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# Multilevel Relations among Religiosity and Family Orientation in Adolescence: The Role of Cultural Change

Boris Mayer
University of Bern

Gisela Trommsdorff
University of Konstanz



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- **Cultural Change and Its Impact** on Religion and the Family
- Secularization thesis: Religion and traditional values decline with **economic prosperity (Norris & Inglehart, 2011)**
- Modernization theory: Impact of the rise of individualism/selfexpression values on the family? (Georgas, 2006; Inglehart & Oyserman, 2004; Inkeles, 1998; Kagitcibasi, 2007)
- Both processes fueled by economic development
  - What about the relation between religion/religiosity and family orientation?
  - Direction of influence? (Eberstadt, 2013)
- Differential impact of cultural change on different aspects of adolescents' family orientation?
  - Traditional conservative values
  - Importance of family and children in the future

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# Multilevel Relations of Religiosity and Family Orientation

- Individual level: Beneficial effects of religiosity on well-being, mediated through social capital, e.g. the family (Sabatier, Mayer, Friedlmeier, Lubiewska, & Trommsdorff, 2011)
- Normativity of religiosity (in a culture) related to stronger effects of religiosity (Gebauer, Sedikides, & Neberich, 2012)
- > The current study: Adolescents from 20 cultures in the VOC Study
  - Multilevel effects of personal religiosity and self-reported (relative) SES on different aspects of family orientation (traditional vs. future-oriented)
  - Extrapolation from multi-level cross-sectional model to effects of cultural change (more or less appropriate)
  - Indicators of cultural change (culture-level indicators):
    - Level of religiosity (measured by mean religiosity)
    - Level of affluence and human development (measured by HDI)
    - Level of secular-rational value orientation (World Value Survey)
    - Level of self-expression value orientation (World Value Survey)

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## Potential of Multilevel-Models in Cross-Cultural Research

VI = Variance Component of Intercept VS = Variance Component of Slope Culture-CLI = Cross-Level Interaction Intrinsic or Unpackage cultural differences ICC = Intraclass-Correlation Level Aggregated **Variables** Identify cultural differences (ICC) **Identify functional** differences Individual-**VS** Outcome Level Variable Identify average effects **Variables** across cultures and conditional effects per culture





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### Sample & Individual-Level IVs: **Adolescents from 20 cultures**

**Culture** Males **Females** Total Religiosity\* Mean (SD) SES\*\* Mean (SD) China 129 177 306 2.36 (1.39)2.68 (0.75)Czech Republic 0 260 260 1.54 3.17 (0.67)(1.14)151 **Estonia** 147 298 1.38 (0.84)2.66 (0.68)90 110 200 France 2.38 (1.33)3.47 (0.59)137 174 311 Germany 2.29 3.22 (1.31)(0.59)India (Varanasi) 148 152 300 4.28 (0.90)3.17 (1.00)India (Pondicherry) 150 150 300 3.81 (1.02)2.73 (0.72)135 165 300 4.84 Indonesia (0.41)2.83 (0.73)205 Italy 176 381 2.79 (1.17)2.87 (0.65)Jamaica 165 311 146 4.14 (1.09)3.20 (0.97)77 130 207 1.75 (1.07)3.10 (0.80)Japan 69 119 188 3.07 Israel 3.55 (1.17)(0.72)Palestinian Authority 78 98 176 4.44 (0.79)3.26 (0.61)Poland 130 (0.71)197 327 3.91 (0.91)3.06 48 52 100 Romania 4.16 (0.92)3.31 (0.66)Russia 152 181 333 2.92 (1.09)2.76 (0.61)South Africa 122 195 317 4.14 (1.06)2.63 (0.87)55 76 131 Switzerland 2.59 (1.35)3.17 (0.69)Turkey 144 162 306 3.93 (1.07)3.13 (0.85)**USA** 216 337 121 3.80 (1.33)3.22 (0.70)F = 237.6, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .46$ F = 24.1, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .09$ **Total** 5389

2254

3135

<sup>\*</sup>Religious beliefs 1 = not at all important - 5 = very important

<sup>\*\*</sup>Economic status compared to others 1 = low - 5 = upper

# **Dependent Variables: Adolescents' Family Orientation**





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### Traditional (Conservative) Family Values

- 5 items short scale derived from Georgas (2001)
- "We should honor and protect our family's reputation" (sample item)
- Scale from 1 = "Not important at all" to 5 = "Very important"
- Cronbachs' Alpha between .45 and .81

#### 2. Value of Children (VOC)

- Utilitarian-normative VOC: Economic and social-normative reasons for having children
  - 8 items, e.g., "To have one more person to help your family economically" / "Because older relatives feel that you should have more children"
  - Cronbachs' Alpha between .55 and .86
- Psychological VOC: Psychological/emotional reasons for having children
  - 7 items, e.g., "Because it is a joy to have a small baby"
  - Cronbachs' Alpha between .72 and .89

### 3. Family Future Orientation

- Single item: "Family will be the most important thing in my life; everything else will be less important."
- Scale from 1 = "Not at all" to 5 = "Very much" (extent to which statement corresponds with your personal way of thinking)
- 4. Intended number of children (future family)



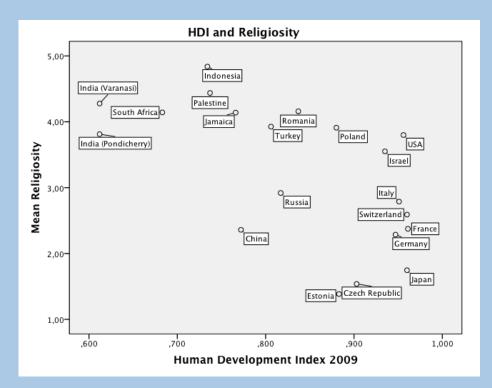
### **Correlations among Culture-Level IVs (1)**

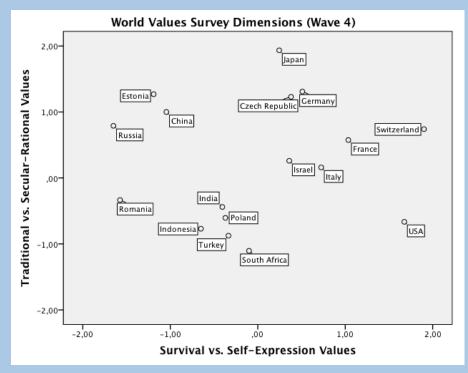




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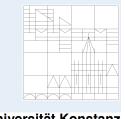




$$r = -.60$$

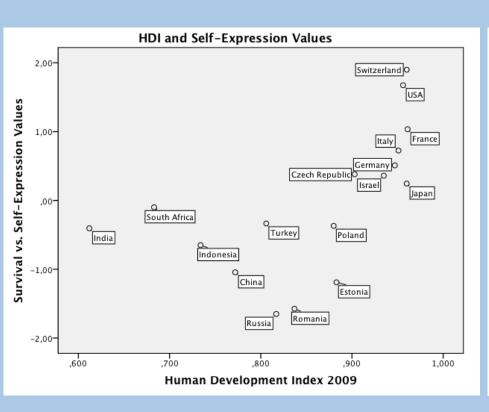
$$r = -.07$$

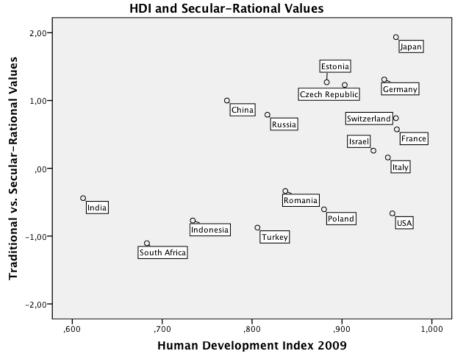
# **Correlations among Culture-Level IVs (2)**





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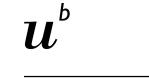




r = .54

r = .53





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# Correlations among Culture-Level IVs (3)

	Religiosity	Secular- Rational Values	Self- Expression Values
HDI	60**	.53*	.54*
Religiosity		92***	17
Secular- Rational Values			.07

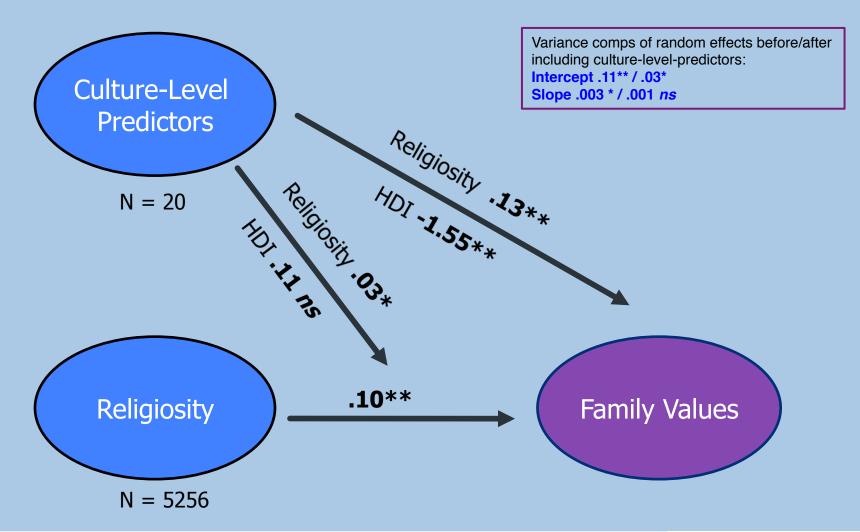
- Religiosity and secular-rational values measure almost perfectly polar opposites
- Religiosity and HDI substantially negatively related, but not collinear
- Religiosity and secular-rational values unrelated to self-expression values
- HDI ≈ .50 related to both secular-rational as well as self-expression values
- Strategy: include HDI and religiosity as well as secular-rational values and self-expression values together as predictors in separate multi-level models

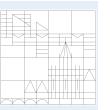


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### Religiosity and Family Values: Culture-Level Effects of Religiosity and HDI Univ

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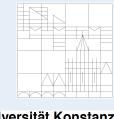
### **Summary of Results of ML-Analysis**

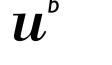
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	Individual-level		Culture-level (1)		Culture-level (2)	
Dependent Variable	Religiosity	SES	Religiosity	HDI	Secular- Rational	Self- Expression
Family Values	.10**	.00	.13**	-1.55**	27***	09*
Utilitarian-normative VOC	.06**	03*	.15*	-4.27***	40**	28**
Psychological VOC	.07**	.03*	.12*	37	17**	02
Family Future Orientation	.11***	.00	.24**	.00	30*	01
Number of Children	.13**	.04+	.31*	2.75*	14	.22+

<sup>+</sup> p < .1 \* p < .05 \*\* p < .01 \*\*\* p < .001. Unstandardized regression coefficients.

### **Discussion**





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- Religiosity important individual-level aspect for family orientation. In cultures with low religiosity, the relation is less strong. Overall small effect, though.
- > At the cultural level, the more normative religiosity is, the higher adolescents' family orientation (traditional as well as future-oriented)
- > Individual-level SES hardly important for family orientation; culture-level affluence strong negative effect on traditional aspects, but no effect on future-oriented aspects (even positive on no. of children)

Economic development (+ syndromes of cultural individualism/independence) does not uniquely affect the importance of the family, but concomitant religious decline seems to lead to less overall family orientation.

Religiosity as part of cultural value systems

→ more consideration in psychological models of family change

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boris.mayer@psy.unibe.ch gisela.trommsdorff@uni-konstanz.de

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