

Katarzyna Juszczak-Frelkiewicz
Johann Bacher Johannes
Martina Beham-Rabanser
Petra Aigner
Emilia Paprzycka
Edyta Mianowska

Edukacja Międzykulturowa
2022, nr 4 (19) ISSN 2299-4106
DOI: 10.15804/em.2022.04.16



Gender revolution in Austria and Poland? Changes in egalitarian attitudes and behaviour in the perspective of the theoretical insights by Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård

Abstract: The paper presents an empirical test of the theory of gender revolution by Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård in Poland and Austria. The two countries were chosen because they both are examples of conservative welfare states and intend to enlarge the involvement of men in childcare. The authors conducted a trend analysis to investigate the specific stage of gender revolution the two countries can presently be situated in. The statistical analysis was based on the data from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) at three different points in time: 1994, 2002 and 2012. The analyses revealed that the level of egalitarian attitudes in Austria is more prominent than in Poland. In both countries, women tend to be more egalitarian than men. The growth of egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles is increasing over time, but only in Poland. However, in Austria an increase in egalitarianism in domestic and care work can be observed over time.

Keywords: gender revolution, Poland, Austria, sharing duties, International Social Survey Program

Introduction

In their paper, Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård (2015) claim that the second demographic transition (SDT) was replaced by a gender revolution, which describes the gender revolution in two phases. In the first phase, females (especially well-educated ones) increased their participation in the

labour market, but they still remained responsible for domestic and care work. In the second phase, the pooling of resources instead of specialization is regarded as an advantage. At present, males as well as females support an egalitarian division of labour and males' participation in domestic work and care is increasing. These changes have an impact: males and females with egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles are more likely to cohabite than marry and they are more likely to raise a child or children together while having more stable partnerships.

Theories and empirical studies suggest that the pace and intensity of change associated with the gender revolution might vary in cultural, religious, political and economic contexts between countries (Goldscheider et al., 2015; DeRose et al., 2019) – but bigger differences are expected within countries (Van der Lippe et al., 2011) and over time (Kitterød and Rønsen, 2013). In the article, our aim was to analyse whether and at which point in time gender revolution had taken place in two countries, Poland and Austria, which both intend to enlarge the involvement of men in childcare. The data was used from International Social Survey Program (ISSP) for Poland and Austria to conduct a comparison between the countries and across three different periods.

Theoretical insights and their respective implications

The theory by Goldscheider et al. can be understood as a response to demographic changes occurring since 2000, which were inexplicable by concepts such as the SDT approach (Van De Kaa, 1987; Lesthaeghe, 2010). Many of the trends outlined in STD regarding marriage and family are understood as temporary and characteristic of the first part of gender revolution. Initially, little changed in male role behaviour, females took on a “second shift” of duties that followed the paid work outside home (Hochschild and Machung, 2012). Changes in gender roles remained incomplete and stalled (Sullivan et al., 2014). Initially one-sided role changes on behalf of the women co-occurred with the development of postponed marriage and family formation, rising divorce and falling birth rates.

On the theoretical basis of the gender revolution theory, the two phases have to be considered simultaneously to classify and understand current developments and changes. The emerging trend at the beginning of the 21st century towards active, engaged fatherhood (Oechsle et al., 2012) that developed parallelly with growing involvement of fathers in everyday childcare

tasks and more egalitarian attitudes (see for Austria: Höllinger, 2019; Berghammer and Schmidt, 2019), has – according to the gender revolution concept – the potential to reverse the trends towards higher birth rates and/or greater stability of family relationships. However, such an insight only applies if the gender revolution takes place in the public sphere of paid work as well as in the private sphere of the family. Changes in the role of men have been subject to many studies on fatherhood (Sullivan et al., 2014; Schoppe-Sullivan and Fagan, 2020). Yet, the conclusion that egalitarian role arrangements contribute to the strengthening of the family by ultimately increasing fertility and reducing the risk of divorce is still debated controversially, although there are some studies that support such a theoretical insight (Goldscheider et al., 2013).

Hypotheses

The model of gender revolution assumes that egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles have risen over time. Women had shared these attitudes earlier, before they were overtaken by men. With reference to such a specific characteristic of the model of gender revolution, the first hypotheses of our analysis are:

H1: Egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles have increased in both countries over time.

H2: whereby women shared these egalitarian attitudes earlier than men (H1b).

Further, a more egalitarian division of labour in domestic and care work as well as an egalitarian participation in labour force characterize the second stage of gender revolution. In addition, the model of gender revolution assumes a stronger correlation between attitudes and behaviour. Therefore, it can be expected that:

H3: The division of labour in domestic and care work as well as the participation in labour force have become more egalitarian in both countries over time.

H4: The correlation between egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles and egalitarian behaviour regarding household, care and labour force has increased in both countries over time.

Data and methods

Sample

The data are taken from the module “*Families and Changing Gender Roles*” of International Social Survey Programme (ISSP). The module was conducted in 1988, 1994, 2002 and 2012. Poland has participated since 1994, therefore our analysis concentrates on these three yearly episodes 1994, 2002 and 2012. Only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years were selected for the analysis. The lower limit of 28 years was selected in order to provide for the possibility of education in tertiary sector already being completed and so that all included people can have the possibility to participate in the labour market. The upper limit was chosen because labour market participation reduces considerably in this age group.

Table 1. Sample size by year and country

Year	Austria	Poland	Total
1994	468	831	1.299
2002	980	648	1.628
2012	583	522	1.105
Total	2.031	2.001	4.032

Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54.
Notes: calculation done by authors

The included cases of the age-restricted samples differ by year and country, but with at least 400 cases they are sufficient for each time point within each country (see Table 1).

Variables

Attitudes toward egalitarian gender roles are measured by four items in ISSP. The items verify the agreement or disagreement to statements about the division of labour between gender on a five-point Likert-scale. The items build one factor (single value of 1st factor=2.108, single value of 2nd factor=0.881), Cronbach’s alpha with a value of 0.698 is satisfactory.

The ISSP contains four items that measure the participation in domestic and care work. The items correspond to different activities in domestic and care work. The respondents should report whether the woman, the man,

both or a third person carries out the above specified activity. The four items are considered to build a formative scale. The items were recoded (1=both or other person, 0.15=usually woman /man, 0.00=always woman/man) and an index was computed with values from 0 to 1.

It was however possible to measure egalitarian participation in the labour force at an approximate level, because regarding the data sets of 1994 and 2002 the measurement of work hours of the respective partners was not available. On the basis of this information, an index was calculated with the values 1, 0.50 and 0. The level of 1.0 implies that both partners work to the same extent (both full-time, both part-time, both out of labour force). The coding 0.50 was used if one partner works full-time and the other part-time or if one partner works part-time and the other is out of the labour force. A value of 0 implies, that one partner is working full-time and the other is not participating in the labour force.

Within the age category, three age groups were distinguished.

Table 2. Variables of analysis

Variables	Scale	Mean or in %	Stddev	N
Attitude towards egalitarian gender roles	1=strongly to 5=strongly agree disagree	3.19	0.86	3.989
Egalitarian participation in domestic and care work	0=in none of four activities 1=in all four activities	0.32	0.23	3.019
Egalitarian participation in the labour force	0=no to 1=yes	0.52	0.46	4.032
Gender	1= Women, 0= Men	49.9% 50.1%	–	4.032
Employment	1= both partners work to the same extent 0.50 = one partner works full-time and the other part-time 0 = only one partner works full-time	44.8% 14.1% 41.1%	–	4.032

Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range between 28 to 54 years.

Notes: Calculation done by authors. Definition of variable is provided in the text

Data analysis

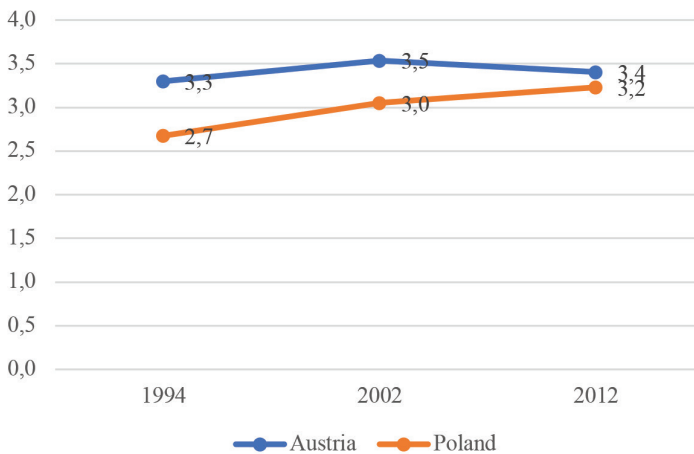
The analysis is performed using the Student's T-test for average comparisons between the two groups and Anova analysis for comparisons between the three groups. In addition, the post-hoc tests for intergroup comparisons of Tukey or T3 Dunnet were conducted. The significance of differences between the

correlation coefficients was also tested in the analysis. The calculations were performed in the statistical packages of PS IMAGO v.7 and Statistica v. 13.3.

Results

The variance analysis indicated that egalitarian attitudes in both countries change over time. In 1994, at the start of the analysis, Austria exhibits higher values than Poland. In Austria, the time factor explains the 1.2% differentiation of the levels of attitudes. However, the level of egalitarianism in 2002 differs significantly in statistical terms from the level in 1994 and 2012, whereas there is no difference between 1994 and 2022. In Poland, the attitudes started at a lower level in 1994, but increased continuously over time. The differences between attitudes in each year are statistically significant. In the case of Poland, the importance of the time factor is more noticeable and explains the 9.6% differentiation of attitudes. The first hypothesis in the section on the increase in egalitarian attitudes in both countries was not confirmed in the research – egalitarian attitudes intensify only in the case of Poland (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Attitudes toward egalitarian gender roles by country and year

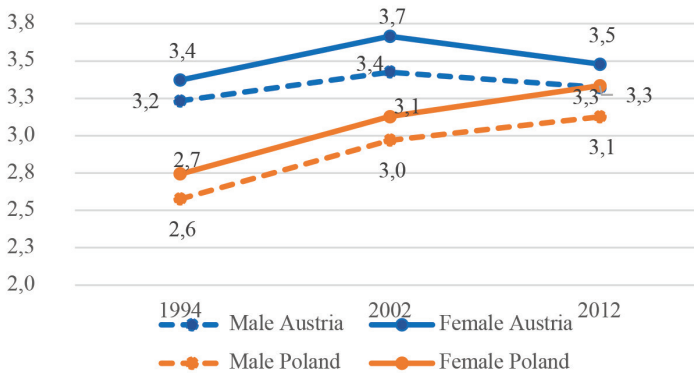


Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years.

Notes: Calculation done by authors. Austria $F(2,2000)=12.183$ $p<0.001$ $h^2=0.012$; T3 Dunnett: 1994–2002 $p<0.001$; 1994–2012 $p=0.141$, 2002–2012 $p=0.012$; Poland $F(2,1982)=105.157$ $p<0.001$ $h^2=0.096$; T3 Dunnett: 1994–2002 $p<0.001$; 1994–2012 $p<0.001$, 2002–2012 $p<0.001$.

The second hypothesis was confirmed. In both countries, women demonstrate a higher level of egalitarian attitudes than men¹ (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Attitudes towards egalitarian gender roles by gender and year

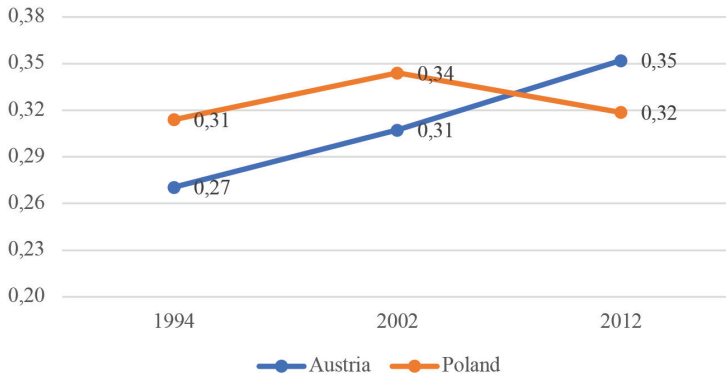


Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years. Notes: Calculation done by authors. Austria: 1994 – no statistically significant differences; 2002 – $t=-4.263$, $df=965$; $p<0.001$, $d=-0.274$; 2012 – $t=-2.308$, $df=557$, $p=0.021$, $d=-0.193$; Poland: 1994 – $t=-4.263$, $df=965$, $p<0.001$, $d=-0.245$; 2002 – $t=-2.893$, $df=636.2$, $p=0.004$, $d=-0.228$; 2012 – $t=-3.562$, $df=495.0$, $p<0.000$, $d=-0.313$).

The variance analysis shows that the division of domestic and care work in Austria changes over time, while in Poland it remains consistent. In Austria, the 1.6% differentiation in the division of domestic and care work is explained by the time factor. The post-hoc analyses indicate that all the changes between the consecutive years of the surveys related to the increased egalitarianism in the division of domestic and care work are statistically significant. Such analysis indicates a trend towards increased egalitarianism in the division of domestic and care work in the specific country. Thus, for Austria, hypothesis H3 is confirmed, as explained in this section. In Poland, partnership in domestic and care work has not changed significantly over time, as indicated by the statistical analysis (see Figure 3).

¹ Two-factor Anova revealed no effect of gender-time interaction.

Figure 3. Egalitarian division of work in household and child care

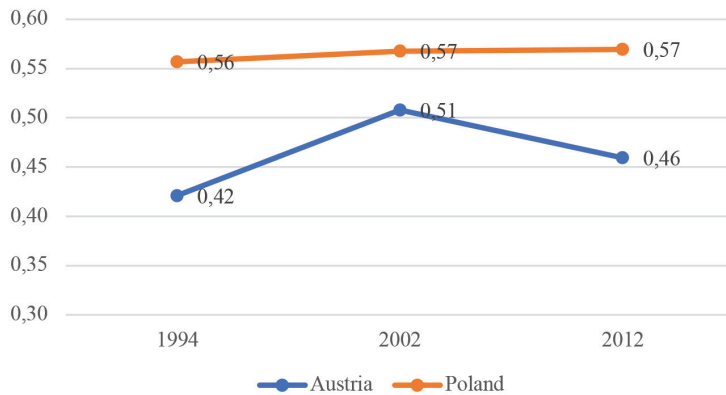


Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years.

Notes: calculation done by authors.

Austria $F(2,1413)=11.406$ $p<0.001$ $h^2=0.016$, T3 Dunnett: 1994–2002 $p=0.040$; 1994–2012 $p<0.001$, 2002–2012 $p=0.08$; Poland $F(2,1600)=2.973$ $p=0.051$.

Figure 4. Egalitarian participation in labour force



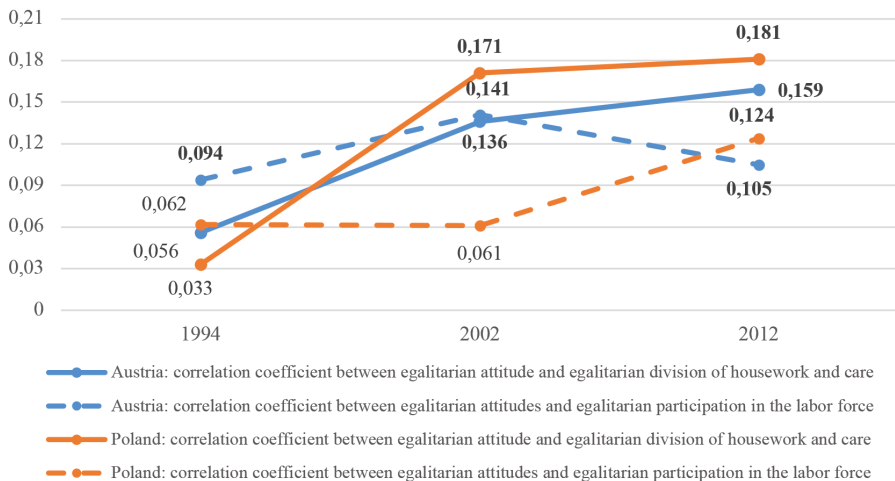
Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years. Notes: Calculation done by authors. Austria $F(2,2028)=6.329$ $p=0.002$ $h^2=0.006$, Tukey: 1994–2002 $p=0.002$; 1994–2012 $p=0.358$, 2002–2012 $p=0.097$; Poland $F(2,1998)=0.152$ $p=0.859$ $h^2=0.000$.

The analyses reveal a different pattern for egalitarian participation in labour force. The variance analysis indicates that the participation in la-

bour force in Austria changes over time, while in Poland it remains at consistent level. In Austria, the 0.6% differentiation of participation in labour force can be explained by the time factor, with a statistically significant change occurring solely between 1994 and 2002. In Poland, the egalitarian participation in the labour market remains stable. The participation in labour force in both countries did not become more egalitarian over time, therefore hypothesis H3 was not confirmed in this respect (see Figure 4).

In both countries, Austria and Poland, a link between egalitarian attitudes and partnership in domestic and care work appears over time. Since 2002, Austria has shown a correlation between egalitarian attitudes and the egalitarian division of domestic and care work. Such a relationship demonstrates the same consistency over time and the common variance is around 2%. In Poland, the correlation between egalitarian attitudes and partnerships in domestic and care work appeared to start only in the second survey. Slightly higher correlation coefficients in Poland than in Austria were observed, but the differences between Poland and Austria are statistically insignificant (2002 $p=0.540$; 2012 $p=0.754$) (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. The correlation between egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles and egalitarian behaviour in household, care and labour force



Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years. Notes: Calculation done by authors. Statistically significant correlations are bolded. *Egalitarian behaviour in household, care* – Austria: 1994 $p=0.291$, 2002 $p<0.001$, 2012 $p=0.002$; Poland: 1994 $p=0.398$, 2002 $p<0.001$, 2012 $p<0.001$. Significance of differ-

ences between Pearson's r correlation coefficients – Austria: 1994–2002 $p=0.291$; 2002–2012 $p=0.764$; 1994–2012 $p=0.156$; Poland: 1994–2002 $p=0.017$; 2002–2012 $p=0.877$; 1994–2012 $p=0.019$.

Egalitarian behaviour in labour force – Austria: 1994 $p=0.043$, 2002 $p<0.001$, 2012 $p=0.012$; Poland: 1994 $p=0.075$, 2002 $p=0.125$, 2012 $p=0.005$. Significance of differences between Pearson's r correlation coefficients – Austria: 1994–2002 $p=0.400$; 2002–2012 $p=0.489$; 1994–2012 $p=0.859$; Poland: 1994–2002 $p=0.984$; 2002–2012 $p=0.314$; 1994–2012 $p=0.266$.

The co-existence of egalitarian attitudes and egalitarian participation in labour force appeared in Austria earlier than in Poland. In Austria, such statistically weak association has been stable since 1994 and can explain the 0.9%, 2.0% and 1.1% variability in subsequent years. In Poland, the correlation between egalitarian attitudes and egalitarian participation in labour force was determined only in 2012 and explains the 1.5% variability. The correlation coefficient value does not differ significantly in terms of statistics from the value recorded in 2012 in Austria (2012 $p=0.752$). In both countries, the differences between the correlation coefficients obtained in subsequent years between egalitarian attitudes and egalitarian participation in labour force are statistically insignificant (see Figure 5).

Discussion

The variance analysis for the first hypothesis indicates that the time factor differentiates egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles in Poland and Austria. The level of egalitarianism amongst Poles is growing both amongst women and men, but gender differences persist. Women demonstrate a greater egalitarianism of attitudes than men. The increase in egalitarian attitudes in Poland is confirmed by the results of the research which indicate that the proportion of men's participation in domestic work is increasing, with partners increasingly sharing chores (CBOS, 2018).

The results of the empirical tests show that there is a difference between both countries: the Austrian society demonstrates a higher level of egalitarianism of attitudes toward gender roles than the Polish society. Similar to Poland, figures for women indicate higher values of egalitarian attitudes conforming H2. However, egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles did not continuously increase in Austria. One reason for these findings might be that the change towards egalitarian attitudes occurred earlier in Austria and has already reached some kind of maximum level. Studies reveal a significant

change in egalitarian attitudes in the 1980s (Bundeskanzleramt, 1980). This change can be rooted in the social-democratic government of Bruno Kreisky (Fischer, 1994), which decided on and implemented a series of equality measurements. A further reason might be a different composition of the population. The percentage of immigrants, especially from Turkey, in the analysed cohorts has increased and immigrants more frequently have traditional attitudes towards gender roles (Beham-Rabanser et al., 2019).

The H2 variance analysis indicates that in Poland, over time, partnership in domestic and care work and participation in labour force is at a similar level. In Austria, on the other hand, egalitarianism increased in the division of domestic and care work, which was not the case for the participation in labour force. Nonetheless, the pattern of women's labour market participation changed in Austria during this period. The employment rate of women increased (e.g. from 62% in 1995 to 71% in 2015), whereby the part-time rate for women rose more sharply in the same period (e.g. from 27% to 47%) (Fritsch et al., 2019, p. 342). The patterns of men did not change and men were mainly full time employed. The changes in labour participation have different effects on the index of egalitarian participation in the labour force. The overall increase in labour force participation leads to an increase in the index as the category 0 (only men are full time employed) decreases. At the same time, the coding 0.5 (male are employed full time) increases, weakening the general trend and resulting in no significant change of the index. Again, the earlier mentioned different composition of the cohorts should be taken into account because female immigrants have lower participation rate in labour market (Vogtenhuber et al., 2016).

Finally, the low correlations between behaviour and attitudes contradicts H3. They can be explained by the low-cost-hypothesis (LCH), which postulates that the effect of an attitude on attitude-conforming behaviour decreases with rising costs. LCH assumes a strong correlation between attitudes and behaviour in low-cost situation, whereas in high-cost situation the correlation vanishes (Best and Kroneberg, 2012). The decision about the division of labour in a household seems to be a high-cost-situation and therefore the observed correlations are low.

Summary and conclusion

These research results indicate that egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles increase over time, but a *clear* increase is observed only in the case of Poland

in the period under consideration. The studies confirm that in both countries egalitarian attitudes are more intense in the case of women than men.

The studies do not indicate increased egalitarian division of domestic and care work or participation in the work force in both countries.

In total, the patterns of both countries do not support the theoretical concept of Goldscheider et al. (2015). This does not imply that his concept is wrong, but rather results from the limitations of the analyses carried out, e.g. a short observation period and operationalization, which was to some extent arbitrary. Nonetheless, our study refers to some important context factors that can explain the different pace and intensity of change. These factors are demographic composition and costs. A changing demographic composition, e.g. due to immigration, can change a trend, it may accelerate or lower an existing trend. The organization of the division of labour in the household is a high-cost situation. Therefore, it is understandable that cost considerations influence the decision. As long as men earn more in the labour market and institutional child care is not sufficiently existing or not affordable, it is evident that partnership attitudes can only be translated into behaviour to a limited extent.

Bibliography

- Beham-Rabanser, M., Berghammer, C., Zartler, U. and Bacher, J. 2019. Partnerschaften und Geschlechterrollen (Partnerships and gender roles). In: Aschauer, W., Beham-Rabanser, M., Bodi-Fernandez, O., Haller, M. and Muckenhuber, J. ed. *Die Lebenssituation von Migrantin und Migranten in Österreich. Ergebnisse einer Umfrage unter Zugewanderten [The living conditions of migrants in Austria. Results of a survey among immigrants]*. Wiesbaden: Springer, pp. 81–112.
- Berghammer, C. and Schmidt, E.-M. 2019. *Familie, Partnerschaft und Geschlechterrollen – Alles im Wandel? (Family, partnership and gender roles – is everything changing?)*. In: Aichholzer, J., Friesl, C., Hajiniak, S. and Kritzingner S. eds. *Quo vadis, Österreich? Wertewandel zwischen 1990 und 2018 [Quo vadis, Austria? Value change between 1990 and 2018]*. Wien: Czernin Verlag, pp. 57–88.
- Best, H. and Kroneberg, C. 2012. Die Low-Cost-Hypothese. Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Implikationen [The low-cost hypothesis. Theoretical foundations and empirical implications]. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*. **64** (3), pp. 535–561.

- CBOS. 2018. *Kobiety i mężczyźni w domu [Women and men at home]*. Warszawa: CBOS https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2018/K_127_18.PDF (18.10.2022).
- Bundeskanzleramt (Hrsg.) 1980. *Die Frau in Österreich (The woman in Austria)*. Wien: Bundeskanzleramt.
- DeRose, L.F., Goldscheider, F., Brito, J.R., Salazar Arango, A., Corcuera, P., Corcuera, P.J. and GasAixendri, M. 2019. Are Children Barriers to the Gender Revolution? International Comparisons. *European Journal of Population*. **35** (5), pp. 987–1021.
- Esping-Anderson, G. 2002. *Why we Need a New Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 26–67.
- Fischer, H. 1994. *Die Kreisky-Jahre 1967–1983 [The Kreisky years 1967–1983]*. Wien: Löcker.
- Fritsch, N.-S., Verwiebe, R. and Liebhart, C. 2019. Arbeit und Beruf in Österreich. Veränderte Einstellungsmuster im Kontext des Strukturwandels am Arbeitsmarkt [Work and career in Austria. Changing attitude patterns in the context of structural change on the labor market]. In: Bacher, J., Grausgruber, A., Haller, M., Höllinger, F., Prandner, D. and Verwiebe, R. ed. *Sozialstruktur und Wertewandel in Österreich. Trends 1986–2006 [Social structure and change in values in Austria. Trends 1986–2006]*. Wiesbaden: Springer, pp. 333–388.
- Goldscheider, F., Bernhardt, E. and Brandén, M. 2013. Domestic gender equality and childbearing in Sweden. *Demographic Research Volume*. **29** (40), pp. 1097–1126.
- Goldscheider, F., Bernhardt, E. and Lappegård, T. 2015. The Gender Revolution: A Framework for Understanding Changing Family and Demographic Behaviour. *Population and Development Review*. **41** (2), pp. 207–239.
- Hochschild, A. and Machung, A. 2012. *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Höllinger, F. 2019. Einstellungen zur geschlechtsspezifischen Arbeitsteilung in der Familie [Attitudes to gender-specific division of labor in the family]. In: Bacher, J., Grausgruber, A., Haller, M., Höllinger, F., Prandner, D. and Verwiebe, R. eds. *Sozialstruktur und Wertewandel in Österreich. Trends 1986–2016 [Social structure and change in values in Austria. Trends 1986–2016]*. Wiesbaden: Springer, pp. 243–266.
- Kitterød, R.H. and Rønsen, M. 2013. Does parenthood imply less specialisation than before? Tales from the Norwegian time use surveys 1980–2010. Discussion Papers 757. Statistics Norway: Research Department.

- Lesthaeghe, R. 2010. The Unfolding Story of the Second Demographic Transition. *Population and Development Review*. **36** (2), pp. 211–251.
- Oechsle, M., Müller, U. and Hess, S. 2012. *Fatherhood in late modernity. Cultural images, social practices, structural frames*. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.
- Schoppe-Sullivan, S.J. and Fagan, J. 2020. The Evolution of Fathering Research in the 21st Century: Persistent Challenges, New Directions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. **82** (1), pp. 175–197.
- Sullivan, O., Billari, F.C. and Altintas, E. 2014. Fathers' changing contributions to child care and domestic work in very low-fertility countries: The effect of education. *Journal of Family Issues*. **35** (8), pp. 1048–1065.
- Van De Kaa, D.J. 1987. Europe's second demographic transition. *Population Bulletin*. **42** (1), pp. 1–59.
- Van der Lippe, T., De Ruijter, J., De Ruijter, E. and Rauh, W. 2011. Persistent inequalities in time use between men and women: A detailed look at the influence of economic circumstances, policies and culture. *European Sociological Review*. **27** (2), pp. 164–179.
- Vogtenhuber, S., Leitner, A. and Steiber, N. 2016. *Arbeitsmarkintegration verschiedener Gruppen von Migrant/innen in Österreich im Zeitverlauf [Labor market integration of different groups of migrants in Austria over time]*. Wien: Institut für Höhere Studien.