Parental family and country environment as determinants of gender-role attitudes in Europe

Natalia Soboleva
Research fellow
Laboratory for comparative social research
National Research University – Higher School of Economics

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Motivation

- Gender-role attitudes are largely formed in the parental family because children see some definite distribution of gender roles. Also parents with different education and social status are likely to transmit different types of values to their children as higher education and social status lead to more egalitarian gender attitudes (Guiso et al. 2003; Van de Werfhorst, Kraaykamp 2001; Guveli, Need, De Graaf 2007; Cunningham 2008, Dotti Suni, Quaranta 2016).

- Do parental characteristics play an equal role in countries with different characteristics?

Objective:

- to reveal the impact of parental family upon gender-role attitudes in European countries with different level of gender inequality
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)
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)

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)
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)
Country characteristics

- In less affluent societies both value system and social structure is more likely to transform.
- Social transformations are likely to influence individual values and attitudes and can lead to conservative shift.

- The higher gender inequality in the country (GII) is, the weaker the effects of parental characteristics are.

- GII index reflects, on one hand, reflects degree of country development, and, on the other hand, the level of gender inequality.
Gender inequality index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSIONS</th>
<th>INDICATORS</th>
<th>DIMENSION INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Gender Inequality Index (GII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour market</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Health**
  - Maternal mortality ratio
  - Adolescent birth rate
  - Female reproductive health index
- **Empowerment**
  - Female and male population with at least secondary education
  - Female empowerment index
  - Female labour market index
  - Female gender index
  - Male empowerment index
  - Male labour market index
  - Male gender index
- **Labour market**
  - Female and male labour force participation rates
Level of GII in 1995

- Sweden
- Finland
- Denmark
- Netherlands
- Switzerland
- Norway
- Germany
- Spain
- Iceland
- Austria
- Italy
- France
- Great Britain
- Slovenia
- Slovak Republic
- Czech Republic
- Poland
- Croatia
- Hungary
- Lithuania
- Bulgaria
- Estonia
- Georgia
- Russia
- Romania
- Armenia
Data and methods

- European Values Study 2017-2018
- Multilevel logistic regression
- 26 countries
Variables

Dependent variable
When jobs are scarce, men should have more right for a job than women:
0 – Agree or neither
1 - Disagree

Independent variables
- Education of mother and father
- Occupational status of mother and father when respondent was 14: employed, self-employed or not working
- Father and mother liked to read books when respondent was 14
- Parents had problems making ends meet when respondent was 14
- Macro-level: Gender inequality index (GII) for 1995
Multilevel binomial logistic regression. When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women (0 – agree or neither, 1 – disagree)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference: low father’s education</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>0.118***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>0.298***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference: father was employed</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>-0.042</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did not work</td>
<td>-0.043</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference: low mother’s education</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>0.141***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>0.299***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference: mother was employed</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>-0.192***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did not work</td>
<td>-0.199***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parent(s) had problems making ends meet: yes</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to some extent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little bit</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.100***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.152***</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| GII1995                                        | -7.037*** | -7.185*** | -6.833*** |
| Observations / countries                       | 34,059 | 35,507 | 37,055 |
| BIC                                            | 33,769 | 35,297 | 36,878 |
Multilevel binomial logistic regression. When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women (0 – agree or neither, 1 – disagree)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother liked to read books. Reference: yes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to some extent</td>
<td>-0.235***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little bit</td>
<td>-0.280***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>-0.219***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Father liked to read books. Reference: yes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to some extent</td>
<td>-0.265***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little bit</td>
<td>-0.294***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>-0.137***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GII1995</td>
<td>-6.882***</td>
<td>-6.871***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations / countries</td>
<td>36,744</td>
<td>35,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIC</td>
<td>36528</td>
<td>35070</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Control variables

Positive impact
- Female
- Middle education
- Upper education
- Paid job
- Medium income
- High household income

No impact
- Has children

Negative impact
- Married
- Age (30-49 years old, 50 and more years old)
- God important
The effect of father’s higher education

The effect of mother’s higher education
Father not reading books

Mother not reading books
Not having problems making ends meet

Having little problems making ends meet
Findings

- There are differences in the effect of parental characteristics in countries with low and high level of GII.

- In countries with higher level of gender equality (low GII) in general all the effects are as expected. The higher parents’ cultural capital is and the more favorable situation is, the more egalitarian gender-role attitudes are. Material wealth at the age of 14 in general leads to more egalitarian gender-role attitudes.

- In countries with higher level of gender inequality material wealth can result even in more traditional gender-role attitudes. The impact of parent’s education and cultural capital is weaker or insignificant.
Possible explanations

- What values does educational system transmit?
  Educational system transmits the dominant values.
  If the level of gender equality is high, the educational system transmits more egalitarian values. If the level of gender inequality is low, educational system forms more traditional countries.

- Countries with lower level of GII quite often are less stable economies that suffered more from crisis. Hence, the value system of an individual is less stable and more likely to be influenced by other factors.
Thank you for your attention!