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Between Tradition and Modernization

Attitudes to Women's Employment and Gender Roles in Croatia

ABSTRACT: Despite the fact that state socialism promoted the employment of women and, at least formally, gender equality as means of societal modernization, the prevailing picture of the Southeast European region is one of rather traditional, patriarchic societies. The postcommunist transition was characterized by high social costs and political attempts at retraditionalization, particularly through the increasingly public role of religion. At the same time, the societies were under more universal influence of modernity processes of individualization and permissiveness.

Thus, it is difficult to assess in which direction, toward modernity or traditional-

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ism, these societies are heading. In this article we analyze attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment in Croatia. Using the South-East European Social Survey Project (SEESSP) data set (2003), we test several hypotheses linking respondents' attitudes with their socioeconomic characteristics as well as their upbringing. Our analyses have implications for gender policy in transitional economies that are burdened by consistently high unemployment rates, particularly among women, and by frequent, politically motivated, attempts at retraditionalization.

A number of studies have analyzed variation in people's attitudes towards women's labor market participation and the division of labor among men and women in the Western world. Generally, citizens in Western countries show increasing support over time for women's labor market participation, with some differences of opinion related to age, gender, education, etc. Cross-national studies also document differences across nations, which partly can be related to differences in their welfare states. A common finding is also that people's attitudes to the domestic division of labor between men and women seem to be more traditional than the attitudes towards women's employment, but again, there are cross-national differences.

For researchers of gender role and women's employment values, Southeast European countries, such as Croatia, are interesting in many ways. During the 1990s there was a major change in their political and economic systems, from the former federative socialist republic of Yugoslavia to present-day independent states of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The dissolution of Yugoslavia, accompanied by the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (and later by systematic violence in Kosovo), brought new emphasis on nationalism and retraditionalization, mostly in the form of the resurgence of religion. In Croatia, religiosity dramatically increased during the war (1991–95). Such a turn toward the sacred is not an unusual consequence of war and its related destruction (Sekulić, Hodson, Massey 2002). In addition, under the nationalist government that was highly supported by Catholic Church (Partos 1997 <<please supply reference>>), being Croat was often equated with being Catholic. In that sense Croatia, as most ex-Yugoslav societies, differs from other postcommunist societies of Eastern Europe, in spite of the fact that they all share the same experience of the postcommunist transformation, and the social costs associated with this transition (Dragičević 2003).

This article explores Croatians' attitudes toward women's employment and gender roles, using data from the South-East European Social Survey Program (SEESSP) 2003, against the background of the postcommunist transition, the 1991–95 war, and the politically induced retraditionalization of family values and religion under the late president Tudjman's regime.

Historical Background

Both geographically and politically, the former Yugoslavia was a strategic buffer zone between the communist East and the capitalist West, which provided for some

unique features of the Titoist regime. Unlike citizens of the Warsaw bloc countries, Yugoslav citizens were free to travel to the West and communicate with foreigners with absolutely no restrictions. This was of particular importance for Slovenia, sharing borders with Austria, Italy, and Croatia, with a coastline frequented by Western tourists every summer. Furthermore, before the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Croatia and Slovenia had been the most developed industrial republics with per capita GNP a third higher than the Yugoslav average. Partially for historical reasons (unlike the other former Yugoslav republics, Croatia and Slovenia were under Habsburg and not Ottoman rule) and partially due to their economic development and proximity to the West, Croatia and Slovenia have been the most Western oriented of the former Yugoslavian countries.

In the former Yugoslav republic full-time employment was the most common type of employment for both men and women (Tomsic, 1980; UNICEF 1999). The socialist state was important for women's employment possibilities, both for insisting upon a full-employment policy and by providing affordable day care for children. However, proclamations of gender equality never corresponded to social reality. Patriarchal values and structures were not eradicated (Brunnbauer 2000); almost all women with children worked outside the home, so most of them had to carry the "double burden" of work at home and employment. Data from former Yugoslavia suggest that the total workload of women averaged sixty to seventy hours per week, of which twenty to thirty hours were unpaid work, the "second shift" (Massey, Hahn, Sekulić 1995; UNICEF 1999). In addition, the labor market was sex-segregated; most women worked in low-prestige and low-salaried jobs, such as the garment industry, which were particularly affected by the transition (Brunnbauer 2000). A major shift in political regime, such as Croatia has experienced, has affected women's actual employment patterns. Since the new regime implemented a market-oriented economic policy and started a rapid, and often shady, process of privatization, these major changes created new types of jobs and shut down some older installations (like subsidized industries), thus profoundly changing labor market conditions. Unemployment dramatically increased in the 1990s. Official data show a 3.5-fold increase in unemployment in Croatia during the 1990–99 period (Lokin 2000: 220 <<please supply reference>>) and a high percentage of unemployed were women. In 1997 women constituted 52.7 percent of the unemployed (Bejaković <<and Gotovac?>> 2005). Furthermore, the level of job security has decreased significantly, and women appear to be particularly vulnerable to the macroeconomic and social changes brought about by the transition, since the legal provisions securing one's job during maternity leave in many cases became illusory (Brunnbauer 2000). Together with political attempts at retraditionalization of the family institution, the market-oriented transition, which resulted in the loss of security and a decreasing quality of public services, may have had an impact on people's gender attitudes and values. These processes might have strengthened the old gender role models assigning men to the public life of work and politics and women to the private life of housework and motherhood

(Bracewell 1996 <<please supply reference>>).

At the same time, Croatia is by no means isolated from the outside world. In the revised version of modernization theory (developed in “Rising Tide”), Inglehart and Norris hypothesize that “human development brings changed cultural attitudes towards gender equality in virtually any society that experiences the various forms of modernization linked with economic development,” that is, “modernization brings systematic, predictable changes in gender roles” (Inglehart and Norris 2003: 5). Thus, their approach hypothesizes that modernization operates in two key phases: the first phase, *industrialization*, brings women into paid work and dramatically reduces fertility rates. The second phase, *postindustrialization*, implies a shift toward greater gender equality as women rise in management and the professions and gain political influence within elected and appointed bodies. Most of the world societies have not yet entered this postindustrial phase (Inglehart and Norris 2002 <<2003?, in which case “ibid.” or 2004, which is not otherwise cited?: 5), including postcommunist societies.

This article, using data from the SEESSP 2003, explores attitudes toward women’s labor market participation and the gendered division of labor in Croatia bringing in the intergenerational or socialization perspective that focuses on possible effects of mother’s employment on her children’s attitudes. We start with a brief summary of previous research.

Welfare States, Family, and Work

The relationship between the state and the family, related to social policy, family policy, taxation policy, day care provision, employment legislation, and so on, is important for women’s choice between housework and employment. In comparative cross-national studies, the well-established typology of welfare state regimes of Esping-Andersen (1990 <<references cite 1999; please check, and supply an additional reference if necessary>>) has been utilized and expanded in order to cluster welfare states with reference to women’s labor market behavior. The classification of liberal, social democratic, and continental-conservative welfare states is also expected to have a bearing on the gender values expressed in people’s attitudes toward women’s labor market participation and toward the division of labor between men and women. The expected pattern is that the social democratic countries would be the most supportive of women’s labor force participation, the conservative-continental countries the least supportive, and the liberal countries somewhere in between the two clusters. Later, South European countries, with a more family-oriented profile, have been assigned a separate cluster (Esping-Andersen 1999).

Nevertheless, the male breadwinner model still dominates the social policies in most member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (O’Connor 1996), although people’s attitudes toward this traditional division of labor have been changing. In Europe, people are increasingly more positive

about women's labor market participation (Hakim 1996), and this documented turn in people's attitudes is usually explained by the increasing level of education for women, better career development possibilities for women, and also the growing number of families that are dependent on two incomes for their level of living (see Sundstrøm 2000 <<references cite 1999; please check>>).

Recently, increased attention has been directed toward the East European countries, and the question has been raised as to whether these countries—which often have histories of high female employment levels—differ from West European countries, in particular in their attitudes toward mothers' employment. Under socialism, employment was regarded as a civic duty and under the socialist ideology gender equality was a political goal (Drobnic 1997). Treas and Widmer (2000) refer to <<carried out?>> a study that documented a surprisingly high degree of gender conservativeness in Hungary. This has been interpreted as evidence of a “public reaction against the sweeping socialist reforms that subjected women to burdensome labor in the workplace, the informal economy, and the household” (Treas and Widmer 2000: 1414). They argue that the need for two household incomes, not favorable work attitudes, has fostered the high levels of female labor force participation in former socialist countries.

In a comparative study of Britain, Norway, and the Czech Republic on women's employment and gender attitudes, an East–West differentiation was found: “Compared with Norway and Britain, men and women of the Czech Republic appear to be more conservative in their attitudes in respect of both the effects of women's employment on children and family life as well as on gender roles more generally” (Crompton and Harris 1997: 186). Blossfeld and Hakim (1997) expanded the typology of welfare regimes identified by Esping-Andersen in 1990 by identifying two additional groups of countries: the formerly socialist states and the South European states. Whereas the formerly socialist countries promoted women's full-time employment, the South European countries encouraged married women to stay at home (see also Esping-Andersen 1999). A cross-national study of twenty-three countries, including several East European countries, concluded that there are three clusters of countries, which represent three distinct patterns of attitudes toward women's employment: the work-oriented countries, the family accommodating countries and the motherhood-centered countries (Treas and Widmer 2000). The East European countries that were included (Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and the Czech Republic) were grouped together with Spain and Ireland in the motherhood-centered cluster. In these countries, “comparatively strong support for mother's full-time employment is combined with even stronger preferences that women with children stay at home” (ibid.: 1425). To a certain extent, this apparent ambivalence/contradiction between liberal attitudes toward women's employment and traditional attitudes toward mothers as the primary caregivers can also be found in other countries. For instance, the Scandinavian countries have a high level of female employment, including a high level of labor market participation among mothers of young children as well, yet attitudes toward the domestic division of

labor are still surprisingly traditional (Sundström 2000: 202).

It is important to be aware of the uncertainty involved when one tries to relate people's personal attitudes to their country's state ideology. Treas and Widmer (2000: 1431) conclude their study by arguing that although the former socialist countries share some common factors, some Western states—characterized by Catholic heritage, traditional gender roles, and late industrial development—share the same views as the former socialist countries. The two countries they refer to are Spain and Ireland. Thus, the impact of socialism should not be overrated and the impact of religion and economic development should not be forgotten.

Another important question concerns the transmission of attitudes toward women's employment and gendered division of labor. How important is family socialization in that respect? There are a number of studies, many North American, of the effects of mothers' employment on their children and the attitudes their children later develop toward gender roles and maternal employment (see Willetts-Bloom [1994] for an overview). The findings of this research are, however, ambiguous: whereas some studies find positive effects of maternal employment on their children's attitudes, in particular for the daughters, so that the daughters of working women also want to work, other studies find no significant results, and some report conflicting results. Many of these studies were undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s, when married women's increasing employment prompted rising concerns that mothers' employment would have negative effects on their children.

Our aims in this article are twofold. First, we analyze differences in attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment to achieve better insight into possible variation across different groups in their values. Although not conclusive, in particular, we explore variation in attitudes in different age groups, since such variation might be related to changes brought by the transition. Second, we analyze attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment by respondents who were raised by a working mother. In this way, we may gain some insight into possible intrafamilial reproduction of gender attitudes in a society that is undertaking major economic and political changes. We proceed with a discussion of our expectations of the data.

Hypotheses

The definition of traditional values may vary according to the context, that is, a country's history. Whereas married women's employment in many Western countries was rather low after World War II, in other countries, such as Croatia, married women were working. Nevertheless, since the Catholic Church as well as the government have advocated the importance of women's role as mothers of children, not as workers, we will define a traditional view on women's employment as being less supportive of women's, and in particular mothers', employment. The social costs of the process of postcommunist transition and the 1991–95 war would point in the same direction. We nevertheless expect nontraditional attitudes

to prevail in Croatia, because of its history, as well as processes of modernization and individualization, and, in particular among the younger cohorts, we expect to find nontraditional values.

H1: We expect a majority of the Croatian people to express nontraditional attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment, and we expect the younger to be more nontraditional than the older age groups.

We know that women in general are more positive toward women's labor market participation and less favorable about the traditional division of labor between men and women than men are. We therefore expect to find gender differences in attitudes toward gender roles in the Croatian context as well.

H2: Women will espouse less traditional attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment than men.

In addition, educational differences are important; we expect more educated respondents to be more liberal and less traditional compared with the less educated. The effect of education is mainly, but not exclusively, a consequence of being exposed to dominant cultural ideas about the equality of sexes and to an environment (especially in higher education institutions) in which the same rules apply to women and men. There is also the potential influence of the traditional division of labor, which is still expected to be found especially in rural areas, yet a study of regional differences in attitudes in Britain, Norway, and the Czech Republic found no significant effects (Crompton and Harris 1997). We would nevertheless like to explore the possibility that respondents who grew up in rural areas are more traditional than those who lived/grew up in the cities. Furthermore, as a result of war-related destruction and the nationalist government's strong support from the Catholic Church, religiosity dramatically increased in Croatia during the war (1991–95). We expect the most religious respondents to advocate traditional gender role attitudes and to view the role of women primarily as mother and caregiver. To summarize our expectations:

H3: Younger, more educated, urban, and less religious respondents will be less supportive of traditional views on gender roles and women's employment than older, less educated, rural, more religious respondents.

People's values and attitudes are often formed during their upbringing, primarily in the context of family socialization. We expect that whether the respondent's mother was employed or not will have an impact on their attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment. Using the primary socialization model (Starrels 1992, 2000 <<please supply reference for 2000>>), we posit that mother's employment will have a positive effect on her children's attitudes toward women's labor market participation. In addition, we expect that this effect will be stronger for daughters because of the more direct process of role modeling:

H4: Respondents with a working mother will be more positive toward working women and espouse less traditional gender roles than respondents whose mothers never had paid work. We expect this effect to be stronger for female than male respondents.

Furthermore, we hypothesize that respondents whose mother's occupational status was/is higher than their father's will have more positive attitudes toward maternal employment and express less traditional attitudes toward gender roles than those whose mother's occupational status was/is lower or equal to their father's. The expectation is based on a status-income argument: women working in higher status occupations are perceived as socially successful and financially better off, which adds to both an internal (intrafamilial) and external perception of their professional accomplishment.

H5: Respondents whose mother's occupational status was/is higher than their father's will have more positive attitudes toward women's labor market participation and less traditional attitudes toward gender roles.

Since the impact of age, education, region, and whether mother worked or not could be expected to be gender specific, we will test a number of interaction effects (i.e., education means more for women than men in terms of their attitudes; similar for age and other variables). We report only effects that were found to be significant.

Data and Measurements

In order to test the above hypotheses, we use data from the 2003 SEESSP Croatian survey. The South-East European Social Survey was carried out in December 2003 on a sample of 1,250 Croatian citizens age twenty and older. A two-step stratified random sample was used; the sample was based on the 2001 Census. Based on the same census data, weights were applied to this sample to replicate the distribution of respondents' education by sex for six Croatian regions. The questionnaire consisted of 374 variables, which covered a wide range of attitudes, sociodemographic characteristics, and variables related to war experiences.

Instruments

In the 2003 SEESP survey, attitudes toward different aspects of gender roles, including attitudes toward women's employment, were evaluated by thirty-one statements. The attitudes were assessed by a five-point Likert scale. In order to create composite indicators of attitudes toward women's employment and gender roles we used exploratory factor analysis in the first step, followed by reliability analysis. The factor analysis extracted eight factors explaining 67 percent of variance.

Attitudes toward women's employment were measured by aggregating responses

to the following six statements that were highly saturated on a single factor: (a) "It is more natural for men to work outside the home, and women to work at home"; (b) "Most housework is naturally the job of the woman"; (c) "If in the marriage only one person is employed, it should be the man"; (d) "A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family"; (e) "A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children"; and (f) "If a factory has to lay off workers, it is better that women with husbands be let go before husbands are fired." The scores were recoded in such a way that high scores indicate more negative attitudes. The reliability coefficient for the scale was 0.87, with 0.67 mean inter-item correlation.

Gender role attitudes were measured by aggregating responses to the following five statements that were highly saturated on a single factor: (a) "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do"; (b) "Men are better suited to be managers than women"; (c) "A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl"; (d) "A young woman should be ashamed to have a child without being married"; and (e) "Care of children is a mother's duty before it is a father's." Responses were recorded on five-item scales and recoded so that high scores indicate more traditional attitudes. Cronbach's alpha was 0.79; mean inter-item correlation was 0.59.

For the purpose of table analysis the answers on attitudinal questions were also divided into three categories: *non-traditional* if respondents answered "disagree" and "disagree strongly"; *transitional* if they answered "neither agree neither disagree"; and *traditional* for "agree and strongly agree."

Respondent's *education* was measured as the total number of years of formal education.

Indicator of religious beliefs was assessed by a variable indicating how often the respondent attended religious services during the past year, measured in four categories: 1 = "never and once a year," 2 = "a few times a year," 3 = "a few times a month," and 4 = "every week and a few times a week."

Place of residence when the respondent was fourteen was assessed by the following categorical variable: 1 = "village," 2 = "town and small town," 3 = "mid-size city" and 4 = "capital and large city." It was dichotomized into rural vs. urban place of residence by recoding the first three categories into the rural category.

Mother's employment was assessed by the question on mother's occupational status that included sixteen categories, from managers to nonqualified industrial and agricultural workers. There was a special category for those whose mother's did not work. We dichotomized the variable into 1—working mother, and 0—non-working mother. Agricultural workers were not assigned to the working mother group, because their work does not necessarily separate them from their children and, at least equally important, it does not bring them into daily contact with previously unknown people (coworkers), nor does it entail confronting new professional challenges.

Parents' relative occupational status was measured by a categorical variable

<<Please check all tables for accuracy of commas vs. decimal points;
 U.S. vs. European style was not consistent, so some of my changes
 may be incorrect>>

Table 1

Attitudes Towards Gender Roles in Croatia, 2003

	N	Nontraditional, %	Transitional, %	Traditional, %
University education is more important for a boy than for a girl	1,037	76.30	11.60	12.00
A young woman should be ashamed to have a child without being married	1,037	69.10	15.10	21.70
Care of children is the mother's duty before father's	1,037	55.30	15.70	28.90
Men are better suited to be managers than women are	1,037	52.20	21.00	26.80
On the whole men make better political leaders than women do	1,037	51.40	19.20	29.50

with three values: -1—"father's occupational status is/was higher," 0—"mother's and father's occupations are equally high" and +1—"mother's occupational status is/was higher." The coding was based on questions regarding father's and mother's occupation (see above).

Female respondents' occupation was measured similarly to their mothers'; the codes are: 1—"housewife" and 0—"employed, retired, looking for a job."¹ For male respondents, the professional status of their wives was measured as 1—"housewife" and 0—"employed, retired, looking for a job," based on the question of spouse's employment status last week.

Attitudes Toward Gender Roles and Women's Employment

Let us first look at some cross-tables showing the overall attitudes of the Croatian people toward gender roles and women's employment. In Table 1 we see that nontraditional attitudes are dominant among Croatians. However, in Table 2 we note that it is not the case with regard to attitudes toward women's employment, where Croatians seem to be more traditional. This is especially the case when talking about more personal aspects of women's employment, such as housework duties and the spouse's share of responsibilities for children and household finance, where most of the respondents express what we would call traditional attitudes. On the other hand, the answers given to statements such as "If a factory . . ." and "A man's job is to earn money . . ." reveal that the respondents also feel that women

Table 2

Attitudes Toward Women's Employment in Croatia, 2003

	<i>N</i>	Nontraditional, %	Transitional, %	Traditional, %
Most housework is naturally the job of the woman	1,037	18.20	11.70	70.10
If in the marriage only one person is employed it should be the man	1,037	23.30	11.30	65.40
It is more natural for men to work outside the home, and women to work at home	1,037	28.80	14.40	56.80
A job is all right, but what most really want is home and children	1,037	21.90	24.30	53.90
If a factory has to lay off workers, it is better that women with husbands be let go before husbands are fired	1,037	34.10	26.40	39.40
A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after home and family	1,037	41.70	25.10	33.20

should <<please clarify—that women should also earn money?>>. It is probably due to necessity, since women's paychecks in many households are a necessary contribution to the household budget. Thus, we can conclude that the Croatians express rather ambivalent views on women's roles, comprising both traditional and modern views.

The analysis shown in Table A1 (see Appendix) reveals that, in line with our expectations, women are less traditional regarding attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment.

Age and Attitudes

Since ours was a cross-sectional study, we are unable to analyze attitudinal changes caused by transition and war. Although it cannot serve as a substitute for age co-

hort analysis, we have examined the association between age and attitudes. Our analysis among age groups showed predictable patterns, with younger age groups less traditional than older ones.

The results reported in Table 3 illustrate a substantial gap in gender-related values. More precisely, respondents born between 1920 and 1950 proved to be much more traditional than respondents born in the 1970s and 1980s. Respondents in their twenties were the least traditional—precisely those who were the most affected by the “new” moral values imposed by the resurgence of religion and Tadjman’s regime. The parents of the youngest age groups, born in the postwar period, were part of the (baby-boomer) generation that held and continues to hold much more liberal values concerning gender roles compared with the generations born before or during the war (there is two- to three-point gap in the gender attitudes between those generations; see Table 3). For those born in the 1970s and 1980s it seems that their parents’ attitudes and lifestyles related to gender roles together with a more global process of permissiveness and the “rising tide of equality between sexes” (Inglehart and Norris 2003) must have had a greater impact than publicly imposed new forms of traditionalism.

Analyses not shown here reveal that although males and females differ in all age groups, in that the latter are more liberal, the greatest difference is seen among the youngest respondents. It seems that the youngest female respondents are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with traditional beliefs, while their male counterparts are very slowly following this attitudinal shift toward modernity and greater equality.

Education, Urbanism, Religiosity, and Attitudes

Table 4 shows the bivariate relationships between education and attitudes, urbanism and attitudes, and, finally, religiosity and attitudes. In line with our expectations we see that respondents with more education turn out to be more liberal and egalitarian in their attitudes toward gender roles and women’s employment. We also find that respondents who have been raised in more rural settings are more traditional. Respondents’ religious activity also has an impact on their attitudes: the more the respondent attends religious services the more traditional attitudes he/she holds on gender roles and women’s employment.

The Impact of a Working Mother

One of the central goals of our research was to explore the effect of working mothers on the respondents’ attitudes. This effect is expected to be more egalitarian with respect to respondents whose mothers were employed. Independent samples *t*-testing (see Table A2) reveals that respondents with working mothers differ significantly from those with nonworking mothers, as predicted: those with working

Table 3

Age groups and Attitudes Toward Gender Roles and Women's Employment

	20-25 (n = 125) mean	26-35 (n = 150) mean	36-45 (n = 197) mean	46-55 (n = 188) mean	55-65 (n = 159) mean	66 > (n = 216) mean	F	Sig.
Gender role attitudes (higher score, more traditional attitudes)	10.09	11.17	11.89	12.25	14.20	14.49	31.303	0.000
Attitudes toward women's employment (higher scores, more negative attitudes)	16.52	17.54	19.42	19.88	21.70	22.68	39.030	0.000

Table 4

Education, Place of Residence at Fourteen, Religiosity and Attitudes Toward Gender Roles and Women's Employment

Gender role attitudes, mean Attitudes toward women's employment, mean

Education		
Elementary school or less ($n = 411$)	14.400	22.530
Secondary school ($n = 489$)	11.440	18.460
University ($n = 136$)	10.830	17.200
<i>F</i> -ratio	78.846	106.384
($p <$)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Rural/urban setting		
Village ($n = 551$)	13.350	18.430
Town and small town ($n = 251$)	12.420	19.700
Mid-size city ($n = 150$)	11.090	17.640
Large city or capital ($n=79$)	10.440	17.140
<i>F</i> -ratio	24.363	42.371
($n <$)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Religiosity		
Never or once a year ($n = 212$)	11.750	18.430
Few times a year ($n = 389$)	12.410	19.700
Few times a month ($n = 171$)	13.100	20.890
Every week and few times a week ($n = 213$)	13.250	21.080
<i>n</i> -ratio	5.765	11.768
($n <$)	(0.000)	(0.000)

mothers are more in favor of women's employment and have less traditional gender role attitudes. It seems that the experience of having had an employed mother proved to be influential in forming the gender attitudes of Croatian respondents as well. Analyses not shown here reveal a significant interaction effect between sex and mother's employment, supporting our hypothesis that the working mother effect is stronger for daughters' attitudes toward women's employment. However, this is not the case when we look at attitudes toward gender roles, where sex and mother's employment are important predictors, but mother's employment influences attitudes toward gender roles of respondents of both sexes equally.

A Multivariate Model of Attitude Formation

To analyze correlates of attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment, two regression models were constructed, with gender, education, age, place of

Table 5

Correlates of Attitudes Toward Women's Employment and Gender Role Attitudes (N = 1,037)

	Gender roles attitudes, beta coefficient / (<i>p</i> <)	Attitudes toward women's employment beta coefficient / (<i>p</i> <)
Respondent's age	0.249 (0.000)	0.243 (0.000)
Respondent's sex	-0.156 (0.000)	-0.165 (0.000)
Respondent's education	-0.170 (0.000)	-0.206 (0.000)
Size of place of residence at 14	-0.075 (0.021)	-0.149 (0.000)
Mother's employment (0 = nonworking, 1 = working)	-0.088 (0.009)	-0.133 (0.000)
Indicator of religious beliefs	0.101 (0.001)	0.144 (0.000)
<i>F</i> -ratio	46.896	72.271
<i>F</i> -sig.	0.000	0.000
<i>F</i> ²	0.228	0.313
Adjusted <i>F</i> ²	0.223	0.309

residence at age fourteen, indicator of religious beliefs, and mother's employment as predictors. The first model regresses the index of gender role attitudes on the above mentioned set of predictors, the second model regresses the index of attitudes toward women's employment on the same variables (see Table 5).

The index measuring traditional gender roles attitudes reveals that the model explains 0.22 percent of the variance. We also note that all predictors are significant, respondent's age being the strongest predictor and size of place of residence at fourteen being the weakest predictor of gender attitudes. According to our model, indicators of traditional gender role attitudes are older age, lower education, and male sex, more frequent attendance at religious services, unemployed mother, and more rural place of residence at fourteen. The model examining attitudes toward women's employment reveals that although all predictors are significant and have slightly stronger relationships with the dependent variable, the respondents' formal education proved to be the strongest predictor of attitudes toward women's employment: the more educated respondents have more positive attitudes regarding women's employment. While type of place of residence is the weakest predictor in the model, it is also significant, showing that respondents from rural settlements have more negative attitudes toward women's labor participation.

The Impact of Parent's Occupational Status

We also hypothesized that respondents whose mother's occupational status was/is

Table 6

Attitudes and Respondent's Parents' Occupational Status

	Father's occupational status higher (<i>n</i> = 198)	Equally high occupational status (<i>n</i> = 913)	Mother's occupational status higher (<i>n</i> = 75)	<i>F</i>	Sig.
	mean	mean	mean		
Gender role attitudes (higher result, more traditional attitudes)	11.75	12.77	11.89	5.249	0.005
Attitudes toward women's employment (higher result, more negative attitudes)	18.53	20.37	18.27	12.832	0.000

higher than their father's will have more positive attitudes toward maternal employment and less traditional attitudes toward gender roles, than those whose mother's occupational was lower than or equal to their father's. The results of analysis of variance on the indexes of attitudes toward women's employment and traditional gender roles are presented in Table 6. Differences between respondents whose mother's occupational status was/is higher and those whose mother's occupational status is equal to or lower than their father's are statistically significant, as we expected. The most interesting finding, however, is the one concerning respondents with both parents in equally high occupational status. These respondents are the least supportive of women's employment and have the most traditional attitudes toward gender roles. This finding was unexpected, but may perhaps be explained by the parents' equally low occupational status and/or by these respondents being among the less educated. First, we note that 55 percent of respondents with parents who have equally high occupational status have (or had) parents working as qualified, semiquanlified, and nonqualified workers and another 29 percent have (or had) parents working as farmers. Second, analyses not shown here reveal that respondents with parents with equally high occupational status are significantly less educated (9.9 years of formal education) as compared with those whose father has higher occupational status (11.3 years of formal education) or mother with higher occupational status (11.7 years of formal education). It is also observed that respondents whose mothers have (or had) higher occupational status are at the same time the most educated in the sample.

The Impact of Housewife Status

To investigate whether some factors other than sociodemographic characteris-

tics and socialization related factors influence attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment, we carried out an additional multiple regression analysis, run separately for each gender. In other words, we wanted to determine whether being married to a housewife influences men's attitudes, or, in the case of women, whether being a housewife predicts one's attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment. To test this, we expanded the previous regression analysis with the same set of predictors by adding wife's employment status for male respondents (coded: 1 = housewife; 0 = employed, retired, looking for job) and for female respondents we added their own employment status (coded: 1 = housewife, 0 = employed, retired, looking for job).

Analyses reported in the Appendix reveal that for male respondents, wife's employment status is a significant predictor of their attitudes toward women's employment: men with working wives have less negative attitudes toward women's employment and also less traditional gender role attitudes. By adding wife's employment into the analyses, most of the other predictors that were found to be significant in our previous regression models now turn out to have no impact, leaving only age and wife's employment status as a significant predictor for men's attitudes toward gender roles and place of residence and wife's employment status for men's attitudes toward women's employment. Mother's employment also lost its significance, which leads us to conclude that spouse's employment is more important in shaping the attitudes of men toward the roles of genders in society in general. However, it is possible that the male respondents with working women have married (and supported in their careers) precisely the women who are compatible with their ideal of a working woman, an ideal that was internalized during their upbringing with a working mother (and the same with the nonworking wives, of course).

Looking at our female respondents, it seems that their own labor market experience influences their attitudes toward both women's employment and gender roles in such a way that women who are actively present in the labor market have more positive attitudes toward women's employment and less traditional gender role attitudes. Unlike in the case of men, when adding women's employment status into the model we still find that almost all of the other predictors are significant, except mothers' employment, which now is not important in the case of traditional gender roles attitudes. Our models reveal that in the case of women from our sample, all of the previously explored predictors share some influence in shaping women's attitudes toward gender roles and women's employment.

Summary and Conclusion

We have found that overall nontraditional attitudes toward women's employment are strong in today's Croatian society. However, in some aspects, especially related to gender roles, Croatians are more traditional. According to our age-group analyses the preference for traditional gender roles may be decreasing, yet as always with cross-sectional data, we cannot determine whether the relation between age and

attitudes is a life-course relation or a cohort phenomenon. Certainly, Croatia has experienced the impact of the war and the amplification of traditional values by the Catholic Church and the late president Tudjman's regime, but this does not seem to have had a major impact on the attitudes of those in the younger age groups, who are more likely to be influenced by a more global process of individualization and permissiveness.

In general, respondent's gender, education, and age, together with attendance at religious services, type of residence at age fourteen, and mother's employment were found to be important predictors of gender role attitudes. As was assumed, men, older, and less educated respondents are less likely to hold nontraditional (or more egalitarian) views on gender roles. Religious beliefs remain an important predictor of traditionalism. Religion plays a significant role in Croatian society, particularly, it seems, in the context of gender and sexuality.

As hypothesized, our analyses confirmed that respondents with working mothers display more support for women's employment and hold less traditional attitudes toward gender roles. The effect of having a working mother was stronger for daughters than for sons, but only in regard to attitudes toward women's employment. This can probably be attributed to the "double burden" that women had (and still have). By the process of role modeling, daughters have learned to have more positive attitudes toward women's (and their own) participation in the labor market, but also that house chores and family should not suffer because of it. Although presenting a good example of women's labor participation, their mothers did not necessarily hold egalitarian gender role attitudes and could have influenced their children's attitudes toward different (traditional) roles of males and females in society in general.

We expected that respondents whose mother's occupational status was higher than their father's hold more egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment and gender roles. The expectation, however, was not confirmed. The most traditional appeared to be respondents whose mother's and father's occupational status were equal. In most such families, as additional analyses demonstrated, parents worked in equally low prestigious <<equally low-prestige? or low-level?>> occupations. Consequently, their children ended up less educated and holding more traditional values regarding gender.

It is not only childhood socialization that shapes people's attitudes toward gender roles. For men, we also found a significant effect of wife's employment status, and for women we found a significant effect of their own employment status. The least egalitarian attitudes were found in men whose wives are not employed and among women who identify themselves as housewives.

Our study suggests that (post)transitional, postwar Croatian society is markedly influenced by the global process of decreasing gender inequality, in both the public and private spheres. In addition to sociodemographic factors, gender-related attitudes and values were shown to be affected by women's employment, in terms of both mother's and wife's employment. Although gender role attitudes and values

are shaped mainly during primary socialization, they are prone to changes during adulthood.

Note

1. This information was based on the question of respondent's employment status last week, and it was measured in six categories, "full-time employed," "part-time employed," "unemployed, actively looking for work," "unemployed, wanting a job but not actively looking for work," "retired, pensioner," and "housewife." We have used only the information necessary to extract the category of "housewives" from the rest.

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[Appendix follows]

Table A1

Gender and Attitudes Toward Gender Roles and Women's Employment

	Male (<i>n</i> = 487) mean	Female (<i>n</i> = 550) mean	<i>T</i>	<i>P</i>
Gender role attitudes (higher result, more traditional attitudes)	13.10	12.03	4.127	0.000
Attitudes toward women's employment (higher result, more negative attitudes)	20.62	19.28	4.175	0.000

Table A2

Mother's Employment and Attitudes Toward Women's Employment and Gender Roles

	Nonworking mother (<i>n</i> = 574)	Working mother (<i>n</i> = 441)	<i>T</i>	<i>P</i>
Gender role attitudes (higher result, more traditional attitudes)	13.61	11.07	12.371	0.000
Attitudes toward women's employment (higher result, more negative attitudes)	21.54	17.72	10.034	0.000

Table A3

Additional Correlates of Gender Role Attitudes and Attitudes Toward Women's Employment (female respondents $n = 550$; male respondents $n = 487$)

	Gender role attitudes beta coeff. / ($p <$)	Attitudes toward women's employment beta coeff. / ($p <$)
Respondent's age	0.245 (0.000)	0.251 (0.000)
	0.216 (0.000)	<i>0.118 (0.043)</i>
Respondent's education	-0.154 (0.001)	-0.212 (0.000)
	<i>-0.039 (0.512)</i>	<i>-0.055 (0.346)</i>
Size of place of residence at age 14	<i>-0.058 (0.186)</i>	<i>-0.071 (0.074)</i>
	<i>-0.090 (0.131)</i>	-0.201 (0.001)
Mother's employment (0 = nonworking, 1 = working)	-0.100 (0.026)	-0.157 (0.000)
	<i>-0.056 (0.354)</i>	<i>-0.056 (0.338)</i>
Indicator of religious beliefs	0.108 (0.006)	0.148 (0.000)
	<i>0.078 (0.152)</i>	<i>0.084 (0.111)</i>
Spouse's (for male r.) / own (for female r.) employment (0 = housewife, 1 = employed, retired, looking for work)	-0.124 (0.002)	-0.174 (0.000)
	<i>-0.142 (0.016)</i>	
F -ratio	28.453	54.482
	9.222	14.236
$P <$	0.000	0.000
	0.000	0.000
R^2	0.253	0.402
	0.153	0.218
Adjusted R^2	0.244	0.395
	0.137	0.203

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