



Parental family and Cultural Context as Predictors of Individual Level of Sexual Liberalization in Europe

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Research problem

- Earlier in the traditional society abortion, divorce and homosexuality were strongly disapproved. Now with the process of value change, increasing general tolerance and diversification of behavior more and more people consider these types of behavior as normal (Inglehart, Norris 2003; Inglehart, Welzel 2010).
- Values and attitudes are to a large extent formed in the parental family (Grusec and Goodnow 1994; O'Shea and Kirrane 2008, etc.)
- Traditional family with a male breadwinner is only one of the possible alternatives (increase of female employment)
- Children spends less time within the family and is involved into a number of different other groups



- Hence, pursuing a model of parental family is no longer considered the only way. However, it still can affect family values. We argue that this impact varies by country

Objective

- to reveal the impact of parental family on individual level of sexual liberalization across different European countries

Specific contribution

- Comparison of the impact of different aspects of parental human and cultural capital
- Including into analysis a large set of European countries

Theoretical framework

‘Plethora of capitals framework’ (Bourdieu, 1986):

- the process of childbearing and socialization is regarded as investment (planned and unintentional) in different forms of capital
- children from wealthier, happier and more cultural families become more educated and cultural, because they have more favorable habitus
- In our research we extend this framework of P. Bourdieu by incorporating into analysis the level of the society. In our viewpoint the process of socialization is affected not only by situation in the family but also in the society on the whole

Theoretical framework

- Existential security (R. Inglehart) and human empowerment (C. Welzel) could be regarded as the analogues of cultural capital of Bourdieu.
- Support for reproductive freedoms is one of the crucial aspects of human empowerment (Welzel 2013)
- Countries differ a lot in dominant values and attitudes towards different aspects of gender equality. In more developed countries attitudes towards gender equality are in generally more tolerant (Inglehart, Norris 2003; Inglehart, Welzel 2010; Braun, Gloeckner-Rist 2011). In countries where self-expression values are prevalent attitudes towards homosexuality is more tolerant (Adamszyk, Pitt 2009)

Previous research

The effect of parental social background upon individual

- **Social class of parents and their values** lead to the various consequences for children within their adulthood (Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988; Bogenschneider & Stone, 1988; Maccoby, 1992; Le-Monda, 2007)
- **Parents' religiosity** affects individual's religiosity and even more often his or her gender attitudes (Kapinus & Pellerin 2008)
- The role of the parents in family socialization differs in various cultures (Tudge et. al, 2000; Chen, 1988; Kohn et. al, 1987)

Previous research

Effect of individual education and social status

- Higher education and social status leads to more tolerant gender attitudes (Guiso et al. 2003; Van de Werfhorst, Kraaykamp 2001; Guveli, Need, De Graaf 2007; Cunningham 2008), attitudes towards abortion (Wang, Buffalo 2004; Patel, Johns 2009) and homosexual relationships (Ohlander, Batalova, Treas 2005)

Effect of parents' education

- Parental higher level of education leads to more tolerant gender attitudes of the individuals (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Guveli, Need, De Graaf 2007; O'Shea & Kirrane 2008)
- Higher parents' cultural capital and material wealth positively contributes to tolerant gender attitudes (Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp 2001)

Hypotheses: individual level

- The higher is the level of education of parents the less tolerant is individual attitudes towards sexual liberalization
- The higher is the occupational status of father (or mother), the more tolerant are attitudes towards sexual liberalization
- The higher is the cultural capital of parents, the more tolerant are attitudes towards sexual liberalization

Hypotheses: country level

- Religious diversity is associated with higher level of sexual liberalization within country. The percent of protestants leads to a higher level of sexual liberalization
- The higher is gender inequality in the country (GII), the lower is the level of sexual liberalization
- In former countries the level of sexual liberalization is lower.

Data and methods

- European Value Study 2008-2009
- OLS regression with country-fixed effects,
- multilevel analysis – determinants of family values

Dependent variable

Level of sexual liberalization – constructed as an unweighted index (distr. from 0 to 1) Components (3) – “Do you justify?”:

- Homosexuality
- Abortion
- Divorce

The higher index the higher level of emancipation: it ranges from 0 (low level of sexual liberalization) to 1 (high level of sexual liberalization)

Cronbach alpha – 0.804

Independent variables

- education level of father or mother
 - occupational (9 statuses) and income status of father or mother when a person was 14 years old
 - family cultural capital: if the parents read books, followed news or discussed political issues with their children (now respondents)
 - growing up in single-parent or two-parent family
- ! the respondent answers either about mothers or fathers status**

Indices

- income_par_house: Parents had problems making ends meet and Parents had problems replacing broken things.
- lack_cult_cap: parents reading books, following new and discussing political issues

Independent variables

Control variables:

- gender
- individual educational and occupational status,
- income,
- family status,
- children,
- religiosity

Country level

Religion

- % of protestants
- % of muslims
- Religious Diversity Index (RDI)
- Dominant religion

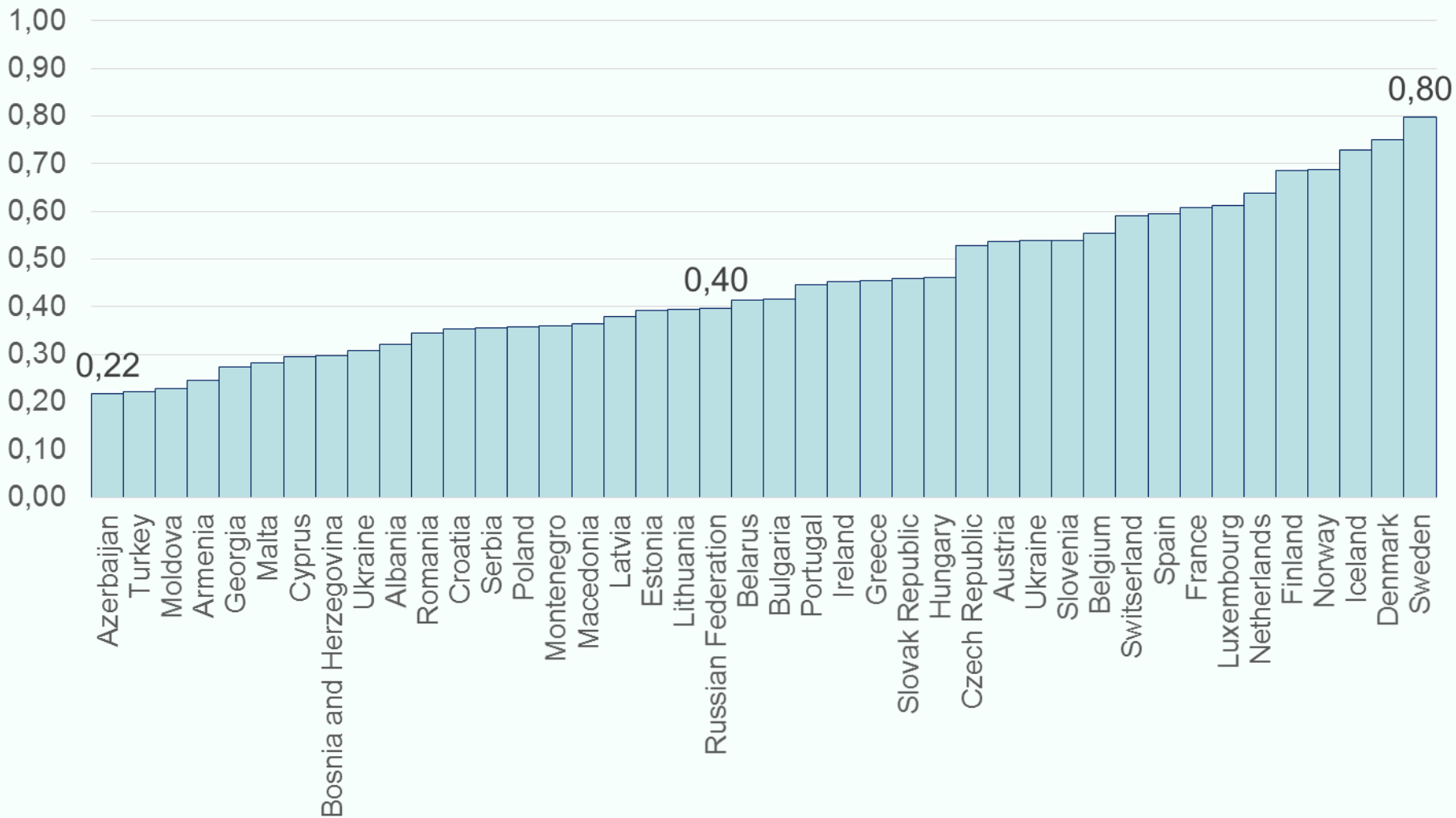
Gender equality

- Gender inequality index (GEI)
- Total fertility rate (TFR)

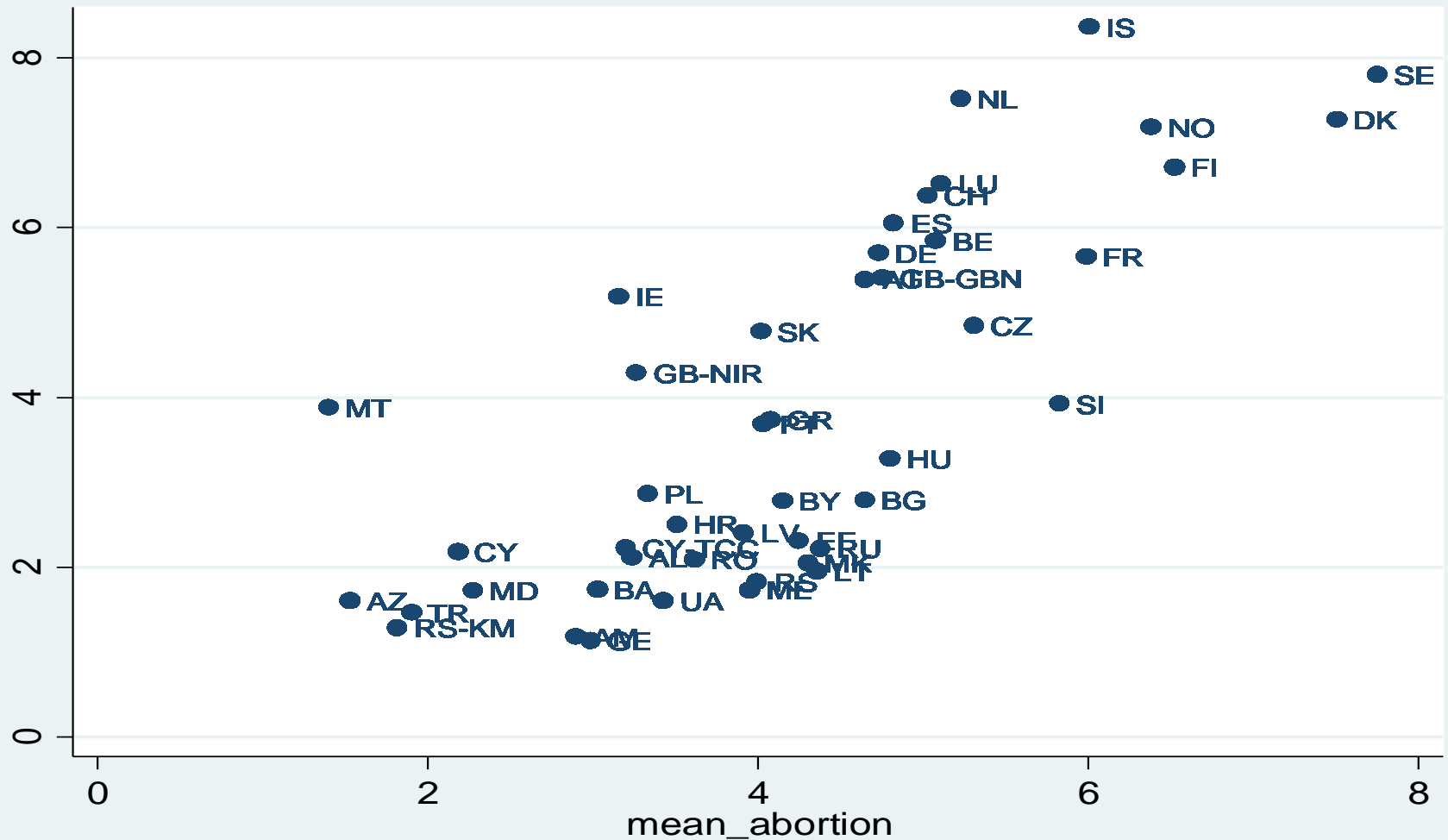
Country development

- Human development index (HDI)
- Ln GDP per capita
- Post-communist country
- Education part of HDI (edHDI)

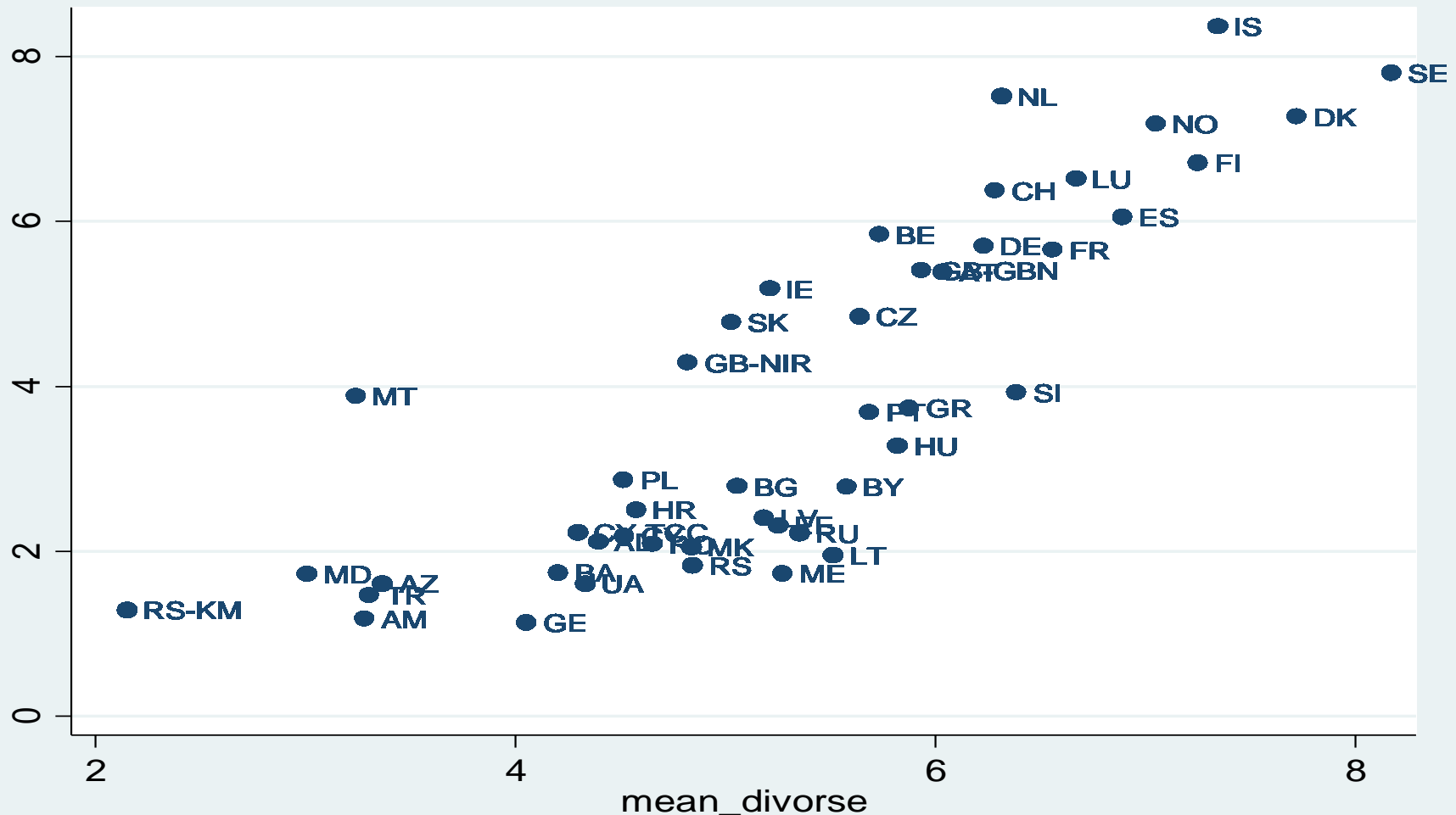
Distribution of level of sexual liberalization by country



Correlations between attitudes towards abortion and homosexuality



Correlations between attitudes towards divorce and homosexuality



Preliminary findings

(according to OLS regression)

Individual level of sexual liberalization is higher for those who(se):

- Grew up in families with step-parents (single-divorced family) compared to two-parent or widowed (especially after mother's death) families
- Parents had higher cultural capital (for mothers books, news and politics; for fathers only news and marginal cases)
- Parents had higher level of education
- Parents were employed (compared to non-employed and self-employed),
- Parents had higher occupational status (almost linear relationship), were supervisors and had higher number of employees
- Grew up in families with higher income

Individual level analysis

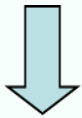
VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Fathers/mothers educational level (reference low)					
middle	0.0207***				
high	0.0327***				
(lived with parents at the age of 14 : reference: With both)					
with father	0.00118	0.00447		0.00237	-0.00243
with mother	0.0221***	0.0256***	0.0193***		0.0179***
Age	-0.00168***	-0.00174***	-0.00173***	-0.00171***	-0.00165***
Parents in the household	-0.0293***	-0.0282***	-0.0295***	-0.0295***	-0.0237***
female	0.0295***	0.0316***	0.0301***	0.0316***	0.0395***
education	0.0373***	0.0412***	0.0399***	0.0398***	0.0400***
income	0.0157***	0.0155***	0.0160***	0.0160***	0.0150***
income_par_house		0.0284***			
mother_lack_cult_cap			-0.0473***		
father_lack_cult_cap				-0.0440***	
reference: religious					
not religious					0.0840***
atheist					0.136***
Constant	0.375***	0.360***	0.418***	0.410***	0.337***
Observations	45,359	43,033	44,193	40,777	45,494
R-squared	0.089	0.087	0.088	0.086	0.119
Number of s003	46	45	46	46	45

Correlations on country level with index of sexual liberalization

Indicator	Correlation
mean schooling	,425**
years schooling	,745**
RDI	,412**
muslim	-,421**
protestant	,723**
GII	-,682**
postcommunist	-,607**
HDI	,855**
GDP per capita	,772**

Multilevel analysis

- Without control variables (only the number of parents with whom respondent grew up)
- With control variables
- With individual level variables



Puzzling results

Multilevel analysis

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
living with father	-0.00950	-0.00865	-0.00906	-0.00908	-0.00907	-0.00866	-0.00865
living with mother	0.0151***	0.0157***	0.0156***	0.0156***	0.0150***	0.0157***	0.0157***
living without parents	-0.00283***	-0.00279***	-0.00279***	-0.00279***	-0.00279***	-0.00279***	-0.00279***
Country level							
GII	1.043***						
% of protestants		0.00428***					
% of muslim			-0.00806***				
RDI				-0.0924***			
postcom					0.0639***		
HDI (education part)						1.570***	
religion (ref Muslim)							
Catholic							0.266***
Ortodox							0.104
Protestant							0.365***
Constant	0.388***	0.510***	0.675***	0.886***	0.547***	-0.723***	0.360***
	(0.0425)	(0.0202)	(0.0295)	(0.0495)	(0.0272)	(0.171)	(0.0600)
Number of groups	41	43	43	43	43	43	43
N Observations	54287	57035	57035	57035	57035	57035	57035
df_m	4	4	4	4	4	4	6
F
ICC (Intraclass correlation)	0.575	0.213	0.431	0.623	0.404	0.208	0.19
chi2	2969	2928	3039	3029	2981	2942	2934

Preliminary findings

(according to multilevel analysis)

Individual level of sexual liberalization is higher is higher in the countries with **higher**:

- GII,
- share of protestants in the country,
- educational component of HDI.

Is lower in countries with higher:

- RDI
- Percent of muslim population,

Findings

- Hypothesis about the impact of parental cultural capital and income on individual level was confirmed
- Hypothesis about religiosity on country level was partly confirmed. The share of muslim population decreases level of sexual liberalization, whereas the share of protestants increases. The higher is RDI, the lower is level of sexual liberalization
- Contrary to initial hypothesis, GII positively affects the level of sexual liberalization within country.
- Contrary to initial hypothesis, in post-communist countries the attitudes towards sexual liberalization are more tolerant

Future steps

- Conducting CFA
- Testing interaction effects:
 - Between parental education and individual degree of religiosity
 - Between parental cultural capital and religiosity and GII on country level
- Macro-variables at the respondents childhood (GDP, demographic variables) => the effect of country development during the early socialization

Thank you for your attention!