

Trends of family-related attitudes in Europe

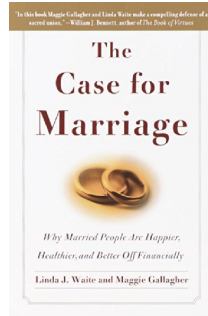
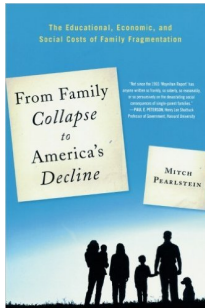
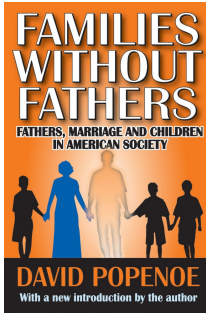
Małgorzata Mikucka
University of Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium
Francesco Sarracino
STATEC, Luxembourg

April 18, 2016, LCSR workshop, Moscow



Is this a problem?

Is this a problem?



Theoretical answer

Modernization theory

Second Demographic Transition

Changes of the family since the 1960's:

- ▶ low fertility and aging;
- ▶ the disconnection of marriage and fertility, various family forms;
- ▶ cultural and values change.

implies atomization, fragmentation

Research question

Do the changes of the family imply that the ties between people become weaker?

Previous empirical evidence

- ▶ growing acceptance of gender equality and tolerance to various family forms
- ▶ constant or increasing commitment within family
- ▶ USA – scarce evidence about Europe

Operationalization

(Thornton and Young-DeMarco, 2001)

Gender equality

How do men and women decide upon their lives and how prestigious are the roles of men and women?

Tolerance

Do people accept various forms of families, or do they expect adherence to specific pattern?

Commitment

Are people attached to their families, and committed within their families?

Hypotheses

1. In Europe, perceived commitment within families declined over time
2. Family-related attitudes become increasingly similar across regions

Data and method

- ▶ EVS-WVS, 1990-2009 (4 waves)
- ▶ 30 countries
- ▶ Trend: β
 $FA = \alpha + \beta YEAR + \mu_y$ (for each country separately)
- ▶ Convergence: β_2
 $FA = \alpha + \beta_1 YEAR + \beta_2 YEAR \cdot REG + \beta_3 REG + \mu_{cy}$

Increase of gender equality?

	variable	↑	↓	↔
(−)	Pre-school child suffers if his or her mother works	3	26	1
(−)	A woman has to have children to be fulfilled	3	26	1
(−)	A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children	4	24	2
(+)	A working mother – warm and secure a relationship with her children	23	6	1

Increase of tolerance?

	variable	↑	↓	↔
(-)	Child needs a home with a father and a mother	1	27	2
(-)	Important for successful marriage: Children ... Children	2	23	5
(+)	Marriage is an out-dated institution	27	2	1
(+)	Justified ... Homosexuality	26	3	1
(+)	Justified ... Divorce	22	6	2

Decrease of commitment?

	variable	↑	↓	↔
(+)	Family is important in life ... Family	20	6	4
(+)	One must always love and re- spect parents	4	21	5
(+)	Parents responsibilities to chil- dren even at the expense of their own well-being	22	2	6
(-)	Justified ... Adultery	13	14	3

Results: overall trends

- ▶ Increasing support for gender equality in majority of countries
- ▶ Increasing tolerance for various forms of family in majority of countries
- ▶ Mixed results for the perception of commitment within family
 - ▶ increased: family importance and parental obligations
 - ▶ decreased: filial obligations
 - ▶ mixed change for justifiability of adultery

Southern: Greece, Italy, Malta, Spain, Portugal

variable	interaction term β	s.e.	gap 1990	gap 2009	change of gap	South more traditional	
<i>Gender equality:</i>							
Pre-school child suffers	0.023	0.001*	-0.28	-0.13	-	-	conv
A woman has to have children	0.001	0.001	0.05	0.06	+	+	div
Women want a home and children	0.005	0.001*	-0.06	-0.02	-	-	conv
Working mother good relationship	-0.025	0.001*	0.13	-0.04	-	2009	conv
<i>Tolerance to various family forms:</i>							
Child needs a home with both parents	-0.016	0.001*	0.01	-0.08	+	1990	div
Important for marriage: Children	-0.004	0.001*	0.10	0.08	-	+	conv
Marriage is out-dated	0.006	0.001*	-0.01	0.03	+	1990	div
Justifiable: homosexuality	-0.002	0.000*	0.03	-0.00	-	-	conv
Justifiable: divorce	-0.001	0.000*	0.06	0.04	-	-	conv
<i>Commitment within families:</i>							
Family is important in life	0.003	0.001*	-0.00	0.01	+	2009	div
Respect and love for parents	0.012	0.001*	0.13	0.22	+	+	div
Parents responsibilities to children	-0.006	0.001*	0.19	0.13	-	+	conv
Justifiable: adultery	-0.001	0.000*	-0.02	-0.04	+	+	div

Baltic, Central-Eastern and South-Eastern

variable	interaction term		gap	gap	change	East	
	β	s.e.	1990	2009	of	more	
					gap	traditional	
<i>Gender equality:</i>							
Pre-school child suffers	-0.004	0.001*	-0.18	-0.22	+	-	div
A woman has to have children	-0.014	0.001*	0.08	-0.01	-	1990	conv
Women want a home and children	-0.016	0.001*	0.17	0.08	-	+	conv
Working mother good relationship	-0.014	0.001*	0.10	0.01	-	-	conv
<i>Tolerance to various family forms:</i>							
Child needs a home with both parents	-0.000	0.001	0.02	0.04	+	+	div
Important for marriage: Children	-0.009	0.001*	0.16	0.10	-	+	conv
Marriage is out-dated	0.010	0.001*	-0.01	0.05	+	1990	div
Justifiable: homosexuality	-0.007	0.000*	-0.04	-0.16	+	+	div
Justifiable: divorce	-0.003	0.000*	0.12	0.06	-	-	conv
<i>Commitment within families:</i>							
Family is important in life	-0.006	0.001*	0.00	-0.03	+	-	div
Respect and love for parents	0.006	0.001*	0.15	0.21	+	+	div
Parents responsibilities to children	-0.006	0.001*	0.16	0.11	-	+	conv
Justifiable: adultery	-0.002	0.000*	0.08	0.05	-	-	conv

Post-soviet countries: Russia, Belarus

variable	interaction term β	s.e.	gap 1990	gap 2009	change of gap	Post-soviet more traditional	
<i>Gender equality:</i>							
Pre-school child suffers	0.025	0.002*	-0.13	0.04	-	2009	conv
A woman has to have children	-0.003	0.002	0.33	0.37	+	+	div
Women want a home and children	-0.001	0.002	0.25	0.30	+	+	div
Working mother good relationship	0.006	0.003*	0.05	0.10	+	-	div
<i>Tolerance to various family forms:</i>							
Child needs a home with both parents	0.013	0.003*	0.05	0.13	+	+	div
Important for marriage: Children	0.002	0.002	0.14	0.17	+	+	div
Marriage is out-dated	-0.011	0.002*	0.02	-0.04	+	2009	div
Justifiable: homosexuality	-0.011	0.001*	-0.17	-0.38	+	+	div
Justifiable: divorce	-0.006	0.001*	0.02	-0.09	+	2009	div
<i>Commitment within families:</i>							
Family is important in life	0.002	0.002	-0.04	-0.03	-	-	conv
Respect and love for parents	0.007	0.002*	0.14	0.19	+	+	div
Parents responsibilities to their c	-0.012	0.002*	-0.01	-0.09	+	-	div
Justifiable: adultery	0.005	0.001*	-0.05	0.05		1990	

Results: convergence

- ▶ Southern and Central-Eastern countries: mix of convergence and divergence
- ▶ Post-soviet countries (Russia, Belarus):
 - ▶ mostly divergence
 - ▶ more traditional region becomes even more traditional

Conclusions

- ▶ No consistent decline of perceived commitment within family
- ▶ Claims about 'atomization' not well justified
- ▶ Greater freedom for single and childless, but not for married and parents

Conclusions:

- ▶ Eastern and Southern Europe:
 - ▶ only a partial convergence to the North-West
 - ▶ they are not late
 - ▶ it is a specific pattern
- ▶ Post-soviet countries: own path
- ▶ what does it mean?

malgorzata.mikucka@uclouvain.be

Thank you!



This report was presented at the 6th LCSR International Workshop
“Trust, Social Capital and Values in a Comparative Perspective”,
which held within the XVII April International Academic Conference on Economic and Social Development.

April 18 – April 22, 2016 - Higher School of Economics, Moscow.

<https://lcsr.hse.ru/en/seminar2016>

Настоящий доклад был представлен на VI международном рабочем семинаре ЛССИ
«Доверие, социальный капитал и ценности в сравнительной перспективе»,
прошедшего в рамках XVII Апрельской международной научной конференции НИУ ВШЭ «Модернизация экономики и общества».

18 – 22 апреля, 2016 – НИУ ВШЭ, Москва.

<https://lcsr.hse.ru/seminar2016>