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Parental Values and Behavior: Intercountry Analysis

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The paper analyses the influence of parental individual values which correspond precisely to theory of modernization of Ronald Inglehart and are observed as materialistic and post-materialistic, as family values and family behavior of parents. Empirical base for research is the 5th wave of World Value Survey project. Family values are seen here as attitude of parents to marriage, single parenthood and untraditional forms of parent and children cohabitation. The characteristics of family behavior are such indicators as: part of parents being in marriage (official or civil – as partnership), part of single parents, part of unworking mothers living in marriage, part of mothers working part-time, and also these characteristics which parents consider to create in their children. Variable of grouping country is the regime of social government. There are four groups of countries: countries with the liberal regime of social policy, conservative regime, social democratic regime, and post-communist countries. Research results show that the process of modernization followed by changes of individual values leads to changes in family values, which in their turn entail changes in family and parental behavior. These changes are characterised by variety of forms of cohabitation with the partners or children, and also by strive to raise in the children certain emancipating values. The regime of social regime influences both formation of family values and choice of forms of family behavior.

Keywords: family values, marriage, parents.

Introduction

The key issue of this paper is to understand how changes in individual value structure of people (we use terms – “materialistic” and “post-materialistic” (Inglehart, 1971)) influence their family values and behavior. If to speak about broader sociological context of this paper, we notice the dynamics between social changes and individual behavior on parents' examples. The majority of studies, which are devoted to parenthood and changes in family behavior, pay their attention to economical development and

political culture as main factors of these changes (Thornton and Philipov, 2009; Lesthaeghe, 1983; Bachrach, 2001). In spite of the fact that family behavior and values are seen as intertwined and interdependent variables (Thornton, Axinn, Hill, 1992), the main focus of the researches is directed on studying how values change family and parental behavior, the less attention is paid to micro and macro factors which determine family and parental values.

As parameters defining family behavior there are analyzed the attitudes to traditional and

untraditional forms of family living, attitude to single parenthood and value of raising, i.e. the characteristics which parents consider important to create in their children.

Material and methods

Social studies have been focusing on interrelation of values, behavior and ethics for rather a long time. After classical works of Foucault devoted to the essence of ethics (Foucault, 1994), of Habermas – about moral justifications of behavior (Habermas, 1990), of Charles Taylor (Taylor, 1992) – about fight for acknowledging other forms of behavior, and also a range of works devoted to ethics of caring, as, for instance, (Tronto, 1993), (Sevenhuijsen, 1998), (Rose, 1999), values have become their main concept for scientists dealing with behavior of people (Williams and Rose, 2004). Apart from this, changes in family relations and values have become the main issue in theories of social changes (Giddens, 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Dennis and Erdos, 1993; Etzioni, 1993; Morgan, 2000; Wilson, 2003). However, there are no trustworthy empirical data proving that changes in values result in individualization, individualism and untraditional forms of family behavior.

In 1971, Ronald Inglehart suggested a hypothesis that if a person grows in the scarcity of earthly blessings (food, dwelling, clothes), he acquires values of survival. If it happens in developed society which promises these blessings, he becomes a man with secular-rational values, i.e. appreciates authority, rationality, order and security. Inglehart calls these people materialistic. People, who have grown up in conditions of the natural state of having these goods, become people who care less about survival, respect to order and authority, the bigger value for them is ideas about tolerance, environment protection and self-actualization.

These values in view of Inglehart are values of self-realization (or emancipating values), and people who have such values are called post-materialists.

Inglehart drew the results of his empirical investigations within the frames of theory of human development. This theory includes three components: socio-economical development, growth of emancipating values and developed democracy. The first component gives the possibility to choose, the second – desire to choose, the third – guarantees the right of free choice. In the end, human development is the choice what to do and how to live.

This paper is an attempt to make a contribution to understanding how materialistic and post-materialistic values at individual level influence family and parental behavior, how there changes attitude to traditional and untraditional forms of family living and raising children. In other words, the aim of this research is to show how in the process of human development family behavior of parents changes. The theory of Inglehart sees the third component as the regime of social state as democratic institution, which is (not) capable of guaranteeing choice of forms of family and parental behavior.

For typology of regimes of social state we will use classification of Esping-Andersen (Esping-Andersen, 1990), which includes three main criteria: decommmodification index, i.e. a measure of how much an individual is dependent on market forces, the impact of the welfare state on the social stratification, and social agents that are responsible for social security (government, corporations or market).

Esping-Andersen named three regimes:

1. *The liberal (Anglo-American) regime*: the level of decommmodification is low, stratification of society is heavy, government intervention takes the form of market regulation. In this model, the

government is committed to provide minimum social security to all members of society. Human well-being depends on the position of a person in the market.

2. *The conservative (Franco-German) regime*: the level of decommodification is high; stratification of society is heavy, government intervention takes the form of direct provision of financial support and regulation of markets. The state develops some social programs for various professional and status groups, depending on the labor contribution.

3. *The social democratic (Nordic) regime*: the level of decommodification is high; stratification of society is poor, government intervention takes the form of direct provision of financial security. All citizens of the state have the right to equal benefits.

It should be noted that there is no one or another pure regime of social state now. However, we use this typology, because it shows the main discrepancy between regimes. The main hypothesis of this paper is that parents, who have high level of postmaterialistic values, would try to raise in their children striving for independence, determination and straightforwardness in implementation of their aims, and imagination, as well. They have more loyal attitude to untraditional forms of family life and single parenthood. This type of family and parental behavior is possible in countries with the social democratic regime of social policy, when social aid does not depend on intergenerational contract and family status of individual. The state itself bears responsibility for welfare of elderly people. In liberal and conservative countries, and especially in post-communist countries, parents despite their values are to support more traditional forms of family behavior and raising children, since their welfare in old age depends on the children and intergenerational contract with them.

Methodology

Empirical base of research is the results of the 5th wave of the survey carried out during World Value Survey project. This survey was held in 2005-2007 and encompassed 57 countries of the world. For analysis of how parental values influence family and parental behavior there were chosen 26 countries.

1. Countries with the liberal regime of social policy: the USA, Great Britain, New Zealand, Canada, Australia.

2. Countries with the conservative regime of social policy: France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, Andorra, Spain, Cyprus.

3. Countries with the social democratic regime of social policy: Finland, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands.

4. Post-communist countries: Russia, Moldova, Romania, Poland, Serbia, Ukraine, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Georgia.

The choice of countries is explained by the need to show the impact of the welfare state regimes on family values and marital behavior. Due to the fact that there is no empirical basis of information on the age of the children, for the analysis of parental and family behavior, we have identified a group of parents at the age under 45 years, which allowed us to analyze the actual practice of parenting. The sample size of parents under and 45 year is 8,700.

Description of the analytical model of the research

The poll of World Value Survey contains several items that identify the family behavior and family values. These questions demonstrate the attitude of parents to the different forms of family life. In the questionnaire, these questions are as follows:

1. If someone tells you that in order for the child to grow happy, he has to live and grow up in a home where both parents are living, i.e. both

mother and father, will you agree? (The answer is coded as a dichotomous variable: 1 – I agree, 0 – I do not agree.).

2. Do you agree that marriage is an outdated institution? (1 – I agree, 0 – I do not agree.).

3. Do you approve of a woman's desire to be a single mother, that is, desire to have children, while not having permanent and stable relationship with a man? (The answer is recoded as a dichotomous variable: 1 – I approve fully, or approve under certain conditions, 0 – I do not approve).

Answers to these questions are the dependent variables in our study. As variables that determine the behavior of the family, we use the following indicators: the proportion of married couples among parents (we are also mindful of the official marriage and civil ones), the part of unemployed mothers who are married and mothers who do not work full time, the percentage of mothers and fathers, who have never been married (single parenthood), as well as information about who in the family is the person who brings the main income.

Questions that gave us possibility to analyze parental behavior are: “Do you agree with the fact that university education is more important for boys than for girls?” and “What qualities do you think are necessary to raise in the children? Select 5 most important qualities”. The respondent is asked to choose from the following qualities: hard-working ability, responsibility and tolerance, respect for others, the careful use of money and things, religion, obedience, independence, imagination, altruism, determination and straightforwardness.

We suggest that parents with higher levels of post-materialistic values increasingly seek to educate their children with qualities such as independence, unselfishness and imagination. And people with higher levels of materialistic values often believe that children should be

educated diligence, obedience, religiousness, careful attitude to money and things. We also suggest that people with high levels of materialistic values agree with the statement that university education is more important for boys than for girls.

As an explanatory variable in the model we use individual materialistic and post-materialistic values of the respondent. To measure the materialistic and post-materialistic values we applied the methodology of Inglehart (Abramson and Inglehart, 1995) in this study. His method involves the analysis of the responses of the respondent to the offer to choose two of the most important aims for his country from four available:

1. Maintaining order in the country.
2. Giving people more opportunities to influence government decision-making.
3. Fighting rising prices.
4. Protecting freedom of speech.

Respondents who chose the first and third alternatives are identified as materialists. Respondents who chose the second and fourth alternatives are identified as post-materialists. Those who have chosen any other combinations are considered as mixed type. In our study, we put them into the category of “other”.

As a second explanatory variable we used in the analysis three regimes of the welfare state: liberal, conservative and social democratic. Post-communist countries we used as a reference variable, i.e. in the study we see how the other countries are different from them.

Control variables in this model include age, gender, education, marital status, number of children and income. Age is measured in the number of years lived. Education, gender and marital status are coded as dichotomous variables: 1 – have a university degree, 1 – a respondent is female, 1 – a respondent is married or has an ongoing relationship with a partner, 0 – all other

options. Income level on a scale has been adapted from 10 % of the lowest income to 10 % of the highest income.

The method of data analysis

To investigate the influence of parental values and social security schemes on family values and the values of education, we used logistic regression analysis. For each of our dependent variables, a specific logistic model was built. This model estimates the probability that the respondent with a certain level of materialistic and post-materialistic values, with certain socio-demographic characteristics, living in the country with a particular regime of the welfare state would agree with each of the three statements about family values, choose this or that quality for education of their children, and also agree that university education is more important for boys than for girls.

Analysis of received data

Family values

Table 1 shows the frequency distribution of the value orientations of the parents. The results are presented separately for men and women, and separately for each group of countries. According to the survey data the largest proportion of parents with materialistic values live in post-communist countries. This is an expected result, since the socio-economic conditions in these countries are not always conducive to the satisfaction of basic

needs, which prevents the formation of post-materialist values.

Proportions of materialistic parents in countries with the liberal, conservative and social democratic regimes are almost identical. The exception is mothers from the countries with liberal regimes of social policy, the proportion of which is substantially higher than in countries with the conservative and social democratic regimes of social protection.

In their commitment to materialistic values mothers from the countries with more liberal regime are similar to mothers from the countries of Eastern Europe. It is an interesting fact, given that the countries with the liberal regime of social policy are economically developed countries. We can assume that this is the result of liberal social policy, when families are not beneficiaries and well-being of children is almost entirely dependent on the welfare of their parents, i.e. on their position in the market, where there are laws of gender inequality. As a result, women with children, especially single mothers, become socially vulnerable group, and their level of post-materialist values is reduced.

Let us consider the results of the logistic analysis, demonstrating the influence of materialistic values and the regime of the welfare state on the consent of the respondent with the statement that to grow up a happy child both parents should live with him. As it can be seen

Table 1. The frequency distributions of value orientations of parents

	Liberal regime		Conservative regime		Socio-democratical regime		Post-communist countries	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Part of materialists	39.4 %	44,7 %	35.3 %	32,9 %	37.4 %	33,6 %	54.6 %	50,3 %
Part of post-materialists	10,1 %	10 %	15,7 %	16,2 %	14,5 %	13,8 %	4 %	4,4 %
Other	40,5 %	45 %	48,9 %	50,8 %	48,4 %	52,6 %	41,5 %	45,3 %

Table 2. Results of logistic regression analysis of family values

A child should live and grow with mother and father in their house.		Marriage is an old-fashioned institute	
Age	0,009	Age	-0,006
Gender	-0,616*	Gender	-0,23*
Education	0,050	Education	-0,243*
Marital status	1,187*	Marital status	-1,047*
Number of children	0,120*	Number of children	-0,159*
Income	-0,439*	Income	0,302*
Post-materialists	-0,2*	Post-materialists	0,420*
Liberal regime	-2,09*	Liberal regime	0,258*
Social democratic regime	-2,309*	Social democratic regime	0,274*
Conservative regime	-1,140*	Conservative regime	0,191*
Do you approve of a woman's desire to have a child without a stable relationship with a partner?		University education is more important for boys than for girls.	
Age	-0,02	Age	-0.013*
Gender	0,263*	Gender	-0.428
Education	-0,007	Education	0.010
Marital status	-0,366*	Marital status	-0.225*
Number of children	-0,215*	Number of children	0.042
Income	0,141	Income	0.178
Post-materialists	0,181*	Post-materialists	0.185
Liberal regime	0,062	Liberal regime	-1.832*
Social democratic regime	0,318*	Social democratic regime	-1.870*
Conservative regime	0,357*	Conservative regime	-0.801*

Sign (*) in the table means that the value of the regression coefficient is significant ($p < 0.05$)

from Table 2, parents with post-materialistic values tend to disagree with this statement. This confirms the hypothesis that the materialistic values of people affect family values. With the transition to the next level of values, parents are beginning to abandon increasingly traditional forms of family living; they leave the model of pair parenthood – the nuclear family, and admit the opportunity to choose a variety of forms of accommodation, both for the child and for the parents.

The results of regression analysis also show significant differences between countries with different regimes of social policy. In the post-communist countries there are much fewer

parents who agree that the child can live with only one of the parents and be happy nevertheless. The countries of Eastern and Central Europe have low levels of modernization and economic development. In this regard, a family with one parent might not always meet even the basic needs of the child. The state also can not ensure that children from single-parent families will get a decent standard of security. That is why, the parents from former communist countries are less likely than parents from economically developed countries to state that the child can be happy in single-parent family.

Speaking of control variables, then Table 2 shows that the attitude towards the nuclear family

model is affected only by the gender of parents, their marital status and income.

Regardless of the values and regimes of social state, men consider it more correct when the child lives with both parents, whereas families and people with high incomes are less willing to admit that the nuclear family has no effect on the happiness of the child.

Next, we will see what factors affect the agreement with the statement that marriage is an outdated institution. In this case, the results of the study (Table 2) also support the hypothesis about the influence of materialistic values of the parents on family values. Parents with post-materialist values would rather give up the institution of marriage than parents with materialistic values. Probably, people with post-materialist values rarely consider marriage as the means for solving material problems or as the way to improve the social status, which reduces the importance of this institution.

Most of all parents of post-communist countries are interested in preserving the institution of marriage. In former socialist countries the welfare of single-parent families is generally much lower than the well-being of normal family. In addition, marriage in these countries gives social status, approved of by society, and marriage is an important mechanism for improving social status and social reproduction.

The social-democratic welfare state regime has the heaviest effect on rejection of the institution of marriage. This regime aims to ensure the independence of family members from each other, to support lone parenthood, regardless of gender, which leads to a high level of individualization and reduces the significance of the institution of marriage.

Married people with children, both in the formal and civil marriage, see the institution of marriage as more advantageous than the

unmarried people. Parents with many children also support the institution of marriage. People with high income are more interested in the institution of marriage than people with lower income. This result can be explained by the desire to preserve capital as part of the same family. It is important to note that men are less interested in the institution of marriage, even in the presence of children. Obviously, in today's society, marriage brings men fewer benefits than women.

Thus, if in times before now having children was an important incentive for men to marry, today the birth of a child less often compels men to change marital status. Age does not affect the attitudes toward the institution of marriage.

The last statement that tests the availability of traditional family values is the issue of endorsing a lone motherhood. Parents with post-materialist values more often support the desire of women to have children without a stable relationship with a man. Differences associated with the regime of the social policy lie in the fact that countries with social democratic and conservative regimes are significantly different from countries with the liberal regime, as well as from the former communist countries. In respect to single motherhood, parents from countries with the liberal regime do not differ from the parents from the post-communist countries. They are much less willing to recognize the right of women to have children without a stable relationship with a man.

It is important to note that men are much more tolerant to single motherhood than women. Women are not willing to accept that lone parenthood and full families are equivalent models of family behavior. Income, education and age do not affect the attitudes toward single motherhood.

Thus, the results of the research show that the individual values dictate family values, namely, the attitude to non-traditional forms of family life

and the attitude to the lone parenthood. Another important result is the confirmation of influence of political, social and cultural context on family values. In the post-communist countries, parents have the most traditional views on marriage, full model of the family and single motherhood.

Family behavior

After analysis of family values we consider the question of how parental values determine family behavior. Table 3 shows the characteristics of family behavior of parents from different countries. From this table it is clear that in the post-communist countries and in the countries with the conservative regime of social policy about 80 % of the parents under the age of 45 years live in the official marriage. Only 7 % of parents give their preference to the civil marriage.

In countries with the liberal and social democratic regime respectively, 61 % and 66 %

of parents under 45 years live in the official marriage. The civil marriage is preferred by about 15 % of the parents of these countries. Thus, despite all the differences, the liberal and social democratic regimes of social policy provide more opportunities to choose the form of family behavior, which corresponds to the values of the parents in these countries. The social democratic regime of social policy supports all forms of family and parenting that allows people to make a choice based only on their own preferences. The liberal regime of social policy, on the contrary, does not support a full family at all, which also gives people the freedom of choice.

In countries with the liberal regime of social policy the percentage of single parents is much higher than in other countries. In these countries, 5 % of fathers and 11 % of mothers under the age of 45 years, have never been married (neither officially, nor in the civil form). In countries with

Table 3. Characteristics of family behavior of the parents

	Liberal regime	Conservative regime	Social democratic regime	Post-communist countries
Marital status of parents				
In the official marriage	61,3 %	79,5 %	66,2 %	80,8 %
In the civil marriage	14,7 %	7,2 %	15,3 %	5,8 %
Married, but live separately	5,3 %	4,3 %	2,1 %	1,5 %
Divorced	6,3 %	3,7 %	8,2 %	6,2 %
Have never been married	8,9 %	3,1 %	4,8 %	1,8 %
Widowers	3,6 %	2,2 %	3,4 %	4,0 %
Single parenthood (% of the parents who have never been married)				
Men	5,4 %	2,9 %	2,5 %	1,3 %
Women	11,1 %	3,3 %	6,6 %	2,1 %
Employment of married mothers				
Full employment	47,8 %	52 %	52 %	64 %
Part time employment	28,1 %	19,9 %	30,7 %	6,2 %
Housewives	24,1 %	28 %	17,3 %	27,5 %
Who is the bread-winner in the family				
Men	77,7 %	89,7 %	83,2 %	75,7 %
Women	19,5 %	13 %	18,7 %	23,7 %

the social democratic regimes of social policy the percentage of single mothers is 6.6 %, in countries with the conservative regime – 3.3 %, and in the post-communist countries – only 2.1 %.

An important indicator of family behavior is the employment of mothers who are married. In the post-communist countries, the largest proportion of mothers has full-time employment (64 %). On the one hand, this high proportion of working mothers in these countries can be explained by the fact that the gender contract of “working mother” was dominant for the socialist countries (Zdravomyslova, Temkina, 2000). On the other hand, low family support from the state, poor provision of nurseries and kindergardens, as well as the reluctance of employers to provide women with children the opportunity to work part-time, often force mothers to have full employment. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the proportion of mothers with part-time job in the post-communist countries is only 6 %, while in the countries with the social democratic regime of social policy the share of mothers with part-time employment is more than 30 %, and in the countries with the liberal regime – 28 %.

The share of unemployed women with children in the post-communist countries and in the countries with the conservative regime is approximately 28 %. The relatively high percentage of unemployed married women in the countries with the conservative regime can be explained by the fact that in these countries for a long time there was the dominant model of family behavior, when men are given the role of breadwinner, and women – the role of housewife. In addition, in the countries with the conservative regime of social protection unemployed women with children have a fairly high allowance for child care. As a result, a fairly common situation is when a woman finds more profitable to stay at home than work.

Popularity of the role of housewife in post-communist countries is explained by a number of researchers as the phenomenon of patriarchal renaissance (Baskakova, 1998), when a woman waives economic independence voluntarily in favor of the patriarchal model of the family, i.e. family with one breadwinner. However, this result can also be explained by the peculiarities of social policy in the post-communist countries. Inability to work part-time, poor provision of some regions with nurseries and kindergardens, as well as the low level of services in these facilities, the reluctance of employers to pay for sick leave due to diseases of children, force women to abandon a career in favor of motherhood.

Thus, in countries where social policy is aimed at ensuring that women with children are involved in the labor market, there are conditions for mothers working part-time. This policy leads to the individualization of economic independence and autonomy of the mothers.

The social democratic regime of social policy provides women having children with the opportunity to work part-time, i.e. not to interrupt a career and not to fall into economic dependence on men, so the absolute minority mothers chooses giving up a career. Policy focused on maintaining a working adult allows people to choose the form of family behavior.

An important result is that in the post-communist countries there is the highest percentage of mothers who are married and who are the main breadwinners in the family. Their share is 24 %. In the countries with the liberal and social democratic welfare regimes the share of such families is about 20 %, while in the countries with the conservative regime this parameter is 13 %. This result can be explained by the peculiarities of economic transformation in the post-communist countries, where women quickly adapt to market conditions and become more successful than men.

Thus, the results of the research show that the values of the parents affect their marital behavior. In countries where parents have a strong commitment to untraditional family values, untraditional forms of family behavior are more common. Social policy in this case is the institutional support for parents to choose the form of family behavior. Of all the modes of social policy the social democratic regime more fully guarantees parents the opportunity to choose. Thanks to the support of lone parenthood, social assistance to parents, regardless of gender or marital status, the possibility of partial employment, parents can choose – to live legally married, in the civil marriage or refuse from the marriage at all.

Values to create in the children

Results of the logistic regression analysis are presented in Table 4. They allow predicting how parental values affect the values of children education, i.e. what qualities people with post-materialistic and materialistic values will bring up in their children. The data show that parents with post-materialistic values increasingly seek to educate their children tolerance and respect for others, altruism and imagination. Parents with materialistic values favored education of hard-working ability, careful attitude to money and things, and religiousness. The choice of qualities such as independence, straightforwardness and determination, responsibility is not affected by parental values. They are selected with equal probability and by parents with both materialistic and post-materialistic values. Thus, the results support the hypothesis that the values of the parents affect the values of education.

The regime of the social policy has an important influence on the choice of the analyzed values of education. Parents of the post-communist countries are significantly different from parents from other countries. They are characterized by

religious upbringing of the children, educating them to be hard working, careful to things and money, as well as obedient.

In the post-communist countries, there is a generational contract in which parents take on the responsibility for the care of children in childhood and for supporting them at a young age, and the children, in their turn, will care of their parents at old age. This is what we believe can be attributed to the desire of parents to educate their children values that are characteristic for traditional society, when parents need to raise in their children the recognition of their authority and power.

Creating responsibility and unselfishness is more common for parents from countries with the liberal and conservative regimes than for the parents from the countries with the social democratic regime. These qualities also contribute to the formation of the generational contract between children and parents.

In the countries with the social democratic regime parents often declare the desire to educate their children independence, imagination and tolerance. In the countries with the social democratic regime of social policy welfare of older people does not depend on the support of their children. In these countries there is no contract between the generations, the care of the elderly is covered by the state and society. As a result, parents can raise in their children emancipating values that they themselves have.

In addition to the values of parents and the regime of social policy the choice of values to be educated is affected by income, education and age. Thus, group of parents with higher income prefer to educate their children independence, imagination, determination, and straightforwardness, which confirms the hypothesis that an increase in the welfare of people leads to self-expression values. Parents with higher educational status also believe that children should be brought up emancipating

Table 4. Results of the logistic regression analysis on the choice of qualities that should be brought up in children

Independence		Imagination		Responsibility		Careful attitude to money and things		Straightforwardness and determination	
Age	0,17*	Age	0,002	Age	0,008	Age	-0,008*	Age	0,001
Gender	0,133*	Gender	-0,06	Gender	0,02	Gender	-0,017	Gender	-0,077
Education	0,178*	Education	0,234*	Education	0,122	Education	-0,322*	Education	0,155*
Marital status	0,106	Marital status	0,102	Marital status	0,025	Marital status	-0,195*	Marital status	0,65
Number of children	-0,078*	Number of children	-0,193*	Number of children	0,051	Number of children	0,132*	Number of children	-0,112*
Income	0,251*	Income	0,47*	Income	0,056	Income	-0,037	Income	0,253*
Post-materialists	0,001	Post-materialists	0,609*	Post-materialists	0,012	Post-materialists	-0,528*	Post-materialists	0,087
Liberal regime	0,586*	Liberal regime	1,113*	Liberal regime	-0,537*	Liberal regime	-0,769*	Liberal regime	0,364*
Social democratic regime	1,401*	Social democratic regime	1,241*	Social democratic regime	1,27*	Social democratic regime	-0,836*	Social democratic regime	0,443*
Conservative regime	0,71*	Conservative regime	0,584*	Conservative regime	0,414*	Conservative regime	-0,219*	Conservative regime	0,322*
Hard-working ability		Tolerance and respect for others		Religiousness		Altruism		Obedience	
Age	-0,09*	Age	0,008*	Age	0,008	Age	0,005	Age	-0,22*
Gender	-0,92	Gender	0,16*	Gender	0,198*	Gender	0,066	Gender	-0,012
Education	-0,12*	Education	0,092	Education	0,004	Education	0,125*	Education	-0,378*
Marital status	-0,089	Marital status	-0,191*	Marital status	0,352*	Marital status	-0,046	Marital status	-0,119
Number of children	0,061*	Number of children	0,052	Number of children	0,221*	Number of children	0,011	Number of children	0,113*
Income	-0,73	Income	-0,061	Income	-0,643*	Income	-0,05	Income	-0,283*
Post-materialists	-0,27*	Post-materialists	0,237*	Post-materialists	0,209	Post-materialists	0,424*	Post-materialists	-0,374*
Liberal regime	-1,19*	Liberal regime	1,176*	Liberal regime	-0,68*	Liberal regime	0,984*	Liberal regime	0,161*
Social democratic regime	-2,71*	Social democratic regime	1,744*	Social democratic regime	-1,19*	Social democratic regime	0,097	Social democratic regime	-0,148
Conservative regime	-1,08*	Conservative regime	0,498*	Conservative regime	-1,54*	Conservative regime	0,427	Conservative regime	0,137*

values, i.e. independence, imagination and altruism.

The results show that at a young age parents try to instill in their children obedience, hard-working ability and carefulness, and in later years – independence and respect for others. Thus, the emancipating values parents raise in their children as they grow.

Women are more likely than men to choose to educate children, on the one hand, independence and respect for others, and, on the other hand, religiousness.

An important indicator of parental behavior is the attitude to university education for girls and boys. As it can be seen from Table 3, the attitude to this statement does not depend on the values of the parents; the parents with post-materialist values evaluate the importance of university education for girls as the parents with materialistic values. The importance of university education for girls

is affected by the regime of social policy, gender, age and marital status. People, who are married, consider that for the boys university education is more important. Probably among the people who adhere to traditional forms of cohabitation, there are more people who have traditional views on the roles of men and women. The same statement is typical for younger parents as well.

Parents from the countries of Eastern Europe are significantly different from parents from other countries. They believe that university education is more important for boys, because they will have to provide for themselves and their family, while girls can secure their future with the help of the institution of marriage.

It is important to note that, as it can be seen from Table 5, which shows the frequency distribution of answers to the question of parental behavior, this view of university education is more typical for the fathers of the post-communist

Table 5. The frequency distribution of the qualities that parents choose to raise in their children

	Liberal regime		Conservative regime		Social democratic regime		Post-communist countries	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Qualities to be raised in children (% of choosing this quality)								
<i>Independence</i>	58,3 %	66,1 %	50,8 %	55,4 %	80,2 %	77,5 %	47,2 %	48,7 %
<i>Hard-working ability</i>	50,6 %	43,7 %	49,9 %	45,2 %	17,3 %	17,4 %	75,1 %	75,2 %
<i>Responsibility</i>	65,2 %	65,8 %	82,2 %	82,2 %	90,3 %	92,5 %	75,2 %	75,7 %
<i>Imagination</i>	46,4 %	40,3 %	33,1 %	28,6 %	44,2 %	46,2 %	19,8 %	19,6 %
<i>Tolerance and respect for others</i>	85,9 %	87,5 %	76,6 %	78,0 %	90,3 %	93,0 %	64,3 %	68,2 %
<i>Careful attitude to money and things</i>	27,6 %	26,9 %	35 %	39,3 %	26,2 %	23,7 %	44 %	43,1 %
<i>Straightforwardness and determination</i>	50,7 %	50,7 %	51,5 %	49,5 %	57,2 %	54,8 %	46,1 %	41,6 %
<i>Religiousness</i>	16,2 %	21,9 %	13,3 %	18,0 %	9,7 %	8,5 %	30,8 %	35,0 %
<i>Altruism</i>	48,0 %	48,8 %	31,2 %	38,0 %	29,8 %	27,4 %	24,5 %	25,5 %
<i>Obedience</i>	33,5 %	32,9 %	32,8 %	32,3 %	29,5 %	26,5 %	30,5 %	31,6 %
University education is more important for boys, than for girls	6 %	2,7 %	11,4 %	6,5 %	4,5 %	0,5 %	21,7 %	5,4 %

countries than for the mothers. Thus, the fact that university education is more important for boys than for girls is stated as such by more than 20 % of the fathers of the East European countries and by only 5 % of the mothers of these countries. It can be assumed that women in the post-communist countries understand the dangers of economic dependency on men, and opportunities of high education for career and life success.

In all other countries, the proportion of parents who agree that the importance of education depends on gender is much less (the parameter varies from 11 % in the countries with the liberal regime to 0.5 % in the countries with the social democratic regime). However, in all countries, women are more likely than men to believe that girls' education is as important as boys' education. Thus, we can say that one way or another, but women see the advantage of obtaining high education for their daughters.

Thus, the analysis of parental behavior allows us to conclude that parents with post-materialistic values tend to bring in their children independence, determination and imagination, that is, qualities that lead to the formation of emancipating values. Emancipating values contribute to the distancing between generations, widening the gap between the generations. In countries, where the economic situation of the older generation depends on the generational contract with young people, parents with this type of values put themselves in a vulnerable position, as bringing up such values in children does not contribute to the formation of such a contract. For parents with emancipating values the best regime of social policy is the social democratic regime, it guarantees the economic protection of the elderly without the generational contract.

Regardless of their own values, women in their most consider university education very important for the girls, because they understand the dangers of economic dependency.

Conclusion

The results of our study show that the process of modernization, which is accompanied by the appearance of post-materialistic values, inevitably leads to changes in the values associated with the family and parental behavior. There is the motivation to choose the model of cohabitation with the partners and children. In addition, the results show the effect of post-materialistic values of the parents on their desire to raise emancipating values in their children.

Institutions of social policy create an opportunity to implement these motivations. Most favorable regimes for the diversity of family living are liberal and social democratic state regimes. The countries with these regimes of social policy have the highest diversity of models of family living. Thus, in the countries with the liberal and social democratic state regimes the modernization process is characterized not only by the changes of family values and values of education, but also by the changes of family behavior, which is not characteristic for the countries with the conservative state regime.

In the former communist countries and countries with the conservative regime of social policy such diversity in forms of family behavior is not observed. In these countries, more than 80 % of the parents live in the official marriage. In Eastern Europe, a high percentage of parents living in the official marriage can be explained by the low share of the parents with post-materialistic values in these countries. However, this conclusion can not be extended to the countries with the conservative regime of social policy. In these countries, there is quite a high proportion of parents with post-materialistic values, but their family behavior is rather traditional.

Thus, the results of our study give reason to believe that the regime of social policy is a macro factor that determines family and parental behavior. The underdeveloped institutions of the

welfare states lead to the fact that family values and the values of education lead to a conflict do not correspond to the behavior of the family, between the generations.

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Родительские ценности и поведение родителей: межстрановой анализ

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Данная статья анализирует влияние индивидуальных ценностей родителей, которые операционализируются в рамках теории модернизации Рональда Инглхарта, как материалистические и постматериалистические, на семейные ценности и семейное поведение родителей. Эмпирической базой исследования является 5-я волна проекта World Value Survey. Под семейными ценностями в данном случае понимается отношение родителей к институту брака, одинокому родительству и нетрадиционным формам совместного проживания родителей и детей. В качестве характеристик семейного поведения рассматриваются такие показатели, как доля родителей, проживающих в браке (официальном или гражданском), доля одиноких родителей, доля неработающих матерей, состоящих в браке, и матерей, работающих неполный рабочий день, а также те качества, которые родители считают важным воспитывать в своих детях. Переменной группирующей страны является режим социального государства. Выделяются четыре группы стран: страны с либеральным режимом социального государства, консервативным режимом, социал-демократическим режимом и посткоммунистические страны. Результаты исследования показывают, что процесс модернизации, сопровождающийся изменениями индивидуальных ценностей, приводит к изменениям в семейных ценностях, которые, в свою очередь, влекут за собой изменения в семейном и родительском поведении. Эти изменения характеризуются разнообразием форм совместного проживания как с партнерами, так и с детьми, а также стремлением воспитывать в своих детях эмансипирующие ценности. Режим социального государства имеет сильное влияние как на формирование семейных ценностей, так и на выбор форм семейного поведения.

Ключевые слова: семейные ценности, брак, родители.
