

- **Individual level:** labor market status as a measure of economic and social vulnerability.

- **Country level:** unemployment rate and its change before and after crisis.

Previous research

Research area:

- Influence of gender attitudes on outcomes reflecting de *facto* gender equality in society (Campa, Fortin, Francois&Ours, Stickney&Konrad)

- Work-family conflict (Aycan, Carnicer)

- Origin of cross-cultural differences (Alesina)

- Impact of religion on gender equality (Guiso et al.)

Conceptions:

Social role theory: people adopt the attitudes which are consistent with the roles they occupy (Eagly, Karau)

Cognitive dissonance theory: when a social role does not match the attitude, the person is likely to change either the role, or the attitude (Kroska)

Allocation of energy: women are strongly affected by their household responsibilities (Becker)
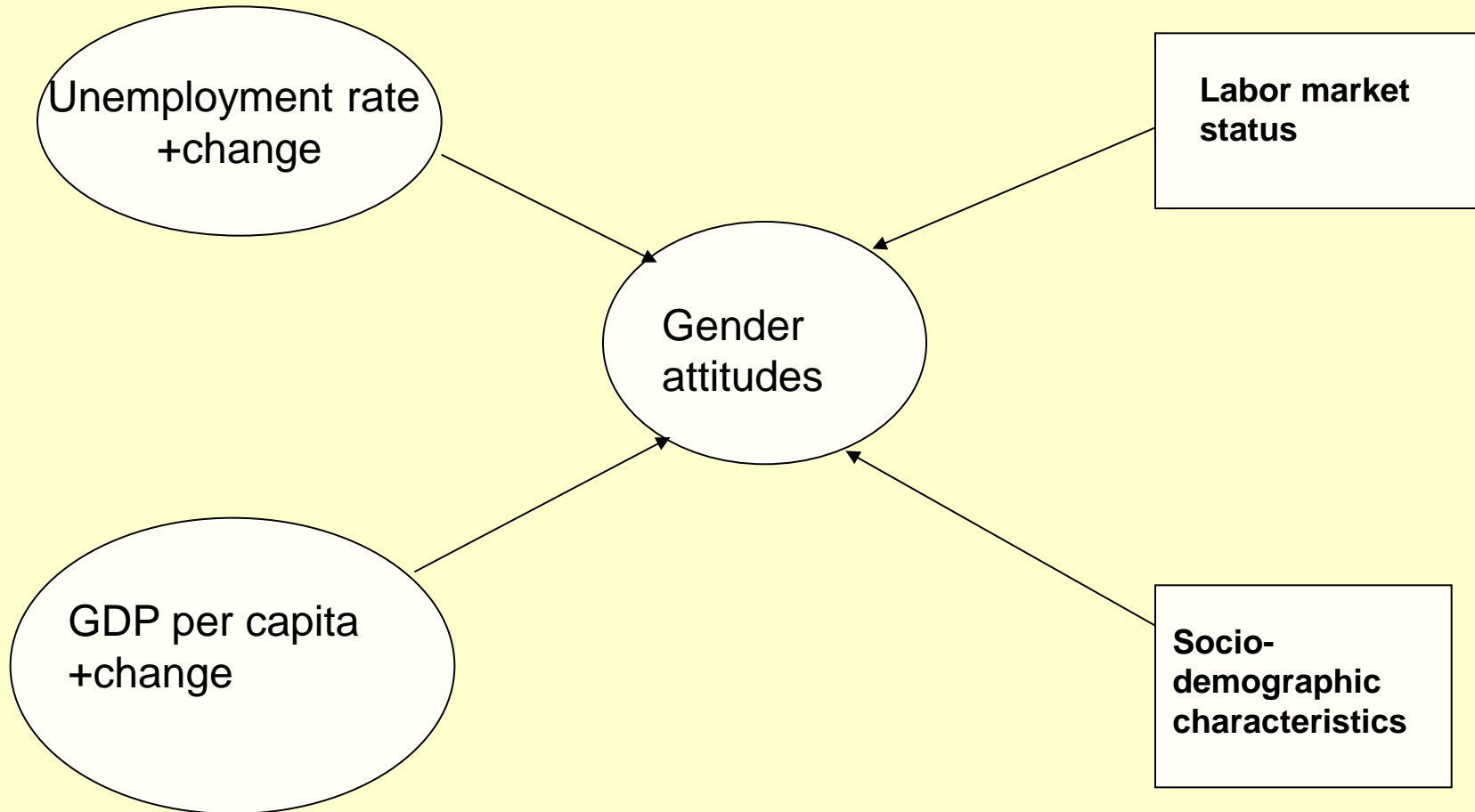
Theoretical background

- **Interest-based approach**: individuals that benefit from egalitarian work-related gender attitudes tend to share more egalitarian work-related gender attitudes. To this category refer women, work force and so on (Bolzendahl, Catherine, Myers, Daniel J., 2004, Pampel, 2011)

- **Exposure-based approach**: individuals change their ideas and attitudes when they meet the situation that discord with these ideas. In respect to gender issues it is possible to point out work-force participation, education and socialization. By socialization is meant mother's work status and mother's education (Bolzendahl, Catherine, Myers, Daniel J., 2004, Pampel, 2011)

Model

Country-level   **Individual level**

Unemployment rate +change

Labor market status

Gender attitudes

GDP per capita +change

Socio-demographic characteristics

Hypotheses

Individual level

- We expect that in transitional countries the attitudes of **women** are likely to become egalitarian while the gender attitudes of **men** more traditional. In the period of crisis women being more flexible than men may be more successful in finding employment and the actual situation usually has an impact on gender attitudes.

- The gender attitudes of **highly educated groups** are expected to develop to be more egalitarian. **Low educated** are a particularly vulnerable category that is likely to suffer in the period of crisis. They could be dissatisfied with their current situation. Hence, their values can shift to more traditional.

- The effect of crisis on the values of **unemployed** could be controversial. On one hand, some of them (especially women) could develop more traditional gender attitudes and switch their efforts from finding job in the labor market to doing their household responsibilities. On the other hand, unemployment can result in more egalitarian work-related gender attitudes because such attitudes allow different type of behavior.

Hypotheses

Country level

- We expect that **high unemployment rate** should lead to more egalitarian work-related gender attitudes because in such countries labor market strategies could be more flexible. Hence, the situation of women being the main breadwinner could be considered normal.

- The countries, which have been more influenced by crisis, should demonstrate the shift for traditional work-related gender attitudes (at least for the most vulnerable groups).

- Women and unemployed should demonstrate more egalitarian work-related gender attitudes in the countries with a higher unemployment rate. Women could try to enter the labor market when it would be easier for them than for their husbands. Unemployed may tend to regard their position as normal because it could be quite typical and therefore accept manifold labor market strategies.

Data base

- World values survey 2005-2008 (the 5th wave)

- World values survey 2010-2012 (the 6th wave)

- 22 countries

- Sample: 18 – 65 years old

Countries

- Australia
- Chile
- Colombia
- Ghana
- India
- Japan
- Malaysia
- Mexico
- Morocco
- Netherlands
- Peru
- Poland

- Romania
- Russia
- Slovenia
- South Korea
- Spain
- Sweden
- Trinidad and Tobago
- Turkey
- Ukraine
- United States
- Uruguay

Multilevel regression: model specification

Dependent variable:

index of gender attitudes (the same weight of three categories). Ranges from 0 to 10.

Index of gender attitudes

- A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl

- On the whole, men make better business executives than women

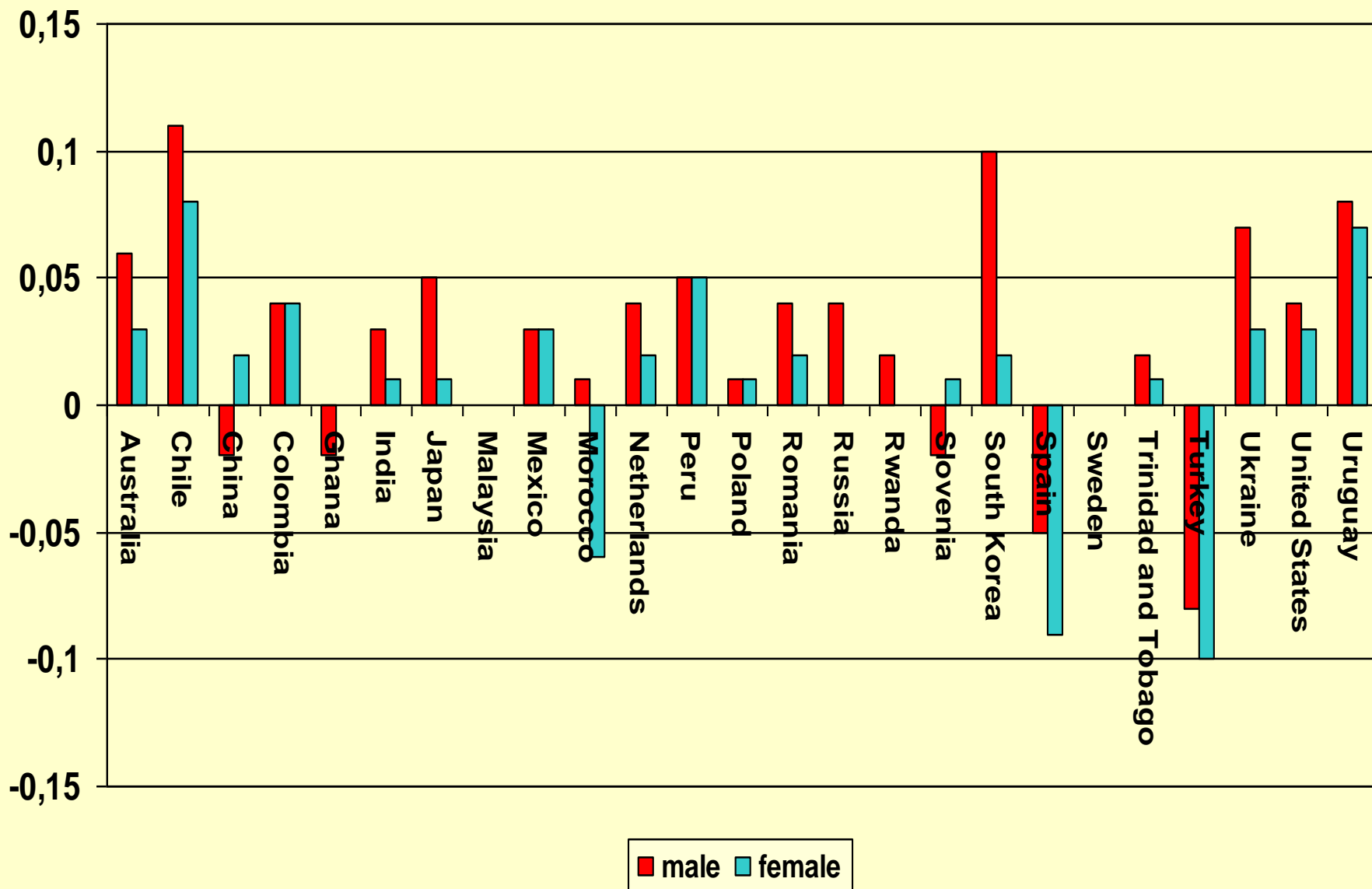- On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do

Index of gender attitudes: comparison of wave 5 and wave 6
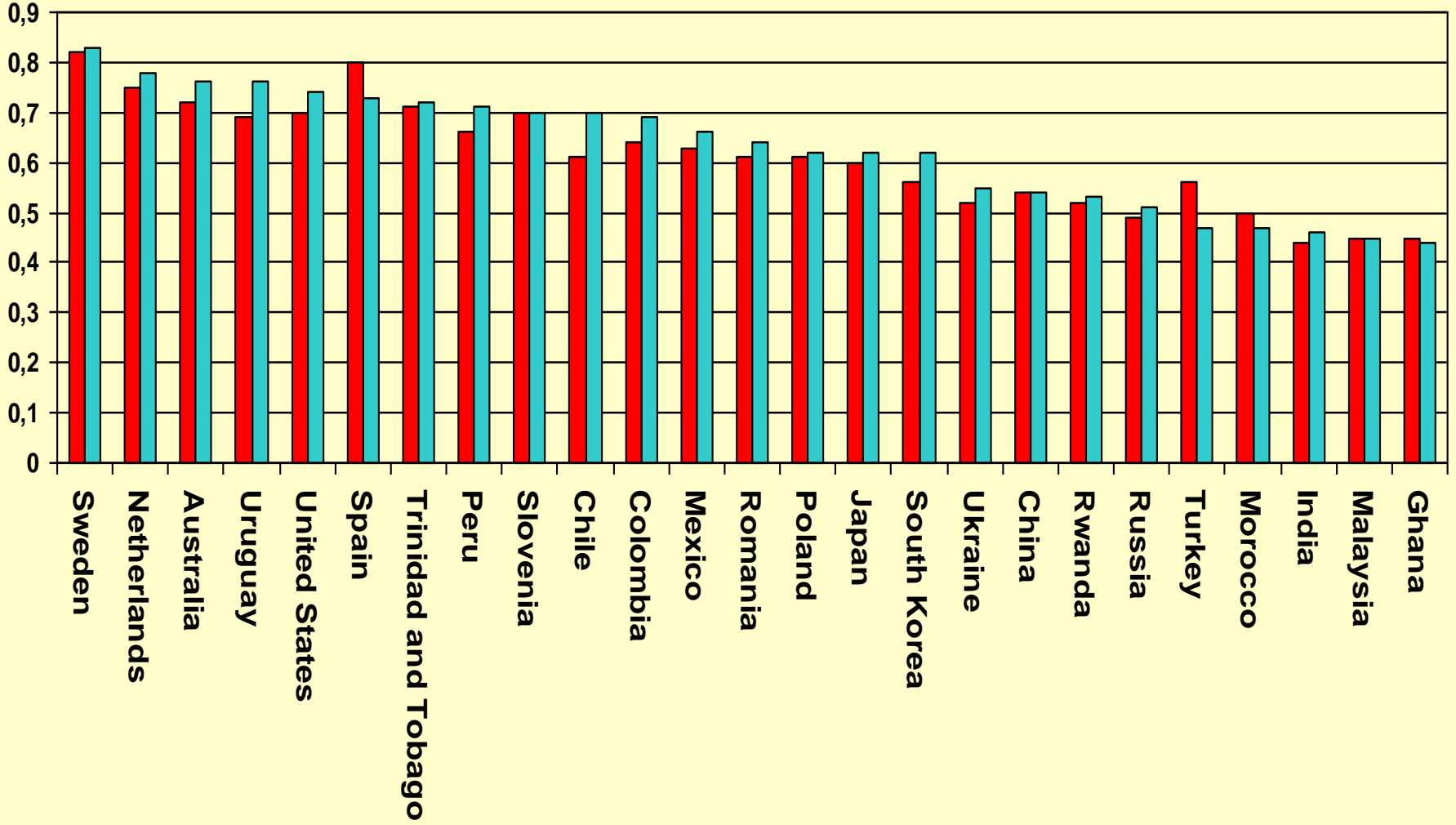
The change in index of gender attitudes from the 5th wave to the 6th wave of WVS
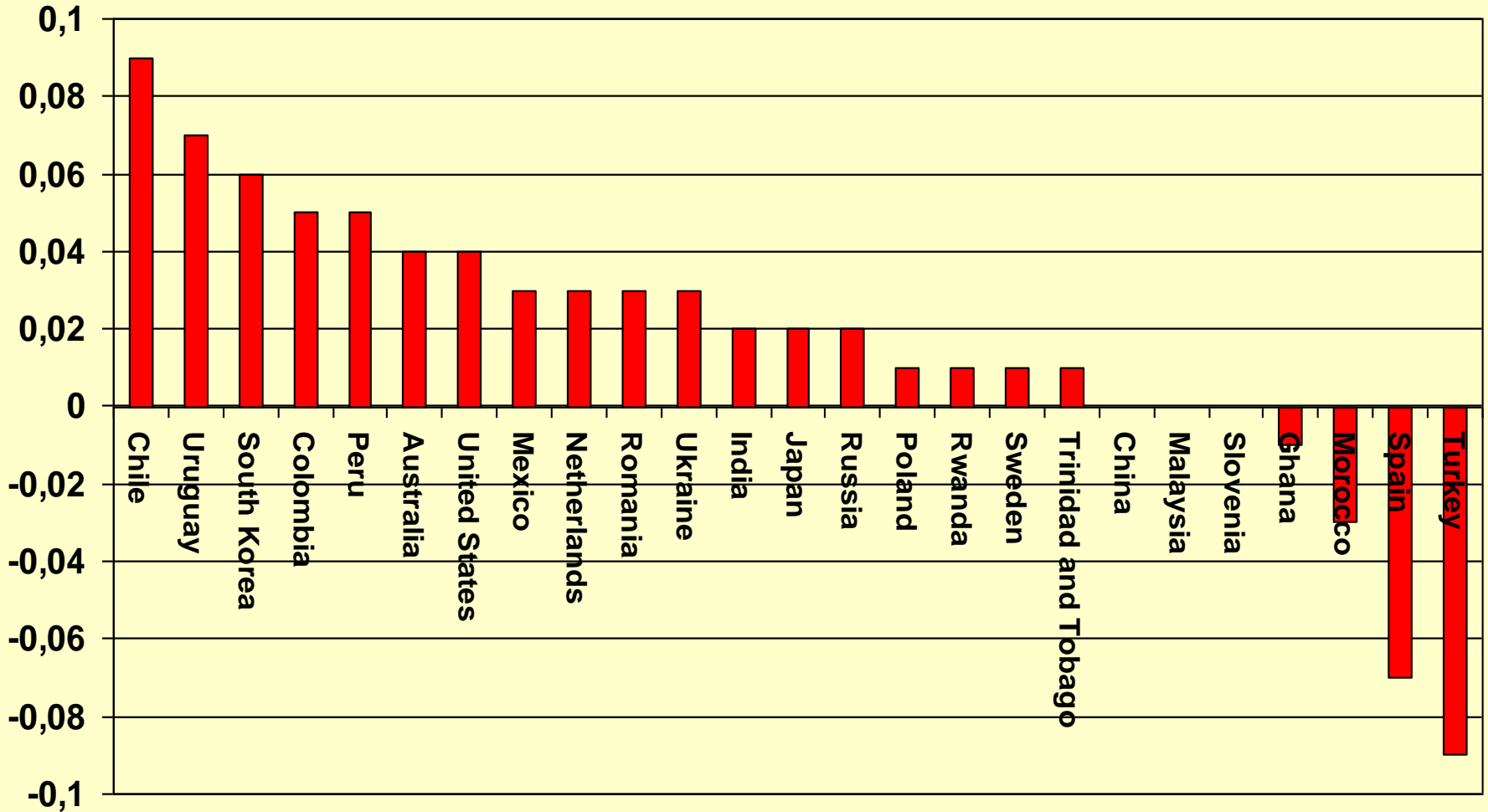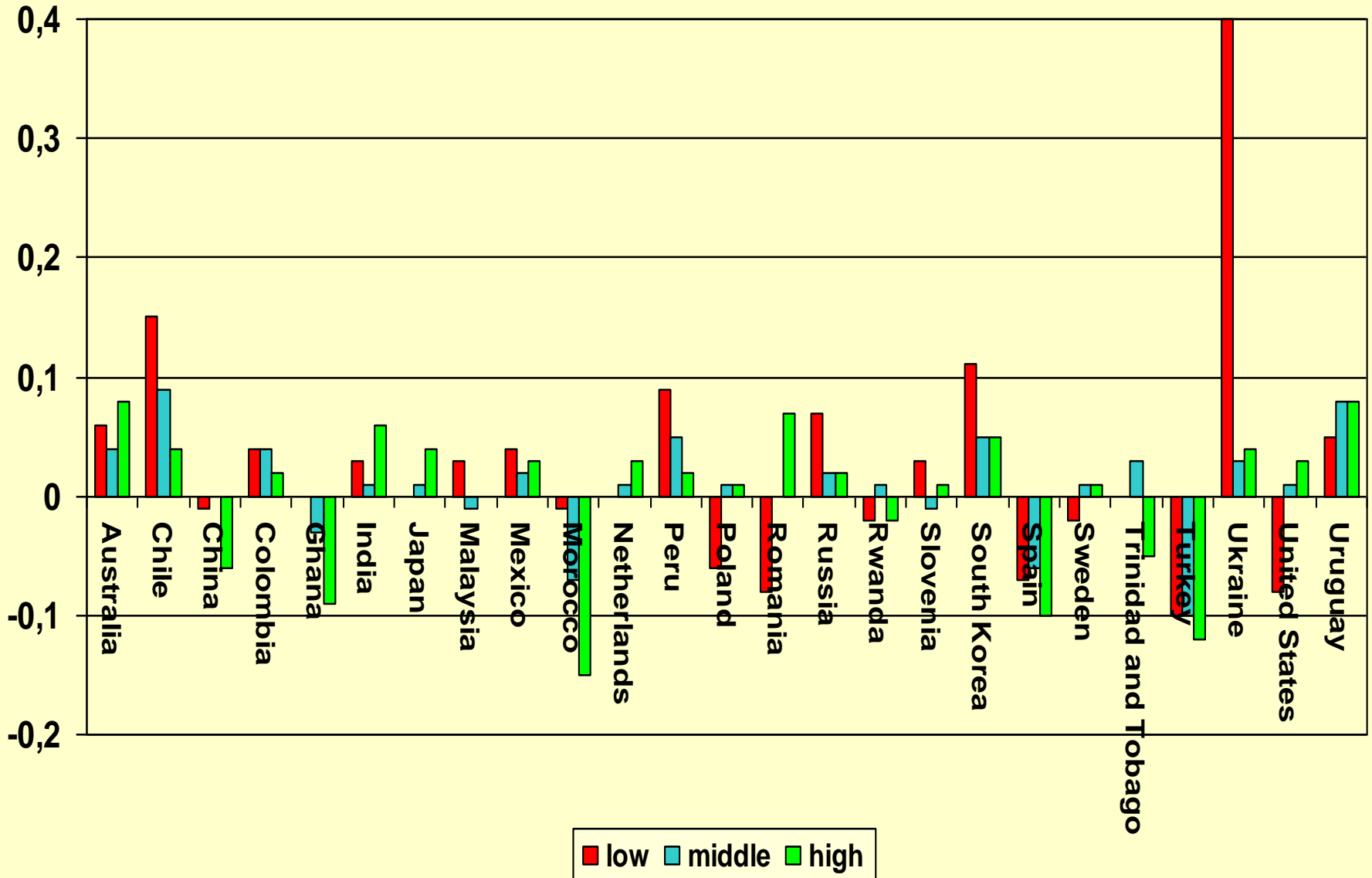
The change in male and female gender attitudes from the 5th wave to the 6th wave of WVS

The change in gender attitudes of three educational groups from the 5th wave to the 6th wave of WVS

low ■ middle ■ high

The change in gender attitudes of employed and unemployed from the 5th wave to the 6th wave of WVS

employed unemployed

Multilevel regression: independent variables

Individual level:

- Being unemployed (0 – employed, 1 – unemployed)
- Dummies for 3 **educational groups**: baseline - low secondary or below; technical / vocational type, university preparatory type, university level (without degree), university level (with degree)
- Household income (10-point scale)
- Sex (0 – male, 1 – female)
- Age, age squared
- Marital status (0 – not married, 1 – married)
- Degree of religiosity (10-point scale)
- Interaction effect: married*female

Multilevel regression: independent variables

Country level

- Unemployment rate (2005 and 2010)
- Change in unemployment rate (from 2005 to 2010)
- GDP (2005 and 2010)
- Change in GDP (from 2005 to 2010)

Interaction effects

- Being unemployed*unemployment rate
- Being unemployed*GDP

Results of multilevel regression analysis

	Wave 5 (before crisis)		Wave 6 (after crisis)	
	Estimate	**T value**	**Estimate**	**T value**
(Intercept)	**2.716**	**5.291**	**3.818**	**6.484**
Married	0.08051	1.604	**0.1376**	**2.784**
Religiosity	**-0.02715**	**-3.861**	**-0.04046**	**-6.085**
Unemployed	**-0.3697**	**-2.040**	**-0.4986**	**-4.185**
Income	**0.03719**	**4.364**	-0.006347	-0.732
Female	**1.381**	**24.611**	**1.153**	**20.640**
Age	**0.03250**	**3.243**	**0.03174**	**3.296**
Age squared	**- 0.0004837**	**-3.937**	**-0.0004145**	**-3.570**
Education middle	**0.4645**	**9.264**	**0.3644**	**7.119**
Education high	**0.7784**	**13.056**	**0.7602**	**13.039**
GDP per capita	**0.00004591**	**2.979**	**0.00003836**	**2.128**
GDP per capita change	0.00002188	0.395	0.00001177	0.151
Unemployment rate	**0.1647**	**3.435**	0.08778	1.565
Unemployment rate change	0.07209	1.411	-0.09665	-1.459
Married: female	**-0.3726**	**-5.271**	**-0.3090**	**-4.467**
Unemployed: unemployment rate	0.01903	1.106	**0.0327**	**2.633**
Unemployed: GDP	**0.00002257**	**4.264**	0.000005527	1.543

Model fit

Model 1

AIC = 64097

ICC = 0.098

logLik = - 32029

Number of obs. = 15006

Groups = 22

Model 2

AIC = 74028

ICC = 0.123

logLik = - 36995

Number of obs. = 17067

Groups = 22

Main findings

- **The hypothesis of polarization of male and female gender attitudes was not confirmed.**

  In most countries the attitudes are becoming more egalitarian and in men's attitudes the shift is more evident. It could be partly explained by the fact that during the crisis men sometimes have to accept that woman has a job or is a main breadwinner because this is an only possible way around.

- **The hypothesis of the growing difference between the gender attitudes of low and high educated groups was not confirmed.**

  Gender attitudes of low educated in most of the countries are becoming more egalitarian (with the exception of Poland, Romania, US, Turkey and Spain). Gender attitudes of high educated tend to become more egalitarian but in general this shift is less evident than in case of low educated groups.

- **The crisis had a controversial impact upon gender attitudes of unemployed.**

  At the same time in most of the countries they are either becoming more traditional or the shift to being more egalitarian is less than in case of employed.

Main findings

- **Our hypothesis that high unemployment rate should lead to more egalitarian work-related gender attitudes turned out to be true for the situation before crisis.**

  In countries with high unemployment rate labor market strategies could be more flexible. Hence, the situation of women being the main breadwinner is more likely to be considered normal.

- **The hypothesis about the effect of change in GDP per capita and unemployment rate on gender attitudes was not confirmed.**

  It is possible that gender attitudes to a large extent are dependent upon the current level of GDP and unemployment rate. GDP was significant in both models whereas unemployment rate was significant only in the first model (gender attitudes before crisis).

- **Our assumption about more egalitarian gender attitudes of women and unemployed in the countries with a higher unemployment rate was partly confirmed.**

  No effect was found for women and the effect for unemployed was found only in the second model (after crisis). In that model unemployment rate itself was insignificant whereas unemployed in countries with a higher unemployment rate express more egalitarian gender attitudes.

Thank you for your attention!