



INTRODUCTION

Attitudes towards family and gender roles were rather traditional in Hungary according to international comparisons before the societal transition starting in 1989. Attitudes towards women's employment had the same characteristic despite the high level of employment of women in the socialist Hungary. Theories that highlighted the importance of values and attitudes in post-communist demographic changes, that are the Theory of the Second Demographic Transition, the approach of 'developmental idealism', supposed a rapid diffusion of modern (and western) values and attitudes, consequently a diffusion of modern family and gender roles. Researchers found the sign of these trends in the Czech Republic and in Russia. These expectations were not really supported by the Hungarian data collections in the first decade after the transition. Having a data collection about family and gender role within the International Survey Program (ISSP), we have now data from a **25 years' time span**, and we are able to analyze trends in attitudes towards family and gender roles.

Research questions:

1. In which way and at what pace family and gender role attitudes changed in Hungary?
2. Is change a result of period-effect or of cohort replacement? With other words: How much change comes from the within-cohort change and how much comes from the replacement of cohorts?
3. Does the level of education influence gender roles in Hungary as it does in Western Europe?

WORKING MOTHERS AND GENDER ROLES

Women's employment and family role attitudes changed slowly in the last twenty-five years. After the societal transition most measured aspects of attitudes has become more traditional, but around the millennium trends 'turned back' and shifted towards more modern gender roles. In some cases we also found that attitudes became traditional between 2002 and 2013. Only the attitudes towards the role of housewives show a clean-cut direction: less and less people think that being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.

Figure 1. Change in the attitudes towards family roles in Hungary

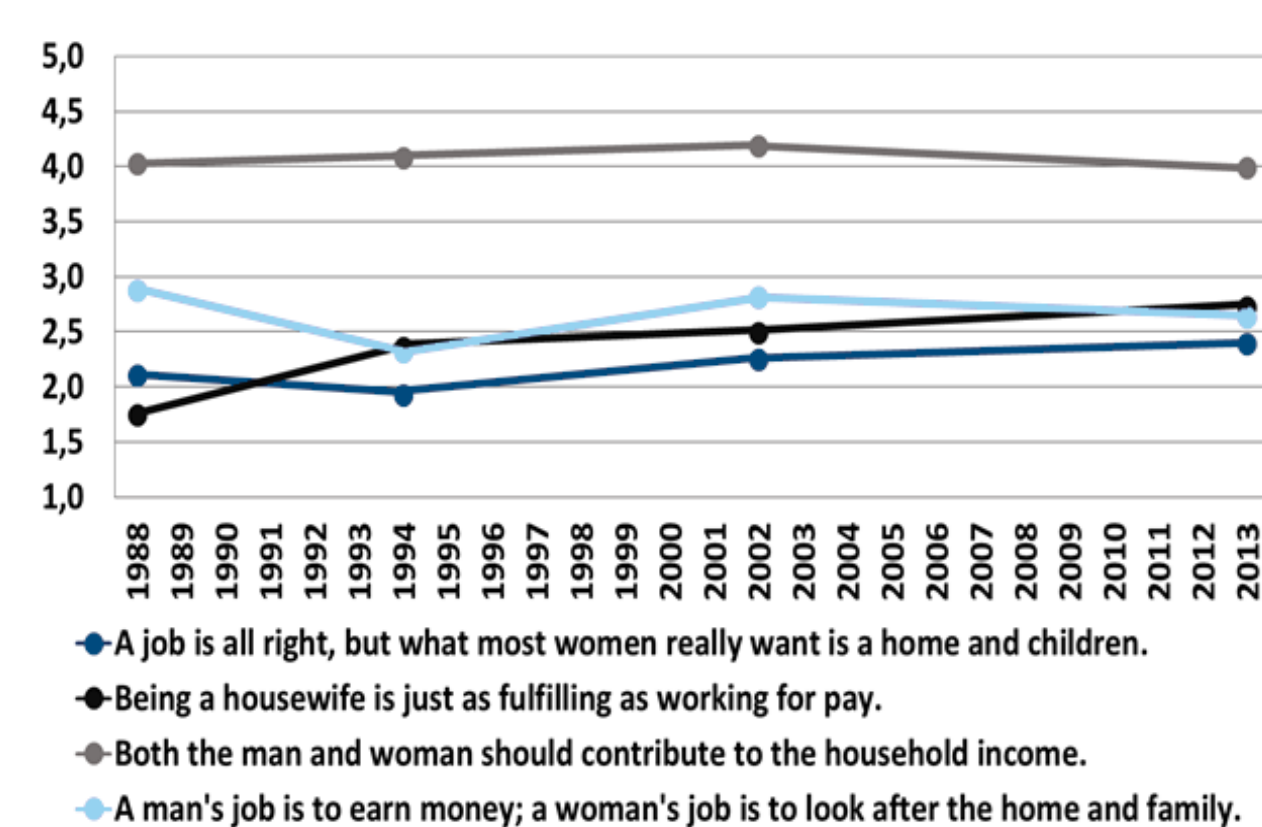
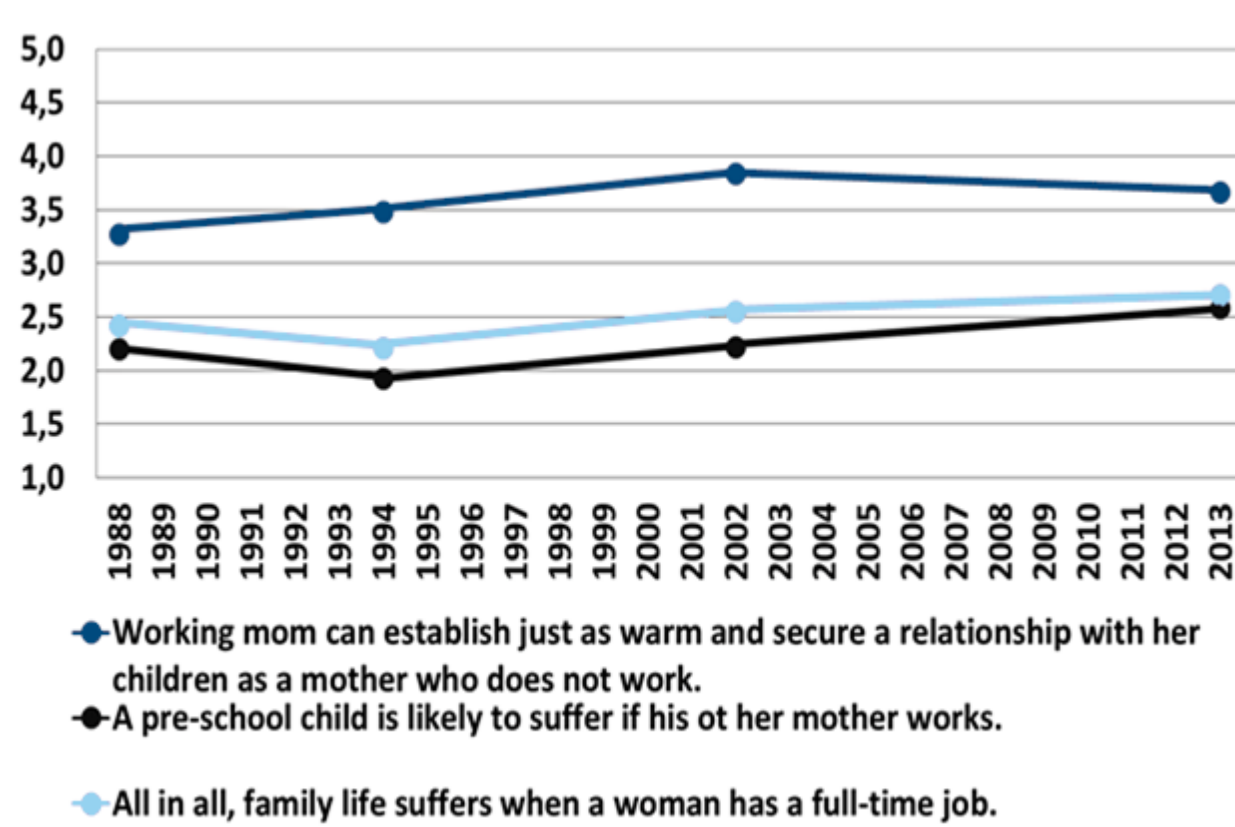


Figure 2. Change in the attitudes towards working mothers in Hungary



DATA AND METHOD

Data

- International Social Survey Programme, 'Family and Changing Gender Roles' module
- 4 waves of data collection (1988, 1994, 2002, 2013)
- More than 1000 respondents every year (representative sample of Hungarian adult population by gender, age, educational level and type of residence)
- 11 questions about attitudes: working mothers, gender roles in family, marriage, childbearing
- Five-point scale – lowest value means the most traditional view, highest value means the most modern

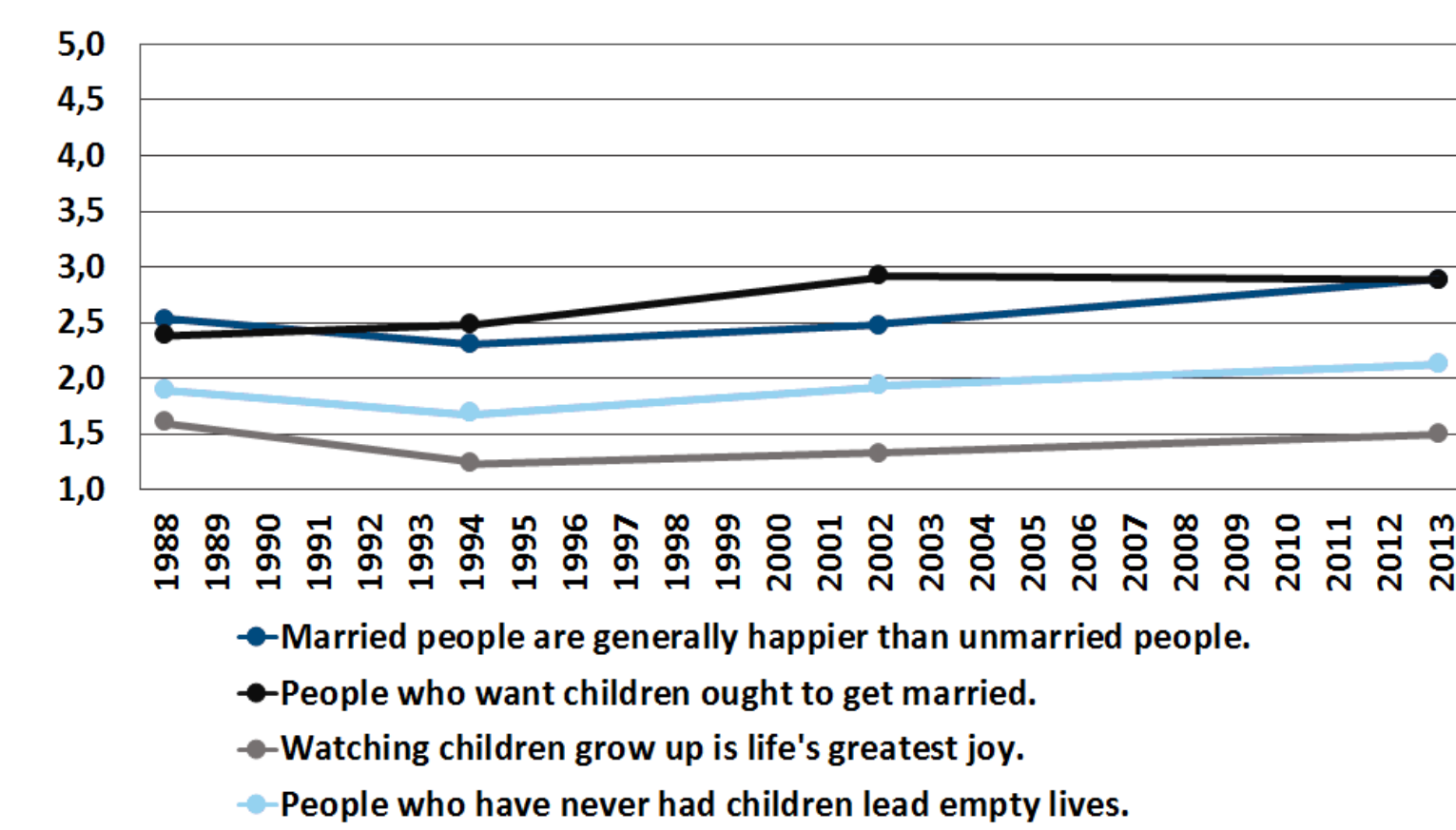
Method

Trends are measured by using simple means of scales and are disentangled by decomposition. We employed an arithmetical decomposition method to identify and measure cohort replacement and inter-cohort effects. We used Firebaugh's (1992) method assuming that the change aggregates basically from these two effects. We examined the average change of the attitudes which were measured on five-point scale. This arithmetical method takes into account the change in the number of cohort-members.

MARRIAGE AND CHILDBEARING

The slow, stalled change towards more modern values can be identified in case of marriage and childbearing. Albeit most people think that watching children growing up is life's greatest joy, significant shift occurred regards tolerance to childlessness. To summarize, after the transition and despite of expectations, attitudes shifted towards more traditional family roles. However, this change did not seem lasting. The shift towards traditional roles was explained by the shock caused by the transition, with the disappearance of workplaces, and with unstable life situation.

Figure 3. Change in the attitudes towards marriage and childbearing in Hungary



For 2002 the attitudes approached and in some cases exceeded the level that was experienced in 1988. In the next ten years, until 2013 in some aspects of the attitudes there was a slight shift towards the traditional direction. Considering the whole period, out of eleven attitudes, the opinion was less liberal in 2013 than in 1988 in three cases. Therefore, trends towards modern family and gender role could be described as **slow, stalling and ambivalent**.

PERIOD EFFECT OR COHORT REPLACEMENT?

Change in public opinion is a result of period and ageing and cohort replacement effects. We assumed that in case of family and gender role attitudes ageing affect is negligible; therefore, inter-cohort change basically has a period effect nature. Cohort proportions should be also taken into consideration. Besides this driving force, the fact that the proportion of older (outgoing) and younger (entering) cohorts' are considered also can have an important role, since they could be different with respect to education and attitudes, etc.

We had two assumptions:

1. According to the Second Demographic Transition and 'developmental idealism' approach inter-cohort change should be the main driver of modernizing gender and family role attitudes.
2. According to the idea of 'generational replacement' (Mannheim, Inglehart) we assumed that strong influences come with entering new generations/cohorts/. Value-changes are attached strongly to generations.

Considering value change towards more modern family and gender role, results of our analyses supports mainly the second assumption. Cohort replacement influences attitudes significantly and consistently towards modernization, whereas within-cohort change influences/ed attitudes ambivalently during the whole period. There is a move towards more traditional attitudes between 1988 and 1994, and partly between 2002 and 2013, although during the 25-year-period we can identify a general change towards modern family role values.

RESULTS OF THE ARITHMETICAL DECOMPOSITION

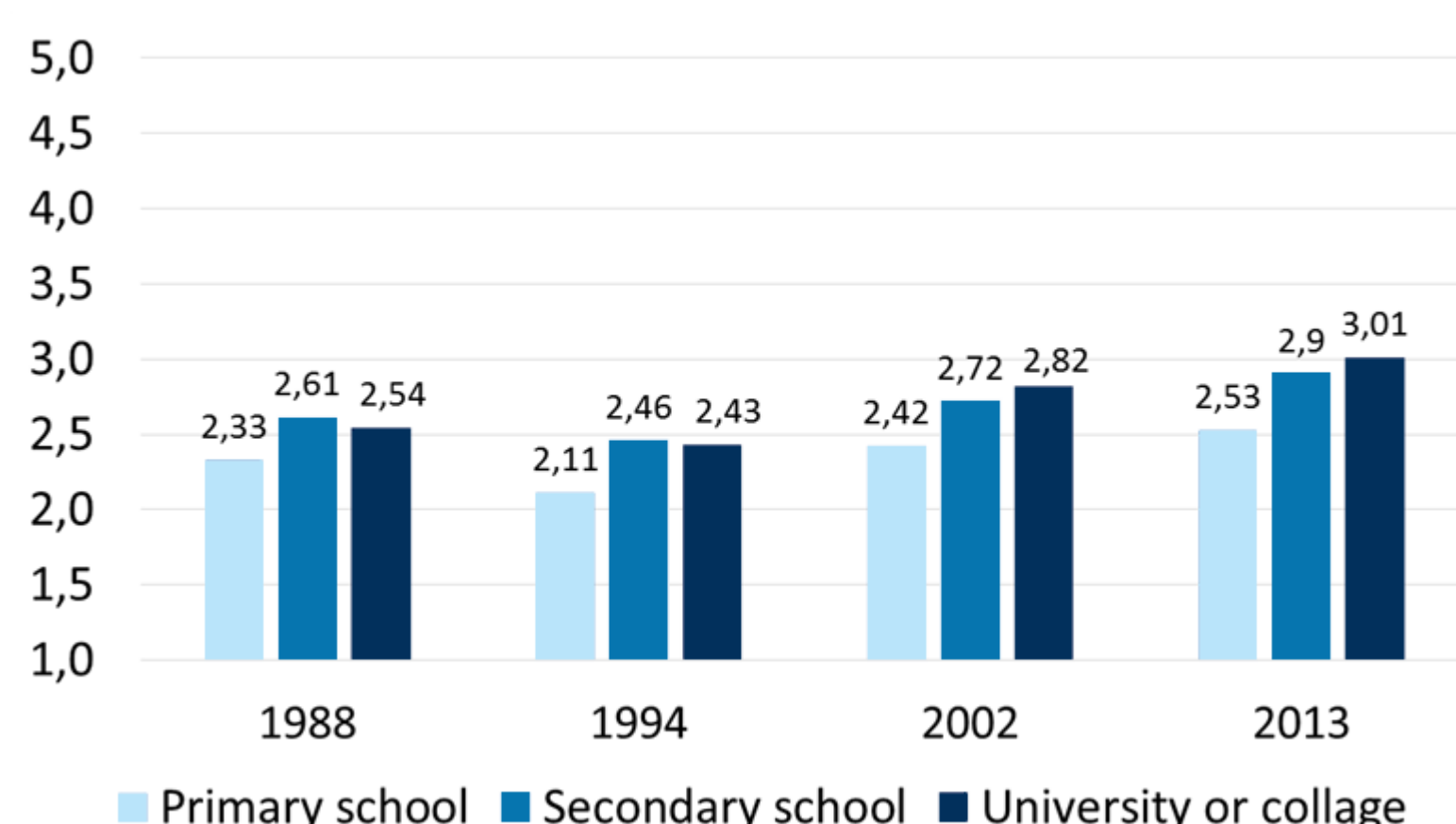
Figure 4. Cohort replacement and period effect in Hungary

	Cohort replacement effect			Period effect		
	1988-1994	1994-2002	2002-2013	1988-1994	1994-2002	2002-2013
<i>A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work.</i>	0,06	0,05	-0,03	0,15	0,32	-0,13
<i>A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works.</i>	0,07	0,10	0,10	-0,35	0,19	0,28
<i>All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job.</i>	0,08	0,10	0,12	-0,29	0,22	0,06
<i>A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children.</i>	0,02	0,08	0,10	-0,19	0,23	0,06
<i>Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.</i>	0,06	0,06	0,11	0,55	0,07	0,13
<i>Both the man and the woman should contribute to the household income.</i>	-0,01	0,01	0,01	0,06	0,07	-0,19
<i>A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family.</i>	0,03	0,14	0,06	-0,59	0,35	-0,23
<i>Married people are generally happier than unmarried people.</i>	0,07	0,09	0,19	-0,30	0,08	0,22
<i>People who want children ought to get married.</i>	0,12	0,21	0,22	-0,02	0,21	-0,25
<i>Watching children grow up is life's greatest joy.</i>	0,01	0,04	0,08	-0,38	0,04	0,10
<i>People who have never had children lead empty lives.</i>	0,02	0,08	0,08	-0,23	0,16	0,12

Light blue cells: mean change was positive (into modernisation)
Dark blue cells: mean change was negative (into traditional way)
White cells: not statistically significant (p>0.05)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND CHANGING ATTITUDES

Figure 5. „A pre-school child is likely suffer if his or her mother works.” (means by the highest education level)



While it was proved in West-Europe that the higher education level is usually strongly related with more tolerant or modern attitudes, this relation is less obvious in Hungary. Surprisingly, tertiary educated do not always have/share the most modern views of family attitudes. Additionally, a consequent shift towards modern attitudes could not be proven.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- In Hungary attitudes towards gender and family roles, women's employment, marriage, childbearing changed just at a very slow pace in the last 25 years.
- Decomposition revealed that cohort replacement and inter-cohort change move overall change in a different manner. Cohort replacement moves overall attitudes towards more modern family and gender role expectations, whereas inter-cohort change (period effect) firstly shift attitudes towards more traditional, and then back to modern gender and family role conceptions.
- According to our results there is not a clear-cut effect of the educational level on the change of the attitudes in Hungary; thus the increasing proportion of higher educated people does not obviously move overall opinions towards more modern family and gender role conception.

Reference

Firebaugh, Glenn (1992): Where does social change come from? Estimating the relative contributions of individual change and population turnover. Population Research and Policy Review, Vol 11 No. 1, 1992, pp 1-20