

CIVIL CONFLICT AND ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT: NORTHERN IRELAND IN A COMPARATIVE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE*

MICK CUNNINGHAM AND NIALL Ó MURCHÚ

Western Washington University

Research into the relationship between gendered family roles and violent social conflict has led to differing conclusions. On the one hand, nationalist sentiment during conflict has been linked to gender conservatism. On the other hand, social disorganization resulting from violent conflict may open a space for gender relations to be redefined in ways that enhance women's status. The current study investigates this question by examining changing attitudes toward women's employment in Northern Ireland as the region moved from a historical period of relatively intense conflict to one of reduced conflict intensity. In addition to examining change across time within Northern Ireland, the analyses compare attitudes in Northern Ireland with those in eight neighboring countries within Europe. Data come from the 1994 and 2002 waves of the International Social Survey Program. The findings show a relative increase in Northern Irish preferences for mothers staying at home, particularly for mothers of school age children. This pattern stands in contrast to most other countries, and suggests that the reduction of violent civil conflict in Northern Ireland may have been associated with increasingly conservative gender attitudes.

Violent conflict between ethnic groups within national borders increased dramatically in the second half of the twentieth century (Gurr and Harff, 2004). Such conflicts result not only in death and displacement, but also in the restructuring of social relations. Researchers have demonstrated links

* Address correspondence to Mick Cunningham, Department of Sociology, Western Washington University, 514 Arntzen Hall, 516 High Street, Bellingham, WA 98225-9081, U.S.A. *E-mail:* Mick.Cunningham@wwu.edu. The Family and Changing Sex Roles II and III surveys were fielded as part of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). The data utilized in this research were documented and made available by the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung, Koeln. The data for the ISSP were collected by independent institutions in each country. Neither the original data collectors nor the Zentralarchiv bear any responsibility for the analyses or conclusions presented here.

between political conflict and family life in the domains of childbearing behavior (Agadjanian and Ndola, 2002; Caldwell, 2004; Lindstrom and Berhanu, 1999), marriage (Randall, 2005), domestic violence (McWilliams, 1998), and care of the elderly (Zimmer *et al.*, 2006). Conflict may be associated with gender relations as well. Men may be engaged in fighting, and possibly away from home. They may be imprisoned or at increased risk of unemployment. Partly as a result, women may find themselves in more visible roles within the local community, and may take on greater responsibility for the household economy. At the same time, ideological dimensions of conflict may reinforce gender inequalities by emphasizing links between women's roles as mothers and reproduction of the ethnic community or nation. This study examines change in perceptions of women's paid work in Northern Ireland across an eight-year interval, providing new insights into the processes through which gender relations are shaped by violent conflict.

Several facets of the current research design are likely to enhance our understanding of the relationship between violent conflict and gender relations. First, the study examines perceptions about appropriate levels of women's employment across the life course in Northern Ireland. Existing research into gender relations in Northern Ireland is remarkably limited in comparison to other European regions. This gap in the literature is surprising in light of the relatively high quality data that have been collected in the region since at least the early 1990s. In addition to its descriptive value, the study also investigates attitude change across time and locates Northern Ireland within a broader European context. Further, the analyses consider how differences in patterns of attitude change across the ethno-religiously-identified groups around which the conflict are associated with attitudes about women's employment. In contrast to previous studies, our multivariate models allow us to isolate influences associated with religious community membership by controlling for potentially confounding factors. A central component of the study is its analysis of data across a time period that corresponds to substantial reductions in the intensity of the Northern Ireland conflict. The serendipitous association between political events and the time points of data collection provides a unique opportunity to understand social change as it occurs in a violently divided society. Because regions experiencing conflict tend to be chaotic and resource impoverished, the availability of high quality data based on probability sampling is rare in such populations. By leveraging both cross-national and longitudinal components of the data, the analysis is able to shed light on several previously untested hypotheses about the relationship between violent conflict and gender relations.

The Northern Irish Context

Northern Ireland is characterized by deep-seated sectarian divisions between religion- and politically-identified ethnic groups that have produced intervals of violence for several hundred years. The conflict originated in disputes over rights to land tenure that were granted to English and Scottish settlers and, later, over access to industrial employment that was hoarded by their Protestant descendants and new English and Scottish immigrants. These settlers and immigrants were distinguished from the native, Catholic Irish by religion. The subsequent partitioning of Ireland in 1920 created Northern Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom, to include six of the nine counties of the province of Ulster. Among the citizens of Northern Ireland, the opposing communities are commonly referred to as "Catholic" and "Protestant." Many scholars argue that the situation in Northern Ireland is most accurately characterized as ethnic or "ethno-national" conflict (Brewer, 2004; Bruce, 1994; McGarry and O'Leary, 2004), but the conflict has also been shaped by a historical legacy of British colonialism and military intervention in Ireland (see Miller, 1998), and by Protestant fears of Catholic doctrine (Fulton, 1991; Ganiel, 2008; Mitchell, 2006; Wright, 1996). Although the categories do not neatly overlap, the two main parties to the conflict are defined on the one hand by ethnic identification as Irish, political identification with Nationalism, and Catholic religious affiliation and on the other by ethnic identification as British, political identification with the United Kingdom, and Protestant religious affiliations. The most recent period of violence, beginning in the 1960s, started with Catholic protests over economic discrimination and political domination by the Protestant majority.

Between the late 1960s and the landmark "Good Friday Agreement" of 1998 more than 3600 people died as a result of the conflict, and ten times that many were injured (Fay *et al.*, 2000). Throughout the years of "the Troubles," forms of violence ranged from relatively unorganized street protests to carefully orchestrated bombings and political assassinations. The violence has been perpetrated by a variety of individuals and groups, including police, paramilitary organizations, and military forces from Great Britain. The Good Friday Agreement was a watershed moment in the history of the conflict, producing a representative elected assembly for the first time in nearly 30 years. Paramilitary cease-fires were first declared in 1994, and have generally held since the deadly Omagh bombing in August 1998. In August 2005, the Irish Republican Army agreed to relinquish its weapons as well as its support for violence as a solution to political problems. In May 2007, a new government was formed between the two largest political parties (the Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Fein).

The data for the current study were captured in 1994 and 2002. A key assumption of this analysis is that the intensity of conflict waned in a substantively meaningful way between the two survey years. McGarry and O'Leary (2004, p. 23) make this point cogently:

In the seven years up to and including 1994, the year of the first IRA and loyalists cease fires, the total loss of life because of the conflict was 622 persons. In the seven subsequent years to 2001 the total loss of life because of the conflict was 140 persons. That is a fall in the death toll of nearly four-fifths, despite a major breakdown in the IRA ceasefire in 1996-7, and despite intermittent breakdowns in the loyalists' ceasefires . . . This is palpable evidence of a meaningful peace process.

Identifying dates defining periods of "conflict" and "post-conflict" in Northern Ireland is an ambiguous and contested exercise. Further, it would be naïve to argue that the conflict has disappeared, and as of 2017 power-sharing institutions have again been suspended. Manifestations of sectarian divisions and militarization remain in the context of what has been called a "cold peace" (Tonge, 2005). Everyday life in Northern Ireland continues to be marked by a degree of insecurity and the possibility of renewed violence, and sectarian conflict continues to shape the views of individuals in the region (see, for instance, Leonard, 2006). Northern Ireland also retains a religiously-segregated school system.

Until the late 1990s, Northern Ireland experienced economic stagnation and decline. Before and during "the troubles" absolutely more Catholics than were unemployed despite their minority status (Aunger, 1975; Smith and Chambers, 1991). Political scientists judged the gaps in employment, income, and job status between Catholics and Protestants as evidence of discrimination, but primarily as a symptom of an underlying ethnonational conflict (McGarry and O'Leary, 1995; Ruane and Todd, 1996). In the 1990s and 2000s, in the context of falling unemployment, the unemployment gap between Catholics and Protestants closed rapidly and mostly continuously (OFMDFM and NISRA, 2016). As the conflict has receded, economic growth in the region has been rapid. This growth was in part fueled by dramatic economic expansion in the Republic of Ireland (see Bloom and Canning, 2008), although growth across the island slowed after the 2008 recession.

Previous Research and Hypotheses

Numerous studies conducted in Europe and North America have highlighted major shifts in gender-related attitudes during the past three to five decades, with the vast majority suggesting decreasing support for gender differentiated

family roles and increasing support for women's employment (Rindfuss *et al.*, 1996; Scott *et al.*, 1996; Thornton and Young-DeMarco, 2001). Women's participation in the labor market and men's participation in household work have also increased in recent decades, though the pace of change has varied across countries (Hook 2006; Van der Lippe and Van Dijk 2001). Existing research and patterns of behavioral change suggest that in the absence of conflict, support for the male breadwinner, female homemaker family model declined in most countries between the mid-1990s and the early 2000s (Crompton *et al.*, 2005; Fine-Davis 2015). Similarly, support for women's employment would be expected to increase.

A number of studies have examined the relationship between gender relations and violent conflict in other regions (see edited volumes by Lorentzen and Turpin, 1998; Meintjes *et al.*, 2001). One of the most direct investigations of the relationship between conflict and gender-related outcomes is due to Kunovich and Dietelbaum (2004). Based on data gathered in Croatia, they find that several conflict-related factors are linked with gender conservatism. Kunovich and Dietelbaum (2004) specifically argue that ethnic nationalism may foster gender-differentiated family roles as a result of its focus on shared ancestry and the past. This link between ethnic nationalism and gender "traditionalism" arises as a result of a strong emphasis on the importance of motherhood and women's role in child socialization (see also King, 2002; Miliæ, 1993). Kunovich and Dietelbaum argue, further, that high levels of in-group and out-group polarization created by nationalist sentiment lead to a generalized conservative outlook in all aspects of life. They write that "conflict leads to an increased need for a sense of safety and a return to the basics, fundamentals, and tradition" (2004, p. 1093). Research in the U.S. and Europe during the two World Wars also provides evidence of widespread emphases on patriotic motherhood during wartime, even under circumstances where women's participation in the labor force had risen (Higonnet *et al.*, 1987; May, 1988). In combination, this research suggests potential declines in support for gender egalitarianism and women's employment during times of conflict. Such a pattern, by inference, would be associated with increasing egalitarianism and support for women's employment in the aftermath of conflict.

There are reasons to expect a different relationship between conflict and perceptions of appropriate roles for women and men. Not all of Kunovich's and Deitelbaum's (2004) cross-sectional findings support their central hypothesis that those living in a conflicted region are likely to hold less egalitarian attitudes about gender. Women who lived in war regions expressed significantly less "traditional gendered family role attitudes" (p. 1099) than

did women living in geographic areas in Croatia that were exposed to lower levels of conflict. Other studies suggest that conflict may destabilize existing gender arrangements in ways that may at least temporarily enhance women's standing in the community and the household. McKay (1998) claims that during periods of violent conflict, "women's roles are often radically altered because they are compelled to shed constraints of gendered traditions and respond to demands of profound social upheaval" (p. 348). Similarly, Manchanda (2001) argues that "conflict opens up intended and unintended spaces for empowering women, effecting structural social transformations and producing new social, economic and political realities that redefine gender . . . hierarchies" (p. 99). A corollary of this pattern of renegotiated roles for women during wartime is the increased marginalization of women in the aftermath of conflict. As men's wartime responsibilities diminish, women may resume previously defined roles centering on the household. Although such a pattern of gender retrenchment may be resisted by some women, it may be welcomed by others to the extent that the end of conflict signals a reestablishing of stability (MacDonald, 1987). Nonetheless, this latter body of research suggests that support for egalitarian gender relations and women's employment may decrease in the aftermath of conflict.

In view of these competing hypotheses about the relationship between conflict and attitudes toward gendered family roles, it is important to consider how other characteristics related to the conflict in Northern Ireland may be linked to variation in levels and rates of change in gender-related outcomes. Religious community membership, gender, and political identity are likely to be particularly salient.

Despite scholarly disagreement about its causal role, religion constitutes a central element of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Religious identity is particularly important to individuals in Northern Ireland (Clayton, 1998; Mitchell, 2006; Fulton 1991) Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland attend religious services much more frequently than their co-religionists in Great Britain (Bruce and Alderdice, 1993). A number of studies have linked religious affiliation and religious participation to gender-related attitudes in Europe and the U.S. (Christiano, 2000; Heineck, 2004; Hertel and Hughes, 1987; Morgan, 1987). In Ireland, North and South, the Catholic Church has maintained strong positions regarding the sanctity of the family. It cultivated a close relationship historically with the state in the Republic of Ireland, where the centrality of women's role as mothers is enshrined in the 1937 Constitution. At the same time, despite theological and denominational differences among Northern Irish Protestants, a relatively large sub-set of Ulster Protestants

holds literal interpretations of the Bible and can be characterized as evangelical (Mitchell and Tilley, 2004).

Several descriptive studies have analyzed population-based data sources that include measures of gendered family roles in Northern Ireland (Fahey, Hayes, and Sinnott, 2006; Greeley, 1999; Hilliard, 2007; Kremer, 1993; Kremer and Curry, 1987). In earlier decades, scholars commonly claimed that Northern Ireland was a highly conservative region in terms of gender and family outcomes (Edgerton, 1986; Roulston, 1989). These arguments were typically supported by citing the high levels of religious observance and the centrality of religious community identity to the conflict. During the 1970s and 1980s, women in Northern Ireland had lower rates of employment and lower rates of returning to work when their children reached school age than women in Great Britain (Cohen, 1990; Trewsdale, 1987). Fahey, Hayes, and Sinnott (2006), using data from the World Values Survey, provide cross-tabulations showing that support for egalitarian gender ideology increased in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland between 1990 and 1999. They do not report levels of statistical significance, examine the correlates of attitudes, or control for potentially confounding factors. By 1999, however, over half of respondents in both regions of Ireland continued to agree that "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" (Fahey *et al.*, 2006, p. 153). Hilliard (2007) analyzes ISSP data to show very little change in support for a single survey item assessing the male breadwinner, female homemaker model in Northern Ireland between 1994 and 2002. Like the study by Fahey *et al.* (2006), Hilliard's study also fails to control for other factors or report levels of statistical significance. However, her results suggest that by 2002, respondents in Northern Ireland expressed higher levels of agreement with the item tapping support for male breadwinning and female homemaking than did those in Great Britain or the Republic of Ireland. Despite a paucity of comparative research, we hypothesize that individuals in Northern Ireland may be less supportive of women's employment than individuals in other countries.

It is also possible that levels and rates of change in gender ideologies differ across religious communities within Northern Ireland. The studies by Greeley (1999), Kremer (1993), and Kremer and Curry (1987) each found that Catholics were somewhat more egalitarian in their views of appropriate roles for men and women than Protestants in the 1980s and early 1990s. These studies did not control, however, for other variables, report whether observed Catholic-Protestant differences were statistically significant, or identify mechanisms associated with differences across religious communities.

Research by Fahey and co-authors (2006) using probability sampling claims to find no evidence of differences in the gender attitudes of Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. However, the results of this analysis are not shown and the structure of the authors' model is not specified. The other studies did not report whether observed Catholic-Protestant differences were statistically significant, and none investigated potential mechanisms associated with differences across religious communities. Based on existing research, we hypothesize that Catholics will be more supportive of women's employment than Protestants. It is also possible that there are differences in rates of attitude change across religious communities, although no existing studies offer guidance about specific expectations for the nature of change across religious groups in recent years.

Research consistently finds that women hold more egalitarian attitudes toward gendered family roles than do men (Brewster and Padavic, 2000; Mason and Lu, 1988). Levels and rates of attitude change across time may differ in important ways for women and men as conflict recedes. For instance, women might retain their support for work roles developed during wartime, while men might be more likely to support women's domestic responsibilities as conflict recedes. Accordingly, the analyses control for gender and, examine gender differences in rates of attitude change. In addition, it is possible that gender differences in rates of attitude change vary across religious community, and such a three-way interaction between gender, religious affiliation, and change over time is also investigated.

A final factor that may be linked to gender-related attitudes in Northern Ireland is political identity. Several studies of the conflict suggest that nationalist and republican women were likely to have been exposed to liberationist ideologies that extended beyond the goal of political autonomy to ideas about gender equality (Arextaga, 1997; Sales, 1997; Sharoni, 2001). The following text from a platform statement of the Republican party Sinn Féin reflects its stated support for gender equality: "Sinn Féin wants to build an Ireland of Equals and we recognise the vital need for . . . gender equality in the decision making process. We argue that women's inequality is a structural problem, stemming from a patriarchal society" (An Phoblacht, 2002). Among unionists, the largest political party is the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), and this party is closely associated with a conservative stream of Protestantism. The party's founder, the Reverend Ian Paisley, was also the founder of the Free Presbyterian Church and that church's members dominated the party until recently (Bruce, 2007; Moloney, 2008). The party remains opposed to marriage rights for same-sex couples. The final hypothesis, then, suggests that a

nationalist identity may be a mechanism producing greater egalitarianism among Catholics, while a unionist identity may foster gender conservatism among Protestants.

Data and Methods

Data appropriate for investigating these hypotheses are available from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) archives. The ISSP consists of a coordinated group of studies that are designed to facilitate standardized comparisons of individuals from a large number of countries. The current study includes data from a group of countries that participated in the 1994 and 2002 waves, during which the second and third rounds of the "Gender and Family Roles" modules were administered. The resulting dataset for Northern Ireland represents approximately 1600 individuals, and the cross-national dataset adds an additional 25,500 respondents from 8 other countries or regions in Europe. Supplementary data with information about political identity in Northern Ireland was collected under the auspices of the Northern Ireland Social Attitudes Survey (1994) and the Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (2002).

Measures

The analyses focus on respondents' views about the appropriate level of women's employment at different points in the maternal life course: before children, when children are not yet in school, after children enter school, and after the children leave home (see Appendix 1). Response categories include "stay at home," "work part-time," and "work full-time."

These attitudinal measures are assessed in Northern Ireland and eight other European nations or regions including Austria, Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales), the Netherlands, Norway, the Republic of Ireland, Spain, Sweden, and Western Germany. These countries and regions represent a wide variety of welfare regimes and were selected to provide a broad base for comparison within the European context. Appendix 2 provides descriptive statistics for the key outcome measure capturing attitudes about the timing of women's employment. The data are presented as the percentage of respondents in each of nine countries or regions who support women's employment at each of four points in the life course. All percentages are reported for 1994 and 2002.

For the analyses within Northern Ireland, the key variable of interest for measuring attitude change is the year in which the survey was collected (1994 or 2002). For ease of interpretation, the values for survey year are set at 0 and

8, respectively, in the multivariate analyses. Religious affiliation is categorized into three groups—Protestant, Catholic, and no religious affiliation—and Protestants are treated as the reference category. The proportion of individuals in Northern Ireland expressing any other religious affiliation is very small, and these individuals are excluded from the analyses. Attendance at religious services is measured on a 6 category scale in which a high score indicates more frequent attendance. Education is measured with two variables capturing whether the respondent completed a secondary qualification or has any tertiary schooling. The reference category is composed of those who did not complete a secondary qualification. Marital status is captured with two variables assessing whether respondents have never married or were previously married. The reference category represents married individuals. Employment status is measured with two variables indicating whether respondents are employed full-time or part-time, and the reference category consists of individuals who are not employed. Finally, the analyses include measures of gender, age in years, and whether the respondent's mother ever worked for pay for as long as one year between the respondent's birth and age 14.

Plan of Analysis

Assessing change in gender-related attitudes is accomplished through two approaches. The first is through comparison with other countries; the second is through multivariate analysis with statistical controls. We begin by comparing Northern Ireland's ordinal rankings relative to the other eight cases on each measure of women's employment. As such, we compare attitudes about women's employment and four points in the life course in two survey waves. Next, we present graphs that facilitate analysis of the pattern of change in Northern Ireland relative to the other eight regions between 1994 and 2002. We then turn to the multivariate models in which we examine the predictors of attitudes about the timing of women's employment within Northern Ireland using multinomial logistic regression. The regression analyses assess whether attitude change over time is statistically significant.

Results

Table 1 characterizes relative levels of support for women's employment at four different life stages – before children, pre-school children, school-aged children, and after children — in Northern Ireland compared to the average of all nine regions. It is designed to facilitate examination of comparative attitude change over time. For each of the four life course stages, Table 1 presents two pieces of information. The numbers in the columns labeled “9

Table 1
9 Country Average and Northern Ireland Rank of Percentage Agreeing with Each Response on Attitudes toward Women's Employment Across the Life Course, ISSP 1994 and 2002

	Before Children			Pre-school Children			School-aged Children			Empty Nest		
	9 Country Average	Northern Ireland Rank	Rank	9 Country Average	Northern Ireland Rank	Rank	9 Country Average	Northern Ireland Rank	Rank	9 Country Average	Northern Ireland Rank	Rank
1994												
Stay at home	4.2%	7		50.0%	6		16.0%	5		5.1%	5	
Work part-time	13.5%	2		41.1%	2		62.0%	5		21.7%	6	
Work full-time	82.3%	5		8.9%	6		22.1%	4		73.2%	6	
2002												
Stay at home	2.4%	8		40.6%	8		11.6%	9		3.6%	8	
Work part-time	10.1%	4		48.5%	1		63.1%	2		17.3%	8	
Work full-time	87.6%	4		10.9%	4		25.3%	4		79.1%	1	

Notes: A score of 1 indicates the percentage choosing that response is ranked lowest among the 9 countries, while a ranking score of 9 indicates the highest percentage choosing that response. A high score on the "stay at home" response indicates relatively lower support for employment among women in each hypothetical condition of maternal employment. A high score on the "work full-time" responses indicates relatively greater support for women's full-time employment in each condition of maternal employment.

Country Average” are taken from data in Appendix 2. The 9-country average is the mean percentage responding affirmatively to each survey option – whether women should stay at home, work part time or work full time – for the nine regions. These averages are presented for four maternal life course stages and for two survey waves. The numbers in the columns labeled “Northern Ireland Rank” are calculated by assigning the country with the lowest percentage for each response within a given year a score of 1 and assigning the country with the highest percentage a score of 9. Overall, **support** for women’s (full-time) employment is reflected in low rank scores for “stay at home” (e.g. a rank of 1, 2, or 3—or low percentages) and high scores for “work full-time” (e.g. a rank of 7, 8 or 9—or high percentages). Conversely, **opposition** to women’s employment would be indicated by high rank scores on stay at home and low scores on work full-time. If a country had a rank of 9 for the response category “full-time employment,” this would indicate it was the country that was most supportive of women’s full-time employment at that particular life course stage.

The first percentage in the table shows that an average of 4.2% of individuals across all countries reported that a woman should stay at home after she is married but before she has children in 1994. In Northern Ireland, 4% of respondents stated that women should stay at home before they have children (see Appendix 2). In Table 1, the value of 7 in the column labeled “Northern Ireland Rank” indicates that six of the countries were *more supportive* of women’s employment before children than Northern Ireland, and two of the countries (Spain and the Republic of Ireland, see Appendix 2) were *less supportive* of women’s employment under this condition in 1994.

Overall, the 9-country average columns in Table 1 show that support for women’s employment increased over the eight-year interval between surveys. Given the smaller variability in attitudes when there are no dependent children in the home, we focus our analytic attention on the two middle points: when pre-school-aged children and school-aged children are in the home. Table 2 shows that in 1994, 50% of respondents in all countries reported that women with pre-school aged children should work full-time. With a rank of 6, Northern Ireland fell in the middle third. The percentage of respondents across all countries who thought women with pre-school aged children should stay at home decreased from 50% in 1994 to 40.6% in 2002. However, the *relative* rank of Northern Ireland increased from 6 to 8, suggesting that individuals in Northern Ireland became less supportive of women’s employment compared to other countries over the 8-year time interval. In 1994, Northern Ireland fell near the middle of the distribution of 9 countries

for the percentage reporting that women should stay at home at each hypothetical life course stage (ranking 7th, 6th, 5th, and 5th, respectively). This pattern had changed markedly by 2002. The percentage of individuals in Northern Ireland asserting that women should “stay at home” was either highest (rank 9) or second highest (rank 8) for all four life course stages. Similarly, by 2002 Northern Ireland had the lowest percentage supporting part-time employment among mothers of pre-school aged children (rank 1) and the second lowest percentage supporting part-time employment among mothers with children (rank 2) in school. These patterns do not imply that support for women’s employment declined uniformly across the 8-year interval in Northern Ireland. Rather, in the case of women with pre-school children, the pattern indicates that support for part-time employment did not increase as rapidly in Northern Ireland as it did in other regions.

Because of the greater variability in responses across countries for the two conditions when children are present in the household, the findings for women’s employment with pre-school children (Figure 1) and school-aged children (Figure 2) are presented visually. The three bars represent staying at home, working part-time, and working-full time, respectively, and they sum to 100%. As in Table 1, the countries are ranked from lowest to highest for the percentage of respondents stating that women with pre-school children should stay at home. Analysis of Figure 1 makes it possible to see how the relative ranking of Northern Ireland changes across time and which countries moved up or down in the relative rankings. Figure 1 Panels A and B show that for the

Figure 1 Panel A.
Timing of Women’s Employment for Preschool Children: 1994
Ranked By Percent “Stay at Home”

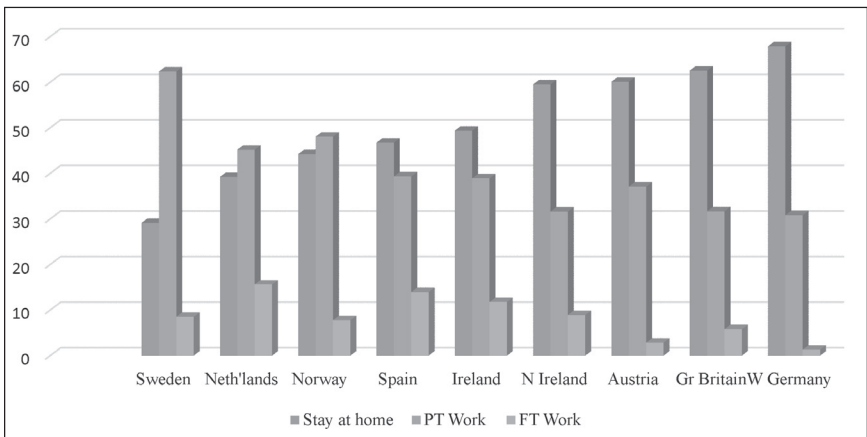


Figure 1 Panel B.
Timing of Women’s Employment for Preschool Children: 2002
Ranked by Percent “Stay at Home”

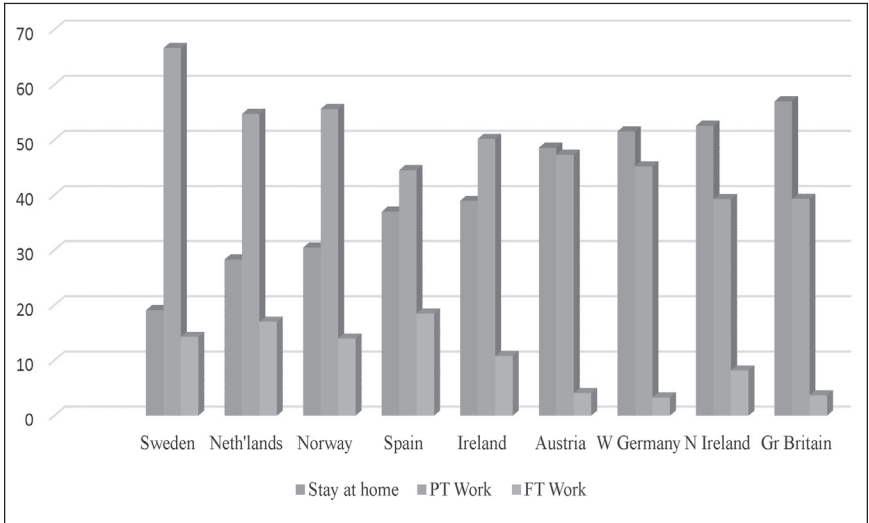


Figure 2 Panel A.
Timing of Women’s Employment for School-aged Children: 1994
Ranked By Percent “Stay at Home”

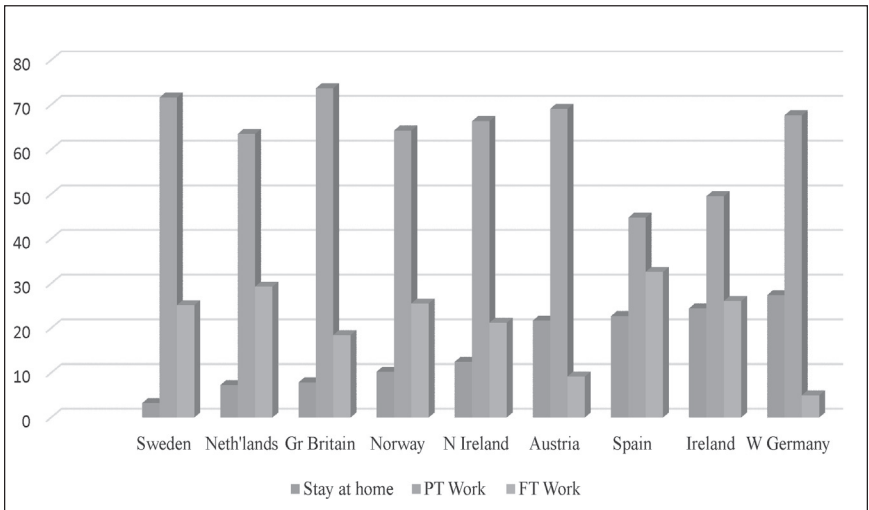
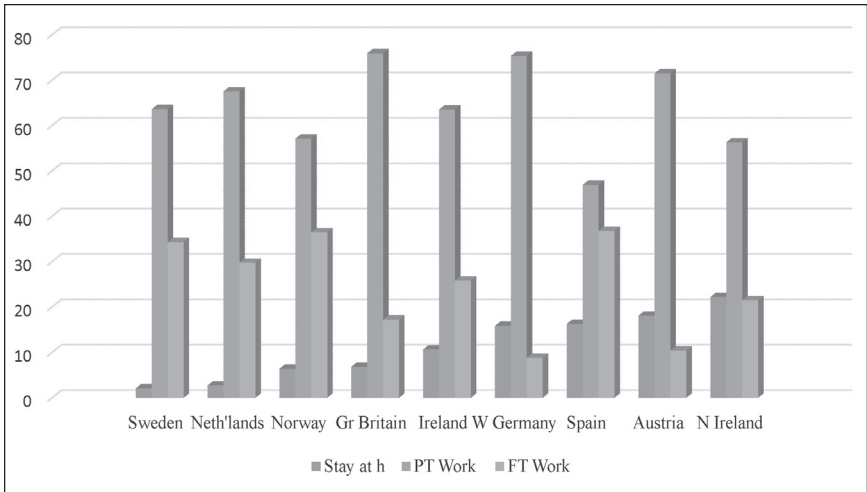


Figure 2 Panel B.
Timing of Women’s Employment for School-aged Children: 2002
Ranked By Percent “Stay at Home”



variable capturing maternal employment with *pre-school aged children* the general trend across the nine survey regions has been a shift from favoring mothers staying at home toward favoring mothers working part time.

Figure 1 shows that Sweden is least supportive of women with pre-school children staying at home in both survey years. This is consistent with the social democratic welfare state form of which Sweden is a primary exemplar (Esping-Anderson 1990). Individuals in Norway and the Netherlands are also less likely to support women staying at home compared to other countries in the dataset. The United Kingdom represents a liberal welfare regime, and by 2002, Northern Ireland and Great Britain are the two countries most supportive of women staying at home if they have pre-school aged children. Across the eight-year interval, Northern Ireland’s ranking “jumped” over Austria and West Germany, and diverged from the Republic of Ireland which retained its middle ranking (rank #5) for support for mothers staying at home. This provides suggestive evidence that individuals in Northern Ireland became relatively less supportive of women’s employment in the years the conflict receded.

Figure 2 displays levels of support for maternal employment when *school-aged children* are present. The two panels of Figure 2 show two general trends. First, Christian democracies, such as Western Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, show a marked shift in attitudes away from mothers with school

aged children staying at home toward mothers working part-time. The social democracies, Norway and Sweden, show a shift in attitudes from support for staying at home or working part time toward working full time. Like Table 1 and Figure 1, Figure 2 demonstrates that for the school-aged children measure, Northern Ireland moves from a middle rank in 1994 (rank #5) to an extreme rank in 2002 (rank #9). Although Northern Ireland does not appear as extreme in terms of support for full-time employment when women have school-aged children, Figure 2 again suggests that support for women's domestic roles increased in Northern Ireland between 1994 and 2002. It is interesting to note, further, that while Northern Ireland appears similar to Great Britain on the item for pre-school aged children, the two regions are quite distinct when it comes to support for women's employment when there are school-aged children in the household. Even more striking is the divergence between attitudes in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Where Northern Irish support for mothers of school age children staying at home climbed from 12.5% (rank #5) to 22.2% (rank #9), support in the Republic fell from 24.4% (rank #8) to 10.6% (rank #5). These findings represent both a comparative and an absolute increase in opposition to maternal employment.

Overall, the findings in Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2 offer little evidence for the hypothesis that support for women's labor market involvement increased as the intensity of conflict declined. Although support for women's employment in Northern Ireland changed in ways that were broadly similar to the change in other countries, the pace of change was substantially slower.

The results presented to this point have not accounted for other factors likely to be associated with attitudes toward women's employment. The final set of analyses consider change in attitudes toward women's employment across the life course based on the four key items assessing women's employment for the Northern Irish sample only. The models presented in Table 3 are based on a series of multinomial logistic regression equations in which each maternal employment timing measure is treated as an unordered categorical variable. The coefficients estimate the influence of each predictor variable on support for part-time employment and full-time employment compared to support for staying at home. The response "Stay at Home" is treated as the reference category. The coefficients are exponentiated and presented as odds ratios. Numbers greater than 1 suggest a positive influence of the independent variable on the odds of working part-time or full-time, while numbers less than 1 suggest a negative influence of the predictor. The primary purpose of the equations in Table 3 is to assess the extent to which change over time in attitudes about women's employment in Northern Ireland

was statistically significant. Descriptive statistics for the equations in Table 3 are provided in Table 2.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Northern Ireland Variables, Northern Ireland Social Attitudes Survey (1994) and Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (2002)

	1994		2002	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Women's employment timing				
Before children: Stay at home	.03	—	.04	—
Before children: Work part-time	.09	—	.10	—
Before children: Work full-time	.88	—	.86	—
Preschool children: Stay at home	.58	—	.50	—
Preschool children: Work part-time	.32	—	.41	—
Preschool children: Work full-time	.10	—	.91	—
School-aged children: Stay at home	.11	—	.21	—
School-aged children: Work part-time	.66	—	.56	—
School-aged children: Work full-time	.23	—	.23	—
Empty nest: Stay at home	.02	—	.07	—
Empty nest: Work part-time	.23	—	.24	—
Empty nest: Work full-time	.75	—	.69	—
Protestant	.56	—	.49	—
Catholic	.34	—	.41	—
None	.10	—	.10	—
Male	.47	—	.39	—
Female	.53	—	.61	—
Age	46.42	18.54	49.23	17.52
Married	.55	—	.49	—
Single (never married)	.23	—	.25	—
Post married	.22	—	.26	—
Employed full-time	.42	—	.34	—
Employed part-time	.08	—	.13	—
Not employed/not in labor force	.50	—	.53	—
Did not complete secondary qualification	.49	—	.46	—
Completed secondary qualification	.31	—	.36	—
Completed any tertiary schooling	.20	—	.18	—
Mother employed when respondent 14	.41	—	.32	—
Attendance at religious services	3.67	1.52	3.50	1.57

Notes: For women's employment timing, n= 543 in 1994 and n=759 in 2002; for all other items, n=605 in 1994; n=878 in 2002. Values for categorical variables are proportions.

The findings in Table 3 provide some evidence that support for women's participation in the labor force declined across the 8-year interval. Specifically,

in the column labeled “School-aged Children,” the statistically significant coefficient on the variable capturing survey year show that support for part-time employment decreased relative to support for staying at home. Further, in the models labeled “Empty Nest,” support for both part-time and full-time employment decreased relative to support for staying at home among hypothetical mothers whose children have left the parental home. The only evidence suggesting greater support for maternal employment is observed in the increase in support for part-time employment among mothers with pre-school children relative to support for staying at home. Taken in combination, Table 3 is generally consistent with the earlier finding that reductions in conflict are not associated with increases in support for women’s employment.

Table 3
Exponentiated Coefficients from Multinomial Logistic Regression of Timing of Women’s Employment on Survey Year, Religious Community, and Controls, ISSP 1994 and 2002

	<i>Before Children</i>		<i>Pre-school Children</i>		<i>School-aged Children</i>		<i>Empty Nest</i>	
	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Full-time</i>
Survey Year	1.014 (0.046)	1.007 (0.041)	1.076*** (0.018)	1.049 (0.028)	0.910*** (0.020)	0.951 (0.025)	0.845*** (0.040)	0.844*** (0.039)
Catholic	0.820 (0.33)	0.687 (0.25)	1.207 (0.18)	1.854** (0.44)	0.887 (0.16)	1.208 (0.27)	1.265 (0.43)	1.184 (0.39)
No Religious Affiliation	1.138 (1.03)	1.622 (1.32)	1.908** (0.44)	1.057 (0.42)	1.969 (0.87)	3.874** (1.80)	1.701 (1.87)	3.162 (3.40)
Female	1.015 (0.38)	1.750 (0.59)	1.398* (0.20)	0.726 (0.17)	1.417* (0.25)	1.336 (0.29)	0.576 (0.19)	0.867 (0.28)
Age	0.967* (0.013)	0.941*** (0.012)	0.963*** (0.0048)	0.957*** (0.0083)	0.974*** (0.0060)	0.942*** (0.0073)	0.958*** (0.012)	0.936*** (0.012)
Single	0.806 (0.35)	0.369* (0.14)	0.709* (0.12)	0.807 (0.22)	0.491*** (0.11)	0.473** (0.12)	0.915 (0.34)	0.695 (0.25)
Post-married	1.215 (0.58)	1.755 (0.75)	1.069 (0.19)	1.936* (0.58)	0.768 (0.16)	1.208 (0.32)	3.193** (1.28)	3.728*** (1.45)
Employed full-time	0.975 (0.53)	1.178 (0.58)	1.281 (0.21)	1.905* (0.48)	1.136 (0.25)	1.704* (0.43)	1.204 (0.59)	1.624 (0.77)
Employed part-time	1.553 (1.29)	1.365 (1.06)	1.517* (0.32)	0.540 (0.28)	3.486** (1.39)	1.753 (0.80)	4.908* (3.82)	2.555 (1.97)
Secondary education	0.560 (0.27)	1.391 (0.59)	0.840 (0.13)	0.857 (0.23)	1.168 (0.25)	1.060 (0.26)	1.351 (0.56)	1.520 (0.61)
Any tertiary education	0.822 (0.52)	1.909 (1.08)	0.846 (0.16)	1.567 (0.44)	0.902 (0.22)	1.119 (0.32)	1.001 (0.46)	1.101 (0.49)
Mother	2.319	2.593	1.533**	1.661*	1.952**	2.572***	3.813*	5.938**

contd. table 3

	<i>Before Children</i>		<i>Pre-school Children</i>		<i>School-aged Children</i>		<i>Empty Nest</i>	
	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Full-time</i>
worked	(1.25)	(1.31)	(0.22)	(0.37)	(0.42)	(0.62)	(2.37)	(3.63)
Religious	1.139	1.199	1.092	1.071	0.930	1.011	1.061	1.014
attendance	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.055)	(0.088)	(0.060)	(0.078)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Constant	12.82*	226.1***	1.335	0.419	24.18***	14.54***	92.31***	661.3***
	(14.6)	(236)	(0.49)	(0.25)	(12.2)	(8.54)	(101)	(704)
Log Likelihood	-536.2		-1084		-1090		-836.2	

Notes: n = 1302. Reference category for all regressions is "stay at home." Standard errors are in parentheses.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

The results in Table 3 also facilitate comparison of Protestant-Catholic differences in support for women's employment across the life course. Table 3 offers scant evidence of differences in attitudes toward women's employment across religious communities. For the "Pre-school Children" equations, Catholics are more supportive of full-time work compared to Protestants (who are the reference category). No other statistically significant Protestant-Catholic differences are found in Table 3. Those with no religious affiliation are more supportive of women's employment at all stages than are Protestants, but only two of these coefficients attain statistical significance. It is also interesting to note that there are surprisingly few gender differences in preferences for levels of women's employment across the life course. Older respondents are less likely to support women working full time or part time than staying at home and these coefficients are statistically significant. Respondents who work part time are more likely to favor mothers working part time. And those whose mothers worked are more likely to favor mothers with preschool, school-age and departed children working part-time and fulltime. Finally, supplemental models found no evidence of differences in rates of attitude change for Catholics and Protestants over time (not shown).

Conclusion

The political events in Northern Ireland over the past forty years offer a unique opportunity to understand the consequences of violent conflict for social life. The availability of high quality data captured at time points representing differing levels of conflict intensity make Northern Ireland a particularly valuable site for such an investigation. O'Dowd (1989) argues that studies of Northern Ireland have suffered from a tendency toward either an exclusive focus on the unique internal factors associated with the conflict

or a failure to acknowledge the salience of the Protestant-Catholic divide. The current study held these factors in balance through a close investigation of within-country differences along with analyses that placed Northern Ireland in a broader European context. Unfortunately, the analysis was unable to include direct assessments of individuals' perceptions of the influence of conflict on their own ideas about appropriate gender relations. Nonetheless, by framing the available data within the political context of Northern Ireland at each survey wave, the research offers new insights into our understanding of processes of social change as they unfold in a context of violent conflict.

As a whole, the research supports previous qualitative and historical studies suggesting women's roles as mothers may be re-emphasized as conflict recedes. Writing in reference to the two World Wars, Higonnet and colleagues (1987) claim that "[i]nstead of allowing women to affirm their newfound independence, postwar notions of femininity in propaganda and the popular media were restrictive and frustrating. In this way potentially progressive social transformations culminated for many in what might be termed reaction formations" (p. 13).

The analysis of attitudes toward women's employment across the maternal life course suggested some evidence of a decline in support for women's employment as the intensity of conflict waned. This is especially true in comparison to other European regions, and for the time points when children are older. The multivariate analysis showed that support for part-time employment among mothers of school-aged children declined relative to support for these mothers staying at home. Similarly, support for both part- and full-time employment among mothers whose children had left home each declined relative to support for mothers with adult children staying at home. These findings include controls for a number of factors likely to be associated with attitudes toward women's employment. The ability of the analyses within Northern Ireland to control for a large number of factors related to attitudes about maternal employment in other research provides relatively strong grounds for the claim that Northern Ireland experienced declines in support for women's employment between 1994 and 2002.

For some maternal life course stages, absolute levels of support for women's employment increased marginally in Northern Ireland. This was the case for the variable tapping mothers of school-aged children. Even then, however, the amount of increase in support for women's employment was less than occurred in most other countries. Northern Ireland moved from a middle rank in the cross-national comparisons on the items addressing levels of maternal employment to a point at or near the lowest levels of support for

maternal employment. This finding in particular highlights the value of the comparative component of the research. The ability to show that individuals in Northern Ireland were increasing their support for maternal employment more slowly than those in most of the peer countries provides additional leverage on hypotheses related to civil conflict and attitude change. At a minimum, the findings offer little support for Kunovich and Dielbaum's (2004) argument that conflict is related to gender conservatism. As the ethnonational conflict in Northern Ireland waned, attitudes toward mothers working either became more conservative or moved in an egalitarian direction more slowly than other countries. Although there is little doubt that the dynamics of conflict differ across cultural and temporal contexts (Randall 2005), the weight of evidence from this and other studies suggests that conflict is not uniformly associated with declines in women's status.

There are several important questions raised by the findings. First, the analysis was unable to identify the mechanisms associated with declining support for gender egalitarianism in Northern Ireland. Our hypothesis that Catholics would report more egalitarian views about women's employment was only statistically significant in one model. Further, there was no evidence that the attitudes of Catholics and Protestants changed in different ways over time. It seems possible that changing economic circumstances may have played a role in increasing the relative conservatism of Northern Irish attitudes toward mothers' employment between surveys. In the 1990s and 2000s, before, during and since the end of armed conflict, Catholic labor force participation and employment and economic growth have all increased (Breen, 2000; Osborne and Shuttleworth, 2004). Economic conditions in the region continued during the study interval, and there is evidence of increases in economic equality between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland (Breen, 2000). To the extent that Catholic families were better able to rely on men's earnings as the conflict intensity receded, a growing proportion of families may have been able to institute more conventionally gendered family arrangements. Some research suggests that the availability of child-care is particularly low in Northern Ireland, and this may have forced many women to emphasize their role as family caretakers (McWilliams, 1991). Future research using panel data may be able to verify the findings in this study and more effectively identify potential mechanisms responsible for the observed pattern.

Implicit in the current study is the claim that living in a violently divided society shapes the overall social context of individuals living in such conditions. It is also possible that individual experiences with conflict are associated with gender-related attitudes. Factors including exposure to discrimination, harm

to family members, imprisonment, or perceptions of inter-group relations may be linked to individuals' attitudes about appropriate gendered roles. Although data demands for such an investigation would be high, analyses of more immediate consequences of conflict would be likely to significantly enhance our understanding of the processes at work.

Additional investigation into other countries experiencing declines in support for women's employment might also shed light on the factors associated with attitude stability and change. The analyses did not focus in detail on the patterns and predictors of attitude change in the comparison countries. The cross-national analyses suggested that although most countries could be characterized by increasing support for women's non-domestic pursuits, this was not a universal pattern. For instance, there is evidence of movement away from egalitarianism in Great Britain and the Netherlands. The pattern of change in these countries suggests that a degree of caution is in order when interpreting the underlying causes of change in Northern Ireland.

References

- Agadjanian, V. and P. Ndola. (2002). War, peace, and fertility in Angola. *Demography*, **39**, 215-231.
- An Phoblact/Republican News. (2002). Women in an Ireland of equals, 25 April.
- Aretxaga, B. (1997). *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Aunger, E.A., 1975. Religion and Occupational Class in Northern Ireland. *Economic and Social Review* **7**, 1-18.
- Bloom, D.E. and D. Canning. (2008) "Global Demographic Change: Dimensions and Economic Significance." *Population and Development Review*, **34**, 17-51.
- Breen, R. (2000). Class inequality and social mobility in Northern Ireland, 1973-1996. *American Sociological Review*, **65**, 392-406.
- Brewer, J. D. (2004). Continuity and change in contemporary Ulster Protestantism. *The Sociological Review*, **52**, 265-283.
- Brewster, K. L. and Padavic, I. (2000). Changes in gender ideology, 1977-1996: The contribution of intracohort change and population turnover. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, **62**, 477-487.
- Bruce, S. and Alderdice, F. (1993). Religious belief and behavior. In Stringer, P. and Robinson, G. (Eds), *Social Attitudes in Northern Ireland: The Third Report, 1992-1993*. Belfast: The Blackstaff Press.
- Bruce, S., (2007). *Paisley: Religion and Politics in Northern Ireland*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Bruce, S. (1994). *The Edge of the Union*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Caldwell, J. C. (2004). Social upheaval and fertility decline. *Journal of Family History*, **29**, 382-406.
- Christiano, K. J. (2000). Religion and family in modern American culture. In Houseknecht, S. K. and Pankhurst, J. G. (Eds), *Family, Religion and Social Change in Diverse Societies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Clayton, P. (1998). Religion, ethnicity, and colonialism as explanations of the Northern Ireland conflict. In Miller, D. (Ed), *Rethinking Northern Ireland: Culture, Ideology and Colonialism*. London: Longman.
- Cohen, B. (1990). *Caring for Children: The 1990 Report. Report for the European Commission's Childcare Network on Childcare Services and Policies in the United Kingdom*. Edinburgh: Family Policy Studies Centre.
- Crompton, R., Brockmann, M. and Lyonette, C. (2005). Attitudes, women's employment and the domestic division of labor: A cross-national analysis in two waves. *Work, Employment, and Society*, **19**, 213-233.
- Edgerton, L. (1986). Public protest, domestic acquiescence: Women in Northern Ireland. In Ridel, R. and Calloway, H. (Eds), *Caught Up in Conflict: Women's Responses to Political Strife*. London: Macmillan.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fay, M.-T., Morrissey, M. and Smyth, M. (1999). *Northern Ireland's Troubles: The Human Costs*. London: Pluto Press.
- Fahey, T., Hayes, B. C., and Sinnot, R. (2006). *Conflict and Consensus: A Study of Values and Attitudes in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Fine-Davis, M. (2015). *Changing Gender Roles in Ireland: Three Decades of Attitude Change*. New York: Routledge.
- Fulton, J. (1991). *The Tragedy of Belief: Division, Politics, and Religion in Ireland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ganiel, G., 2008. *Evangelicalism and Conflict in Northern Ireland*. New York: Palgrave.
- Greeley, A. (1999). The religions of Ireland. In Heath, A. F., Breen, R. and Whelan, C. T. (Eds), *Ireland North and South: Perspectives from Social Science*. Oxford: The British Academy, Oxford University Press.
- Gurr, T. R. and Harff, B. (2004). *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Heineck, G. (2004). Religion, attitudes towards working mothers' and wives' full-time employment: Evidence for Austria, Germany, Italy, the UK, and the USA. Austrian Institute for Family Studies Working Paper 39-2004.

- Hertel, B. R. and Hughes, M. (1987). Religious affiliation, attendance, and support for pro-family issues in the United States. *Social Forces*, **65**, 858-882.
- Higonnet, M. R., Jenson, J., Michel, S. and Weitz, M. C. (1987). Introduction. In Higonnet, M. R., Jenson, J., Michel, S. and Weitz, M. C. (Eds), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hilliard, B. (2007). Changing attitudes to marriage and family in cross-national comparison. In B. Hilliard and M. Nic Ghiolla Phádraig, (Eds.), *Changing Ireland in International Comparison* (115-134). Dublin: Liffey Press.
- Hook, J. (2006). Care in context: Men's unpaid work in 20 countries, 1965-2003. *American Sociological Review*, **71**, 639-660.
- King, L. (2002). Demographic trends, pronatalism, and nationalist ideologies in the late twentieth century. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, **25**, 367-389.
- Kremer, J. (1993). Attitudes and motivations. In Kremer, J. and Montgomery, P. (Eds), *Women's Working Lives*. Belfast: HMSO.
- Kremer, J. and Curry, C. (1987). Attitudes toward women in Northern Ireland. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, **127**, 531-533.
- Kunovich, R. M. and Deitelbaum, C. (2004). Ethnic conflict, group polarization, and gender attitudes in Croatia. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, **66**, 1089-1107.
- Leonard, M. (2006). Teenagers telling sectarian stories. *Sociology*, **40**, 1117-1133.
- Lindstrom, D. P. and Berhanu, B. (1999). The impact of war, famine, and economic decline on marital fertility in Ethiopia. *Demography*, **36**, 247-261.
- Lorentzen, L. A. and Turpin, J. (1998). (Eds), *The Women and War Reader*. New York: New York University Press.
- MacDonald, S. (1987). Drawing the lines—Gender, peace, and war: An introduction. In MacDonald, S., Holden, P. and Ardener, S. (Eds), *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Manchanda, R. (2001). Ambivalent gains in South Asian conflicts. In Meintjes, S., Pillay, A. and Turshen, M. (Eds), *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*. London: Zed Books.
- Mason, K. O. and Lu, Y.-H. (1988). Attitudes toward women's familial roles: Changes in the United States, 1977-1985. *Gender & Society*, **2**, 39-57.
- May, E. T. (1988). *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic Books.
- McGarry, J. and O'Leary, B. (1995). *Explaining Northern Ireland: Broken Images*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- McGarry, J. and O'Leary, B. (2004). *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- McKay, S. R. (1998). The psychology of societal reconstruction and peace: A gendered perspective. In Lorentzen, L. A. and Turpin, J. (Eds), *The Women and War Reader*. New York: New York University Press.
- McWilliams, M. (1991). The sexual division of labour in Northern Ireland. In Davies, E. and McLaughlin, E. (Eds), *Women, Employment, and Social Policy in Northern Ireland: A Problem Postponed?* Coleraine: PRI Publications/Centre for Research on Women, University of Ulster.
- McWilliams, M. (1998). Violence against women in societies under stress. In Dobash, R. E. and Dobash, R. P. (Eds), *Rethinking Violence against Women*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Meintjes, S., Pillay, A. and Turshen, M. (2001). (Eds), *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*. London: Zed Books.
- Miliæ A. (1993). Women and nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. In Funk, N. and Mueller, M. (Eds), *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*. New York: Routledge.
- Miller, D. (1998). Colonialism and academic representations of the Troubles. In Miller, D. (Ed), *Rethinking Northern Ireland: Culture, Ideology and Colonialism*. London: Longman.
- Mitchell, C. (2006). *Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief*. Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate.
- Mitchell, C. and Tilley, J. (2004). The moral minority: Evangelical Protestants in Northern Ireland and their political behaviour. *Political Studies*, **52**, 585-602
- Moloney, E. (2008). *Paisley: From Demagogue to Democrat?* Dublin: Poolbeg.
- Morgan, M. Y. (1987). The impact of religion on gender role attitudes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, **11**, 301-310.
- O'Dowd, L. (1989). Ignoring the communal divide: The implications for social research. In Jenkins, R. (Ed), *Northern Ireland: Studies in Social and Economic Life*. Aldershot, U.K.: Gower Publishing Company.
- OFMDFM (Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister) and NISRA (Northern Ireland Statistical Research Agency). (2016). *Labour Force Survey Religion Report 2014*. Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, Belfast.
- Osborne, R.D. and Shuttleworth, I. (2004). *Fair Employment in Northern Ireland: A Generation On*. Belfast: The Black Staff Press.
- Randall, S. (2005). The demographic consequences of conflict, exile and repatriation: A case study of Malian Tuareg. *European Journal of Population*, **21**, 291-320.
- Rindfuss, R. R., Brewster, K. L. and Kavee, A. L. (1996). Women, work, and children: Behavioral and attitudinal change in the United States. *Population and Development Review*, **22**, 457-482.

- Roulston, C. (1989). Women on the margin: The women's movement in Northern Ireland, 1973-1988. *Science and Society*, **53**, 219-236.
- Ruane, J., and Todd, J. (1996). *The Dynamics of Conflict in Northern Ireland: Power, Conflict and Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sales, R. (1997). *Women Divided: Gender, Religion, and Politics in Northern Ireland*. London: Routledge.
- Scott, J., Alwin, D. F. and Braun, M. (1996). Generational changes in gender-role attitudes: Britain in cross-national perspective. *Sociology*, **30**, 471-492.
- Sharoni, S. (2001). Rethinking women's struggles in Israel-Palestine and in the North of Ireland. In Moser C. and Clark, F. (Eds). *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. London: Zed.
- Smith, DJ. and Chambers, G. (1991). *Inequality in Northern Ireland*. New York: Clarendon, Oxford University Press.
- Tonge, J. (2005). *The New Northern Irish Politics?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Trewsdale, J. M. (1987). *Womanpower No 4: The Aftermath of Recession; Changing Patterns of Female Employment and Unemployment*. Belfast: Equal Opportunities Commission for Northern Ireland.
- Thornton, A. and Young-DeMarco, L. (2001). Four decades of trends in attitudes toward family issues in the United States: The 1960s through the 1990s. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, **63**, 1009-1037.
- Van der Lippe, T. and van Dijk, L. (2001). (Eds), *Women's Employment in a Comparative Perspective*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Wright, F. (1996). *Two Lands on One Soil: Ulster Politics before Home Rule*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.
- Zimmer, Z., Knodel, J., Kim, K. S. and Puch, S. (2006). The impact of past conflicts and social disruption on the elderly in Cambodia. *Population and Development Review*, **32**, 333-360.

Appendix 1 Text of Outcome Measures

Attitudes toward women's employment across the life course

Response categories 1=Stay at home 2=Work part-time 3=Work full-time

1. Do you think that women should work outside the home full-time, part-time, or not at all under these circumstances: After marrying and before there are children?
 2. When there is a child under school age?
 3. After the youngest child starts school?
 4. After the children leave home?
-

Appendix 2
Distribution of Perceptions of Women's Employment Across the Life Course, ISSP, 1994 and 2002

	Before Children			Pre-school Children			School-aged Children			After Children		
	Home	PT	FT	Home	PT	FT	Home	PT	FT	Home	PT	FT
1994 W Germany	3	19	78	68	31	1	27	68	5	4	37	59
2002 W Germany	1	13	86	52	45	3	16	75	9	2	27	72
1994 Great Britain	2	10	88	63	32	6	8	74	18	1	25	74
2002 Great Britain	1	9	89	57	39	4	7	76	17	2	23	75
1994 Nor Ireland	3	9	88	60	32	9	12	66	21	2	23	75
2002 Nor Ireland	3	9	88	53	39	8	22	56	22	7	25	69
1994 Austria	2	15	84	60	37	3	22	69	9	5	30	65
2002 Austria	1	6	94	49	47	4	18	72	10	1	16	83
1994 Ireland	4	11	84	49	39	12	24	50	26	6	20	74
2002 Ireland	3	11	85	39	50	11	11	64	26	3	22	76
1994 Netherlands	1	10	90	39	45	16	7	63	29	1	18	81
2002 Netherlands	0	11	88	28	55	17	3	68	30	0	14	85
1994 Norway	1	10	89	44	48	8	10	64	26	1	16	83
2002 Norway	1	6	92	30	56	14	6	57	36	0	11	89
1994 Sweden	0	6	94	29	62	9	3	72	25	0	11	89
2002 Sweden	0	5	94	19	67	14	2	64	34	0	8	91
1994 Spain	15	23	63	47	39	14	23	45	33	18	18	64
2002 Spain	7	16	77	37	45	19	16	47	37	12	15	73
1994 Average	4	14	82	50	41	9	16	62	22	5	22	73
2002 Average	2	10	88	41	48	11	12	63	25	4	17	79

Home = "Stay at home", PT = "Work part-time", FT = "Work full-time"