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Women's and Men's Gender Role Attitudes in Coastal China and Taiwan

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Abstract

This paper examines gender differences in gender-role attitudes from a perspective in which social and economic changes are assumed to be the main force changing family life, employment life and individual beliefs. In doing so, this paper uses a comparative framework to assess the extent how family- and individual-level attributes respectively explain women's and men's gender-role attitudes in China and Taiwan -- the societies with the same Chinese cultural heritage but different political and economic systems. The particular attention is put on the relationship between employment life and gender-role attitudes.

Using primary survey data from East Asia Social Survey, this study takes married population as an example to test the following hypotheses. First, women's perception of gender roles is less traditional than men's. Second, in response to the different patterns (paths) of social and economic change, people in Taiwan hold more egalitarian in gender role attitudes than those in China. Finally, the factors explaining the variation of gender role attitudes across gender and societies would be different. Controlling for other socio-economic and demographic factors, the effect of employment life on gender role attitudes would be more significant for women than for men and more crucial for Taiwan than for China. The preliminary analysis fully supports the first hypothesis and partially supports the rest of the hypotheses.

Introduction

China and Taiwan have all experienced rapid social change since 1950s. The stage and pattern of economic development between them is much different. Export-led industrialization and the development of family enterprise did increase women's labor force participation in Taiwan. However, since women mostly participated in family enterprises and thus were defined as labor force in the informal sector. It is until the 1990's that women's employment was formally recognized. By contrast, socialist reform in China since the mid-1950's had radically increased women's employment rate and female workers were employed primarily by state and collective firms. The economic reform in China since the late 1970's has been characterized in part by the emergence of family businesses. However, most of the employees are now still working in non-family large firms and women's employment rate is especially high in large urban areas. For example, women's employment rate was 91% in Shanghai according to the census data in 1990 (Lu 1999; Abbott et al. 1995; Fei and Sue 1995).

In light of the different structural process of social and economic development and its impact on women's employment in both societies, the following questions are of interest. How does the social and economic change introduce new values for the societies and shape people's beliefs? How does the increase of women's employment affect women and men's gender-role attitudes? As suggested in the previous studies, industrialization plays an important role in shifting a society from the familial toward the non-familial modes of organization. The shift of familial modes happens even in the same cultural setting with different political and economic changes. Furthermore, the shift of familial modes reflects a normative change that implies a modification of the gender ideology. The results of the normative change are family and individual behaviors and beliefs such as the increase in age at marriage and the growing proportion of nuclear families, the decrease in arranged marriages, and the change of family relationship and gender role perceptions (Thornton and Lin 1994, Tiano 1994).

Few studies have examined gender role attitudes by relating them to the change of social structures (Baxter and Kane 1995; Panayotova and Brayfield 1997). The first purpose of this study is thus to compare the perception of gender role in two social systems characterized by the same Chinese Cultural heritage but different paths of economic development. Even both societies are derived from the same cultural heritage, socialist ideology of equality in productive labor after cultural revolution has provided a path to women's emancipation in China for several decades, which may have resulted in a gender ideology different from that in Taiwan. As such, to assess

whether economic forces play an important role in shaping gender role attitudes in different societies becomes particular important.

Many previous studies have examined the relationship between women's gender role attitudes and their wage employment. These studies explored women's view of ideal gender roles through their double/conflict roles experienced in the reproduction and production spheres. It was found that women's paid employment would direct them to egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles. Nevertheless, their attitudes toward gender role were not necessarily to catch up with gender equality ideology (Lu 1993;). What the previous research has not discussed is that in addition to work opportunity and status, how the occupational choices or job characteristics are related to women's gender attitudes. Accordingly, the second purpose of this study is to detect if there is any significant difference in the gender role ideology among women over their various employment lives in terms of the nature of wage employment: the characteristics of occupation.

Moreover, very few studies have touched on the issues related to men's gender role attitudes (Wilkie 1993). As women's gender attitudes are closely related to their opportunities for waged employment, what direct our attention are the following questions. How do men perceive gender roles in response to the social structural change and the increase of women's out for waged work? To what extent does men's perception of gender roles differentiate with women's? Unfortunately, while many empirical studies suggest an employment model for women's gender role attitudes, few studies have tried to integrate employment experience into the study of men's gender role attitudes or to find out whether there is any different way of modeling men's gender-role attitudes. Therefore, the third purpose of this study is to investigate the extent to which men's attitudes toward gender roles are different from women's, the applicability to men of the employment explanation of women's gender-role attitudes, and the gender difference in modeling gender-role attitudes.

Literature and Hypotheses

As patriarchal values have been the dominant gender ideology in most of the societies around the world, taking socially constructed gender and social structure as the main elements into the understanding of gender role beliefs has hardly been viewed as necessary and significant issues to learn until the late of 1990's (Lott 1997). Although the beliefs about gender roles have been examined in the past several decades, previous studies mostly center on the relationship between attitudes toward gender roles and the personal and family relations and behaviors.

The sources of gender role attitudes are explained from four interrelated perspectives: social normative, gender difference, paid employment life, and family

life and personal resources. The literature review is structured under the assumption that social and economic changes are the main forces directly or indirectly changing family life, employment life and individual life and beliefs. The review of literature is also to provide the conceptual framework of understanding gender role attitudes between women and men through different patterns of employment life for both genders in different social systems.

Social Normative

Social normative perspective argues that the differential social conditions would produce distinct individual life experience and beliefs through their effect on the change of family relationships and behaviors. The ways in which preexisting central values and norms in a society guide individual beliefs and behaviors widely include cultural, social, political, and economic changes. Among these structural changes, *state policy* plays an influential role in achieving industrialization, urbanization, educational attainment and other aspects of social development in a country.

The *industrialization* shifts a society from agricultural to non-agricultural modes of production, creates employment opportunities and new occupations, and facilitates people's (especially women's) ability to earn wages. Those who are exposed to these structural changes tend to be directed to non-domestic value orientations. Especially, women, who were generally dependent on men in the past, have become increasingly independent in earning living. This is under the rationale that employment would liberate women from private sphere (Baxter and Kane 1995; Bergen 1987; Tiano 1994). Along with industrialization, *urbanization* is another important factor related to value orientation. Urbanization intermediates individual beliefs through the change of the quality and arrangement of living, of educational attainment, of personal networks and the increase of international (or Western cultural) contacts across distinct social locations.

Family organization and family life could be viewed as the agent interlocking the transformation of social structures with individual life changes. In response to structural changes, the creation of specialized institutions, the decline of economic dependence of family members, and the demographic change would shape the change of family patterns and relationships, and then alter gender relation in the family as well as in the society (Thornton and Lin 1994; Mason et al. 1998). Those who experience the transformation of gender relation would modify their perceptions of gender roles toward modern and egalitarian orientations (Gerson 1987).

The research of gender role attitudes associated with social normative change in terms of different state policy of economy suggests that there is a significant gap in gender role attitudes between a state-market society (Hungary) and a capitalist society

(the United States). Despite the assumption that employment opportunities are positively related to modern attitudes toward gender roles and the higher rate of Hungarian women's employment, Americans are less likely than Hungarians to be traditional in their attitudes toward women's employment (Panayotova and Brayfield 1997).

Baxter and Kane (1995) take five Western industrialized nations as the example to assess the relationship between women's dependence and gender role attitudes in order to identify cross-national differences in women's levels of dependence. They found different levels of egalitarianism in attitudes across nations. Women's dependence on men at social, economic, and interpersonal levels makes the difference significant.

In contrast to the studies of gender role attitudes in Western cultures, there are three reasons for us to examine the change of cultural values in Taiwan and China. First, they have the same cultural traditions. Second, both societies have had dramatic social and economic change since 1950's, nevertheless, until now they have experienced different structural changes in political, economic, and social systems, at least for 50 years. Third, in comparison with Taiwan, China lags behind in economic development and the contact with Western culture. Therefore, the mix of different dimensions of structural changes provides us with a good laboratory to compare and to investigate the extent and the factors related to the change of gender role ideology (Abbott et. al. 1995).

Gender Difference

Previous studies indicate that *gender* is the most significant factor of gender role attitudes (Wilson and Smith 1995; Panayotova and Brayfield 1997). In the gender explanation, it is believed that the increase of women's entry into labor force causes role change between women and men from private sphere to public sphere, and vice versa. However, men's role change does not usually keep pace with women's role shift (Yi and Kao 1986; Wilkie 1993). As such, under the dominantly patriarchal definition of gender roles, which has been last for several centuries, men tend to hold less egalitarian attitudes than women do. On the other hand, from personal interest perspective, women tend to support egalitarian gender roles (Panayotova and Brayfield 1997).

This kind of gender difference in gender roles attitudes is supported by previous cross-sectional or longitudinal studies nationally or internationally (Baxter and Kane 1995; Cassidy and Warren 1996; Huang 1998; Lu 1993; Mason and Lu 1998; Rice and Coates 1995; Spade, 1994; Wilson and Smith 1995). Most of the gender

comparative studies focus on the relation of gender attitudes with either employment, especially women's work roles, or women's family roles. Wilkie (1993) provides profound understanding of men's gender attitudes in her study of American men. Using longitudinal data, the study shows that men's attitudes toward family provider role have changed to egalitarian from 1970's to 1980's. Young and unmarried men hold more egalitarian values than their counterparts. The economy of the family seems to have negatively affected men's attitudes toward egalitarian values. However, this study shows that lower-income men who would view the incomes from the other gender important, are not necessary to be less likely than higher-income men to hold egalitarian attitudes.

Huang's study of the Taiwanese married subjects (1998) indicates that there is gender difference in attitudes toward gender division of labor in the family. Married men's gender attitudes are more likely to be determined by family related variables such as wife's education and family structure (socialization experience). By contrast, married women's gender attitudes are more likely to be affected by the personal resources they own themselves such as waged incomes and self-education. In sum, given scant attention and general but rough findings in previous studies, whether economic resources are actually the major force of attitudes toward gender roles between married women and married men requires further investigation.

Paid Employment Life

Exchange theory suggests that *employment experience* would guide a person into liberal value orientation. Those who work outside the home, regardless of gender, tend to be more modern in gender role attitudes than those who do not. As suggested in the previous literature, employment experience would make a difference in women's gender role attitudes. Women's participation in the labor force may provide them with many chances as well as concrete examples for them to modify their traditional perspective on equality at work (Plutzer 1988; Wilson and Smith 1995)

Many studies have found that paid employment is a strong predictor of gender-role attitudes. Most of the studies relate women's employment experience to gender role attitudes and show that women who take part in labor force are more feminist than those who have no any work experience. Furthermore, mother's employment experience affects women's gender role attitudes (Dugger 1991; Mason et. al. 1976; Herring and Rose 1993; Mason and Lu 1988; Tallichet and Willits 1986; Thornton et al. 1983; Wilson and Smith 1995). However, it appears inadequate in the discussion of employment difference in gender role attitudes based on the

previous literature. First, the definition and discussion of employment experience mostly centers on whether or not a respondent is working. Few studies explore many other aspects of employment experiences, such as *patterns of prior employment, number of previous jobs, employment duration, job continuity, and job characteristics*. These all are important dimensions for the study of employment, but hardly included in most studies on gender role attitudes (Bielby and Bielby 1984; Tiano 1994).

Second, very few studies explore *Gender* differences in the modeling of the effect of employment life on gender attitudes. Employment effect model is also explored less frequently from men's perspective, although has been suggested by scholars since the late 1980's (Cassidy and Warren 1996; Yi and Kao 1986). Taking family employment perspective, it is found that men in the dual-earner families have greater support of non-traditional attitudes toward gender roles, especially if their wives have full-time jobs (Mason and Lu 1988; Wilkie 1993). In their family employment study, in which women's and wives' employment status defines comparative groups, Cassidy and Warren (1993) found that women employed full time show significantly greater support of egalitarian attitudes than men with wives employed or not. Part-time employed women are more egalitarian than men with part-time employed or homemaker wives. This study echoes important implication provided by Yi and Kao back in 1986 that different resource and family variables need to be taken into account in modeling men's gender role attitudes.

Third, differences in the effect of state employment patterns on gender attitudes are less frequently explored. Using cross-national data in five Western societies, Baxter and Kane (1995) indicate that there is different level of egalitarian attitudes across the countries. Instead of using employment, they take women's dependence on men including economic dependence as the major explanatory and find that the level of egalitarian attitudes is highest in nation where women's dependence is lowest. However, in the comparative study of Hungary and U.S., Panayotova and Brayfreild (1997) show that their hypothesis of low gender inequality in Socialist Hungary did not make the residents in this country more support of egalitarian than American. They suggest that more consideration of structural forces into the study of gender role attitudes is important for the future study.

Concerning rapid economic development between China (more like Hungary) since 1970's and Taiwan since 1940's, whether the support of egalitarian attitudes follows the same patterns as them in the study of Hungary and U.S. should be further explored. Before the rapid economic change, there was not much gender gap in employment. Assuming rapid economic development has introduced *urbanization* and *Westernized culture*, created new industry and occupations and made the difference in gender role attitudes, how the *job characteristics* in China and Taiwan explain gender

role attitudes or gender difference in gender role attitudes remains unexplored.

Family Life and Personal Resources

The previous literature mostly relates women's gender role attitudes to their employment from *Socialization perspective*. In this perspective, women's attitudes toward gender roles are affected by socialization factors such as family, parental, and the respondent's background related to occupational and educational attainment, social economic status, and marital status at individual level, as well as residential characteristic, family incomes, family structure at the family level. The family is viewed as a place for shaping individual's identity of gender roles by operating through structural aspect of family, parental personal resources (such as education and occupations), and the presence of siblings. It is hypothesized that as individuals and their families encounter new changes outside, they would respond and adjust to new family or individual values, relationships and behaviors (Thornton and Lin 1994; Huang 1998; Lu 1993).

According to previous studies, *family structure* affects men's gender attitudes more than women's. Men who grew up in the nuclear family tend to hold egalitarian attitudes. It is true for both men and women that maternal employment would increase their support of egalitarian gender-role attitudes (Huang 1998; Thornton et al 1983;). *Marital status and childbearing* are also important predictors of gender-role attitudes. Unmarried women would hold less egalitarian attitudes. However, the effect of marriage is not as strong for men, especially in the country where women experience greater economic dependence on men. *Childbearing* is to increase women's dependence on men so as to decrease women's egalitarian attitudes (Baxter and Kane 1995; Huang 1998; Mason et al. 1976; Panayotova and Brayfield 1997).

Many studies have found that *education* is a strong predictor of gender-role attitudes. The positive effect of education on men and women's egalitarian attitudes is operating through their exposure to egalitarian ideas (Baxter and Kane 1995; Huang 1998; Mason et al. 1976; Tallichet and Willits 1986, Thornton et al. 1983; Wilson and Smith 1995). In comparison with married men, self-education is more important for married women in predicting their gender attitudes. Men's gender attitudes are affected by wives' education (Huang 1998). *Age* is also suggested to be a strong predictor of gender role attitudes by a few studies. The old cohort socialized with more traditional values tend not support of egalitarian attitudes (Tallichet and Willits 1986; Thornton et al. 1983). The negative relationship between age and gender attitudes was found for both genders in five Western, democratic countries (Baxter and Kane 1995).

Personal incomes represent a person's economic dependence on others. Previous studies suggest that income independence lead women to egalitarian orientation (Mason et al 1976; Panayotovva and Brayfield 1997; Tallichet and Willits 1986). Such independence especially affects women's attitudes and leads to men's less egalitarian views (Baxter and Kane 1995; Huang 1998). Concerning the income related factors, *social economic status* a good dimension to explore. It is found that socioeconomic status affects women's gender role attitudes, however the direction of the effect is not singular and needs further examination (Bielby and Bielby 1984; Davis and Robinson 1991).

Hypotheses

Based on the previous literature review, this study comes to the following research hypotheses:

1. Gender role attitudes would be different between China and Taiwan. If we view the economic opportunity as the major force shaping people's beliefs. More support of egalitarian attitudes would be found in Taiwan than in China.
2. Men are more likely than women to hold traditional attitudes toward gender roles.
3. Gender role attitudes would vary with different employment experience separately for men and women.
 - 3.1 The variation of gender role attitudes by different employment experience would be more important for women than men.
 - 3.2 The variation of gender role attitudes by different employment experience would be more important for Mainland Chinese than for Taiwanese.
4. Family structure, childbearing, income status, spouse's and parents' employment, personal and parents' education, personal age, and residential experience would be other significant factors associated with gender role attitudes.

Data and Measurement

The *data* analyzed here were collected as part of East Asian Social Surveys of Taiwan in 1996 and Coastal China in 1997. In the surveys, respondents were selected from a multistage probability sample of adult aged 25 to 60. In this study, we restrict our sample to married women and men recognizing that marriage and family life would produce the variance of employment life and gender attitudes between women and men. 2414 and 2372 married women and men who have employment experience respectively for China and Taiwan samples are included in

the final analysis.

Gender-role Attitudes

Four measures assessing ideas about the place of the women and men in the society and in the family, women and men in the labor force, as well as gender division of family labor are the dependent variables. Four statements offered to respondents are as follows:

1. Husbands should work outside, while wives should stay at home
2. Women are born to be better than men to take care of the family
3. Husbands should share *part of* housework, if wives work outside
4. Husband's achievement in career is wife's achievement

Respondents were asked if they strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree or have no opinion with each statement. The factor analysis on these four items shows two factors, which respectively address two potentially distinct issues related to general gender roles and gender segregation of employment. Because the reliability of scaling the four items is low, this study discusses gender role attitudes by each item separately. In order to produce interval scaled data for the ease of analysis, the answer of strongly agree is scored -2, agree -1, no opinion 0, disagree 1, and strongly disagree 2, except for the item about the extent that husbands should share domestic work, which is scored in an opposite way. The score in this coding reflects a respondent's gender egalitarian orientation.

Employment Experience

The measure for respondent's employment experience in this study is the current or the latest occupation. *Occupation* is defined as a respondent's occupational status at the current or the latest job. Occupations in this study are categorized based on the existence and the level of professional and technological attributes for the job which respondent has. Five groups are defined. The first category includes the jobs, which are considered as the occupation without any professional or technological skills. Soldiers, administrative staffs, and managers are in this category. The second category represents a group of professionals who are involved in science, research, teaching, accounting and art. The third category includes those requiring low professional but high technological levels of skill, such as clerical workers, sales, and workers in the service sector. The fourth category is defined as manual workers who need the lowest or even don't need technological skills for their jobs. Farmers are defined separately as the fifth group.

Dummy coding is used in the multiple regression in the final analysis. Four dummy variables were created, with soldier and administration as the contrast group.

Other Independent Variables

The rest of the variables concerned in this study are the variables at family and individual levels. *Family size* is the total number of family members live with the respondent. Ideally, based on the suggestion from previous literature, the family structure indicating nuclear or not should be a factor associated with gender role attitudes. Unfortunately, because of the limitation of the survey data, this study could only use number of family members for the replacement. Most of the previous studies use the presence of young children as the indicator of one's egalitarian attitudes. However, in order to explicate the extent to which children restrict parents' responsibility in the family and accordingly may affect parents' attitudes toward gender roles, *childbearing* in this study is further defined as the number of children in the marriage.

According to the literature, parent's employment experience would provide next generation model to learn so as to change gender attitudes. Mother's employment is especially important in the attitude change. However, only *father's occupation* is available in the survey data for this study. This disadvantage might probably result in the inadequacy of predicting women's gender attitudes. *Spouse's employment status* is whether spouse has ever employed currently or in the past year. Ideally, actual incomes should be used as one of the personal resource variable. Because of more than half of missing cases in the study sample, in this study the alternative indicator of personal income is used. That is, subjective economic status is respondent's perception of the level of their income status from 0 to 10 levels.

Education, which has been found as the strong predictor of gender role attitudes in this study includes respondent's, parents', and spouse's education. The response was originally deigned as 10 categories of educational level from no informal education to post graduate school. The levels of education were recoded based on general years of education for each level. The transformation thus creates proximate estimation of the years of education for the sample characteristics. However, in order to examine whether different educational attainment would result in different gender attitudes, categorical variable is still used in the final analysis. The levels of education are defined respectively as primary school or less, junior high school, senior high school, and college. Primary school is treated as contrast group in the dummy coding. *Residential experience* is to define whether respondent lived or live urban cities. In the surveys, two questions are related to residential experience. This

study combines the respondent's living in urban area before 15 years old and currently to indicate general residential experience.

Most of the other independent variables are continuous variables. Father occupation is dummy coded in the same way as we do respondent's occupation. Other than father occupation, childbearing, spouse's employment, residential experience are all dichotomous variables in which the answer for no is dummy coded as the contrast group in the dummy variables.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Since we have a representative sample for Taiwan and a sample for coastal China, Table 1 and Table 2 display only a comparison of family and personal background characteristics and employment experience for women and men in Taiwan and in urban China (in the following is just referred as China). The pattern of occupational participation for women and men is similar between Taiwan and China, in that most of the respondents in this study are manual workers. Respondents in Taiwan are more likely than their counterparts in China to take part in manual job and agricultural production. Concerning the male sample between two regions, men in Taiwan tend to have a professional job. In contrast, men in China tend to take administrative and technological job. There are more female manual workers, professional workers and technological workers in Taiwan than in China.

Table 1 and Table 2 are Here

Family size in Taiwan is larger than that in China. For both women and men in this study, more than 94% of them have child since they were married. However, there is very much difference in the distribution of the total number of children for the samples between China and Taiwan. The percentage of one child in China is significantly high. This could be explained by the one-child policy carried out since the late 1970's in China.

As education is viewed as the important personal resource associated to gender role attitudes, this study takes respondent's education, spouse's education and parents' education into account. Parental education is the key indicator in the socialization. Spouse's education can be treated as a product of the socialization associated with spouse matching.

According to Table 1 and Table 2, male respondents' education appears higher

than female respondents' in both regions. Taiwanese men (either they are respondents or spouses) are the group with the highest education attainment, with the average of around the first year of senior high school (10 grades). Mother's education for women and men in both regions are all pretty low; and father's education, in contrast, is higher than mother's education for about 2 grades. However, both are still as low as less than primary school.

In both regions, women's annual incomes are less than men's. There is very much difference in personal annual incomes between China and Taiwan for both women and men. Given to the big gap in incomes between two countries, there is not much difference in the subjective perceptions of economic status as low as about level 4. The perception of social status is also not much difference between regions. Residents in both regions tend to be comfortable with below average level of social status.

Most of the fathers are technological workers in China. However, the largest percentage of fathers' occupation is farmer. More of the respondents in China than those in Taiwan lived or currently live in urban city. This can be explained by the fact that the survey conducted only in the coastal China area is very different from nation-wide survey conducted in Taiwan. The difference thus might be an indicator for the region comparison in gender role attitudes. Taiwanese are a little bit younger than Mainland Chinese for both genders. In both China and Taiwan, the male respondents are a little bit older than the female respondents. In order to assess the effect of age cohort on gender role attitudes, age is categorized in three groups including the respondents born respectively before 1950, between 1950 and 1959, and born after 1960. The cutting point of the birth year is in part referred to the year China turned communist.

Gender Role Attitudes by Gender between China and Taiwan

Table 3 demonstrates that gender role attitudes significantly differ by regions, but the gender difference in each region is found significant on some statement of gender role attitudes. According to the means scores of each attitude item. Taiwanese are more egalitarian in the attitudes toward general gender division between private and public spheres, and husbands' sharing housework with wives. We can get a sense that respondents in Taiwan tend to approve of men's role as breadwinners than their counterparts. Concerning whether 'women are better than men taking care of the family' and 'husband's achievement is wife's achievement', the sample from China hold much more liberal attitudes. The mixed findings show only partial support of the first hypothesis that liberal attitudes toward gender role would be found in Taiwan more than in China. Apparently, in addition to economic development explanation is

not full applicable to the theory of gender role attitudes. To what extent economic explanation determines gender role attitudes will be further examined in the next sections.

Table 3 is Here

In both China and Taiwan, women hold more egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles. However, the significant test shows that the difference is statistically significant in the attitudes toward husband's breadwinner roles ('husbands work outside and wives stay at home') and women's family roles ('women better than men taking care of the family') for the China sample; but toward husband's sharing the housework ('husband share housework if wives work outside') for the Taiwan sample. Given divergent findings of gender difference in gender attitudes between two regions, we still can be sure from the value orientation in four groups by gender and by region that systematically men are more likely than women to be traditional in gender role attitudes as found in previous studies.

Prediction of Gender Role Attitudes

Hierarchical multiple regression analysis is used to determine the predictors of gender role attitudes for women and men. Sixteen regression models by gender and regions are presented in this study. Employment experience and other independent variables, including those are dummy coded, are separately regressed on each dimension of gender role attitudes. Respondent's occupation (four dummy variables), family size, total number of children, spouse employment, age cohort (two dummy variables), respondent's education (three dummy variables), and urban experience are entered first in the model. Father's occupation (four dummy variables) and father's education (three dummy variables) are the next set of variables entering the model. Respondent's perception of her/his economic status finally enters the model.

The use of hierarchy is under the assumption that father's characteristics in education and occupation would play an important role in socializing children and change their value orientation. Therefore, it is expected that father's education and occupation would intervene in the effect of respondent's education and other personal characteristics on gender attitudes in the regression model. Furthermore, following the same line, the perception of economic status might interfere the effect of personal variables on gender attitudes and so is put in the model last. The advantage of the hierarchy used in this study is that we could examine the actual change of the effect of

different sets of variables on personal gender role attitudes, so as to assess the extent to which the socialization are important in predicting personal beliefs. In this study, we use a parenthesis on the regression coefficients to indicate any change of significant effect (either increase or decrease the effect) after the next set of variables enter the model. The results show that the effect of personal employment, family, personal background turns insignificant after father's occupation and education enter the model.

Women's Gender Attitudes

Table 4 shows that in the Taiwan sample, women's attitudes toward "*husbands work outside and wives stay home*" ("Women internal and men external" as shown in the table) are significantly affected by older age cohort, high self-education, and the perception of income status. The most significant effect on women's gender attitudes is the subjective income status (at .001 significant level). Women born before 1949 are more likely than their younger counterparts to be traditional in the attitude toward husband's role as a breadwinner. This finding confirms the hypothesis that women in young cohort (born after 1950) are more egalitarian than those in old cohort. Women who feel having high economic status are less likely to support of women's involvement in the public sphere. Women with high education (more than senior high school) tend to hold egalitarian attitudes.

Table 4 is Here

Comparing with Taiwanese women, the results show very different patterns of the effect on Chinese women's gender attitudes toward breadwinner responsibility. In addition to self-education at senior high school and college levels, women's occupation has a strong effect on their gender attitudes (at least at .01 significant level). Women who are soldiers or have administrative related jobs are more likely than all the occupational groups to be traditional toward the gender roles of breadwinners. Women who have senior high and college education are more likely than low educated counterparts to be liberal in the attitudes toward the general conceptualization of gender division in the society and between families.

Concerning women's attitudes toward *women's role in taking care of the family*, the results from the Taiwan sample show that the total number of children and women's high education are significant predictors. The most significant effect on women's gender attitudes is their own college education (at .001 significant level). The more women's education level is the more egalitarian attitudes toward women's

family roles they would have. Women having more children would be more traditional in women's family roles. The effect of the cohort born from 1950 to 1959 is reduced significantly after father's characteristics enter the equation.

By contrast, in the China sample, women's senior and college education and their urban experience are the important factors influencing their attitudes toward women's family roles. For China women, the experience of living in cities would make them more reject women's traditional family role. The effect of women's own occupation as farmers found significant in the first model becomes insignificant in the final model. The significance of age cohort effect is also reduced finally.

For the attitudes toward *husband's sharing housework*, the results show that in Taiwan, urban experience and women's college education significantly and positively affect gender attitudes. It is a little bit different from the Taiwan sample, in the China sample, the subjective economic status, and family size are additional factors associated with women's gender attitudes. The subjective economic status is the strongest predictor of women's attitudes toward husband's role in domestic work. The more members in the family women have, the less egalitarian attitudes they have toward whether husbands have to share the housework. However, we find that the effect of urbanization on women's egalitarian attitudes between China and Taiwan are very much different and thus violate the hypothesis that urbanization should have positive effect on egalitarianism. The conflict results and relationship might be examined through the ambiguity of phrasing the question we prepare for respondents to answer. The word "part of" in the statement can be interpreted from two directions. The direction is what we use in this study is that the endorsement of this statement is in the egalitarian orientation is from our perspective. However, the respondents might misinterpret them and reject the statement because part of for them is just a little bit instead of much for sharing.

According to Table 4, spouse employment, women's high education and father's technological job have strong effect on Taiwanese women's attitudes toward *gender equality of career achievement*. The women whose husbands are employed would be more traditional than those with unemployed husbands. Women with father having technological jobs are more likely than others to be egalitarian toward achievement equity by gender. In contrast to Taiwan, age, urban experience, perception of economic status and respondent's high education strongly affect women's attitudes toward equality of career achievement, we found that in China, women born before 1950 have less egalitarian attitudes. Urban experience has also positive effect on egalitarian orientation.

Summary

In sum, this study shows commonalities and difference in the gender-role attitudes of women in China and Taiwan. Self-education (at least senior high school) is almost consistently the strongest predictor of their gender role attitudes. Despite the divergent findings, urban experience are found more important for women in China than those in Taiwan in affecting their gender attitudes. Except for the statement about husband's domestic responsibility, women with urban living experience tend to be more liberal in gender role attitudes.

Personal occupational experience does not make Taiwanese women's gender attitudes significantly different. However, we do find that women's attitudes toward the general idea of gender roles inside or outside of the family vary with their different occupations in China. If we disregard the effect of father's characteristics in the case of China, we also can find that women farmers tend to be more traditional toward whether women are better than men to take of the family. As such, there is only partial support of the hypothesis that employment experience affects women's gender role attitudes for women and that employment experience is more important for the China sample than the Taiwan sample. Furthermore, age and family structural effect are not all significant related to women's gender attitudes.

Men's Gender Attitudes

In the Taiwan sample, men's attitudes toward husbands' roles as breadwinners ("*husbands work outside and wives stay home*") are significantly affected by their high education, father's occupation, spouse employment status, and total number of children. Men with senior and college education are more liberal in gender attitudes than others with less than junior school education. Men whose fathers have professional jobs are more likely than their counterparts to be liberal in gender role attitudes. The strongest predictor is spouse's employment. Those with wives having jobs tend to have egalitarian attitudes.

Table 5 is Here

In the China sample, father's technological job and respondent's professional job are important predictors of men's attitudes toward general gender division in the society. Those who have professional jobs are more likely to reject that women should stay at home and men should go out for job. Similarly, those whose fathers have technological jobs are more likely to reject this view of gender role. However, for men in China, urban experience is the strongest predictor among other predictors of their attitudes toward general gender division. The more experience of living in cities, the more egalitarian attitudes they have.

Concerning the attitudes toward women's family roles, Table 5 shows that in the Taiwan sample, family size, spouse employment, self-education at college level and subjective economic status significantly affect their gender role attitudes. The strongest predictor is spouse's employment. Wife's employment would result in their less traditional attitudes. The larger men's family size is, the more traditional attitudes the men have.

Similar to the results found in the women sample, very few variables can explain men's attitudes toward *the gender division of domestic work*. Only spouse's employment strongly affects Taiwanese men's gender attitudes. Only subjective economic status significantly influences Mainland Chinese men's attitudes toward gender roles. The effects on men's attitudes are all positive.

Concerning the attitudes toward *gender equality of career achievement*, father's occupation and subjective economic status are the two factors negatively affecting Taiwanese men's gender attitudes. Among the men whose fathers have manual jobs, their attitudes toward gender equality of career achievement are less likely than other groups to be egalitarian. In the China sample, respondent's occupation and age are the two strongest predictors of their attitudes toward gender role in the career. Men born between 1950 and 1959 are more traditional than others. Those who have professional jobs are more egalitarian than other groups.

Summary

In general, comparing with the women sample, self-education does show the important effect on men's attitudes toward women's family roles for both samples, and husband's breadwinner roles in the Taiwan sample. Spouse employment is very important for differentiate men's gender attitudes in Taiwan. The effect of spouse employment echoes the findings in the previous study of Taiwanese married couple. In contrast to women, urban experience is much less important for predicting men's gender role attitudes, especially Taiwanese men's attitudes.

Similar to the women sample, occupational effect is more important for men in China than those in Taiwan. Personal occupational effect is found especially significant on the attitudes toward men's roles as breadwinners in both samples. Father's technological jobs only predict men's egalitarian attitudes toward career achievement. Age effect is not so significant for men as it for women in this study. However, we do have family size and children number associated with Taiwanese men's gender roles.

Conclusion

This study starts with the examination of gender and national difference in the attitudes toward four dimensions of gender roles. The similarities found in the data are consistent with the results of past research in that women tend to be more egalitarian toward gender roles than men. This study also shows that there is significant difference in gender attitudes between China and Taiwan.

The regression analysis provides diverse information about what kinds of men or women, from China or Taiwan, tend to hold conservative or liberal gender role attitudes. Among the factors affecting different types of gender role attitudes, respondent's education is the strong predictor as suggested in the past research. In both China and Taiwan, concerning four types of gender role attitudes, educational effect is more significant on women's attitudes than men's attitudes toward egalitarian orientation.

The study tries to go beyond employment status often used in previous studies and to examine how job characteristics in terms of occupation are respectively related to women's and men's attitudes toward gender roles. Unfortunately, personal occupation is mostly found significant in the China sample for both genders for their attitudes toward whether men should be breadwinners and women should be homemakers. The socialization effect suggested in previous studies does not explain much the variation of gender role attitudes for both men and women. Father's education and occupation are often not found significant in the regression equations.

In a comparative study on family attitudes between residents of Shanghai and of Taiwan, it is found that the effect of age groups on family attitudes is much stronger in urban China than in urban Taiwan (Chang, 1999). It is suggested that the dramatic changing policy, such as the movement of collectivization beginning in the mid-1950s and the one-child policy in the late 1970s have had various and significant meaning for different age groups. We find no similar significant patterns of the age group effect on family attitudes in this study. However, the more significant effect of spouse's employment status and the number of children in Taiwan sample and that of urban experience in China sample have also implications for the impact of dramatic policy change in China. It is quite plausible to argue that the less significant effect of number of children and family size in China than in Taiwan is a reflection of successful one child policy in China. It is also possible that the lower percentage of women not in labor market results in the significant effect of spouse's employment status on men's gender role attitudes only in Taiwan and not in China. It is generally indicated that policy implementation in China have a clear urban and rural

difference. In this study, although we include only coastal China, it is still detected a much clearer difference in China sample between urban and rural residents than in Taiwan.

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TABLE 1: Sample Characteristics by Gender in Taiwan

	Women	n ¹	Men	n
<i>Employment Experience:</i>				
1. Occupation (%)		1160		1212
(1) Soldiers/administration	1.3		7.2	
(2) Professional worker	15.3		22.0	
(3) Technological worker	38.6		15.9	
(4) Manual worker	38.6		44.9	
(5) Farmer	6.1		10.0	
<i>Other Characteristics:</i>				
2. Mean Family Size (person)	4.8 (1.98)	1252	5.07(2.12)	1220
3. Total Children(%)		1252		
(1) zero	3.4		5.6	1220
(2) one	10.6		12.7	
(3) two	37.7		35.3	
(4) three	31.0		30.1	
(5) four and more	17.1		16.3	
4. Mean Education (years)				
(1) Self	8.67(4.31)	1252	10.26(3.90)	1219
(2) Spouse	10.24(3.98)	1121	9.21(3.99)	1169
(3) Mother	2.79(3.61)	1204	2.66(3.51)	1188
(4) Father	5.24(4.46)	1147	5.21(4.49)	1175
5. Mean Incomes (1000 USD)				
(1) Self	105.20(91.0)	984	211.99(177.7)	1023
(2) Spouse	19.27(15.8)	868	13.40(20.6)	577
6. Mean Subjective Social Economic Status				
(1) Economic Status	3.64(1.70)	1026	3.90(1.69)	1189
(2) Social Status	3.97(1.84)	1166	4.03(1.85)	1170
10. Mean Age Self (years)	40.99(8.92)	1252	42.09(8.37)	1220
11. Urban Experience (%)	49.7	1252	46.9	1220
12. Spouse with Employment (%)	78.4	1252	53.4	1220
13. Father' s Occupation (%)		1169		1142
(1) Soldiers/administration	7.6		7.5	
(2) Professional worker	8.0		7.6	
(3) Technological worker	14.3		14.5	
(4) Manual worker	27.1		24.7	
(5) Farmer	43.0		45.6	

Note: 1.n=valid cases, 2.Number in the parentheses is standard deviations.

TABLE 2: Sample Characteristics by Gender in China

	Women	n ¹	Men	n
<i>Employment Experience:</i>				
1. Employment rate(%)	92.9		99.3	
2. Occupation (%)		1211		1203
(1) Soldiers/administration	7.5		17.0	
(2) Professional worker	19.2		12.6	
(3) Technological worker	23.0		15.7	
(4) Manual worker	33.7		37.7	
(5) Farmer	16.7		16.9	
<i>Other Characteristics:</i>				
3. Mean Family Size (person)	3.8(1.44)	1264	3.8(1.51)	1215
4. Total Children (%)		1264		1215
(1) zero	4.4		6.2	
(2) one	58.5		61.2	
(3) two	21.8		20.1	
(4) three	10.8		8.0	
(5) four and more	4.5		4.7	
5. Mean Education (years)				
(1) Self	9.28(3.59)	1250	10.05(3.17)	1205
(2) Spouse	9.90(3.39)	1243	9.22(3.33)	1201
(3) Mother	3.06(4.06)	1182	3.00(4.05)	1156
(4) Father	5.25(4.53)	1155	5.40(4.53)	1125
6. Mean Incomes (1000 USD)				
(1) Self	1.52(2.93)	1198	1.66(2.44)	1198
(2) Spouse	1.61(2.67)	970	1.00(0.85)	819
7. Mean Subjective Social Economic Status				
(1) Economic Status	3.72(1.75)	1258	4.10(1.64)	1212
(2) Social Status	3.91(1.87)	1257	4.08(1.80)	1210
8. Mean Age Self (years)	41.55(9.2)	1264	43.2(9.06)	1215
9. Urban Experience (%)	71.3	1264	66.0	1215
10. Spouse with Employment (%)	81.1	1264	70.8	1215
11. Father' s Occupation (%)		1110		1082
(1) Soldiers/administration	11.8		9.9	
(2) Professional worker	10.6		9.3	
(3) Technological worker	10.9		10.7	
(4) Manual worker	28.2		25.5	
(5) Farmer	38.5	44.5		

Note: 1.n=valid cases, 2.Number in the parentheses is standard deviations

TABLE 3: Gender Role Attitudes by Gender

	Taiwan		China	
	Mean(S.D.)	n ^c	Mean(S.D.)	n
1. <i>Husbands work outside, wives should stay at home</i>	-.100(1.16)	2471	-.543(1.10) ^a	2473
Female	-.062(1.16)	1253	-.498(1.10) ^b	1260
Male	-.140(1.17)	1219	-.599(1.09)	1213
2. <i>Women better than men to take care of the family</i>	-.773(.986)	2471	-.641(.999) ^a	2473
Female	-.758(.988)	1253	-.576(1.01) ^b	1260
Male	-.789(.987)	1219	-.709(.965)	1213
3. <i>Husbands share housework if wives work outside</i>	1.194(.630)	2471	1.096(.568) ^a	2472
Female	1.221(.642) ^b	1253	1.110(.546)	1260
Male	1.167(.617)	1219	1.081(.590)	1212
4. <i>Husband's achievement is wife's achievement</i>	-1.047(.777)	2471	-.953(.775) ^a	2473
Female	-1.019(.796)	1253	-.979(.775)	1260
Male	-1.075(.756)	1219	-.956(.800)	1213

a. Significantly different between China and Taiwan at < .05

b. Significantly different between women and men respectively in China and Taiwan at < .05

c. n=valid cases

TABLE 4: Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Women's Gender Role Attitudes

		China				Taiwan			
		Women internal men external	Women take care family	Husband should share housework	Men's achieve equal to women's	Women internal men external	Women take care family	Husband should share housework	Men's achieve equal to women's
1.	Manual worker	-.176**	-.098	.003	-.075	-.180	-.069	.053	-.044
2.	Technological worker	-.172**	-.101	-.056	-.040	-.142	-.001	.052	.005
3.	Farmer	-.152**	(-.097)	-.011	-.023	-.131	-.019	.035	.065
4.	Professional worker	-.166***	-.078	-.056	.004	-.117	.002	.019	-.012
5.	Family size	.044	.015	-.068*	.037	-.005	-.003	-.060	-.033
6.	Total children	.002	-.036	-.045	.019	-.044	-.108**	.011	-.015
7.	Spouse employment	-.026	-.025	-.046	-.054	-.027	-.040	.030	-.110***
8.	Age 1 (1950-1959)	-.005	(-.064)	.028	-.053	-.023	(-.046)	.039	-.050
9.	Age2 (~1949)	-.024	(-.081)	.062	-.095*	-.123**	-.079	-.051	-.080
10.	selfedu1(junior high)	(.081)	.064	-.009	-.015	.026	(.067)	-.009	.037
11.	selfedu2(senior high)	.183***	.095*	.032	.028	.095*	.099*	.040	.086*
12.	selfedu3(college)	.251***	.131**	(.078)	.116**	.105*	.154***	.117*	.176***
13.	Urban	.044	.085**	-.079*	.085*	(-.061)	-.050	.065*	-.035
14.	Foccup1(manual)	.085	.015	-.049	.017	.075	-.099	.060	.109
15.	Foccup2(technological)	.061	-.001	.043	.008	.041	-.089	-.002	.156*
16.	Foccup3(farmer)	.028	-.017	-.004	-.023	.029	-.080	.041	.044
17.	Foccup4(professional)	.049	-.032	.013	.049	.057	-.003	-.009	.070
18.	fathedu1(junior high)	.038	.022	.035	-.040	.016	.032	.019	.005
19.	fathedu2(senior high)	.032	.037	.023	-.028	-.031	-.031	.003	-.039
20.	fathedu3(college)	-.029	.057	.012	-.043	-.033	-.060	.014	-.011
21.	Subjective economic status	-.020	.024	.095**	-.068*	-.100***	-.047	-.017	.024
R^2		.095***	.072***	.0384**	.045***	.064***	.087***	.042**	.047***
<i>Number of Cases</i>		1059	1059	1059	1059	1068	1068	1068	1068

Note: 1. * p<.05, ** p<.01, * p<.001 2. The parenthesis indicates the effect which turns insignificant after the next set of variables enter the model.**

TABLE 5: Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Men's Gender Role Attitudes

		China				Taiwan			
		Women internal men external	Women take care family	Husband should share housework	Men's achieve equal to women's	Women internal men external	Women take care family	Husband should share housework	Men's achieve equal to women's
1.	Manual worker	.008	-.009	.007	-.024	.076	-.062	-.038	.024
2.	Technological worker	-.012	-.043	-.029	.050	.063	-.024	-.052	-.003
3.	Farmer	-.007	-.008	.006	.018	.039	-.057	-.056	-.012
4.	Professional worker	.082*	-.002	-.003	.082*	.043	-.074	-.029	.021
5.	Family size	.029	.044	.019	.034	-.018	-.064*	-.023	-.008
6.	Total children	-.034	-.018	.007	.010	-.089*	-.009	.013	.004
7.	Spouse employment	.045	.051	.009	.059	.145***	.087**	.085**	.003
8.	Age 1 (1950-1959)	-.043	.003	.038	-.081*	.073	-.035	-.007	.027
9.	Age2 (~1949)	-.005	.012	.072	-.029	.084	-.041	.028	.028
10.	Selfedu1(junior high)	.010	.034	.006	-.001	-.020	.051	.002	.022
11.	Selfedu2(senior high)	-.025	-.009	.006	.016	-.002**	(.062)	-.030	.051
12.	Selfedu3(college)	-.044	-.070*	-.008	-.041	-.013*	.035**	.001	.022
13.	Urban	.141***	.089*	-.033	.064	.005	.020	.019	.002
14.	Foccup1(manual)	-.046	.053	-.099	.019	.058	.056	.055	-.128*
15.	Foccup2(technological)	-.131*	-.079	-.084	.000	.102	.068	-.018	-.084
16.	Foccup3(farmer)	-.036	-.044	-.037	.007	.028	.038	-.046	-.033
17.	Foccup4(professional)	.054	.005	-.050	.040	.085*	.038	.003	.006
18.	Fathedu1(junior high)	-.013	-.004	.031	-.025	.009	-.005	.000	.004
19.	Fathedu2(senior high)	-.033	.005	.059	-.020	.102	.072	.035	.019
20.	Fathedu3(college)	.015	.131	.001	.058	.122	.116	.081	.050
21.	Subjective economic Status	.007	.001	.072*	-.056	.009	-.060	.010	-.062*
R^2		.077***	.053***	.015	.039**	.005***	.060***	.0299*	.027
<i>Number of Cases</i>		1045	1045	1045	1045	1112	1112	1112	1112

Note: 1. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ 2. The parenthesis indicates the effect which turns insignificant after the next set of variables enter the model.