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Gender and new family patterns in Europe: attitudes, behaviours, and opinions

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GENDER AND NEW FAMILY PATTERNS IN EUROPE: ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOURS, AND OPINIONS

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Abstract

The great social changes experienced by many countries since the Second World War, and particularly throughout the most recent years, concern various aspects of individual and collective life, which also influence demographic behaviours: from the sexual and contraceptive behaviour to the models of couples' formation and dissolution and to reproductive choices. Many scholars related this plurality of family forms also to a mutated attitude of men and women towards the family: the transformation in family formation appears therefore to be strongly influenced also by the changes in gender roles. The ideational system also seems to play a major role on the diffusion of new models of behaviour: opinions, attitudes and approaches towards ideal life styles represent one of the main determining factors of family and reproductive choices. The aim of this work is to explain the variability of family behaviours by adopting a gender approach: specifically, its originality consists in considering not only the gendered behaviours but also the opinions towards gender roles as main discriminant factors of the attitudes towards new family models. Particularly, we ask whether there is a correspondence between opinions favourable to egalitarian gender roles and the openness towards new family behaviour. Or conversely, is the effective gender equity in the division of roles to be more relevant in determining the cultural context at the basis of opinions' formation of men and women? We did not observe a significant association between opinions towards gender roles and opinions on modern family behaviours. On the contrary, it emerges a clear connection between effective gender equality in the division of roles within the couple and a more openness towards new family behaviours.

Keywords: New family patterns; Gender roles; Gender Ideology; Europe.

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1 – Introduction

The great social changes experienced by many countries since the Second World War, and particularly throughout the most recent years, concern various aspects of individual and collective life, which also influence demographic behaviours: from the sexual and contraceptive behaviour to the models of couples' formation and dissolution and to reproductive choices. These transformations - originally started within the Northern countries and subsequently spread out to the central and southern countries, even if at different times and with varying intensities - led to the postponement and the diminution of marriages, to the increase in the number of divorces and reconstituted families, to the diffusion of consensual unions, mono-parental and mono-personal families, to the fall of fertility and to the increase in the proportion of births out of wedlock. Many scholars related this plurality of family forms also to a mutated attitude of men and women towards the family: the transformation in family formation appears therefore to be strongly influenced also by the changes in gender roles. The ideational system also seems to play a major role on the diffusion of new models of behaviour: opinions, attitudes and approaches towards ideal life styles represent one of the main determining factors of family and reproductive choices.

The aim of this work is to explain the variability of family behaviours by adopting a gender approach: specifically, its originality consists in considering not only the gendered behaviours but also the opinions towards gender roles as main discriminant factors of the attitudes towards new family models. Particularly, in the second section of the paper we present a review of the main theories attempting an explanation of recent demographic changes: in the third section, the process of diffusion over time and space both of new demographic behaviours and of transformations in the gender system is described; the fourth section aims at illustrating in detail our research hypotheses, the data source used and the methodology applied; in the fifth session we discuss the obtained results and finally we conclude with some synthetic considerations and future research perspectives. The appendix contains figures to which we refer to in the paper.

2 – New Family Models, Ideational System and Gender

2.1 – Changing Behaviours in a Changing Ideational System

The profound transformations regarding family forms and reproductive choices – which invested Western countries throughout the last thirty years are regarded by a relevant part of the existing literature as typical of a new phase in the history of population, named "second demographic transition" and characterised by the crisis of the institution of marriage, by the spread of new typologies of union, by the diffusion of modern contraceptive methods and, lastly, by the centrality assumed by the life as a couple (Van de Kaa, 1987; Bumpass, 1990; Lesthaeghe, 1992; Micheli, 1995). Actually, the theory of the "second demographic transition" is not universally accepted (Cliquet, 1991; Livi Bacci, 1995; Salvini, 1995). Thus, it is often preferred to talk about a transformation of family and reproductive models characterizing the recent demographic history of Western countries.

There is a lively debate over the causes behind the recent transformations², but there are general agreement that the connection between demographic and values changing forms the core of the recent demographic history of Europe (Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa 1986, van de Kaa 1987). Particularly, the ideational system seems to play a major role on the diffusion of new models of behaviour: opinions, attitudes and approaches towards ideal life styles represent one of the main determining factors of family and reproductive choices. The theoretical line is that of ideational change towards a greater individual autonomy in the ethical, political and religious sphere (Lesthaeghe, 1992). Whitin this approach, some theories concentrate on the concept of «post-materialism» (Inglehart, 1990), which emphasizes individual self-realization and satisfaction coming from the couple relationship; similar existential needs have been gaining importance among the cohorts born since the beginning of the 20th. On the basis of the data from the World Values Survey (1990-91), carried out in several European and non European countries, Inglehart (1997) synthesized respondents' opinions on a wide number of items concerning manifolds aspects (religion, politics, sexual behaviours, etc.), pointing out two values dimensions: the first opposes tradition to secularization, the second survival values to well-being values. In the factorial plan individuated by the two values dimension we may visualize eight main clusters, each one composed by countries with similar expressed values. Among those clusters, three consist of European countries, which are grouped as follow: «Catholic Europe» (Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Portugal, Spain), «Northern Europe» (Denmark, Finland, West Germany, Great Britain, Iceland, Norway, Nederland, Sweden, Switzerland) and «Eastern Europe» (Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Check and Slovak Republics, Estonia, East Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Hungary).

According to the theory of the «ideational shifts» (Preston, 1986), the wide-spreading of new forms of life as a couple has to be related to the

² Some theories point out the changed opinions on sexuality and contraception (Shorter, 1975) also determined by the availability of always more safe and efficacious contraceptive methods (Westoff and Ryder, 1977). Other theories focus on the different individuals' attitude towards the institutions (Lesthaeghe, 1992; Simons, 1994) and the changes in the cultural context (Ariès, 1980). Mainly four theoretical lines have been pointed out: an economic approach based on the concepts of economic rationality and opportunity costs - Becker's neoclassical theory (1981) and Easterlin's economic deprivation theory (1990); a structural theory, associating fertility model to changes in population's structure; a third line emphasizing the institutional theory (Mc Nicoll 1980, Mc Lanahan et al. 1995), stressing the relevance of institutional support given to the families; lastly, the ideational shift toward greatest individual autonomy and self-fulfillment (Lestaheghe and Moors 1994, Lestheaghe 1998).

increased individual autonomy in the ethical, political and religious sphere or, in other words, to the change in the scale of subjective values. The cultural dimension influences the degree of acceptance and experimentation of the various forms of union to a different extent for women and men. The relevance of considering, when attempting an explanation within a gender perspective, not only the economic factors, but also the ideational ones, has been widely discussed and proved by Lesthaeghe and Moors (1994) for some European countries: the ideational element plays a major role in the decision of cohabiting, divorcing and of limiting one's own fertility and the available resources play a different role for the two genders. Young women with a greater human capital endowment are more likely to cohabit, to divorce and to have a limited fertility, whereas human capital does not make any difference for men. We may expect that career women are "selected" from an ideational point of view, and thus less inclined to assume traditional female roles (wife, mother, and carer).

Pasquini and Samoggia (2003) - inspired by Lesthaeghe and Moors theorization – analyzed the role played by the value system, in a gender perspective, on the choices of marrying or cohabiting within some European contexts. Results highlight how the ideational element play a major role in determining the decisional process – noticeably different for men and women - at the basis of the choice of union typology.

In their contribution, Surkyn and Lesthaeghe (2004) investigate to what extent the association between patterns of value differentiation and household diversification can be found in Northern, Southern, and Western Europe. Using the European Value Survey of 1999, they show that in all these regions there is a clear statistical association between a variety of values orientation and family types, and that this association persists after controlling for various variables. The results of the study by Surkyn and Lesthaeghe underline the need to look at the connection between ideational transformation, eventbased adaptation of values, and demographic changes to understand the demographic trends in Europe.

To summarize, the changes in the demographic landscape of Europe, the diversification of family formation and childbearing patterns, with prolonged single living, pre-marital cohabitation, consecutive union formation, non-marital childbirth in cohabiting unions, and postponement of marriage and parenthood, have been accompanied by fundamental changes in value orientation towards accentuation of individual autonomy in ethical, moral, and political matters, and the rejection of institutional control and authority (Never and Andersson, 2004).

2.2 – Changing Behaviours in a Changing Gender System

The timing of the diffusion of the new family models varies across different areas of Europe: the Northern countries- and particularly Sweden- have been leading the trends, with the transition of fertility being accompanied by a greater incidence of divorciality, cohabitation and out-of-wedlock births (Roussel, 1993). Starting from the Nordic countries, the new behaviours

spread quite rapidly to Western Europe, while countries in the Mediterranean area show a temporal lag, together with some peculiarities characterising their process of change: the decline of fertility, in facts, showed a much greater speed and intensity than those faced by the other countries of Europe, but this happened without the profound changes in family structure and in the contraceptive behaviours elsewhere observed. Eastern Europe deserves a special attention as, from a demographic point of view, it may be regarded as the most stable area in the last forty years: marriage did not seem to lose too much ground and total fertility decreased only slightly: it must be remarked, however, that fertility levels were already very low at the beginning of the fifties, thanks to the normative measures that legalised abortion and contraception earlier than in the rest of Europe (Van de Kaa, 1987).

The clusterization of Europe according to the extent of diffusion of new demographic behaviours and to their main features was then further corroborated by interesting studies by Pinnelli and Di Giulio (1999; 2003), which show that a striking coincidence may be found between the diffusion over time and space of new demographic models and the extent of equality to be found in the gender system. In fact, Pinnelli and Di Giulio, on the basis of data at a macro and at a micro³ level both on gender system and on demographic features show the existence of four markedly distinct groups of countries. Northern countries undoubtedly represent the more favourable situation for women, who participate to the labour market to the same extent as men, but opting for a greater flexibility of working schedules and careers which allow them a conciliation of work and family life. Moreover, their investment in human capital and the consequent gained political influence help them at addressing issues of gender equality and institutional support to their manifolds roles (workers, mothers, partners, carers and public women) at a political level, as well as at negotiating on a fairer basis their roles within the family. Eastern countries were characterized in the seventies by an apparently egalitarian situation, particularly in the economic (wide participation to the labour market) and institutional (participation to local politics) sphere, and at the same time by very traditional family behaviours; after the fall of communist regimes, women still participate to a high extent to the labour force, but at the cost of sacrificing time for themselves, and thus the quality of their lives, and their political weight has noticeably decreased. In marked contrast with the two mentioned groups of countries, Pinnelli and Di Giulio found the countries of Southern Europe which started in the seventies with a very traditional situation, and still lag behind, despite a slow catching up. The participation to the labour market is still highly gender segregated as it is the political representation. The family models are still very traditional, with a scarce diffusion of new and more flexible typologies of union. Micro data on time use and sharing of roles further prove the finding at macro level: the Southern European woman generally spend less time in paid work, but more time than

³ Micro data come from FFS, the Family and Fertility Survey, a project coordinated by The Population Activity Unit of the United Nation Commission for Europe (PAU-UNECE), to collect comparable information on family and reproductive behaviours in European Countries.

in the other countries in household activities, for a total work burden greater than men's. In an intermediate position between the countries of South and North Europe, Western countries are characterized by participation to the labour market not as high as in Northern and Eastern countries, but women's involvement in politics appears fairly high.

Bearing in mind these results, the relevance of the gender system and its transformation cannot be denied, and the reasons that led us to focus on gendered behaviours and on opinion towards gender roles start to become clear.

2.3 – New Family Patterns, Gender Roles and Gender Ideology: Research Questions

The initial article on "the second demographic transition" posited that the new living arrangements, were the expression of secular and anti-authoritarian sentiments of better educated young cohorts with an egalitarian world view and greater emphasis on "higher order needs" (i.e. self-actualisation, expressive values, and recognition) (Surkyn and Lesthaeghe, 2004). Then, one of the changes that led to always less conventional choices may be found in the transformation of the ideational and cultural context: a reduced normative control and the spreading of individualistic tendencies made individual preferences less constrained by social norms and expectations. In the present societies, family and reproductive behaviours are more and more determined by individual strategies and choices.

Thus, it is with these considerations in mind that we believe it is of great relevance an investigation over opinions, attitudes and beliefs towards new demographic behaviours⁴. Particularly, the hypothesis we aim to test emphasizes the role of gender system as interpretative keystone in discriminating the cultural context at the basis of opinion formation. Moreover, we take into account, besides the gendered behaviours (i.e. the actual division of gender roles) also gender ideology. Spouses' gender ideologies are likely to influence how much housework they think is appropriate for themselves Thus, it may be not equity per se, but perceived and their partners. appropriateness of the current division of housework, that affect feelings of overwork (Miller Torr and Short, 2004) and, ultimately the attitudes the opinions of men and women respect new demographic behaviours. In other words: women and men having less egalitarian ideologies may feel more strain from the inequitable division of household tasks then those with egalitarian gender ideologies.

⁴ As to the relation between system of values and family models, it is important to specify that it may be expressed both in terms of *selective effects* (Kiernan, 1992; Thornton, 1991; Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1990) and *affirmative effects* (Thornton, Axinn and Hill, 1992). We have selection when the distinct family forms attract mainly individual having ex-ante attitudes specifically related to their won value system; we talk of affirmation (or negation) when the adoption of a family form results in a consequent strengthening (or weakening) of a given set of values. The cross sectional histories we have at our disposal allow catching only the final output of the whole recursive process: we are in fact capable to observe the association between values system and family forms only at given point of time, without distinguishing between selective and affirmative effects.

Particularly, we ask whether there is a correspondence between opinions favourable to egalitarian gender roles and the openness towards new family behaviour. Or conversely, is the effective gender equity in the division of roles to be more relevant in determining the cultural context at the basis of opinions' formation of men and women?

3 – Data and method

The empirical section of this work, aiming at testing the validity of our research hypotheses, and thus directions and intensities of the relationship between opinions and behaviours, between gender system and family models, is almost entirely based on data from the study ISSP Family and Changing Gender roles III, 2002. The ISSP (International Social Survey Program) is a continuing annual program of cross-national collaboration on surveys covering topics important for social science research; it brings together pre-existing social science projects and coordinates research goals, thereby adding a cross-national, cross-cultural perspective to the individual national studies. In 2003, as it was in 1994 and in 1988, the focus was on the family and outcomes provide a good deal of information about gender arrangements between the sexes within the families and attitudes towards new pattern in family formation. 40 counties participate to the 2002 Survey, but, being our analysis focused on the gender opinion and family behaviours in Europe, we excluded from the original sample all the extra-European countries: therefore, the final dataset consists of 2980⁴ individuals (of which 12932 are women and 16872 are men, aged between 15 and 96) interviewed in 23 European countries5.

Data were collected by independent institutions in each country but, being cross-national research an integral part of ISSP research agenda, the dataset consists of harmonized and perfectly comparable variables, despite national differences in the process of data collection.

Specifically, respondents were asked questions concerning the gender contract actually into force within the couple -division between the partners of different household tasks; respondents' and their partners' working arrangements throughout various stages of family life course; money management and decisional power - and their attitudes and opinions towards different roles models, namely specialization of tasks vs. male breadwinner with female housewife and carer-, shared societal roles, sequential combination of roles according to different life stages, and finally questions regarding their perception of women liberation and its impact on family life (positive/negative). Moreover, the survey investigated demographic subjects,

⁵ Selected countries are: West and East Germany, Great Britain, North Ireland, Austria, Hungary, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland, Bulgaria, Russia, Spain, Latvia, Slovak republic, France, Cyprus, Portugal, Denmark, Switzerland.

but mainly as respondents' feelings facing the 'modernization' of family life: respondents were asked about their personal views with respect to divorce, cohabitation, marriage and its actual value, single parenthood, ideal fertility.

The question concerning actual gendered behaviours were asked only to respondents living with a partner at the time of the interview (53 percent of the total), whereas those related to working arrangements in throughout mainly life course were directed only to those who had at least one child (at the time of interview, around 33 percent of respondents had children aged less than 18).

Aiming at understanding the directions and intensity of the relationship among gendered behaviours, opinions on gender roles and degree of acceptance of new family models, we carried out a Multiple Correspondence Analysis, a typology of factorial analysis suitable to synthesise and describe relations among categorical variables.

We first control for structural characteristics of respondents, therefore including in our analysis gender, age (coded in ten years classes), partnership status (partner yes or not) religiosity (high religious attendance, low religious attendance, not religious), educational level (less than secondary, secondary, more than secondary) and current employment status (full time, part time, less than part time, unemployed). We also add two variables controlling for the two partners' working arrangement throughout life course (always full time, at least once part time, always at home).

Then we shifted to the core of our analysis, focusing on actual gendered behaviours, on opinions towards gender roles and respondents feelings about the modernization of family models.

All the information regarding the division of household tasks (who does the laundry, cares for sick family members, shops for groceries, does the household cleaning, prepares the meals), decisional power (who has the final say on how to bring up children, choosing weekend activities, etc...) and money management (who has the higher income, organization of income within the couple) were synthesized into a unique dimension accounting for the degree of fairness/traditionalism in the division of gender roles.

The previously mentioned set of variables dealing with the opinions on gender roles were also synthesized building a new variable stating for each respondent if he has modern or traditional opinion on gender roles.

Finally, we include the variables regarding the degree of agreement with statement on marriage (married people are generally happier than unmarried people; it's better to have a bad marriage than no marriage at all; people who want children ought to get married), on divorce (one parent can bring a child as well as two parents together, divorce is usually the best solution when a couple can't seem to work out their marriage problems), on cohabitation (it is all right for a couple to live together without intending to get married; it's a good idea for a couple who intend to get married to live together first) and on the value of children (watching children grow up is life's greatest joy; people who never had children led empty lives).

The so-called structural variables were used as active variables, i.e. they actively contribute to the definition of a synthetic factorial space over which we subsequently projected the core variables of our analysis. The factorial plans and the location of the variables over the plan reflect the association structure relating the variables among them.

6 – Discussion

We shall dwell only upon the comments of results related only to the first factorial plan [fig.1], as the amount of further information provided by the other plans is negligible.

With the only exception of gender, whose modalities are located close to the barycentre - indicating not significant differences between men and women and thus suggesting us to carry out a sole analysis with both men and women - all the structural variables significantly define the factorial axes.

Analyzing the plan starting from the top and proceeding clockwise, we may reconstruct individual lifecycle: the top left quadrant is characterized by the very young (aged 15-24), singles, unemployed (very likely to be students still not in partnership and in the labour market); then, in the top right quadrant we find the young adults , with medium and high educational level, not religious, and working full time; the bottom right quadrant on the other hand is characterized by adults aged 45-54 years, at mature stage of both family and working life, and with both partners working even if with different combination of part and full time arrangements; finally, in the fourth quadrant, the elderly, not currently working (as retired) or who never worked (particularly old women), with very low educational level and highly religious.

The core variables of our study have subsequently been projected on the above described factorial plan; we projected the variables by homogeneous sub-groups (first variables on gender roles and gender opinions [fig. 2], then variables on marriage and family [fig. 3], cohabitation [fig. 4] and value of children [fig.5], finally countries [fig. 6]) only to avoid an overcrowding of the plan, and therefore a difficult reading and interpretation of results. Thus figures refer to a unique implementation of MCA.

As to opinion on gender roles and actual division of roles within the family, we found that opinion on gender roles are not highly characterizing, and individuals are not strongly differentiated by their opinions: when it comes to what you think with respect to a set of statements referring to role models, women liberation and its impact of family life, our sample mostly express a commonly shared view and whether they agree or disagree is not strongly associated with any of the subgroups outlined by the structural characteristics. On the other hand, the actual gender contract into force within the couple turned out to be markedly characterizing our sample and fairly associated to individuals' characteristics in the expected direction: a traditional division of roles is associated to the area of adults, living in couple, and at a mature stage of family life, with the woman often reducing her working time to take care of family life; conversely, a fairer sharing of roles is to be found among the young people, for the greatest majority still not having experienced family life or currently being at its earliest stage.

The crucial step of the analysis consisted in observing the relationship existing between individual characteristics and gendered behaviours and opinions on the one side, and the degree of acceptance of the modernization of family models on the other side. As mentioned earlier on, we had a good deal of information concerning the degree of agreement with a number of statements referring to the emerging of new family models.

We observed a rather regular pattern: our sample lies along a virtual diagonal which, from the bottom-left to the top right corner of the factorial plan, draws a gradient going from the elderly to the young, from religiosity to secularization, from poor to rich human capitals, from tradition to modernization. Along this imaginary line, individuals place themselves according to the degree of acceptance of modern family models and fertility ideals. As to marriage, on one extreme we have those who believe that marriage play a central role in people life, namely making people happier, being the ideal setting to bear and rear children, being a preferable option even when partners can't sort their problem out. On the other side, young adults disagree with these views, which are instead commonly shared by old people. When it comes to cohabitation, once again and in accordance with what observed for marriage, our sample distributes itself going from those who do not accept informal cohabitation to those regard it as perfect option both as prelude or complete alternative to marriage. Lastly, opinions on the value of children slightly differ as to their position in the relational picture outlined by the previous variables. On the average there is agreement on the fact that children are the greatest joy in life and couple without kids led an empty life. However, the most "modern" among the individuated subgroups is associated to disagreement towards this common shared view.

The final step consisted in the projection over the plan of the variable: respondents' "country of residence". As previously stated, the intent was to provide further evidence of the clusterization of Europe already highlighted by previous studies (Mellens, 1999; Pinnelli 1995, 2001, 2003), and to assess the existence of an overlapping of the clusterization of Europe according to the degree of gender equality and the extent of openness towards gender issues and women liberalization - our original contribution - with the clusterization created by opinions towards new family and reproductive models. Once again, we notice a distribution of the countries along the above mentioned virtual line depicting the traditionalism/modernism gradient: on one extremity countries as Poland, Ireland, Spain, with a strong catholic connotation, characterized by more traditional views on woman's role within the family and society and by less openness towards the emerging of new family models not based anymore on the marital couple with children as basic cell of society. Conversely, on the other extremity, the less secularized Scandinavian countries, with a long tradition of gender equality and of pluralism of family

forms, followed by France and a couple of Eastern countries, still imbued with equity principles, cultural heritage of the past communist ideology.

7 – Conclusions

In the last thirty years the family models have been enriched by new forms; especially in the industrialized countries, mono-personal families among young people, mono-parental families and informal cohabitations have become more widespread. Among the possible explanations for the diffusion of the new models, an increasing attention has been raised towards the transformation of the ideational system. Nowadays, family and reproductive behaviours and attitudes increasingly derive from individual strategies and choices. With the intent of clarifying the factors differentiating opinions of men and women on the new family models spreading all around Europe, we stressed the role of the gender system. Particularly, our idea is based on the gender system as the interpretational keystone in determining the cultural context behind women and men and the formation of their opinions. As expected, a first result coming out from our analysis shows how the structural variables (age, education and religiousness) are significantly discriminating in determining opinions towards new family behaviour. Moreover, our findings confirm the classic subdivision of European countries both according to the diffusion over space of modern demographic behaviours and to the extent of fairness in the sharing of gender roles. The explicit focus on the gender system as explanatory factor of opinions distinguished between opinion of women and men on gender roles and effective division of roles between partners. As to the first aspect, we did not observe a significant association between opinions towards gender roles and opinions on modern family behaviours. On the other hand, it emerges a clear connection between effective gender equality in the division of roles within the couple and a more openness towards new family behaviours.

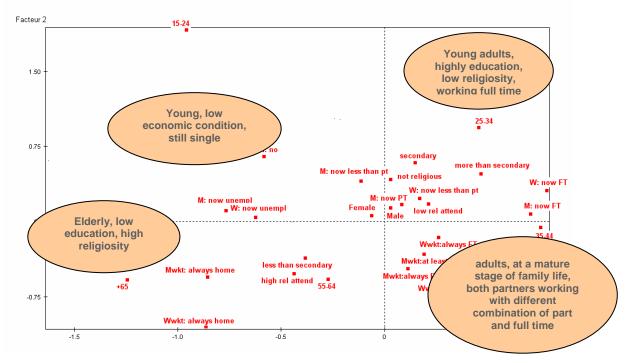
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Appendix

Fig. 1: Active variables on the factorial plan: age, gender, partnership status, working arrangements



Source: our elaboration on ISSP Family and Changing Gender Roles 2002 data

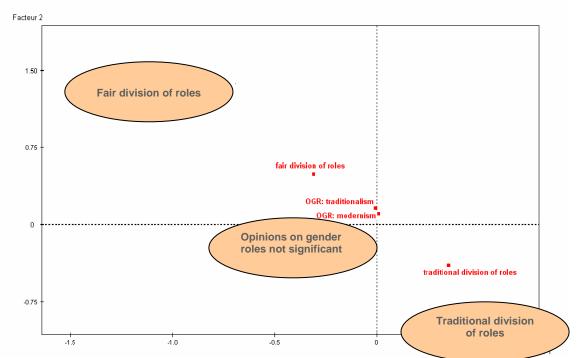


Fig. 2: Illustrative variables on the factorial plan: opinion toward gender roles and actual division of roles

Source: our elaboration on ISSP Family and Changing Gender Roles 2002 data

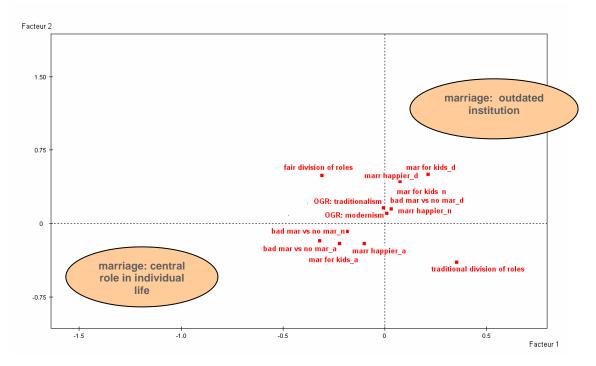


Fig. 3: Illustrative variables on the factorial plan: opinion on marriage and family

Source: our elaboration on ISSP Family and Changing Gender Roles 2002 data

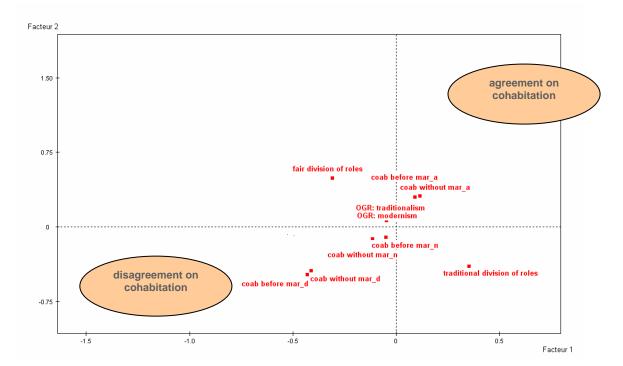


Fig. 4: Illustrative variables on the factorial plan: opinion on cohabitation

Source: our elaboration on ISSP Family and Changing Gender Roles 2002 data

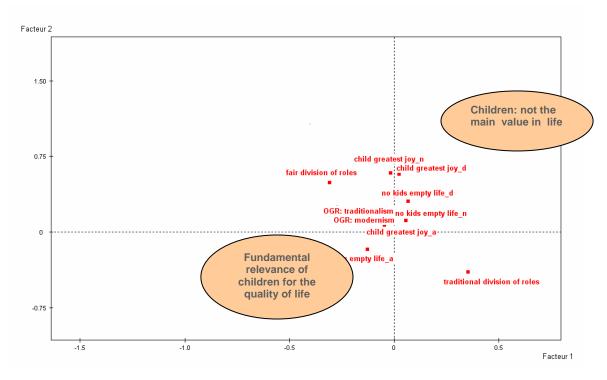


Fig. 5: Illustrative variables on the factorial plan: opinion on the value of children

Source: our elaboration on ISSP Family and Changing Gender Roles 2002 data

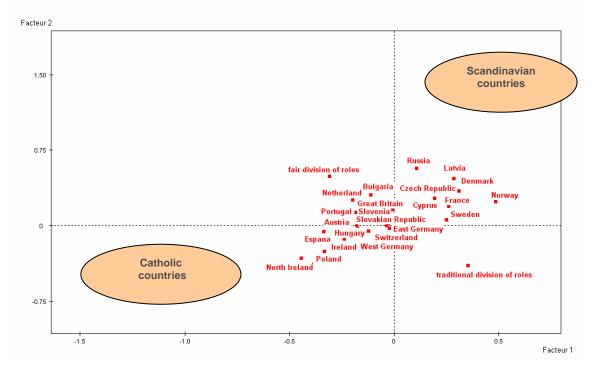


Fig. 6: Illustrative variables on the factorial plan: countries

Source: our elaboration on ISSP Family and Changing Gender Roles 2002 data

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