

ВЫСШАЯ ШКОЛА  
ЭКОНОМИКИ  
НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ  
ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ  
УНИВЕРСИТЕТ

ПРИ УЧАСТИИ  
ВСЕМИРНОГО БАНКА  
И МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО  
ВАЛЮТНОГО ФОНДА

**XV**

**АПРЕЛЬСКАЯ  
МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ  
НАУЧНАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ**  
по проблемам развития  
экономики и общества

4



ВЫСШАЯ ШКОЛА ЭКОНОМИКИ  
НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ  
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# **XV АПРЕЛЬСКАЯ МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ НАУЧНАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ ПО ПРОБЛЕМАМ РАЗВИТИЯ ЭКОНОМИКИ И ОБЩЕСТВА**

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The paper deals with the impact of the economic crisis of 2008–2009 upon gender attitudes of the population of Europe. Crisis touched the economy of most European countries though to a different extent. It influenced objective living conditions of people including the situation in the labor market. The changing economic situation in its turn should affect gender attitudes. In the research we take into account the impact of crisis on both individual and country level. Special focus in the research is given to the impact of gender attitudes of women and those who live in single household with children as these two categories form vulnerable groups. The data of Eurobarometer 2011 serves as a database. The targeted group of population is 18–65. Multilevel regression modeling is used.

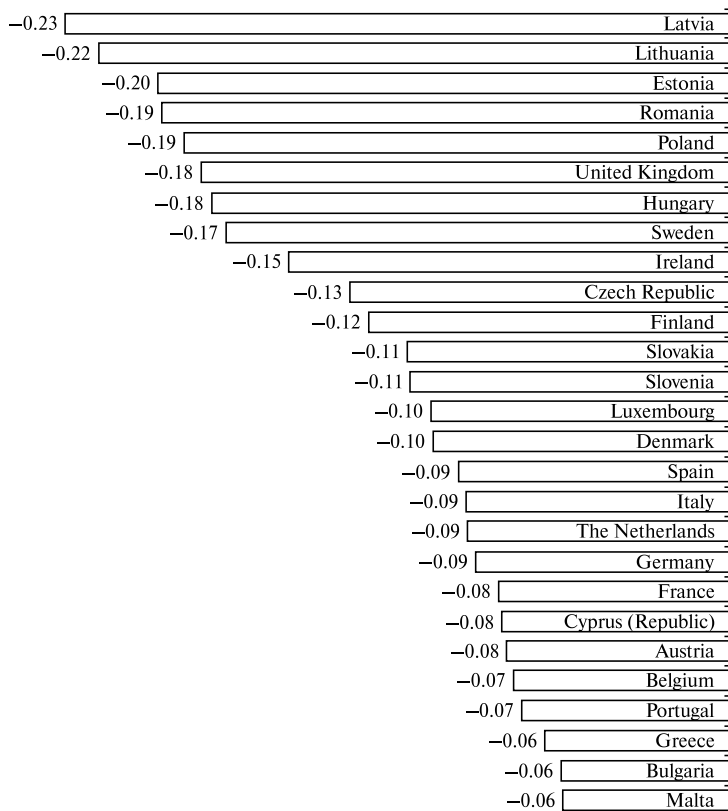
**Introduction.** Values are to a large extent dependent upon the living conditions. The change in the objective conditions of living in its turn to the change of attitudes. Gender attitudes reflect the relation to the position of women in the labor market and society in general. The objective of the paper is to reveal the impact of economic crisis upon gender attitudes of different groups of population of European countries. Special focus in the research is given to the impact of gender attitudes of the vulnerable groups. To these groups refer women and those who live in single household with children. We regard the impact of crisis on both individual and country level.

According to the OECD report, gender equality fosters economic growth in education and labor market [OECD, 2012]. Gender attitudes are formed in a large extent by a current economic situation. According to the modernization theory of R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, the major economic and political crises and collapses of social systems lead to more traditional values and attitudes. Although the economic crisis of 2008–2009 was not such a huge shock as the collapse of communist regimes, it also had a negative effect on life of many people.

**Impact of crisis.** Crisis has touched most of the European countries but to the different extent. The measure of crisis is the change in GDP per capita between 2008 and 2009. We have chosen this dates because the main fall of GDP was in 2009 and in 2008 most of the European economies still experienced GDP growth. However, in most of the countries this was a short-term decrease and in 2010 the situation was close to the one before crisis.

Economic crisis had a various impact upon different categories of employed. Seguino demonstrated these differences by comparing developing and developed countries [Seguino, 2009]. Karamessini and Rubery (2014) revealed a number of common

tendencies of impact of crisis upon female employment in Europe and US including the growth of female labor force participation rate (as some women became sole breadwinners) and the narrowing gender inequality in employment and by employment type (part-time and temporary jobs) [Karamessini, Rubery, 2014, p. 346].



**Fig. 1. Reduction of GDP per capita between 2008 and 2009 (in %)**

Source: World bank indicators: <<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>>.

Bettio, Verashchagina focused on explanation of the women’s behavior in the labor market during the period of crisis. “Added” workers enter the labor market when the head of the household lose their jobs. According to segmentation hypothesis, women more likely are employed in secondary jobs, and hence are more likely to suffer during the crisis. According to gender segregation hypothesis, female occupations tend to be more traditional and are likely to be less affected by crisis [Bettio, Verashchagina, 2014, p. 58–59].

**Theoretical conceptions.** There is a lot of research on both the structure of gender attitudes and on its change over time [Alesina, Giulino, 2010; Braun, Gloeckner-Rist, 2011; Bolzendahl, Myers, 2004; Cunningham, 2008; Guiso, 2003; Guveli, Need, de Graaf, 2007; Pampel, 2011; Voicu, Tufis, 2012]. Also above we briefly described the research on the impact of crisis on labor market outcomes in gender perspective [Women and austerity, 2013; Seguino, 2009]. However, there is no research about the impact of the crisis upon gender attitudes. As J. Rubery indicates, crisis should touch not only the objective position of men and women in the family and labor market but also their attitudes to gender equality [Rubery, 2014, p. 20].

In research of gender attitudes interest-based and exposure-based perspectives of analysis are distinguished. According to the *interest-based approach*, more egalitarian work-related gender attitudes possess those who benefit more from them. From this perspective, some categories of society (for instance, males, highly educated and highly paid jobs) gain more from being employed. In line with *exposure-based approach*, the ideas and attitudes of individuals change when they find themselves in the situation that somehow contradicts their ideas. In respect to gender issues it is possible to distinguish labor market participation, education and mother's work status and mother's education [Bolzendahl, Catherine, Myers, Daniel, 2004; Pampel, 2011]. In accordance with this approach, the gender attitudes of a person are formed in social groups (family, education, job). If a person enters a different environment (for example, as a result of crisis), he is likely to change the attitudes.

The conception by West and Zimmerman "Doing gender" represents a different framework. The authors emphasize that many differences between genders are not biological but socially constructed. After they are constructed they sustain and strengthen biological differences. Hence, when gender identity is somehow threatened a person is likely to stress it and shift to even more traditional gender identity [West, Zimmerman, 1987].

M. Voicu and A. Constantin demonstrated that "doing gender" conception can explain gender attitudes in the situation of unemployment. When crisis of identity happens, individuals and couples tend to emphasize their traditional gender roles. They proved that female employment does not always foster egalitarian gender attitudes and that partner's employment status also matters. Besides, the income inequality in the country (GINI) also affects gender attitudes [Voicu, Constantin, 2013].

We can suggest that the effect of crisis could be the same as the effect of unemployment. In case of crisis there is usually an involuntary shift in behavior and hence the individuals may tend to emphasize their traditional gender roles. In this respect it is likely that those who have suffered more as a result of crisis are likely to become more traditionally oriented. The gender identity of women and of those who living in single households with children is likely to be shaken if they have suffered during the period of crisis. Hence, according to the "doing gender" conception they will stress their gender identity. Hence, our first two hypotheses are as follows:

- Although in general the gender attitudes of women are more egalitarian, in countries that were more affected by crisis they are likely to differ less from men's gender attitudes.

- Gender attitudes of those who live in single-parent households with children are likely to be more egalitarian compared to other type of families. However, in countries that were more influence by crisis they are likely to be less egalitarian.

R. Inglehart and C. Welzel looked at the impact of economic and political collapses upon the value change. The major economic and political crises, collapses of political regimes and social systems lead to the shift from self-expression to survival values and to decrease of subjective well-being. Such events make life insecure and unpredictable. Therefore, in eastern ex-communist countries survival values are more spread than in low-income countries [Inglehart, Welzel, 2005, p. 111]. However, for instance, it was shown that in Russia subjective well-being increased to 2011 but it still was lower than in 1981 [Inglehart, Foa, Ponarin, Welzel, 2013]. Survival values are associated with low support of gender equality, whereas self-expression values assume high support of gender equality. Gender attitudes are quite polarized among different countries and social groups [Inglehart, Welzel, p. 54]. Following the logic above, our last hypothesis is as follows.

- Those individuals who have been more affected by crisis on both individual and country level should have more traditional gender attitudes.

**Data and measures.** Eurobarometer 2011 serves as a database. The following 27 countries are included into analysis: Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland, Sweden and United Kingdom.

In the current research we are primarily interested in economically active population because they are more likely either to loose a job or begin to work as a necessity during the crisis. We limited our sample by age including those who are 18–65 years old. Multilevel regression model with maximum likelihood estimation serves as the main research method.

The main **dependent variable** is the index of gender attitudes. This index consists of three indicators: women are less interested than men in positions of responsibility, women are less willing than men to fight to make a career for themselves, women do not always have the necessary qualities and skills to fill positions of responsibility. The indicators were standardized from 0 to 1, summed up and then the index was divided by 3. In the multilevel regression model all these figures were multiplied by 10 in order to get a normal output. These 3 items form in exploratory factor analysis a single factor.

The main **independent variables on individual level** are the following. The indicator of effect of crisis on individual level was measured by a statement: “You have lost your

job/your partner (husband or wife, partner, etc.) has lost his/her job. The baseline are the respondents to which this has not happened at all. Two dummy variables include those who or whose partner has lost the job as a result of a consequence of crisis or not.

For gender female is a dummy variable. Also we include into analysis family structure. We distinguish four types of the households: multiple household without children (baseline), single household without children, single household with children and multiple household with children. Single household with children is likely to be the most vulnerable category. By the level of education respondents were divided into two groups. Those who have finished their education after being 20-year old or are still studying refer to high- or middle-educated. Low-educated are those who finished education before 20 years old or have not received full-time education. Furthermore, we distinguished three categories by their labor market status: high qualified (baseline), low or middle qualified or not working. Also we use as a control variable a subjective assessment of level in society as a proxy for the material well-being (income). Finally, we controlled also for the age group: 18–24 year old (baseline), 25–39, 40–54 and 55–65.

On **macro-level** we use  $\ln\text{GDP}_{2011}$  to estimate the level of economic development and modernization. Also we test the impact of unemployment rate. To test the impact of crisis on country level we use the drop of GDP ( $(\text{GDP}_{2009} - \text{GDP}_{2008}) / \text{GDP}_{2008}$ ).

**Results.** In the last part of the paper we present the main results of the analysis. First, we ran a zero model where index of gender attitudes serves a dependent variable. The intercept in this model equals 6.866\*\*\*, ICC is 0.096<sup>1</sup>.

In the next three models we included  $\ln\text{GDP}$  in 2011 and change in GDP between 2008 and 2009. We can see from all four models that in countries with higher GDP gender attitudes in public sphere are more egalitarian. However, the effect of GDP is not very strong. It could be probably due to the fact the discrepancy in GDP per capita in European economies is not very salient. At the same time GDP change between 2008 and 2009 does not affect gender attitudes (model 1).

When we turn to the effect of crisis on individual level, the situation is quite different. People who or whose partners have lost their jobs have more traditional gender attitudes. The effect is especially strong for those who claim to have lost the job not as a result of crisis.

As to the control variables the main predictors of gender attitudes are gender, age and low level of education. Women have more egalitarian gender attitudes, whereas those who finished education before 20 or no full-time and are 55–65 years old have more traditional gender attitudes. It was a bit surprising that those who not work or are low or middle qualified does not have any impact upon gender attitudes in post-crisis period.

---

<sup>1</sup> AIC = 75196, log likelihood = -44540, N (individuals) = 19729, N (countries) = 27.

**Table 1.** Multilevel regression models: dependent variable – index of gender attitudes (unstandardized regression coefficients). Macro level – GDP per capita

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	2.067	1.855	2.122
<b>Individual level</b>			
Yes, as a direct consequence of the crisis	−0.119*	−0.122*	−0.119*
Yes but not as a direct consequence of the crisis	−0.541***	−0.546***	−0.543***
Finished education before 20 or no full-time education	−0.185***	−0.192***	−0.185***
low or middle qualified	−0.057	−0.061	−0.057
not working	−0.086	−0.091	−0.085
Level in society	−0.015	−0.015	−0.016
Single Household without children	0.062	0.063	0.230
Single Household with children	0.148	0.160*	0.514**
Multiple Household with children	0.012	0.014	−0.188
Female	0.754***	1.185***	0.755***
25–39 years old	−0.081	−0.080	−0.088
40–54 years old	−0.078	−0.074	−0.074
55–65 years old	−0.282***	−0.275***	−0.277***
<b>Country level</b>			
Ln GDP 2011	0.492*	0.489*	0.489*
GDP change	1.669	−0.207	1.842
<b>Interactions</b>			
Female*GDPchange		3.427***	
Single Household without children*GDPchange			1.304
Single Household with children*GDPchange			2.806*
Multiple Household with children*GDPchange			−1.618
Finished education before 20 or no full-time education*GDPchange			
<b>Model fit</b>			
AIC	75 200	75 177	75 180
Log likelihood	−37 582	−37 569	−37 569
ICC	0.079	0.079	0.079
N (individuals)	16 799	16 799	16 799
N (countries)	27	27	27



Models 2 and 3 allow us to estimate the interaction effect between the impact of crisis on country level (GDP change) and micro variables. In model 2 we can see that women in the countries where GDP per capita dropped more as a result of crisis have more traditional gender attitudes. Model 3 shows that in countries more touched by crisis those who live in single households with children also have more traditional gender attitudes than those who live in multiple households without children.

**Conclusion.** Our hypothesis of the impact of economic crisis on gender attitudes was partly confirmed. On the individual level, crisis has a very strong impact upon gender attitudes. Those who or whose partner has lost the job emphasize more traditional gender attitudes. This tendency is independent from gender, education, low or high qualified job or the general impact of crisis in the country. This result means that individuals usually evaluate the situation from the perspective of their family and micro-environment than on the country level. On country level the impact of crisis does not influence gender attitudes in general.

Our hypotheses about the impact of economic crisis on women and those who live in single households with children were confirmed. In the countries where GDP per capita dropped more or unemployment rate increased more as a result of crisis gender attitudes of women are more traditional. Although a lot of women entered the labor market during the crisis, their employment is often involuntary and this makes emphasize their female identity. The gender attitudes of those who live in single households with children in general are more egalitarian. In countries where GDP per capita decreased and unemployment rate increased more as a result of crisis their attitudes are more traditional.

To sum up, we can conclude that values and attitudes are closely connected with economic development [Inglehart, Welzel, 2005]. Changes in economic condition in the previous years are related with attitudes towards gender roles. Traditional gender attitudes could be regarded as an indicator of less willingness and capacity of more vulnerable groups to involve in labor market activities. This increasing vulnerability, in its turn, can to some extent hinder economic growth.

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