



# **THE GENDER REVOLUTION: STALLED OR A STILL UNFOLDING? COHORT DYNAMICS IN GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES ACROSS WESTERN AND ISLAMIC COUNTRIES, COHORTS 1929-1994**

PhD Project: Paper 2

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# Acknowledgements

This is paper #2 of my PhD project Understanding Inequalities in Gender Roles and Gender Role Attitudes Across Western and Islamic Societies, conducted at VU University Amsterdam.

Harry BG Ganzeboom and Ineke Nagel are co-supervisors of the PhD project and have contributed to the theoretical and analytical part of the paper.

# Background

- The gender role revolution is often conceptualized as transformation of gender role attitudes [GRA] towards egalitarianism.
- Recent scholarship (Scarborough et al., 2019; Goldscheider et al., 2015; England, 2010) has observed that the pace of development towards gender egalitarianism has slowed down / stalled.
- Some research (Cotter et al., 2011; Knight and Brinton, 2017) has pointed at a trend reversal in gender egalitarianism.in the US. The 1990s are regarded as the “lost decade” .
- Can this also be found across Muslim societies?
- Muslim societies hold strong religious values
- So, it is important to see how the trends are developing in Western and Muslim societies.

# Research Questions

- Do over time trends in gender role ideology show a similar development across Islamic and Western countries? In particular, can we observe any levelling off or stagnation in gender ideology trends in recently born cohorts?
- To what extent can these trends be explained by compositional effects of individual level factors, in particular changes in religiosity and increased level of education?



# Theoretical Framework

Two seminal earlier studies by Gerling et al. (2019) and Cotter et al. (2011) influence these patterns.

- Gerling et al. (2019), in a comprehensive comparative analysis of fifty-three countries, using the WVS/EVS wave 6, have looked at both individual-level factors such as education, employment, income, and religiousness and country-level factors such as level of modernization and Islamic civilization to explain the variations in gender role ideologies across countries.
- This study demonstrated that support for gender egalitarian ideologies is dominant among citizens of modernized nations devoid of Islamic civilization.
- Additionally, people with level of education and lower level of religiosity exhibit greater support equal gender roles
- Gerling et al. highlighted that the relationship between religiosity and gender ideology is moderated by modernization and Islamic civilization. Islamic civilization exerts its influence in particular among the devout individuals.

# Theoretical Framework

- Cotter et al. (2011), in particular, have looked at cultural and structural predictors that may have contributed to the stalled progress in the gender egalitarianism over different time points in the US.
- They used pooled cross-sectional data from the General Social Survey, covering the period from 1977-2008 (a span of 31 years).
- examined various factors to elucidate developments in gender role ideologies: cohort replacement, educational expansion, rise of incomes, fertility decline, women's increased labor force participation, changes in ideological climate, and the rise of second wave feminism.
- However, they have not considered rising religiosity as a factor in explaining the downturn in attitudes in the US. Is that so? I remember they said it did not matter.
- They theorized that it is the rise of a new cultural frame, termed "egalitarian essentialism," that is mainly responsible for the backlash in gender role attitudes.
- What they call "egalitarian essentialism" is an ideology that combines the elements of gender essentialism with the feminist ideas of individual autonomy and equality.

# Research Gap

We identified three issues in these studies that we regard as limitations.

**First,** Cotter et al. (2011) studied the over-time developments in gender ideology, but their **analysis was confined to a single country**, leaving a research gap to conduct a cross-country comparison using multi-level analysis approach, such as the study by Gerling et al. (2019).

**Second,** Cotter et al. (2011) have **disregarded religion as a possible factor in explaining the downturn in egalitarian gender attitudes** in the US, whereas Gerling et al. (2019) consider religion as a key moderator in explaining variation across Islamic and non-Islamic societies.

**Last,** Gerling et al. (2019) did **not undertake a trend analysis akin to Cotter et al. (2011)**, which limits the ability to draw comprehensive conclusions regarding trends in gender ideology.

# Contribution to Prior Research

We argue that by combining the strengths of these two studies we could better explain the shifts in gender role ideology in countries with different levels of modernization and religiosity.

- This paper improves on these studies by studying both Islamic and Western countries using several time points.
- Moreover, we consider religiosity as crucial to explain any variations across countries and over time.
- On a methodological account our contribution is to measure religiosity and GRA using all available data while correcting for measurement error, using a partially invariant multiple group measurement model.



# Research Methodology

- World Value Study / European Value Survey, round 3 4 5 6 7 (1995 – 2018).
- 16 Islamic countries, N=75,007: BD, DZ, EG, ID, IQ, IR, JO, KG, KZ, LB, LY, MA, MY, PK, TN, TR.
- 46 Western countries, N=286,796: AD, AM, AT, AU, BA, BE, BG, BY, CA, CH, CY, CZ, DE, DK, EE, ES, FI, FR, GE, GR, HR, HU, IE, IS, IT, LT, LU, LV, MD, ME, MK, MT, NIR, NL, NO, NZ, PL, PT, RO, RS, RU, SE, SI, SK, UA, UK, US
- 15 COHORTs, equal sizes, born 1929-1994.
- GRA: 9 (7) items.
- RELIG: 8 (7) items
- EDUC: Gesis harmonization, 8 categories.
- OLS models with standardized zGRA, zRELIG, zEDUC and orthogonal polynomial trend for COHORT.
- Controls: Survey (year) and Country fixed effects.

# Key Findings



- Over cohorts a plateauing of trend toward greater egalitarian GRA is found in Western countries for men and women, with an increasing gender gap.
- In Islamic countries trends are linear for both men and women, with a strongly increasing gender gap.
- Cohort effects on GRA are strongly mediated by religiosity and education, but the effect of religiosity is much stronger in Islamic societies.
- The slowdown in GRA cannot be explained by an increased religiousness.
- However, in Islamic societies the religiosity plays much stronger role. Controlling for religiosity and education, in Islamic societies the trend for women toward egalitarian GRA slows down, while for men it becomes negative.

Measurement  
of GRA –  
Items and  
means

## Means of GRA indicators

|             | WESTERN     | ISLAMIC      |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| MENPOLBUS   | 2.75        | 2.09         |
| BOYEDUC     | 3.12        | 2.78         |
| CHILDSUF    | 2.59        | 2.24         |
| MENJOB      | 1.89        | 1.46         |
| HOUSEWIFE   | 2.27        | 2.07         |
| EQINCOME    | 2.97        | 2.61         |
| WARMMOTH    | 3.08        | 2.80         |
| <b>ZGRA</b> | <b>.138</b> | <b>-.651</b> |

All items 1 (Inegalitarian) .. 4 (Egalitarian)

## Measurement of GRA - Correlations

|             | ZZMENPOLBUS ZZBOYEDUC ZZCHILDSUF ZZMENJOB ZZHOUSEWIFE ZZEQINCOME ZZWARMMOTH |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|-------------|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ZZMENPOLBUS | 1.000   | .376  | .272  | .240  | .195  | .132  | .048  |
| ZZBOYEDUC   | .376  | 1.000 | .191  | .174  | .142  | .134  | .087  |
| ZZCHILDSUF  | .272  | .191  | 1.000 | .148  | .213  | .192  | -.001 |
| ZZMENJOB    | .240  | .174  | .148  | 1.000 | .097  | .126  | .075  |
| ZZHOUSEWIFE | .195  | .142  | .213  | .097  | 1.000 | .048  | -.132 |
| ZZEQINCOME  | .132  | .134  | .192  | .126  | .048  | 1.000 | .255  |
| ZZWARMMOTH  | .048  | .087  | -.001 | .075  | -.132 | .255  | 1.000 |

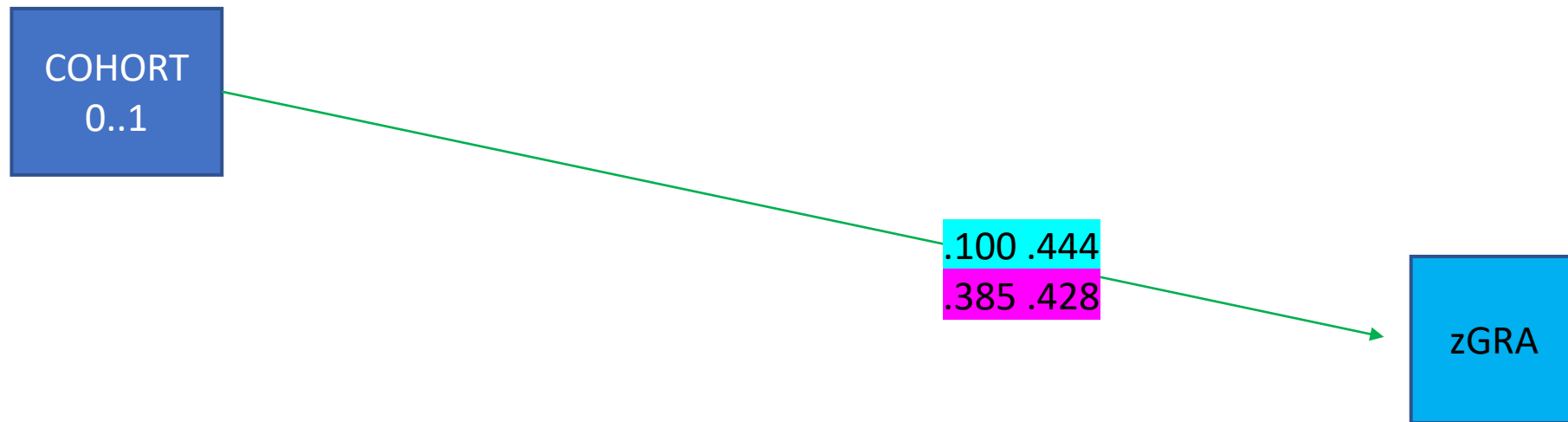
### WESTERN

|             | ZZMENPOLBUS ZZBOYEDUC ZZCHILDSUF ZZMENJOB ZZHOUSEWIFE ZZEQINCOME ZZWARMMOTH |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|-------------|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ZZMENPOLBUS | 1.000   | .377  | .273  | .240  | .198  | .139  | .065  |
| ZZBOYEDUC   | .377  | 1.000 | .196  | .174  | .143  | .139  | .094  |
| ZZCHILDSUF  | .273  | .196  | 1.000 | .155  | .208  | .191  | .001  |
| ZZMENJOB    | .240  | .174  | .155  | 1.000 | .096  | .133  | .096  |
| ZZHOUSEWIFE | .198  | .143  | .208  | .096  | 1.000 | .052  | -.114 |
| ZZEQINCOME  | .139  | .139  | .191  | .133  | .052  | 1.000 | .272  |
| ZZWARMMOTH  | .065  | .094  | .001  | .096  | -.114 | .272  | 1.000 |

All items standardized within countries and within waves

# Causal model in Islamic and Western countries

## Linear Trend, Men vs Women



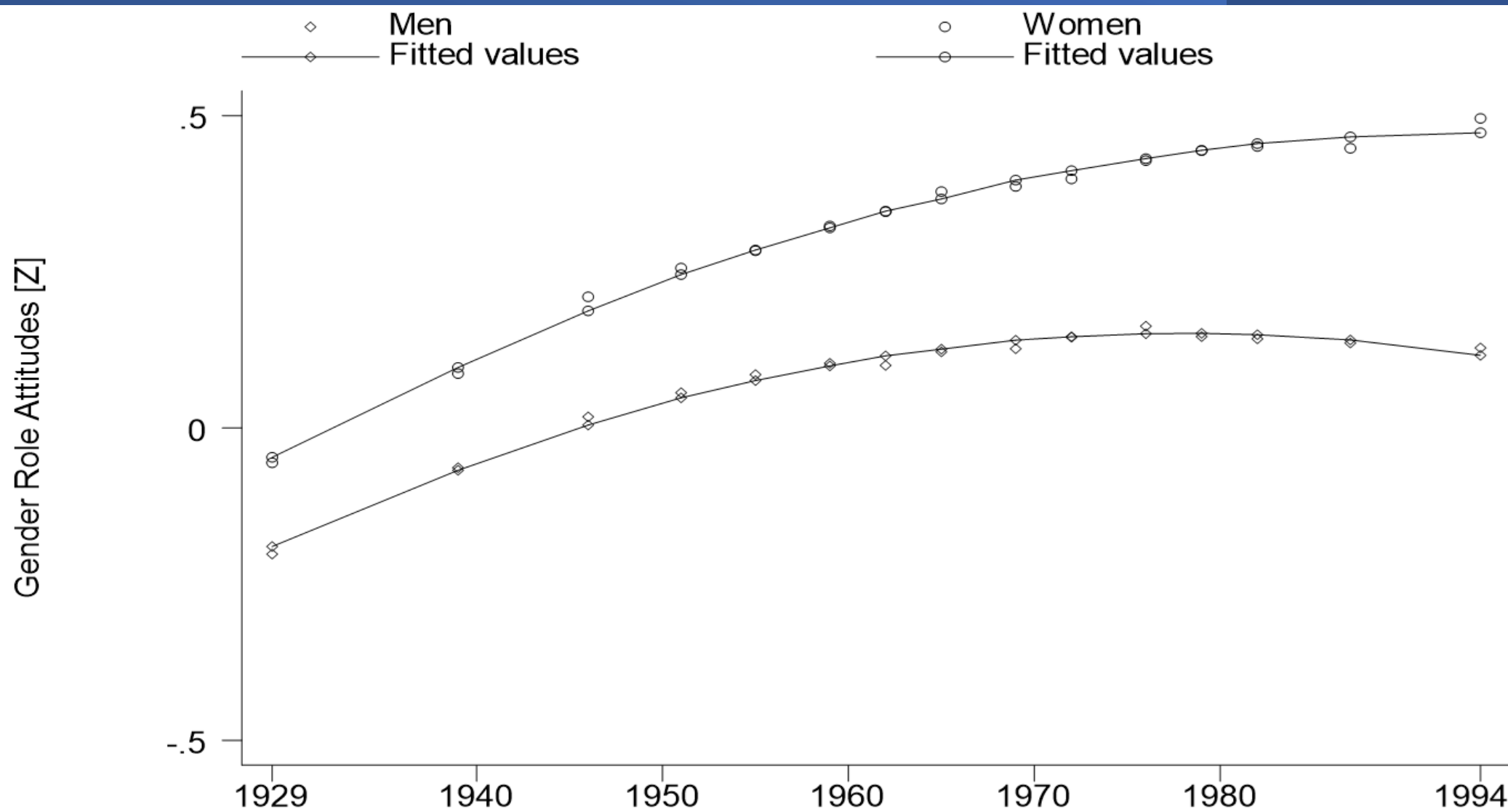


Figure 1: GRA by COHORT, Men vs Women, all countries

# GRA BY COHORT WESTERN VS ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

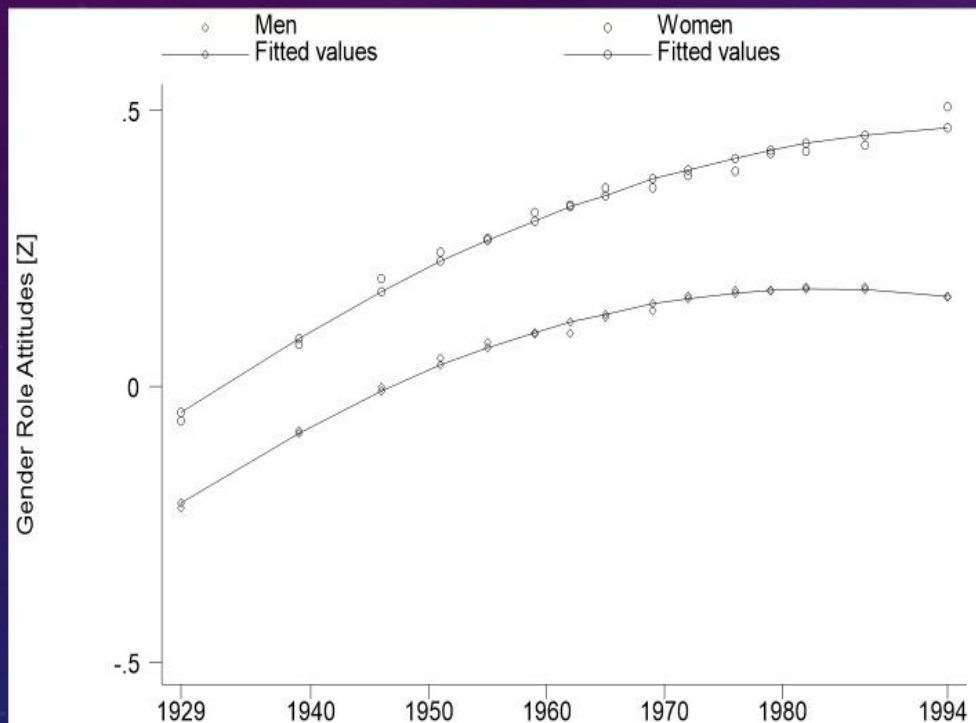


Figure 2a: GRA by COHORT, Men vs Women, WESTERN countries

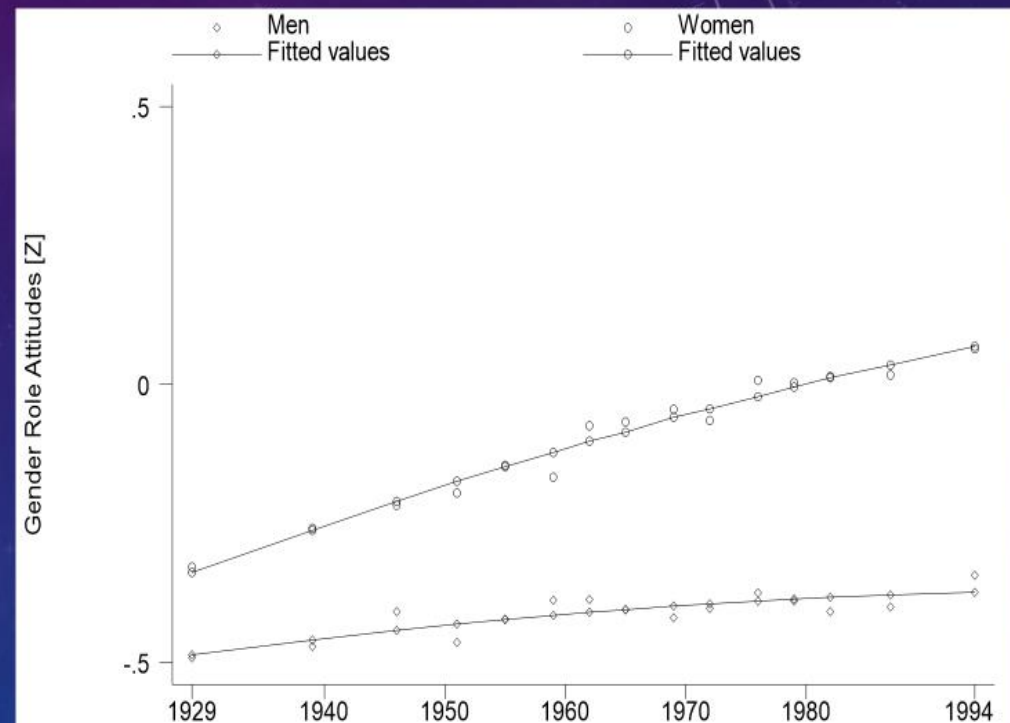
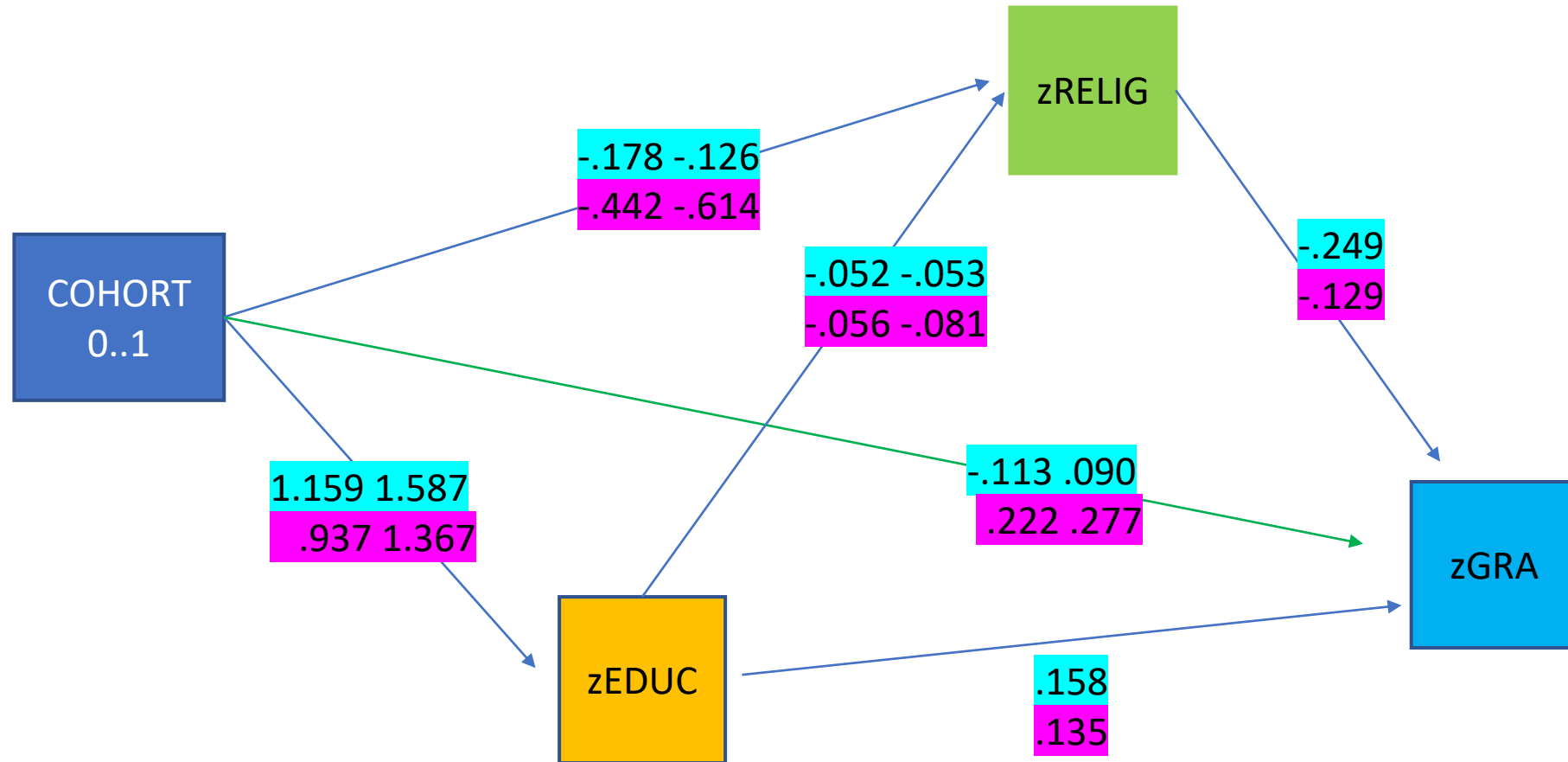


Figure 2b: GRA by COHORT, Men vs Women, ISLAMIC countries

# Causal model in Islamic and Western countries Men vs Women





## Measurement of Religiousness: item means

|   | WESTERN       | ISLAMIC      |
|---|---------------|--------------|
| ZCHRELIG Zscore: Important child qualities: religious faith | -.1285        | .6077        |
| ZATTEND Zscore: How often do you attend religious services  | -.0527        | .2593        |
| ZPRAY Zscore: How often do you pray                         | -.1664        | .5109        |
| ZRELPERS Zscore: Religious person                           | -.0624        | .3030        |
| ZRELIMP Zscore: Important in life: Religion                 | -.1489        | .6915        |
| ZGODBEL Zscore: Believe in: God                             | -.0861        | .4220        |
| ZGODIMP Zscore: How important is God in your life           | -.1363        | .6462        |
| ZRELCOMF Zscore: Get comfort and strength from religion     | -.0883        | .4757        |
| ZMOSCONF Zscore: Confidence: Churches                       | -.0771        | .3686        |
| <b>ZRELIG Zscore(RELIG)</b>                                 | <b>-.1358</b> | <b>.6445</b> |

All items in Z-scores, high values represent high religiousness

Measurement  
of Religion –  
Indicators and  
Means

# Measurement of Religion – Correlations

**Correlation Religiousnes indicators**

|           | zzGODCOMF | ZZGODBEL | ZZRELPERS | ZZRELIMP | ZZATTEND | ZZPRAY | ZZMOSCONF | ZZCHRELIG |
|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| zzGODCOMF | 1.000     | .589     | .551      | .549     | .447     | .464   | .447      | .310      |
| ZZGODBEL  | .589      | 1.000    | .580      | .427     | .369     | .380   | .371      | .188      |
| ZZRELPERS | .551      | .580     | 1.000     | .461     | .408     | .458   | .393      | .223      |
| ZZRELIMP  | .549      | .427     | .461      | 1.000    | .446     | .431   | .459      | .359      |
| ZZATTEND  | .447      | .369     | .408      | .446     | 1.000    | .524   | .409      | .296      |
| ZZPRAY    | .464      | .380     | .458      | .431     | .524     | 1.000  | .308      | .277      |
| ZZMOSCONF | .447      | .371     | .393      | .459     | .409     | .308   | 1.000     | .271      |
| ZZCHRELIG | .310      | .188     | .223      | .359     | .296     | .277   | .271      | 1.000     |

All items standardized within countries and within waves

# Trends in Educational Expansion

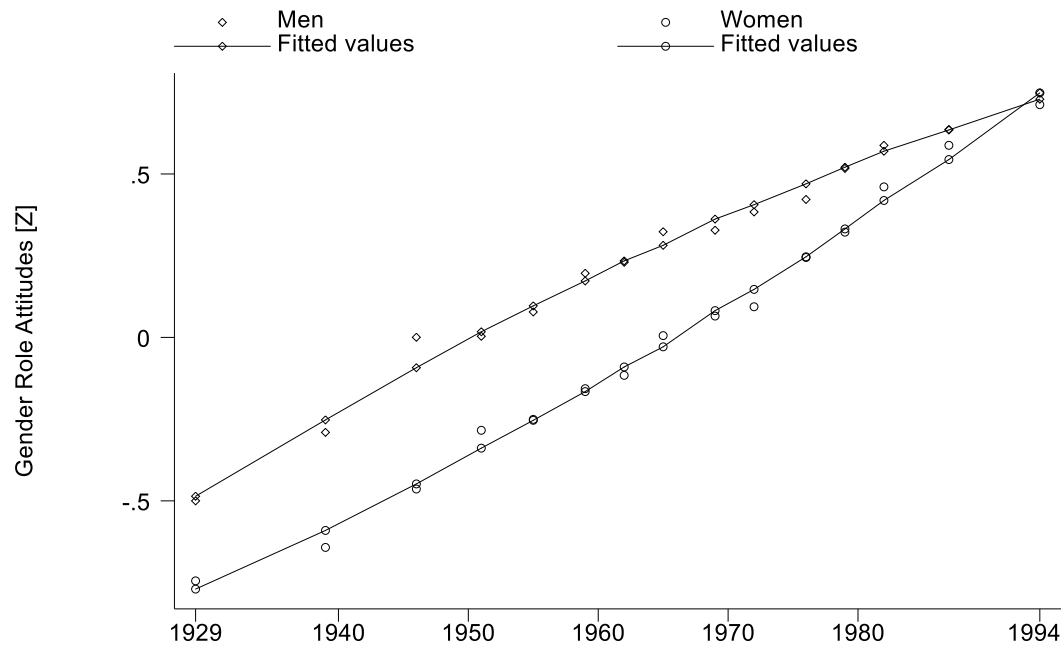


Figure 3b: zEDUC by COHORT, Men vs Women, ISLAMIC countries

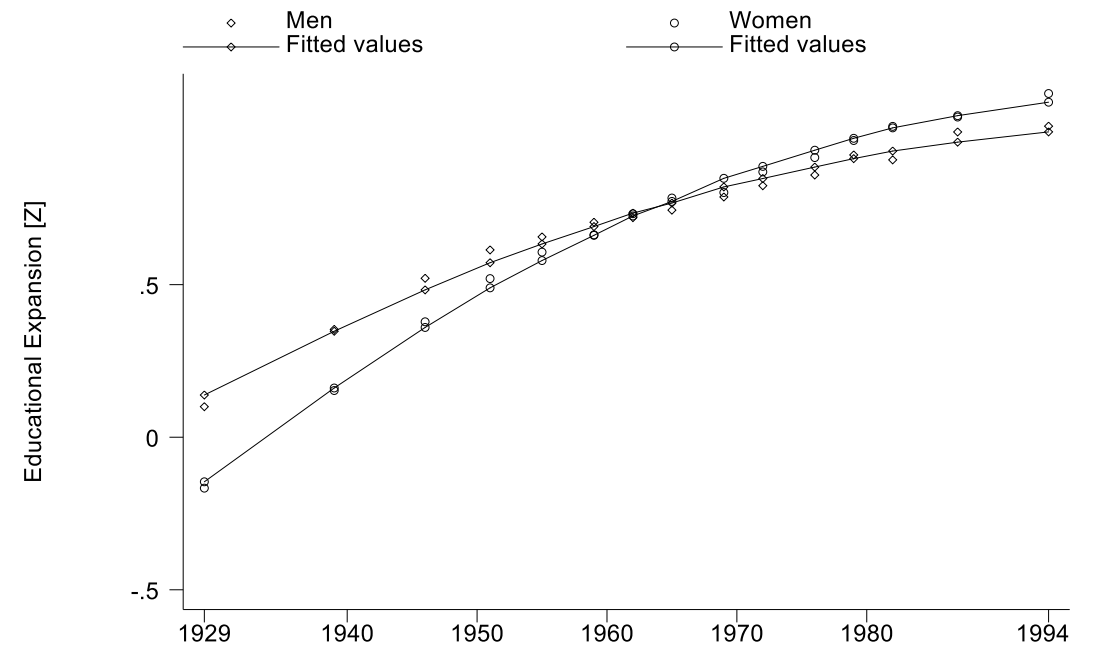


Figure 3a: zEDUC by COHORT, Men vs Women, WESTERN countries

# Trends in Religiousness

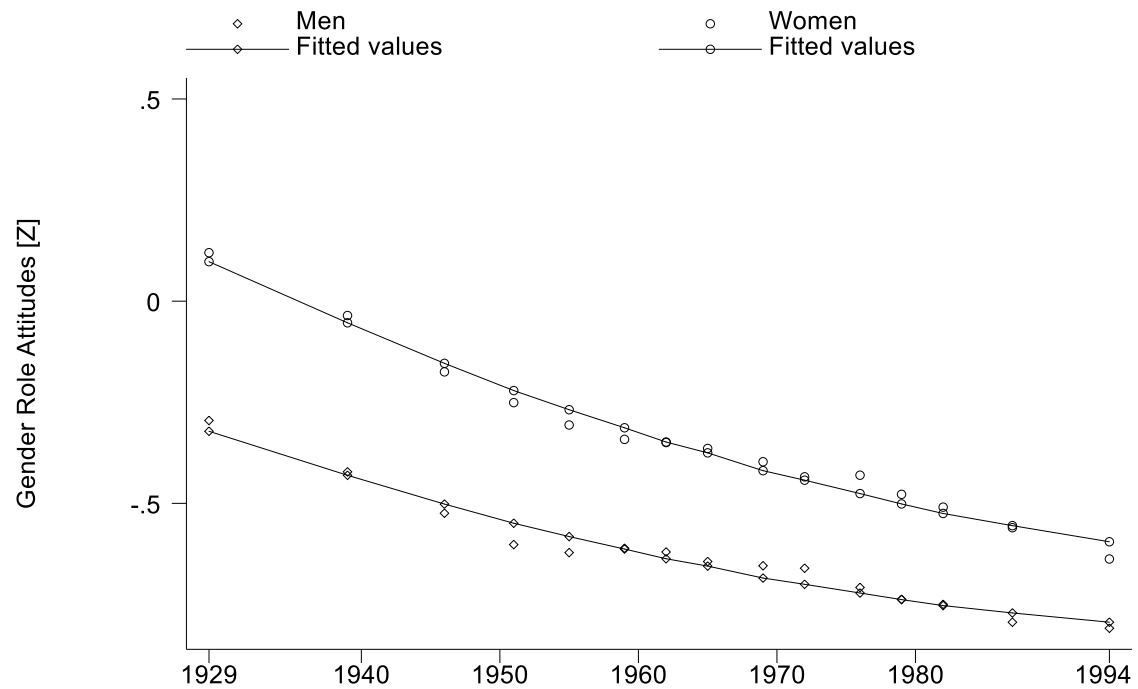


Figure 4a: ZRELIG by COHORT, Men vs Women, WESTERN countries

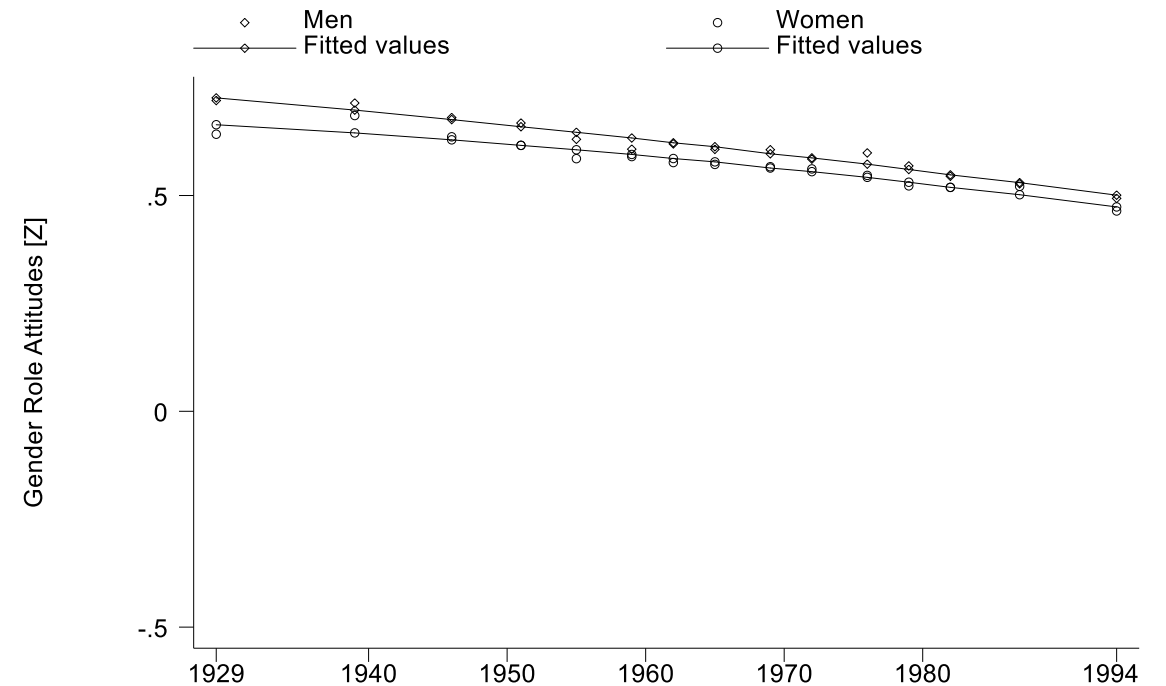


Figure 4b: zRELIG by COHORT, Men vs Women, ISLAMIC countries

# GRA BY COHORT IN ISLAMIC COUNTRIES-RELIGION AND EDUCATION CONTROLLED

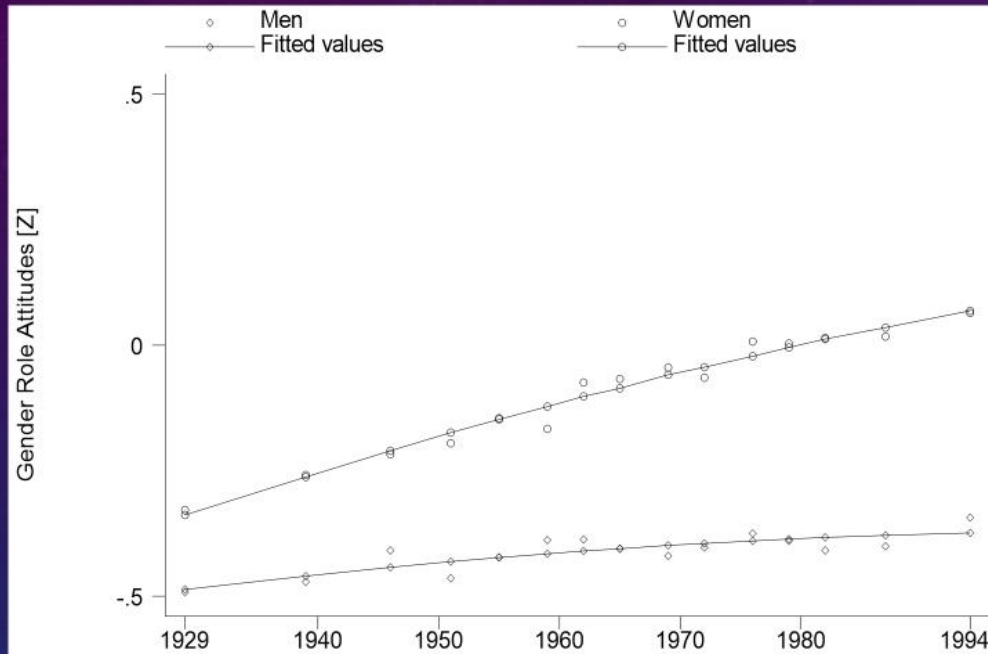


Figure 2b: GRA by COHORT, Men vs Women, ISLAMIC countries

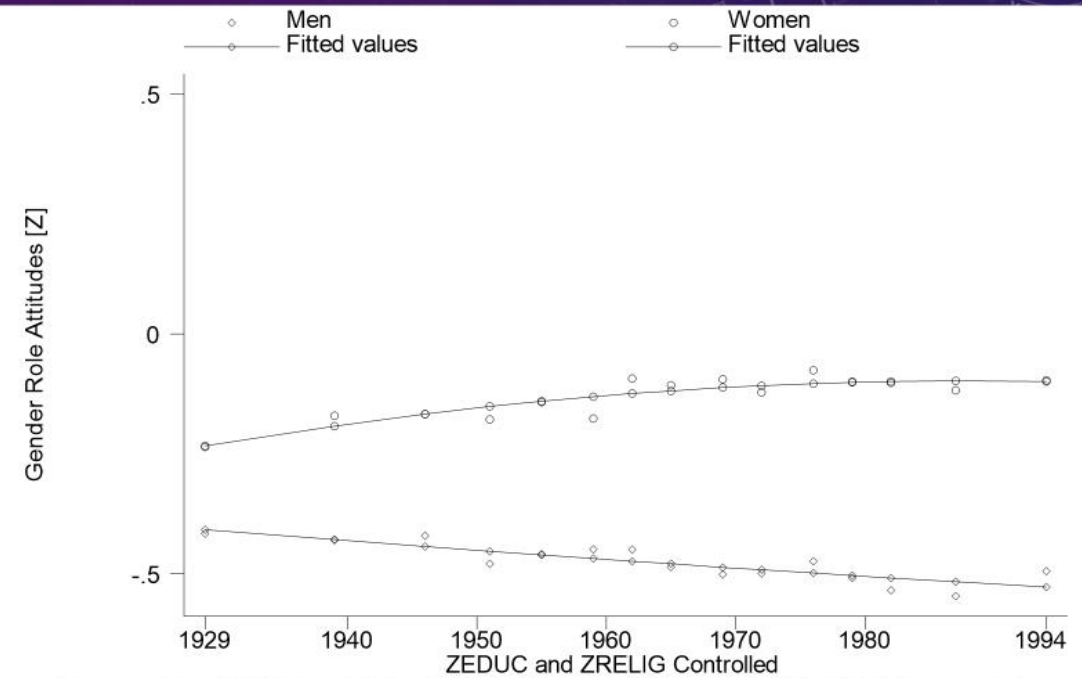


Figure 2c: GRA by COHORT, Men vs Women, ISLAMIC countries

# Take-home messages

- Over cohorts a plateauing of trend toward greater egalitarian GRA is found in Western countries for men and women, with an increasing gender gap.
- In Islamic countries trends are linear for both men and women, with a strongly increasing gender gap.
- Cohort effects on GRA are strongly mediated by religiosity and education, but the effect of religiosity is much stronger in Islamic societies.
- The slowdown in GRA cannot be explained by an increased religiousness.
- However, in Islamic societies the religiosity plays much stronger role. Controlling for religiosity and education, in Islamic societies the trend for women toward egalitarian GRA slows down, while for men it becomes negative.

## Means

|         | ZGRA  | ZEDUC | ZRELIG | COHORT |
|---------|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| WESTERN | .234  | .100  | -.295  | 1960.9 |
| ISLAMIC | -.713 | -.200 | .715   | 1971.4 |
| Total   | .022  | .038  | -.070  | 1963.3 |