



Parental Family and Cultural Context as Predictors of Attitudes Towards 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.)
- Higher human and cultural capital of individual forms certain values (more emancipative and less traditional)
- Higher capital of parents has an impact upon children's values and attitudes

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 are 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 lead 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 more tolerant are attitudes towards sexual liberalization (O'Shea & Kirrane 2008; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Guveli, Need, De Graaf 2007)
- The higher is the cultural capital of parents, the higher is the level of sexual liberalization (Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp 2001).
- The impact of parental human and cultural capital upon individual level of sexual liberalization is strongly mediated by the individual degree of religiosity.

Hypotheses: country level

- Religious diversity is associated with higher level of sexual liberalization within a country. A higher percent of protestants leads to a higher level of sexual liberalization, whereas a higher percent of Muslims results in a lower tolerance of sexual liberalization.
- In countries with a higher RDI, higher share of Protestants and a lower share of Muslims the impact of parental family upon attitudes towards sexual liberalization should be stronger.
- In former communist states the level of sexual liberalization is lower.
- In post-communists societies the impact of parental family upon individual level of sexual liberalization should be weaker.

Data and methods

Database

- European Value Study 2008-2009

Method

- multilevel regression modeling with ML estimation – determinants of family values on individual and country levels

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

Family

- education level of father or mother
- 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
- **! Limitation ! the respondent answers either about mothers or fathers status**

Respondent

- religiosity

Indices

- income_per_house: Parents had problems making ends meet and Parents had problems replacing broken things (the higher, the wealthier is the family)
- lack_cult_cap: parents reading books, following new and discussing political issues

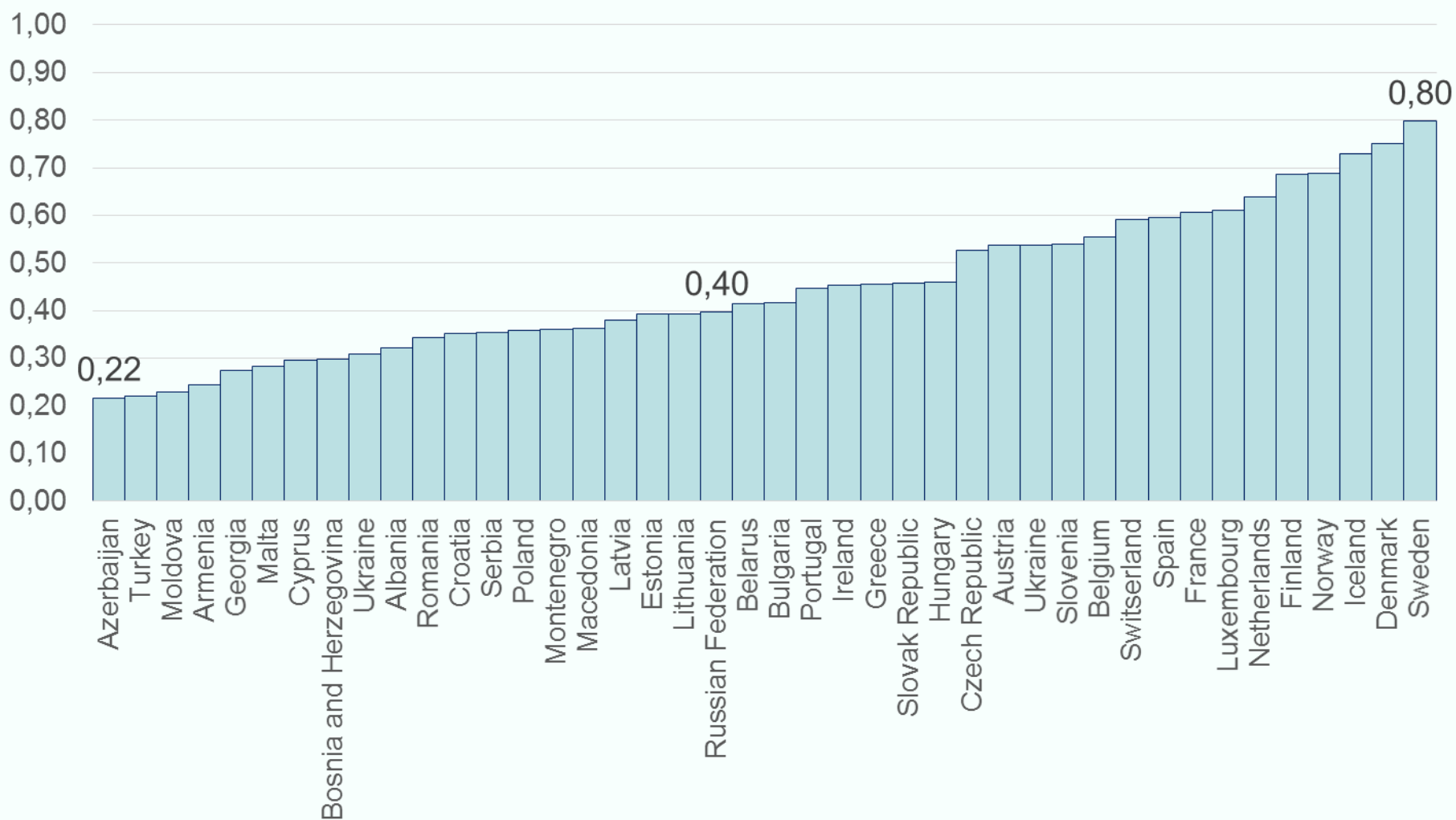
Country level

- % of Protestants
- % of Muslims
- Religious Diversity Index (RDI)
- Post-communist country

Control variables

- Gender
- Age
- Marital status
 - - cohabited, divorced, separated, never married
 - - widowed
- Number of children
- Education (middle and higher)
- Household income
- Family income when respondent was 14
- Living with parents now

Distribution of level of sexual liberalization by country



Results of multilevel regressions for attitudes towards sexual liberalization

VARIABLES				
middle (parent ed.)	0.0114**	0.0116**		
high (parent ed.)	0.0151***	0.0116**		
not religious	0.127***	0.111***	0.0617***	0.0679***
atheist	0.200***	0.207***	0.108***	0.116***
mother_lack_cult_cap	-0.00609		-0.0271**	
not religious*mother_lack_cult_cap	-0.0619***			
atheist*mother_lack_cult_cap	-0.108***			
lived only with mother	0.0190***		0.0193***	
father_lack_cult_cap		-0.0116		-0.0267**
lived only with father		0.00146		0.00156
not religious*.father_lack_cult_cap		-0.0397		
atheist*father_lack_cult_cap		-0.126***		
parent's education			0.00371	0.00357
not religious*parent's education			0.0138**	0.0107
atheist*parent's education			0.0123	0.00868
Constant	0.305***	0.309***	0.320***	0.318***
Observations	35,289	32,920	35,289	32,920
R-squared	0.128	0.125	0.128	0.124
Number of countries	42	42	42	42

Results of multilevel regressions for attitudes towards sexual liberalization with RDI as a main country variable

Parent's education - middle	0.0131***	-0.00119	0.0132***	0.0131***
Parent's education - high	0.0160***	-0.0146	0.0171***	0.0208***
Not religious	0.0839***	0.0839***	0.0839***	0.0826***
Convinced atheist	0.129***	0.128***	0.129***	0.128***
Mother lacks cultural capital	-0.0133*	-0.0132*		0.0116
Father lacks cultural capital	-0.0126*	-0.0133*	0.0172*	
RDI	0.0152*	0.0130	0.0210**	0.0208**
GDP	0.00000344***	0.00000343***	0.00000345***	0.00000349***
RDI*parent's middle education		0.00389**		
RDI*parent's high education		0.00855***		
Living only with father at the age of 14			0.00380	
RDI*father lacks cultural capital			-0.0113***	
Living only with mother at the age of 14				0.0203***
RDI*mother lacks cultural capital				-0.00944***
ICC	27.0	26.9	26.9	27.1
N countries	43	43	43	43
N	32934	32934	34133	36561

Results of multilevel regressions for attitudes towards sexual liberalization with share of Muslims as a main country variable

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Parent's education - middle	0.0131***	0.0134***	0.00862**	0.0131***
Parent's education - high	0.0161***	0.0173***	0.0173***	0.0210***
Not religious	0.0839***	0.0836***	0.0840***	0.0825***
Convinced atheist	0.129***	0.129***	0.129***	0.128***
Mother lacks cultural capital	-0.0131*		-0.0131*	-0.0255***
Father lacks cultural capital	-0.0126*	-0.0239***	-0.0126*	
% of Muslims	-0.00104	-0.00120*	-0.00112*	-0.00127*
GDP	0.00000343***	0.00000342***	0.00000343***	0.00000346***
Living only with father at the age of 14		0.00402		
% of Muslims *father lacks cult. capital		0.000222		
% of Muslims *middle parent's education			0.000346**	
% of Muslims*high parent's education			-0.0000150	
Living only with mother at the age of 14				0.0207***
% of Muslims*mother lacks cultural capital				0.000319*
ICC	29.3	29.3	29.3	29.3
N (countries)	43	43	43	43
N	32934	34133	32934	36561

Results of multilevel regressions for attitudes towards sexual liberalization with share of Protestants as a main country variable

	(1)	(2)	(4)	(5)
Parent's education - middle	0.0131***	0.0137***	0.0147***	0.0136***
Parent's education - high	0.0160***	0.0209***	0.0113*	0.0168***
Not religious	0.0839***	0.0826***	0.0838***	0.0837***
Convinced atheist	0.129***	0.128***	0.129***	0.129***
Mother lacks cultural capital	-0.0131*	-0.00751	-0.0133*	
Father lacks cultural capital	-0.0125*		-0.0127*	-0.00882
% of Protestants	0.00201***	0.00244***	0.00201***	0.00239***
GDP	0.00000249***	0.00000257***	0.00000249***	0.00000251***
Living only with mother at the age of 14		0.0203***		
% of Protestants * mother lacks cult.cap.		-0.000938***		
Living only with father at the age of 14				0.00431
% of Prot. * middle parent's education			-0.000120	
% of Protestants * high parent's education			0.000241	
% of Protestants * father lacks cult.cap.				-0.000912***
N (countries)	43	43	43	43
N	32934	36561	32934	34133

Results of multilevel regressions for attitudes towards sexual liberalization with post-communist past as a main country variable

Parent's education - middle	0.0131***	0.0112*	0.0146***	0.0141***
Parent's education - high	0.0160***	0.0365***	0.0225***	0.0180***
Not religious	0.0836***	0.0838***	0.0825***	0.0838***
Convinced atheist	0.129***	0.129***	0.128***	0.129***
Mother lacks cultural capital	-0.0133*	-0.0143**	-0.0599***	
Father lacks cultural capital	-0.0125*	-0.0132*		-0.0514***
Postcommunist	-0.0327	-0.0285	-0.0759*	-0.0611
GDP	0.00000324***	0.00000321***	0.00000317***	0.00000318***
Postcom*parent's middle education		0.00124		
Postcomt * parent's high education		-0.0357***		
Living only with mother at the age of 14			0.0202***	
Postcommunist * mother lacks cult.cap.			0.0652***	
Living only with father at the age of 14				0.00489
Postcommunist * father lacks cult.cap.				0.0510***
ICC	29.7	29.5	29.6	29.5
N (countries)	44	44	44	44
<i>N</i>	32934	33045	36679	34248

Control variables

- Gender (female +)
- Age (-)
- Marital status
 - cohabited, divorced, separated, never married (+)
 - widowed (-)
- Number of children (-)
- Education (middle and higher) (+)
- Household income (+)
- Family income when respondent was 14 (+)
- Living with parents now (-)

Findings

- Our micro level hypotheses were confirmed. The impact of both human and cultural capital of parents affects attitudes towards sexual liberalization.
- Individual religiosity weakens the impact of parental capital upon attitudes towards sexual liberalization.

Findings

- Religious diversity index turned out to be insignificant when controlling for GDP per capita. However, in countries with the higher share of Muslims attitudes towards sexual liberalization are less tolerant. The share of Protestants leads to a higher tolerance towards sexual liberalization. In post-communist economies the attitudes towards sexual liberalization are less tolerant.
- The effect of parental human and cultural capital is larger in countries without communist past and in countries with higher religious diversity, with higher share of Protestants.

Thank you for your attention!

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