Learning Gender Equality: Women's Movement Influence on Youth Attitudes in a Comparative Perspective

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Abstract
Comparative analyses of gender role attitudes have largely focused on the characteristics of individuals or national level social characteristics, such as levels of women's employment (Banaszak and Plutzer 1993; Berggren n.d.). Understudied has been the role which women's movement activity plays in influencing gender attitudes, even though public battles for women's equality appear to have led to a sea change in gender role attitudes. This paper focuses on the gender role attitudes of young people and asks whether protest by women's movements reported in national news influences young citizens' gender attitudes. Using a sample of students in the eighth grade from 16 countries surveyed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) as part of the 1999 Civic Education (CivEd) and event data from the European Protest and Coercion Data, we seek to understand how women's movement activities shape adolescents' attitudes toward gender roles. We utilize multilevel modeling techniques to examine our hypotheses. We find that when women's movement protest was reported in the news during the years immediately before the survey is administered support for equal gender roles among adolescents increased. We also find that young women are more likely to be affected by the existence of a women's movement. The paper expands our understanding of how national level contexts of civic engagement influence public opinion and contributes to our understanding of how gender role attitudes develop.

Introduction

Comparative analyses of gender role attitudes have largely focused on how the characteristics of individuals or national level social characteristics, such as levels of women's employment, influence support for gender equality (Banaszak and Plutzer 1993; Pampel 2011). Understudied has been the role which women's movement activity plays in influencing gender attitudes. Yet, numerous social movement scholars have noted that social movements in general and the women's movement in particular seek to change attitudes as much as public policy (Meyer 2006; Rochon 1998; van Dyke et al. 2004). Moreover, in the United States public battles for women's equality appear to have led to a sea change in gender role attitudes (Banaszak and Ondercin n.d.; Mansbridge 1986: 188).

One important mechanism by which women's movements may influence changing societal gender role attitudes is generational replacement. Scholars often argue that the attitudes of specific generations result from events that occur at a crucial point in their socialization (Jennings and Niemi 1981; Inglehart 1989; Whittier 1995) or other characteristics of the generational cohort. For example, Inglehart and Norris (2003:149) argue that while economic development brings women into nontraditional roles in the workplace altering attitudes about women's place in society, social movements "can accelerate or retard" the process of changing attitudes towards women. In such theories, then, societal attitudes change because older generations of people with more traditional attitudes are replaced with younger generations with more modern attitudes.

In this paper, we contribute to our understanding of the role of generational replacement in altering gender role attitudes by focusing on one small but vital part of generational replacement theories—the idea that movement events influence young people's political attitudes. We examine the effect of women's movement events on young people's gender role attitudes cross-nationally using a dataset that combines surveys conducted by the International Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1999 of young adults in 16 countries --called the Civic Education (CivEd) survey—with women's movement protest event data from the European Protest and Coercion Data[1]. The paper shows that even controlling for many national social characteristics, women's movements have an additional effect on gender attitudes.

The paper proceeds as follows: we begin by discussing what we know about the development of gender role attitudes focusing particularly on the influence of national level factors and theoretical reasons that movement protest might affect individual attitudes. This discussion leads

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[1] These data were collected by Ron Francisco at the University of Kansas (see http://web.ku.edu/~ronfran/data/).

to our principal hypotheses focusing on how movement events influence individual young people's gender role attitudes. We then discuss our data and measures. Utilizing multilevel models to test the hypotheses, we show the role that movements do indeed play in altering gender role attitudes.

Understanding Gender Equality

To understand how attitudes towards gender equality in different countries might be affected by the women's movement, we need to look at three academic discussions: the literature on youth socialization, analyses of gender attitudes cross-nationally, and studies of social movements' effects on individuals. Below we look at each literature separately and then develop our major hypotheses from those discussions. [Below we first look at studies on youth socialization including development of gender role attitudes. Then, we elaborate the much more extensive literature on gender role attitudes in adults, focusing especially on cross-national work. Finally, we outline findings from the social movement scholars on how movements impact individuals' attitudes. We conclude our theoretical discussion by introducing our hypotheses.]

Gender Attitudes and Youth Socialization

The development of gender role attitudes is part and parcel of the socialization process that brings young people into adulthood. In recent years, there has been a revival of interest in how young people learn both to be active citizens and how they develop their political beliefs (for excellent reviews see Jennings 2007; Sapiro 2004). A large proportion of the literature on youth socialization focuses on the role of civic engagement and the influence of school curriculum (Campbell 2008; Engelhard et al 2008; Flanagan et al. 1998; Gimpel et al 2003; Niemi and Junn 2005; Pacheco and Plutzer 2007).   As Burns and Gallagher (2010:427) note few pieces have focused on gender attitudes.

Nonetheless, the learning of what Burns and Gallagher (2010) terms the "predispositions" toward specific gender roles are an important part of the political socialization of young people; and there is evidence that much of this occurs in childhood (Bennett and Sani 2003; Rosenthal et al 2003).   As Jennings (2002) and Jennings and Niemi (1981) have shown in studying those who graduated in 1965, many attitudes developed early continue well into middle age.

Important causes of attitudinal change in young people include parents, peers and (less often) schools or teachers (see for example Marcell et al. 2011, Marks et al. 2009). Each of these institutions is considered important in socializing young people's attitudes towards men's and women's proper roles in politics, the economy, and the family. Only a small portion of this work has focused on the effect of historical events on attitude change (but see Macek et al. 1998 and

Raviv et al. 2000) or on the socialization of gender role attitudes as part of the political development of young people (Flanagan and Sherrod 1998).

Nonetheless, there is ample evidence to show that the political and social context of young people affects their attitudes. Focusing on gender attitudes specifically, Stoker and Jennings (2008) show that newer generations of citizens have higher consistency in their gender attitudes and that these attitudes have greater influence on their partisanship. Other pieces less focused on gender have also shown the importance of political context for young people's attitudes. Davis (2007, 1022), for example, finds that young people in less egalitarian situations "become less egalitarian." She notes that exposure theories (which she contrasts with theories of self-interest) would suggest that when young people are exposed to gender egalitarian experiences they become more gender egalitarian. There has also been evidence of the political context affecting other types of attitudes. Macek et al. (1998) find that Eastern European economic changes influenced young people's attitudes about individual initiative and economic inequality; and Wray-Lake et al. (2010) find that environmental attitudes appear to shift with public discussions of the environment. Finally, Raviv et al. (2000) show that young Israeli's attitudes after the Rabin assassination shifted and that even after five months, close to 50% of those whose attitudes had changed continued to maintain their new positions. While the assassination of a national leader might seem more extreme than the social movement protest, Youniss et al. (2002: 132) note that evidence on youth participation in social movements suggests that "national political conflicts" could be viewed "as occasions for development."

Overall, then, the literature on youth socialization suggests that a number of factors are important for understanding the development of young people's attitudes. Parents and schools are primary sources of attitude socialization, but there is evidence that young people are also affected by the political context within which they live. Important political events may shape the attitudes of young people. Finally, those who have followed teenagers into adulthood have noted that attitude changes that occur in teenage years persist throughout the life course.

Studies of Gender Attitudes in Adults

In addition to the literature on youth socialization, public opinion scholars have also studied gender role attitudes in adults. Such studies have largely been split into those that focus solely on the U.S. and those that have a more comparative focus, but despite different samples of adults, there is much overlap in the findings.

First of all, studies which look at trends over time have found that gender role attitudes have generally liberalized. Over time citizens have become more likely to believe that women should work outside the house, that such work does not hurt the family, and that men and women should

share household responsibilities than they have been in the past (Andersen 1997; Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Inglehart and Norris 2003).   Scholars of both American and comparative politics have noted these value changes in adults over time, although many comparative scholars have focused on the differences among countries as well.

In looking for explanations for the differences among countries and the liberalization of attitudes over time, the discussion has focused on two types of national level variables: women's changing economic and social status and cultural change or differences. Comparative politics scholars have attempted to understand how the political and social contexts of particular countries influence the development of gender role attitudes (Banaszak 1996; Banaszak and Plutzer 1993a, Inglehart and Norris 2003, Berggren n.d.). For example, Banaszak and Plutzer (1993a) find that regional levels of women's employment and education influence citizens' gender role attitudes while Inglehart and Norris (2003) find that economic development and modernization encourages egalitarianism in gender role attitudes.

Thus, the growing numbers of women in the workplace is seen as a proximate cause for changing attitudes, as are cultural change like the growth of post-materialism or changing religious values. Yet, changing cultural values or women moving into the workplace can also be products of extensive activity by women's movements. Hence, we might expect that it is as much public attention to the women's movement as it is changes in women's status that help create attitude change. Yet, scholars have not explored the role of the women's movement in creating such change. As Burns and Gallagher (2010: 434) note, it is difficult to examine whether women's movements influenced the socialization of gender role attitudes in the United States because of the lack of gender role survey questions before 1972. Comparative scholars, on the other hand, have tended to focus on other variables given the lack of readily available measures of the existence or strength of the women's movement. We might expect that differences in the timing and strength of women's movements across countries provide traction in explaining egalitarian gender roles since a fundamental goal of women's movements is acceptance of women's equal roles, yet no studies to date have tried to develop measures of women's movement strength or existence despite an extensive social movement literature that indicates experiences with movements do alter citizens' political attitudes.

The literature on adult gender role attitudes also focuses on differences between men's and women's gender role attitudes. Studies of men's and women's political values continue to find small but significant differences between men and women in their gender role attitudes (Bolzendahl and Myers2004; Burns and Gallagher 2010). Differences in gender role attitudes exist between men and women even controlling for a range of characteristics. Perhaps more importantly, the factors that affect men's and women's gender role attitudes differ significantly (Banaszak and Plutzer 1993, 1993a; Bohlenzahl and Myers 2004; Burns and Gallagher 2010).

That is, at a fundamental level the factors that influence adults' attitudes differ depending on whether the adult is a man or a woman. These findings mirror those focusing on youth socialization that also find some gender difference in attitudes among boys and girls (Flanagan et al. 1998).

For example, while women's gender role attitudes are relatively unaffected by the status of their husbands or partners, men's gender role attitudes are affected by their partner's status. Indeed, an important factor explaining both men's and women's gender role attitudes is the status of women in the household. This means women's attitudes are affected by their own characteristics (e.g. their level of education or their socio-economic status) but men (if they are married or live with a woman) are also affected by their partner's status (Banaszak and Plutzer 1993, 1993a; Plutzer 1988). Two theoretical explanations have been given to explain the fact that men also become more egalitarian in their gender roles based on their wives' or partners' status—the *exposure theory* which suggests that individuals alter their attitudes in reaction to new ideas and the *self-interest theory* which suggests that the respondent alters their interests according to their economic interests (Burns and Gallagher 2010; Davis 2007). While it is easy to argue that men have a personal financial interest in egalitarian attitudes if their spouses/partners work outside the home, it is more difficult to make that argument in terms of mothers' effect on their children's attitudes. This suggests that the research presented here, which examines whether mother's status influences the gender attitudes of their children, allows us to speak at least partially to whether exposure is an important mechanism in explaining gender role attitudes.

Thus, studies of adult gender attitudes suggest that men and women's gender attitudes might change for different reasons. Particularly when considering interest based theories, men whose wives or partners work outside the home become more gender egalitarian either for their own economic reasons or because of different exposure to ideas. These studies also find that the political, economic, or cultural contexts in which adults live influence their gender role attitudes. Yet, studies focused on these contextual factors have ignored the influence of women's movements and focused instead on economic modernization, religious, cultural factors, or women's economic status. To understand the influence that women's movements might play on gender role attitudes we need to turn to social movement and women's movement scholars.

Social Movement Studies

Scholars of social movements have often argued that movements influence the attitudes of those that experience them. The largest focus of this literature has been on examining those that participate in social movements (Amenta et al.2010; McAdam 1990; Rochon 1998). McAdam (1990) for example shows that college students who participated in Freedom Summer experienced permanent attitude changes as a result of their participation. Jennings and Niemi

(1981, chapter 11) find that participation in the protests of the sixties altered young people's later political participation. Similarly, Whittier (1995, 1997) finds that activists' attitudes and definitions of feminism were permanently molded by the external contexts that preceded their entry into activism.

But evidence also suggests that attitudinal change may also arise from experiences of larger social, cultural changes. For example, McAdam (1990, Chapter 1) argues that the extraordinary activity among college students in the 1960s was partially a result of the economic and cultural characteristics of the baby boomer generation. Moreover, social movement activists themselves clearly see altering the attitudes of the wider public as part of their mission (McAdam 1996; Meyer 2006; van Dyke et al. 2004). Rochon (1998), for example, argues that social movements create larger cultural change among the wider public. In such a view movement events provide signals to the wider public that lead some citizens to reevaluate their attitudes (Banaszak and Ondercin n.d.). These ideas are echoed in the literature on the women's movement. For example, Mansbridge (1986: 188) argues that the campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment "forced Americans to keep thinking about these issues… most of those who pondered these issues have moved in a feminist rather than an antifeminist direction." Thus, the literature suggests that women's movements' public activities may influence gender attitudes among the wider public.

Thus, the social movement literature provides both evidence that social movements might influence citizens' attitudes, and theorizes that exposure might be the mechanism by which such attitude change might occur.

Hypotheses

While it is difficult to examine the effect of women's movement activity on public opinion with a survey in a single time period, one way to gain leverage is to utilize the fact that women's movements emerged and are active at different times in different countries. Thus, we can employ cross country comparisons to examine whether women's movements might affect citizens' gender role attitudes. In particular, we focus on how exposure to women's movements might influence young people's attitudes in a way that might create permanent change for a generation. In doing so, we examine the following two major hypotheses:

> H1: All else being equal, students in countries where women's movements are active will have more egalitarian gender role attitudes than students in countries where women's movements are not active (a pure exposure theory)

The above hypothesis assumes that exposure affects all individuals equally. However, individuals may not be equally receptive to a stimulus; rather, individuals whose interests are more likely to benefit from egalitarian gender roles may be more receptive to the message of women's movements. In particular, from an economic and social standpoint, young women are likely to benefit more from the opportunities for more education and higher earnings that come from accepting the women's movement message of egalitarian gender roles than will young men. For that reason, we also hypothesize that the susceptibility to the women's movement message will differ by sex:

> H2: All else being equal, female students will be more strongly affected by women's movement activity than male students.

In the analysis below, we also control for many of the factors that have been recognized as important to understanding gender role attitudes in the wider public or attitudes among youth including family and school characteristics. We describe these additional variables in the data and methods section below.

Data and Methods

To examine these questions we utilize the 1999 Civic Education Study conducted by the International Educational Achievement (IEA). This study surveys students in the 8th grade in a number of countries about their attitudes on a number of important political questions including gender role attitudes. In addition to interviewing the students, the CivEd study also gathers information about their teachers' attitudes, civic education curriculum, as well as the characteristics of their schools. While there is less information about the students' parents than one would like, the survey has a number of different advantages. First, it is comparative allowing us to compare students across a range of countries with different histories of the women's movement. Second, it examines attitudes in young people allowing us to capture influences on their attitudes before adult experiences like marriage, employment, and family factor into their gender role attitudes.

We combine these data with information about the women's movement gathered from the European Protest and Coercion Data, as well as other potential confounding contextual data gathered from the World Bank, Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Project, and the World Religion Dataset (WRD). A total of 16 countries are included in our analyses: Belgium, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Sweden, and Switzerland. Because of the nested structure of our data, in which respondents are sampled within schools and countries, we employ a multilevel modeling technique. We model the intercept of individual-level variables as a

function of the grouped national-level and school level variables in order to account for the nested structure of the data. We also allow the intercepts to vary randomly by country. We express our model as:

$Gender\ Attitudes =$

$\beta_0 + \beta_1\ (Female_i) + \beta_2\ (Mother's\ education_i) + \beta_3\ (Father's education_i) +$

$\beta_4\ (Student's further\ educational\ plan_i) + \beta_5\ (Number\ of\ people\ in\ the\ home_i) +$

$\beta_6\ (Student\ member\ of\ religious\ organization_i) + e_j$

$\beta_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(School\ is\ private) + \gamma_{02}(Learning\ about\ equal\ opportunity_j) + \mu_{0j}$

$\beta_{00} = \gamma_{000} + \gamma_{001}(National\ religion_j) + \gamma_{002}(Women's\ nonagricultural\ employment_j)$

$\qquad + \gamma_{003}(Women's\ political\ rights_j) + \gamma_{004}(Existence\ of\ women's\ movement_j) + r_{00j}$

Dependent Variable

Our dependent variable is an index of gender role attitudes toward equality. Davis and Greenstein (2009: 89) argue that gender role attitudes are often measured along six underlying dimensions: "primacy of the breadwinner role, belief in gendered separate spheres, working women and relationship quality, motherhood and the feminine self, household utility, and acceptance of male privilege." Similarly, our measure utilizes the following six statements: (1). Women should run for public office [a seat in the legislature] and take part in the government just as men do; (2). Women should have the same rights as men in every way; (3). Men and women should get equal pay when they are in the same jobs [occupations]; (4). Women should stay out of politics; (5). When jobs are scarce, men [should] have more right to a job than women; and (6). Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women. Respondents are asked whether they 1. Strongly disagree, 2. Disagree, 3. Agree, or 4. Strongly agree with these statements. Respondents' answers are recoded so that higher values indicate more egalitarian gender role attitudes. Answers to the six statements are then averaged creating a continuous measure ranging from 1 to 4. The final six-item scale of gender attitudes has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.78.

Individual Level Variables

We employ a number of individual-level indicators that generally predict gender attitudes,

including the respondent's sex, socioeconomic status (reflected through father's education and prospective education), mother's education (an indicator of exposure to gender role egalitarianism within the home), and participation in religious organization, as well as the total number of people living in the respondent's household, . Gender and participation in a religious organization are coded as dichotomous variables. Female and participant of a religious-group sponsored organization are coded 1 whereas the others are coded 0. 51.32% of the respondents are young women and 18.41% of the students have participated in an organization sponsored by religious group.

Three variables related to education -- mother's education, father's education, and the respondent's future educational plans are also included in the model. Mother's education and father's education are coded as a seven category ordinal variable denoting the highest degree of education that the respondents' mother and father have attained, ranging from 1 (did not finish elementary school) to 7 (completed a bachelor's degree at a college or university). Students' aspiration for further education is also measured by the following question: How many years of further education do you expect to complete after this year? Perspective education is measured by a seven category variable. It is coded from 1-zero years—to 7—more than ten years. Respondent's own educational plans as well as their father's education are used as a measure of socioeconomic status. While we recognize that mother's education is also a measure of socio-economic status, we also feel that this variable is also an indicator of household gender roles. We would have liked a stronger measure, such as whether the mother was employed outside the home; however, the CivEd survey asks few questions about respondents' parents and this is the only question that is specific to the mother's status.

Lastly, because family situations are important, we employ a measure of how many people are in the household. Multiple generations or many siblings are a likely indicator of a more traditional family structure which may also influence the students' gender attitudes. Although we are unable to identify who exactly resides with students, we can identify the number of people living at home besides the parents by using the question that asks: "Altogether how many people live at your home? Write in total number of people. (Don't forget to include yourself)." The number of people at home is truncated to an 11-category ordinal variable, with 0 denoting zero people living at home to 10 denoting more than ten people. Although it does not seem reasonable to have zero people living in the home since respondents are asked to include themselves, only one, out of 44,248 students, responds with zero people living in the home.

School level variables

We also include two measures that tell us a bit about where the students go to school using the CivEd teachers' survey. The first school variable is a dichotomous variable that indicates

whether the school is private (=1) or state supported (= 0). We have no exact measure of whether the school is run by a religious institution; therefore, this variable is designed to capture that aspect of the school context although we recognize that the variable may also be a further indicator of the socio-economic context within the school. In addition, we include a direct measure of the amount of opportunity that students have to learn about gender equality for men and women in school. This is measured by using the question answered by the respondent's teacher: (1) How much opportunity do students up to and including grade 8 [the respondent's grade] have to learn this topic (equal opportunities for women and men)? The variable ranges from 1 (not at all) to 4 (very much).

Country level variables

Our main independent variable is whether women's movement's activity has been documented in the press in the respondent's country. We operationalize this concept by using protest events data collected by Ron Francisco. These data are made available as the European Protest and Coercion Data and include country-date-protest event level observations as coded from Reuters newswires. Francisco and his team focused on protest events, but we believe that publicity in major news agencies about women's movement protest is likely to be a relatively good proxy for exposure to the women's movement since protests are the most highly visible activities that movements might engage in and the news coverage usually indicates something about the demands of the movement. Francisco's data set identifies the protesters and the central issue of the protest, and includes a brief description of each event. However, they did not set out to categorize these events in terms of whether they are part of women's movement activities. Therefore, as part of a broader project, we develop a procedure for searching through the Francisco dataset for women's movement related protest events[2].

For purposes of this study, we use a dichotomized version of the women's movement event count variable coded 1 if there is any women's movement related event identified in the country from 1991 to 1995. Thus, our eighth grade students would have been exposed to the women's movement activity before they were in the fourth grade. Out of the 16 countries in our sample, Denmark, Finland, Greece, and Slovakia are the four countries no women's movement activity is identified during this time period. While not perfect, this measure provides some indication of whether exposure to the ideas of the women's movement through media sources could have happened.

We also include three measures to control for other characteristics of the countries that might influence gender role attitudes. First, we include a measure for the level of women's economic

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[2] Please contact the authors for any questions about the processing of the Francisco dataset.

equality: the percentage of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector in the country taken from the World Development Indicators database of the World Bank. Second, to examine the role of a country's religious context we use the percentage of Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox adherents in the respondent's country taken from the World Religion Dataset (WRD). [3] The World Religion Dataset provides data at five-year intervals since 1945, and we only use information in 1995, the closest year-unit available prior to when CivEd is conducted. Third, we use a 1998 measure of women's political rights by the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Project database to indicate the amount of political freedom women in the sampled countries have. The CIRI Human Rights Data Project obtains information from the U.S. Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices; this measure captures internationally recognized rights, such as the right to vote; the right to run for political office; the right to hold elected and appointed government positions the right to join political parties; and the right to petition government officials. These rights are coded on a scale of 0 to 3 with a score of 0 indicating that women's political rights were not guaranteed by law during 1998. A score of 1 indicates that women's political rights were guaranteed in law and a score of 3 indicating that women's political rights were guaranteed in both law and practice[4].

Modeling Strategy

In the analyses below, we report separate models for two different groups of people. First, as suggested by Hypothesis 2, we report models for all respondents but also split the sample by men and women.

Previous research also suggests that living in a female headed household is important in shaping gender role attitudes; however, we are unable to include this as an independent variable since in female headed households some of our variables—namely father's education—is completely missing. For that reason, we split our sample by the type of households that these respondents live in: female-only household, male-only household, both parents in household, and neither parent in household. Approximately 81.68% of the respondents report that mother (or stepmother

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[3] Given that the majority countries in our dataset are European and Latin American countries, several countries have a significant population of more than 40% of either Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox adherents. We also examine a measure of Islamic adherence – the percentage of Islamic adherents. Cyprus has the highest Islamic population in our dataset, which does not exceed 21%. In other words, the percentage of Islam adherents is low in all countries to have an influence on gender attitudes. For that reason, we only include a measure of very traditional Christian religions.

[4] Cingranelli, David L. and David L. Richards. 2008. The Cingranelli-Richards Human Rights Dataset Version 2008.03.12. http://www.humanrightsdata.org

or female guardian) and father (or stepfather or male guardian) live at home with them most of the time. 10.37% report that no father (or stepfather or male guardian) live at home but rather that their mother (or stepmother or female guardian) live at home with them most of the time while 2.15% report that they live in male-only households. 5.80% of the respondents also report that they live with neither their mother (or stepmother or female guardian) or father (or stepfather or male guardian).   Separate models are reported for each group.

Results

The results from our statistical analysis for eighth-graders in 16 countries are reported in Table 2 and Table 3. In Table 2, we present our models looking at students' gender attitudes by the type of household structure they reside in. Based on this categorization, we present four models: one where the father is absent from the household, one where the mother is absent, one where both parents are present, one where neither parent is present.

Individual level results

The individual level variables indicate support for the idea that sex influences gender roles. First, female students are found to be more supportive of gender equality than their male counterparts. Compared to a male student with similar individual characteristics, school and country context, a female student is on average around 0.5 of a point more egalitarian on the gender role index. This difference is almost equivalent to a one standard deviation shift in the dependent variable. Therefore the magnitude of the difference between female and male students is relatively sizable. Later in our analysis, we look at female and male students separately to examine potential variance based on students' gender in other independent variables we use.   In addition, where the mother (or a female guardian) is present at home, mothers' education has a positive and statistically significant effect on gender role attitudes as well. All other variables being equal, moving from the lowest to highest level (1 to 7) of mothers' education increases students' gender attitude index by 0.06 units. Therefore, although significant, mothers' education level by itself does not have a substantively sizable impact.

Of the two factors designed to measure socio-economic status – father's education and the students' expectations about future education, only the later had a significant effect on the gender role index. Changing a student's expectations about furthering their education from a minimum of 1 to a maximum of 7 increases a student's gender attitude index by 0.42 to 0.54 on average depending on the type of household they live in (all else being equal). Once again, the magnitude of this change is close to a one standard deviation on the gender attitude index.

Another factor influencing students' gender attitudes is the number of people living in their home. We find that students' coming from more traditional families (i.e. that is households with great numbers of family members) tend to be less supportive of gender equality. However, the size of the effect varies significantly. The strongest effect is in households where the mother is absent; here an increase of 4 people living in the household results in a 0.2 units decrease in the gender attitude index all else being equal. This decrease is 0.04 for students in households with both parents present and .08 in households where the father is absent. Our results indicate no statistically significant effects for this variable in households without either one of the parents.

School level results

Surprisingly, the contextual variables at the school level do not have any significant impact on students' gender role attitudes except for students who live in households where the father is absent. Students in female only households have an average of 0.03 increase in the gender attitude index for each 1 point increase (on a 4 point scale) in the learning about gender equality as reported by their teachers. However, for students in other types of households, our analyses do not show any statistically significant effects from this variable. The results of separate models for female and male students, presented on Table 3, show that this increasing effect of opportunities students have to learn about gender equality at school is limited to male students.

National level results

Our primary hypothesis focuses on the effect of women's movement activity on the national level, and we find moderate support for this hypothesis. In Table 2 the coefficient representing the existence of women's movement activity in the country is positive and significant for three of the four equations. For students in families with a mother or female guardian present, that is two parent households and households where fathers are absent, publicized activity by the women's movement in the years before the survey increases students' support of egalitarian gender roles by more than one-tenth of a point on the four point scale. (The coefficients range from .11 for households where the father is absent to .17 for households where neither parent is present).

Looking at Table 3, we can see that the existence of a national women's movement affects young women's gender attitudes more than those of young men. In households where mothers are present but fathers are absent, the existence of national gender roles has a positive and significant effect on young girl's gender role attitudes but the coefficient for young men is not significant. In households where both parents are present, the coefficient for young women is .13 and significant at the $p=.05$ level while for young men the coefficient is smaller (0.09) and only marginally significant ($p=.10$). Only for households where neither parent is present does the effect of women's movement activity for boys and girls appear to be close. As in Table 2, those

young people in houses where the mother is absent do not appear to be affected by the existence of a national women's movement.

This influence is over and above to the influence of the other national variables usually connected to gender role attitudes. In our analysis, women's political rights in the respondents' country are only weakly connected to women's gender roles. On the other hand, increasing percentage of adherents of Roman Catholic and Eastern Obrthodox religions results in a decrease in students' support for gender equality with one standard deviation increase in the ratio of adherents to these religions translating into about 0.10 units decrease on average in the gender attitudes index score.

Perhaps most surprising is that women's participation in non-agricultural labor force is associated with a decline in students' support for gender equality in all models in Table 2 and in all of the analyses for young women in Table 3. Moreover, the effect is not small. When women's employment increases by one standard deviation (3%), we see a decrease of 0.10 in the gender attitudes index all else held equal. Moving from the minimum to the maximum value of women's employment results in a decrease of 0.48 units on our gender role index -– almost one standard deviation. Although it is somewhat surprising to find that national women's employment leads to less egalitarian gender role attitudes, the result occurs after controlling for women's political rights, the strength of traditional religions and the existence of the women's movement. It is possible that this finding, following Banaszak and Plutzer (1993), reflects a backlash reaction among some young women in highly feminist societies.

Conclusion

This paper conducts a cross-national analysis of eighth grade students to see how exposure to the women's movements in their younger years influences gender role attitudes. Our analyses suggest that even when we control for a number of other national level variables that have been previously used to account for gender role attitudes, the presence of a visible women's movements increases gender role egalitarianism. It is important here to remember that we are analyzing fourteen-year-olds; in contrast, to studies that focus on adults who have been socialized by their own experience in the workplace and family, and who might have even participated in the women's movement themselves, our respondents are at the stage where they are formulating their own political opinions of the world. While the attitudes developed in childhood do not completely determine adult gender role attitudes, the research here goes a long way in showing that the generational experiences of those who come to adulthood during the women's movement may help explain the rising gender role equality we see in many countries.

These findings also have implications for social movement scholars interested in understanding the effects that movements have on society at large. Although most of the literature on social movement outcomes has focused on policy making, social movement activists often argue that they are as much focused on changing the hearts and minds of the general public as they are seeking policy change. Yet, those who have studied how social movement activism has affected attitudes have focused largely on attitudinal change among the activists themselves. The analysis here suggests that public social movement activity may indeed influence attitudes at least among the younger generation.

The research also speaks to questions of how gender role attitudes are changed. Two different theoretical perspectives have been posited among gender scholars: a theory that exposure to gender equality in various forms may lead citizens (especially women) to become more egalitarian and a theory of self-interest that posits that individuals become more egalitarian in their gender roles when their economic circumstances are advantaged by gender role equality. The results here provide some support for the theoretical concept of exposure: the young people in our sample become more egalitarian through exposure to the activities of the national women's movement. Given that these respondents are only fourteen years old and not yet likely to be thinking much about their jobs or careers, it is difficult to posit that an immediate self-interest is at play. However, the influence of women's movements is moderated by sex. Young girls are more strongly influenced by exposure to women's movement activity than young men. One potential explanation for this may simply be attention; young women are likely to pay more attention to news reports of women's movement activity than young men. But it also may indicate that reactions to exposure at least for young people are more effective if they are likely to benefit from the attitudes. In particular, at this stage in their lives, when young girls do not yet know their future family or career path, they may be particularly susceptible to exposure to women's movement ideas. To paraphrase Sapiro (1983) the child may be the mother of the woman even if future adult socialization will come more to the fore in future years.

This analysis is obviously a first step to examining how exposure to social movements might influence attitudes. The CivEd survey did not include many questions about parents, and our measure is also a preliminary first step at capturing exposure to the women's movement. Yet, the study suggests that exposure to the women's movement may have contributed to the generational sea change in gender role attitudes that we have seen over the last 50 years. Finer measures and additional studies may help in determining whether such a conclusion is correct.

Table 1 Summary Descriptive Statistics of Variables

Variables	Mean	Std	Min	Max
Female	0.51	0.50	0	1
Mother home	0.92	0.27	0	1
Father home	0.84	0.37	0	1
Mother's education	4.21	1.74	1	7
Father's education	4.29	1.80	1	7
Student's future educational plans (in yrs.)	4.15	1.41	1	7
Number of people in the home	4.59	1.50	0	10
Student member of religious organization	0.18	0.39	0	1
Student's school is private	0.07	0.25	0	1
Learning about equal opportunity	2.60	0.61	1	4
National religion (% Catholics and Orthodox)	0.51	0.35	0.01	0.95
% women in nonagricultural employment	45.70	3.02	38	50.5
Women's political rights	2.27	0.47	2	3
Existence of a women's movement	0.68	0.47	0	1
Gender attitudes index	3.31	0.58	1	4

Table 2 Individual, School and National level determinants of Gender attitudes

	Father absent from household	Mother absent from household	Both parents in household	Neither parent in household
Variables				
Intercept	4.15	4.43	3.66	3.99
	(0.55)***	(0.74)***	(0.44)***	(0.51)***
Individual level variables				
Female	0.41	0.38	0.38	0.43
	(0.18)**	(0.05)***	(0.01)***	(0.03)***
Mother's education	0.01	-	0.01	-
	(0.01)***		(0.00)***	
Father's education	-	-0.01	0.00	-
		(0.01)	(0.00)	
Student's future educational plans (in yrs.)	0.08	0.09	0.07	0.07
	(0.01)***	(0.02)***	(0.00)***	(0.01)***
Number of people in the home	-0.02	-0.05	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)***	(0.02)***	(0.00)***	(0.01)
Student member of religious organization	-0.04	-0.06	-0.00	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.01)	(0.04)
School level variables				
Student's school is private	-0.06	-0.10	0.03	0.08
	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.02)*	(0.06)
Learning about equal opportunity	0.03	0.05	-0.00	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.02)
National level variables				
National religion (% Catholics and Orthodox)	-0.30	-0.39	-0.25	-0.29
	(0.12)**	(0.16)**	(0.09)**	(0.11)**
% women in nonagricultural employment	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.01)***	(0.01)**	(0.01)**	(0.01)*

Women's political rights	0.13	0.04	0.12	-0.05
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.06)*	(0.08)
Existence of a women's movement	**0.11**	**0.06**	**0.11**	**0.17**
	(0.06)*	**(0.08)**	**(0.04)****	**(0.05)*****
N	2990	554	21540	1902
Nations	16	16	16	16

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses

Table 3 Determinants of Gender attitudes divided by sex

	Father absent from household		Mother absent from household		Both parents in household		Neither parent in household	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	boys	Girls	boys	girls	Boys
Variables								
Intercept	4.83	3.73	5.45	3.84	4.65	3.04	4.98	3.61
	(0.63)***	(0.72)***	(0.95)***	(0.84)***	(0.50)**	(0.50)***	(0.66)***	(0.65)***
Individual level variables								
Mother's education	0.02	0.01	-	-	0.01	0.01	-	-
	(0.01)**	(0.01)			(0.00)***	(0.00)**		
Father's education	-	-	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	0.00	-	-
			(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.00)*	(0.00)		
Student's future educational plans (in yrs.)	0.07	0.08	0.14	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.06
	(0.01)***	(0.01)	(0.02)***	(0.03)*	(0.00)***	(0.00)***	(0.01)***	(0.01)***
Number of people in the home	-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	-0.06	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)**	(0.01)**	(0.02)*	(0.02)***	(0.00)***	(0.00)**	(0.01)	(0.01)
Student member of religious organization	-0.01	-0.09	-0.01	-0.08	-0.00	-0.01	0.01	-0.08
	(0.03)	(0.05)*	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.05)
School level variables								
Student's school is private	0.01	-0.12	-0.01	-0.18	0.04	0.02	-0.04	0.14
	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.02)*	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.09)*
Learning about equal opportunity	-0.01	0.07	-0.00	0.10	-0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.04
	(0.02)	(0.07)**	(0.04)	(0.06)*	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.04)
National level variables								
National religion (% Catholics and Orthodox)	-0.36	-0.22	-0.48	-0.35	-0.33	-0.17	-0.34	-0.24
	(0.14)**	(0.15)	(0.22)**	(0.19)*	(0.11)***	(0.10)	(0.14)**	(.14)*
% women in nonagricultural employment	-0.04	-0.02	-0.05	-0.02	-0.04	-0.01	-0.04	-0.01
	(0.01)***	(0.01)	(0.02)**	(0.01)	(0.01)***	(0.01)	(0.01)***	(0.01)
Women's political rights	0.18	0.06	0.16	-0.01	0.13	0.12	0.10	-0.13
	(0.09)*	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.07)*	(0.07)*	(0.11)	(0.11)

Existence of a women's movement	0.12	0.10	0.02	0.07	0.13	0.09	0.18	0.18
	(0.06)*	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.05)**	(0.05)*	(0.07)**	(0.07)**
N	1651	1339	265	289	11392	10148	798	1104
Nations	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01 , standard errors in parentheses

Table 4 Correlation coefficients for the national level variables

National religion (% Catholics and Orthodox)	1.00			
% women in nonagricultural employment	-0.61	1.00		
Women's political rights	-0.72	0.42	1.00	
Existence of a women's movement	-0.28	034	0.07	1.00

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