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Care, Choice, and Conflict A Multilevel Analysis of Support for Equal Split Paid Parental Leave in Europe

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Burhan Mujkanović-Görgülü BA MSc (WU)

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Ass.-Prof. Dr. Reto Bürgisser

Abstract

This thesis examines public support for a mandatory or strongly regulated model of equally shared paid parental leave across 26 European countries. It asks whether support for equal split is associated with cultural orientation at the individual level and whether this relationship is conditioned by paid, non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements. The thesis conceptualises equal split as a contested gender-equality and care policy that connects questions of redistribution, gendered care, family autonomy, and state norm-setting. Empirically, the study combines individual-level data from ESS Round 11 with country-level information on the full-rate equivalent duration of father-specific leave entitlements. Mixed-effects ordered logit models are used to analyse support for equal split, including redistributive preferences, cultural orientation, sociodemographic controls, and a cross-level interaction with the institutional FRE context.

The findings show that support for equal split is widespread but not consensual and varies across individuals and countries. Redistributive preferences emerge as the most stable individual-level association: respondents who more strongly support government action to reduce income differences are more likely to support equal split. By contrast, the direct association between cultural orientation and support is positive but not statistically significant in the main models. Cultural orientation becomes relevant mainly in interaction with institutional context. The positive interaction with the FRE indicator suggests that cultural differences are stronger in countries with more extensive father-specific entitlements. This pattern is more consistent with a backlash- or polarisation-compatible interpretation than with a normalisation of cultural conflict, although it remains sensitive to some modelling and measurement choices.

The thesis contributes to the literature by showing that support for equal split should be understood neither as a purely redistributive welfare-state preference nor as a direct expression of culturally liberal attitudes. Rather, it is a multidimensional attitude object in which redistributive preferences, cultural understandings of gender and family life, and institutional parental-leave design interact.

Kurzfassung

Diese Masterarbeit untersucht die öffentliche Unterstützung für ein verpflichtendes oder stark reguliertes Modell gleich geteilter bezahlter Elternzeit in 26 europäischen Ländern. Die Arbeit fragt, ob Unterstützung für equal split auf individueller Ebene mit kultureller Orientierung zusammenhängt und ob dieser Zusammenhang durch bezahlte, nicht übertragbare väterspezifische Elternzeitanprüche bedingt wird. Sie konzeptualisiert equal split als umstrittene Gleichstellungs- und Care-Policy, die Fragen von Umverteilung, geschlechtlich strukturierter Sorgearbeit, Familienautonomie und staatlicher Normsetzung miteinander verbindet. Empirisch kombiniert die Studie Individualdaten aus der ESS-Runde 11 mit Länderinformationen zur Full-Rate-Equivalent-Dauer väterspezifischer Elternzeitanprüche. Zur Analyse werden gemischte ordinale Logit-Modelle verwendet, die Umverteilungspräferenzen, kulturelle Orientierung, soziodemografische Kontrollen und eine Cross-Level-Interaktion mit dem institutionellen FRE-Kontext berücksichtigen.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass Unterstützung für equal split zwar weit verbreitet, aber nicht konsensual ist. Der stabilste individuelle Zusammenhang betrifft Umverteilungspräferenzen: Befragte, die staatliche Maßnahmen zur Verringerung von Einkommensunterschieden stärker unterstützen, befürworten auch equal split eher. Der direkte Zusammenhang zwischen kultureller Orientierung und Unterstützung ist hingegen positiv, aber in den Hauptmodellen nicht statistisch signifikant. Kulturelle Orientierung wird vor allem im Zusammenspiel mit dem institutionellen Kontext relevant. Die positive Interaktion mit dem FRE-Indikator deutet darauf hin, dass kulturelle Unterschiede in Ländern mit umfangreicheren väterspezifischen Ansprüchen stärker ausfallen. Dieses Muster spricht eher für eine backlash- oder polarisierungskompatible Interpretation als für eine Normalisierung kultureller Konflikte, bleibt jedoch gegenüber einigen Modellierungs- und Messentscheidungen sensitiv.

Die Arbeit trägt zur Forschung bei, indem sie zeigt, dass Unterstützung für equal split weder als reine Wohlfahrtsstaatspräferenz noch als bloßer Ausdruck kulturell liberaler Einstellungen verstanden werden sollte. Vielmehr handelt es sich um ein mehrdimensionales Einstellungsobjekt, in dem Umverteilungspräferenzen, kulturelle Deutungen von Geschlecht und Familie sowie institutionelles Elternzeitdesign zusammenwirken.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Research Problem and Relevance

The question of how parental leave should be divided between mothers and fathers is no longer merely a technical issue of social-policy design in European welfare states. Rather, it brings together broader conflicts over how care responsibilities ought to be organised, which understandings of fair parenthood should be politically upheld, and how far state regulation may legitimately extend into family arrangements. Family policy is therefore not only a matter of material protection, but also a field in which gender relations, employment opportunities, and patterns of dependency within the family are actively shaped. Feminist and gender-sensitive welfare-state scholarship has long emphasised that social-policy arrangements cannot be understood solely in terms of the relationship between state and market but must systematically take the family into account as well. Welfare-state institutions thus also structure access to economic autonomy, care responsibilities, and the allocation of gendered dependencies (Daly & Lewis, 2000; Orloff, 1993).

Against this background, the present study examines support for equally shared paid parental leave, referred to in this thesis as equal split¹. Equal split is analytically distinct from more general family-policy benefits because it directly addresses the gendered allocation of care time. Its political significance lies in the fact that parental-leave entitlements can be designed in ways that prevent care responsibilities and interruptions to paid work from being automatically tied to traditional gender roles. This is precisely what makes equal split particularly contested. The same arrangement may be seen either as a legitimate gender-equality measure, because it institutionally secures symmetrical parenthood, or as an inappropriate form of state interference in family autonomy (Ellingsæter, 2012; Ellingsæter & Leira, 2006).

A European comparison is especially revealing for this research question. Promoting fathers' participation in care has become an important reference point

¹ Equal split refers in this study to a parental leave design that provides for, or effectively mandates, an approximately equal division of paid parental leave between both parents. In practice, this is typically achieved through individual, non-transferable entitlements (use-it-or-lose-it or earmarked entitlements) and bonus provisions that require both parents to take leave, rather than allowing parental leave to remain fully transferable between them (Ellingsæter, 2012; OECD, 2024).

in debates on family-policy reform in many European countries, while institutional leave designs still differ substantially, particularly with regard to paid and non-transferable entitlements for fathers. Europe therefore offers an analytically fruitful comparative setting in which to examine how the evaluation of a contested family-policy arrangement is structured through the interaction of individual orientations and institutional contexts. Precisely because equal split brings together questions of gender equality, choice, and the legitimate scope of state involvement in family arrangements, it is especially well suited to analysing family-related policy preferences in comparative European perspective.

1.2 Research Question and Analytical Focus

Against this background, this study addresses the following research question:

To what extent is support for a mandatory or strongly regulated model of equally shared paid parental leave associated with cultural orientation at the individual level across Europe, and to what extent is this association conditioned by the institutional design of father-specific, non-transferable leave entitlements?

The analytical focus explicitly links the micro and macro levels. At the individual level, the study examines whether cultural orientation is systematically associated with support for equal split. At the macro level, it investigates whether differences in parental-leave design condition this relationship. Empirically, the study is based on a quantitative multilevel comparison of 26 European countries.

1.3 Research Gap and Contribution of the Study

Classical research on welfare-state preferences has often been organised around economic-distributive conflicts, that is, around redistribution, equality, and the relationship between state and market. This perspective remains important for understanding social-policy preferences, since support for paid parental leave may also reflect broader views about state intervention, social protection, and distributive equality (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Svallfors, 2012). For evaluating equal split, however, an exclusively economic-distributive perspective offers only limited explanatory leverage. Equal split also concerns the legitimacy of gender arrangements, care responsibilities, and state involvement in family life. It therefore points to a constellation of conflict that cannot be adequately captured through classical redistributive logics alone.

Existing research provides several important starting points for analysing this problem. Gender-sensitive welfare-state scholarship has shown that family policy shapes welfare-state arrangements through its effects on employment opportunities, economic autonomy, care responsibilities, and dependency within the family (Daly & Lewis, 2000; Orloff, 1993). Research on parental-leave design has further demonstrated that the gendered consequences of leave arrangements depend not only on the generosity of benefits, but also on whether entitlements are paid, individualised, and non-transferable (Ciccia & Verloo, 2012; Ray et al., 2010). A related literature on leave-policy preferences shows that attitudes toward parental leave are shaped by institutional contexts, self-interest, and ideational orientations concerning gender, care, and state responsibility. Studies on parental-leave preferences and fathers' leave show that gender ideology, dual-earner expectations, separate-spheres beliefs, intensive-mothering attitudes, and gender egalitarianism are systematically related to support for more gender-equal leave arrangements (Kaufman et al., 2024; Li et al., 2021; Valarino et al., 2018).

However, the specific policy attitude examined in this thesis remains only partly addressed by this literature. Existing studies provide important insights into attitudes toward parental leave, fathers' leave, childcare, and the preferred gender division of leave. Yet support for equal split, understood here as a mandatory or strongly regulated model in which both parents are expected to take equal periods of paid leave, is a more demanding and normatively charged object of evaluation. It does not merely ask whether fathers should have access to leave or whether leave should be more generous. Rather, it evaluates a policy arrangement that institutionally defines symmetrical care responsibility as legitimate and desirable. This raises the question of whether and under what institutional conditions support for equal split is associated with broader cultural orientations concerning equality, authority, pluralism, and the legitimate boundaries of state regulation.

The present study contributes to this literature in three ways. First, it examines support for equal split as a policy-specific attitude toward a contested gender-equality and care arrangement, rather than as a general attitude toward family policy or parental leave. Second, it links research on leave-policy preferences to the literature on cultural conflict by analysing whether cultural orientation is

associated with support for equal split, while also taking redistributive preferences into account. Third, it connects individual-level orientations to country-level parental-leave design in a comparative multilevel framework and draws on the policy-feedback perspective to conceptualise institutional arrangements not only as outcomes of political struggles, but also as contexts that may shape subsequent political interpretations and developmental trajectories (Pierson, 1993). In doing so, the study assesses whether support for equal split is structured by cultural orientation, how this association compares to redistributive preferences, and whether it is conditioned by the institutional context of father-specific, non-transferable leave entitlements.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 develops the theoretical framework of the study. It situates the argument within the literature on political conflict, family-policy attitudes, parental-leave design, and policy feedback. It further elaborates the distinction between cultural and economic conflict logics, conceptualises equal split as a contested gender-equality and care policy, and derives the main hypotheses. Chapter 3 presents the research design, the data sources, the operationalisation of the key concepts, and the methodological approach. Chapter 4 reports the empirical findings. Chapter 5 discusses these findings in light of the theoretical expectations and the relevant literature. Chapter 6 draws together the main conclusions of the study.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Political Cleavages in Modern Democracies

In modern democracies, political attitudes and policy preferences rarely emerge as isolated individual judgements. They are embedded in broader conflict structures that organise political space and shape political contestation. From a cleavage perspective, such lines of conflict are not merely attitudinal dimensions. They link social-structural divisions, normative principles of interpretation and evaluation, and their organisational articulation in party competition and collective mobilisation (Grande & Kriesi, 2012). A dynamic cleavage approach further emphasises that cleavages do not arise only “bottom-up” from social structure but are also shaped “top-down” by political actors, issue selection, and strategic framing (Grande & Kriesi, 2012; Kriesi et al., 2006). This framework is central to the present study because support for equal split is understood here as a form of positioning within a structured political space.

In European democracies, this political space is theoretically and empirically at least two-dimensional. The first core axis is the economic line of conflict. It concerns distributive conflicts over redistribution, social protection, and the scope of state intervention vis-à-vis market mechanisms (Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015). Empirical reconstructions of party competition place parties, across different periods, along an axis ranging from welfare-state support to economic liberalism (Kriesi, 2012; Kriesi et al., 2006). Alongside this economic line of conflict, European democracies also exhibit a second, sociocultural line of conflict. In this study, this dimension is understood as a contrast between universalist and particularist conceptions of social order. Universalism refers to orientations that prioritise inclusive forms of belonging, equal recognition, individual autonomy, and the acceptance of diverse ways of life. Particularism, by contrast, places greater emphasis on order, authority, tradition, and cultural boundary-drawing. In the literature, this dimension is often described as GAL–TAN, that is, Green/Alternative/Libertarian versus Traditional/Authoritarian/Nationalist, or, in relation to European integration and globalisation, as a conflict between integration and demarcation (Bornschieer, 2010; Hooghe et al., 2002). New issues linked to globalisation and crisis politics may intensify this cultural line of conflict, but they are often embedded in the existing two-dimensional structure of political

competition rather than forming an entirely separate dimension (Grande & Kriesi, 2012; Hooghe & Marks, 2018; Kriesi et al., 2006).

This two-dimensional architecture is also relevant on the demand side, although individual attitudes are often less neatly structured than party positions. Analyses show that attitudes toward immigration and Europe frequently cluster on a shared cultural dimension, whereas redistribution preferences are more strongly associated with the economic dimension (Dolezal & Hutter, 2012). At the same time, parties may bundle cultural issues more strongly in their programmes and competitive strategies than individual attitudes alone would suggest. Cultural and economic orientations should therefore be treated as analytically distinguishable, even when they partly overlap in concrete political conflicts. Methodologically, this also matters for the measurement of ideology. Left-right self-placement is widely used, but it is a compressed and context-dependent measure. Its meaning can vary across countries and may combine distributive positions, views on authority, and questions of belonging within a single self-assessment (Kitschelt & Rehm, 2014; Lachat, 2018). For this reason, left-right self-placement can be useful as a robustness measure, but it is too broad to serve as the sole indicator when the aim is to isolate specific mechanisms of political evaluation.

For the present study, the distinction between economic and cultural conflict logics is necessary because the two dimensions rest on different normative principles and structure different objects of conflict. While the economic dimension centres on distributive justice, solidarity versus individual responsibility, and the role of the state in allocating resources, the cultural dimension is more closely concerned with authority, belonging, recognition, plural ways of life, and the legitimacy of normative liberalisation (Bornschier, 2010; Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015). Classic contributions to the new politics literature locate this cultural dimension particularly in the conflict between authoritarian and libertarian value orientations (Flanagan & Lee, 2003). The two dimensions may overlap in concrete political conflicts, and cross-cutting preference profiles are possible, such as economically egalitarian but culturally conservative positions. Such overlaps do not invalidate the distinction between economic and cultural conflict logics. Rather, they make it analytically necessary.

2.2 Equal Split as a Contested Gender-Equality and Care Policy

Support for equal split should not be understood as an ordinary case of welfare-state distributive policy. Parental leave is materially underpinned by income replacement and the duration of entitlement, but its political significance goes beyond the allocation of income support. It institutionally structures care work and interruptions to paid employment, and therefore raises the question of how parenthood, gender roles, and responsibilities within the family ought to be organised. As a care policy, parental leave lies at the intersection of state, market, and family. It concerns not only the distribution of material resources, but also the organisation of care work, the attribution of responsibility, and the allocation of the associated temporal, financial, and emotional burdens (Daly & Lewis, 2000). Family policy therefore often becomes a field of political contestation in which the boundary between public regulation and private autonomy is renegotiated (Ellingsæter & Leira, 2006). The contested nature of equal split is closely tied to the fact that family-policy institutions do not merely influence behaviour but also stabilise normative expectations. They help define which role arrangements are regarded as normal, fair, or appropriate by assigning rights and obligations, facilitating certain arrangements while making others more costly or difficult (Sjöberg, 2004). In this way, policies can alter not only structures of opportunity, but also broader convictions about appropriate gender roles and care responsibilities (Gangl & Ziefle, 2015). For the present analysis, it is therefore important to distinguish between a limited logic of protection and security around childbirth and longer-term arrangements that either promote shared responsibility or continue to anchor care primarily in maternal responsibility (Blofield & Martinez Franzoni, 2015).

Conflicts over equal split arise precisely where protection, choice, and equality do not align. This conflict structure becomes particularly visible in debates over fathers' quotas and non-transferable leave. The same institutional rule can be interpreted in very different ways: either as a legitimate gender-equality strategy that secures symmetrical parenthood, or as an illegitimate form of state interference in private family decisions. Ellingsæter (2012) identifies three competing normative paradigms in such debates: one centred on equality and symmetrical parenthood, one emphasising mother-centred arguments of protection in the context of childbirth and breastfeeding, and one foregrounding

parental choice and the rejection of detailed state steering. Later work similarly shows that fathers' quotas may simultaneously normalise egalitarian parenthood and provoke criticism as coercive state intervention (Ellingsæter, 2021). For the present study, the crucial point is that equal split is not a neutral technical arrangement, but a policy whose normative legitimacy is itself contested. This contested character is further reinforced by the fact that equal split redistributes not only income support, but above all time, presence, responsibility, and everyday care work. It intervenes in a sensitive phase surrounding pregnancy, childbirth, and early parenthood, in which care continues to be framed through bodily and child-related needs as well as gender-coded ideas of "good" care (Ciccia & Verloo, 2012). The literature therefore stresses that a clear analytical distinction must be drawn between the generosity of parental-leave schemes, in terms of duration and wage replacement, and their egalitarian design. A generous arrangement may provide material security without institutionally promoting a symmetrical distribution of care if entitlements remain largely transferable (Ray et al., 2010). Conversely, an equal and non-transferable design may explicitly challenge established gendered expectations by making both parents independent entitlement holders. Recent evidence from Spain illustrates this tension clearly. Cañero Ruiz and Marinova (2025) show that support for a strictly equal and non-transferable model is low among new mothers and fathers, whereas additional pre- and postnatal protection periods for mothers receive much broader support. The controversy therefore appears as a tension between an equality-based logic of co-responsibility and a logic of sexed care, which treats pregnancy, childbirth, recovery, and breastfeeding as not fully open to symmetrical division. At the same time, policy design can create "claiming power": non-transferable entitlements and adequate income replacement may socially and organisationally legitimise paternal care and reduce bargaining barriers both vis-à-vis employers and within the household (Jurado-Guerrero & Muñoz-Comet, 2021). This reinforces the central conceptual point: equal split is contested not because it simply expands or reduces welfare provision, but because it institutionalises a specific understanding of shared parenthood. The core of the conflict therefore lies less in whether people want "more or less welfare state" than in which family and gender order is regarded as legitimate and whether the state may secure such an order through design-based norm-setting. Equal split

is thus best understood as a contested gender-equality and care policy. It combines material support with normative expectations about care, parenthood, and gendered responsibility. It follows that support for equal split is likely to be structured not only by distributive preferences, but also by broader normative and cultural orientations. The next section specifies the micro-level mechanisms through which such cultural orientations may shape support or opposition.

2.3 Cultural Orientation and Support for Equal Split

At the individual level, support for equal split is best understood as a judgement of legitimacy. What is being evaluated is not merely a social-policy benefit, but a state regulation that sets expectations about how parenthood, care responsibilities, and gendered role arrangements within the family ought to be organised. In such a normatively charged policy field, support is likely to be associated not only with instrumental cost-benefit considerations, but also with broader sociocultural orientations. This is particularly plausible because equal split can be interpreted in contrasting ways: either as an institutional expression of gender equality and shared parenthood, or as an illegitimate intrusion into family autonomy.

Existing research on parental-leave and family-policy attitudes provides an important basis for situating this argument. Studies of leave-policy preferences show that attitudes toward parental leave are shaped not only by institutional contexts and self-interest, but also by ideational orientations concerning gender, work, care, and state responsibility. Valarino et al. (2018), for example, show that preferences regarding leave length, the gender division of leave, and financing source vary across institutional contexts and are associated with gender ideology and views about the role of the state. Li et al. (2021) similarly demonstrate, using comparative data on attitudes toward paid parental leave offerings for fathers, that support is higher among respondents with dual-earner expectations, whereas separate-spheres beliefs and intensive-mothering attitudes reduce support. Kaufman et al. (2024) further show that gender egalitarianism is associated with support for longer paternity leave and more similar leave periods for mothers and fathers. In sum, these studies place parental leave within a broader field of progressive family-policy attitudes, where support is closely linked to normative understandings of gender, employment, parenting, and care.

The present study builds on this literature but shifts the analytical focus in two ways. It examines support for a more demanding policy object: a mandatory or strongly regulated model in which both parents are expected to take equal periods of paid leave. Equal split therefore goes beyond support for fathers' access to leave or for more generous parental-leave benefits by institutionally defining symmetrical care responsibility as desirable. The study also moves beyond direct gender-role attitudes as the main explanatory variable and asks whether support for equal split is structured by a broader cultural orientation. This allows the analysis to connect research on progressive family-policy attitudes with the wider literature on sociocultural conflict in European democracies. Existing studies show that gendered and ideational orientations matter for family-policy preferences, but they do not fully address whether support for a binding equal-split arrangement is embedded in a broader cultural conflict axis. This broader cultural orientation can be specified through the cultural line of conflict in European politics. In the literature, this dimension is commonly described as a contrast between universalist and particularist conceptions of social order (Bornschieer, 2010; Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015). Universalist and culturally liberal orientations emphasise inclusion, equal recognition, individual autonomy, and the acceptance of plural ways of life. Particularist and culturally conservative orientations, by contrast, place stronger emphasis on order, authority, tradition, and cultural boundary-drawing. These orientations provide interpretive frames through which citizens evaluate contested social change. Recent cleavage research further suggests that such conflicts may be stabilised through collective identities and everyday forms of boundary-drawing, including "us-versus-them" distinctions that organise political evaluations into antagonistic camps (Bornschieer et al., 2024).

Several mechanisms link cultural orientation to support for equal split. Universalist and culturally liberal conceptions of equality and recognition imply that rights, opportunities, and responsibilities should not be tied to traditional role assignments but should in principle be open to symmetrical distribution. From this perspective, equal split may appear as an institutional framework for securing gender-equal parenthood and reducing traditional care inequalities. A further mechanism concerns the recognition of plural and non-traditional ways of life, since equal split challenges a gender-differentiated understanding of parental

roles. Bornschieer (2010) argues that the new cultural line of conflict historically emerged from struggles over cultural liberalism and the recognition of non-traditional lifestyles, before later being transformed by issues such as immigration and the boundaries of community. Individuals who regard plural ways of life and non-traditional family arrangements as acceptable are therefore likely to be more receptive to gender-egalitarian care norms, whereas more particularist or traditionalist orientations may make a binding gender-equality norm appear as an overextension of state authority into the private sphere. A third mechanism concerns authority and tradition. Flanagan and Lee (2003) conceptualise this aspect of cultural conflict as an authoritarian-libertarian value dimension. Authoritarian worldviews emphasise order, obedience, and respect for authority, whereas libertarian worldviews stress autonomy, self-determination, and cultural liberalisation. In the context of equal split, authority-oriented attitudes should not be understood simply as a preference for regulation as such. Rather, whether rules are accepted depends on the kind of order they are perceived to protect and whether they are interpreted as legitimate stabilisation or as inappropriate intrusion. A mandatory or strongly regulated equal-split model may be interpreted by some citizens as stabilising gender equality, but by others as privileging a particular role arrangement and reshaping private family life through state norm-setting. More authority- and tradition-oriented respondents may therefore be less supportive when the policy is perceived not as social protection, but as morally motivated interference in family autonomy.

These cultural mechanisms do not require citizens to hold fully elaborated ideological worldviews or detailed knowledge of policy design. Damhuis and Westheuser (2024) show that cleavages may be embedded in everyday interpretive patterns and common-sense explanations through which people mobilise moral distinctions about belonging, recognition, and legitimate order. For the present research question, this implies that support for or opposition to equal split may follow broader cultural conceptions of social order even when individuals are not deeply familiar with the institutional details of parental-leave schemes. What matters is that the policy is symbolically legible: for some, as a norm of gender-equal parenthood; for others, as an inappropriate intrusion into family autonomy. The resulting expectation is that culturally liberal and universalist orientations should be positively associated with support for equal

split, whereas more authority-, tradition-, and boundary-oriented orientations should be associated with lower support. Empirically, this broader cultural orientation is later operationalised through attitudes toward migration, LGBT acceptance, and orientations toward authority. It should therefore not be interpreted as a direct gender-role scale, but as an indicator of the wider sociocultural conflict axis within which evaluations of gender-equality and family-policy arrangements are embedded.

2.4 Economic Preferences as a Differentiating Dimension

The preceding sections have argued that support for equal split is likely to be associated with cultural orientations because the policy concerns the legitimacy of gendered care arrangements and state involvement in family life. At the same time, equal split should not be detached from the broader literature on welfare-state preferences. It remains a paid social-policy arrangement and may therefore also reflect more general views about state responsibility, social protection, and distributive equality. Comparative welfare-attitudes research has shown that support for welfare-state policies is shaped by situational factors, self-interest, and egalitarian ideology at both the individual and national level (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003). More broadly, welfare attitudes can be understood as part of a moral economy in which citizens evaluate rights, obligations, responsibilities, and the legitimacy of public intervention (Svallfors, 2012). Redistributive preferences are therefore theoretically relevant for understanding support for equal split. However, redistributive preferences and cultural orientations should not be treated as identical. The economic dimension is primarily concerned with redistribution, social protection, and the role of the state in correcting market-generated inequalities, whereas the cultural dimension concerns questions of authority, belonging, recognition, pluralism, and the legitimacy of normative liberalisation (Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015).

Empirically, these dimensions may overlap in specific cases, but they remain analytically distinguishable. Research on political preference formation has shown that redistributive and cultural attitudes can form distinct dimensions, while broad left-right self-placement often combines different ideological components and may therefore obscure the mechanisms underlying specific policy evaluations (Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015; Kitschelt & Rehm, 2014). For the present study, this distinction is important because equal split is located at the

intersection of both logics. As a paid social-policy arrangement, it may appeal to respondents with stronger egalitarian-distributive orientations. As a mandatory or strongly regulated model of gender-equal care, however, it also raises questions about family autonomy, gender roles, and legitimate state norm-setting. Redistributive preferences are therefore included not as a merely technical control variable, but as a substantively relevant benchmark. The analysis can thus assess whether support for equal split is reducible to general redistributive preferences or whether cultural orientation provides an additional, potentially context-dependent dimension of explanation.

2.5 Institutional Parental Leave Design as a Moderating Context

Building on the micro-level mechanisms developed above, the central expectation is that the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split may vary across institutional contexts. The relevant question is therefore not only whether countries with more egalitarian parental-leave designs show higher average support. Rather, institutional design may shape how strongly cultural orientations are activated when citizens evaluate equal split. The focus is thus on a cross-level interaction rather than on a direct macro-level effect alone. Where fathers' care responsibility is institutionally established and visible, equal split may appear less exceptional and less politically divisive. Where such arrangements are weakly institutionalised or contested, individual cultural orientations may play a stronger role in structuring support and opposition.

Existing research on family-policy institutions and public attitudes provides an important basis for this cross-level expectation. Sjöberg (2004) shows that family-policy institutions can shape gender-role attitudes not only by altering opportunity structures, but also by functioning as normative orders that define which gender arrangements appear appropriate or expected. Chung and Meuleman (2017) similarly show that support for public childcare provision is related not only to self-interest and ideology, but also to existing provision structures. Their discussion of reward, improvement, and overburden reactions is particularly relevant because it suggests that institutional contexts can generate different attitudinal responses rather than simply increasing support in a linear way. Evidence from leave-policy preferences points in a similar direction. Valarino et al. (2018) show that preferences regarding leave length, gender division, and financing vary across institutional contexts, while Li et al. (2021) find that existing paid father-

specific leave offerings are associated with support for paid leave for fathers. Consequently, these studies suggest that institutional family-policy arrangements may shape public attitudes, but that such effects are unlikely to be purely mechanical or limited to direct country-level differences in average support.

The policy-feedback perspective helps to specify why institutional design may matter in this way. Policies are not merely outcomes of political conflict, they may also shape subsequent politics by distributing resources, creating incentives, defining social categories, and providing interpretive frames (Pierson, 1993). From a comparative welfare-attitudes perspective, institutional contexts can influence attitudes through resource and incentive effects, interpretive effects, and normative mechanisms (Svallfors, 2012). These mechanisms are especially relevant in family policy, where institutional design does not only allocate benefits but also signals expectations about gender, care, and family responsibility. Feedback effects may therefore be positive and self-reinforcing when policies create routines, legitimacy, and taken-for-granted expectations. Yet they may also be negative, self-undermining, or conflicting when policies make state intervention more visible, activate resistance, or become symbols of coercion and overreach. This distinction closely corresponds to the two contextual logics developed below: normalisation and backlash.

The relevant institutional context is captured through an OECD indicator measuring the full-rate equivalent (FRE) duration of paid, non-transferable father-specific entitlements within parental leave and home-care leave schemes. The indicator combines the duration of entitlement with the level of income replacement and thereby provides an internationally comparable measure of the effective scope of paid father-specific rights (OECD, 2024). For the present theoretical argument, its relevance lies in the fact that it captures formal, legally secured, and materially supported entitlements that are reserved for fathers and cannot be transferred freely within the family. It does not measure actual take-up, workplace implementation, public salience, or fathers' subjective experiences of leave. Rather, it serves as a focused indicator of formal institutional norm-setting: the extent to which fathers are made visible as independent entitlement holders and paternal care responsibility is materially supported and institutionally recognised.

Non-transferable father-specific entitlements have a dual theoretical quality. On the one hand, they may operate as visible signals of gender-equal care because they institutionally recognise fathers as independent holders of social rights. In this sense, they may normalise paternal care responsibility and make equal sharing appear less exceptional. On the other hand, the same design feature may also be conflict-generating because it restricts full transferability within the family and may be read as a normative prescription about how care ought to be divided. This dual character makes two alternative moderation hypotheses plausible: norm-setting design may reduce the salience of cultural conflict by normalising equal sharing, or it may increase salience by making state-led gender-equality regulation more visible and politically contested.

2.5.1 Norm-Setting Design Reduces Salience and Normalises Equal Split

The normalisation logic corresponds to a positive, self-reinforcing feedback mechanism. It starts from the assumption that a strongly gender-egalitarian parental-leave design, especially paid and non-transferable entitlements for fathers, can stabilise expectations about what counts as legitimate and expected parenthood. In countries with a higher FRE indicator, fathers' care responsibility is more firmly embedded in the institutional architecture of parental leave. This may reduce the extent to which equal split is perceived as an exceptional or ideologically charged arrangement. Shared care may instead become more familiar, more institutionally supported, and less dependent on the prior cultural orientation of individual respondents.

A key mechanism is routinisation through clear and visible rules. Reserved months are a particularly intelligible form of norm-setting because they do not merely create financial incentives but alter the structure of the entitlement itself. Evidence from Sweden shows that reserved months increased fathers' take-up more strongly than bonus incentives, suggesting that design features which are clear and individually allocated can be especially consequential (Duvander & Johansson, 2012). For the normalisation hypothesis, this is not only relevant as a take-up effect. When fathers' leave is visibly embedded in the entitlement structure and repeatedly enacted in practice, paternal care can become less exceptional and more socially taken for granted. In this sense, institutional design may generate positive feedback by transforming a contested practice into a recognised and routinised element of parenthood.

Non-transferable entitlements may also operate through entitlement and labelling mechanisms. Patnaik (2019) shows that a fathers' quota substantially increased fathers' leave-taking even when it was not binding as a hard constraint for many families, suggesting that the "dad-only" label itself can reduce stigma and strengthen fathers' perceived entitlement to care time. Brandth and Kvande (2019; 2020) similarly argue that earmarked leave is often interpreted by fathers as an "owned entitlement", whereas shared leave, despite being formally available to both parents, may still be understood as "mother's leave". These mechanisms matter because they can reduce bargaining costs within households and vis-à-vis employers. If fathers' care time is institutionally defined as an independent right rather than as a negotiable family choice, equal sharing may become more broadly acceptable across cultural groups.

The implication for the present study is that stronger institutionalisation of paid, non-transferable father-specific leave may weaken the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split. In high-FRE contexts, equal sharing is expected to be more normalised and less strongly tied to culturally liberal orientations. The gap between more culturally liberal and less culturally liberal respondents should therefore narrow. Accordingly, the normalisation hypothesis expects the positive relationship between culturally liberal orientation and support for equal split to become weaker as the FRE indicator increases.

2.5.2 Norm-Setting Design Increases Salience and Mobilises Backlash

The backlash logic corresponds to a negative, self-undermining, or conflicting feedback mechanism. It starts from the same institutional feature as the normalisation logic. Paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements are clear institutional signals of state-supported paternal care. However, this visibility may also make the norm-setting character of the policy more politically salient. The more clearly a parental-leave design prescribes or incentivises a particular division of care, the more likely it may be interpreted by some citizens as coercive, overregulatory, or as an illegitimate intrusion into family autonomy. In such contexts, equal split may not become less contested, but rather more strongly associated with underlying cultural orientations.

This logic is especially plausible in family policy because parental leave is located at the boundary between public regulation and private family life. Non-transferable entitlements for fathers restrict the possibility of assigning care time

entirely to the mother and therefore challenge established assumptions about gendered parental roles. Ellingsæter (2012) shows, in the context of debates over fathers' quotas, that the same institutional rule can be interpreted through competing normative frames. Supporters may understand quotas as necessary instruments for transforming gender-hierarchical care arrangements, whereas opponents may invoke parental choice to reject detailed state steering within the family. Later work further emphasises that fathers' quotas can produce conflicting policy feedback. The same policy may generate self-reinforcing effects through normalisation and take-up, while also triggering counterreactions through politicisation, delegitimation, or contestation over choice and state interference (Ellingsæter, 2021). A related dynamic is visible in Spain, where equal and non-transferable parental leave generated positive feedback for equality-oriented advocacy, while also producing a direct negative feedback effect by mobilising mothers' groups that demanded transferable or mother-exclusive leave rights (Alvariño, 2025). For the backlash hypothesis, the central point is not simply that father-specific entitlements exist, but that they may make the underlying gender-equality norm more visible and politically charged. The backlash logic does not imply that stronger father-specific entitlements necessarily generate resistance. Rather, it suggests that where such entitlements are interpreted as state-imposed role prescriptions, they may increase the salience of cultural disagreement. A high FRE indicator may signal that fathers are institutionally recognised as independent entitlement holders. At the same time, it may also make the loss of full family discretion more salient. If such design features are interpreted as limiting family choice rather than as enabling social rights, they may sharpen the cultural line of conflict. In this constellation, equal split becomes a stronger marker of cultural alignment. Culturally liberal and universalist respondents may support it as a necessary equality measure, whereas more authority-, tradition-, or boundary-oriented respondents may oppose it as an overreach into private family arrangements.

The implication is the opposite of the normalisation logic. Instead of weakening the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split, a more strongly norm-setting institutional design may intensify it. In high-FRE contexts, the policy may become more visible, more consequential, and more symbolically contested. The gap between more culturally liberal and less culturally liberal

respondents should therefore widen. Accordingly, the backlash hypothesis expects the positive relationship between culturally liberal orientation and support for equal split to become stronger as the FRE indicator increases.

2.6 Hypotheses

The preceding sections have argued that support for equal split is likely to be associated with cultural orientation at the micro level, while redistributive preferences remain substantively relevant. At the macro level, institutional parental-leave design may condition the relationship between cultural orientation and support for equal split. More specifically, paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements may either reduce the salience of cultural conflict through normalisation or increase it through backlash. From this theoretical framework, the following hypotheses are derived.

H1: The more culturally liberal and universalist a person's orientation, the higher their support for a mandatory or strongly regulated model of equally shared paid parental leave.

H2a (Normalisation): The higher the FRE indicator in a country, the weaker the positive relationship between cultural orientation and support for equal split.

H2b (Backlash): The higher the FRE indicator in a country, the stronger the positive relationship between cultural orientation and support for equal split.

The empirical analysis therefore tests H1 as the individual-level expectation and H2a and H2b as competing cross-level moderation hypotheses. While H2a expects institutional norm-setting to reduce the salience of cultural conflict around equal split, H2b expects it to strengthen cultural differentiation in support for equal split.

3 Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Theoretical Case Selection

The present study follows a comparative quantitative multilevel design and adopts a micro–macro linking perspective. The empirical strategy connects individual-level attitudes toward equal split paid parental leave with cross-national variation in institutional parental-leave design. This design is appropriate because the theoretical argument assumes that support for equal split is associated with individual orientations, such as cultural and redistributive preferences, while these associations may vary across institutional contexts.

Case selection follows a theory-driven comparative logic within a European setting. The aim is to identify a set of countries that combines sufficient comparability with meaningful variation in father-specific parental-leave entitlements. In this sense, the study approximates a diverse-cases strategy, as it includes countries that are broadly comparable as European countries with institutionalised welfare-state arrangements and harmonised survey data, but differ substantially in the design of paid and non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). This combination is important because the hypotheses require both cross-national institutional variation and sufficient within-country individual-level heterogeneity. Europe is particularly suitable for this design because it offers variation in family-policy arrangements within a relatively comparable regional setting. The countries included in the analysis differ in the extent to which parental-leave systems reserve paid and non-transferable entitlements for fathers. This makes the European setting well suited for analysing whether institutional leave design conditions the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split.

3.2 Data Sources, Country Sample and Missing Data

The empirical analysis draws on individual-level data from the eleventh round of the European Social Survey (ESS Round 11), fielded in 2023–2024, Edition 4.1 (European Social Survey European Research Infrastructure (ESS ERIC), 2026). The ESS is particularly suitable for the present study because it provides harmonised cross-national survey data and contains the item used as the dependent variable, namely support for requiring both parents to take equal periods of paid leave to care for their child. It also includes the attitudinal items

required to construct the key individual-level explanatory variables, especially cultural orientation and redistributive preferences.

The country-level data are drawn from the OECD Family Database, specifically from the PF2.1 dataset on the key characteristics of parental leave systems, using the February 2024 version (OECD, 2024). From this source, the study uses information on paid and non-transferable father-specific parental-leave entitlements in full-rate equivalents for the year 2023. This version was chosen to ensure the closest possible temporal match with the ESS Round 11 field period. The OECD indicator is merged with the ESS data at the country level and provides the institutional context variable for the multilevel analysis.

The starting point is the integrated ESS Round 11 main dataset, which contains 50,116 observations. The sample is restricted to countries for which suitable individual-level ESS data are available and for which the OECD parental-leave indicator can be linked reliably. Israel, Montenegro, Serbia, and Ukraine are therefore not included in the analysis. After this restriction, the 26-country sample comprises 43,377 observations. Within this country sample, merging the OECD data does not produce additional case loss. The final country sample, country-level case numbers, mean support for equal split, and the father-specific leave indicator are reported in Appendix Table A2. The effective analysis sample for the main model consists of 37,581 observations. The difference between the restricted 26-country sample and the effective main-model sample is due to missing values on variables included in the main specification. Missingness occurs in the dependent variable, the raw items used to construct the cultural orientation index, the item measuring redistributive preferences, and selected sociodemographic controls such as age, education, and activity status. This is particularly relevant for the cultural orientation index, since the main specification requires valid information on all three cultural subdimensions: migration-related openness, LGBT-related cultural liberalism, and authority-related liberalism. The sample construction and the main patterns of missingness are documented in Appendix Table A3. The main analysis uses listwise deletion, that is, complete-case estimation based on observations with valid information on all variables included in the respective model. This choice is made for reasons of transparency, reproducibility, and consistency in the construction of the key cultural orientation index. Missing-data research shows, however, that complete-

case analysis should not be understood as generally superior to modern missing-data methods. Case deletion is simple and transparent, but it can reduce statistical efficiency and may introduce bias when complete cases are not representative of the target population (Enders, 2022; Schafer & Graham, 2002). The complete-case strategy used here should therefore be understood as a conservative main specification in the specific sense that it relies only on observed item responses for the construction of the cultural orientation index. Multiple imputation would be a possible alternative, particularly because missingness affects several attitudinal items used for the construction of the cultural orientation index. However, it would require additional assumptions about the missingness mechanism, the specification of an imputation model, and the compatibility between the imputation model and the substantive multilevel models used in the analysis. This is especially consequential because imputation would affect not only peripheral covariates, but also the raw items from which the central cultural orientation index is constructed. The decision not to impute is therefore treated as a modelling choice with limitations. Missing-data mechanisms such as MCAR, MAR, and MNAR are assumptions about how the probability of missingness relates to observed and unobserved information, and they cannot be fully verified from the observed data alone (Enders, 2022; Schafer & Graham, 2002). This is relevant because nonresponse to items on migration, LGBT rights, or authority may plausibly be socially or politically selective rather than fully random. For this reason, the analysis does not assume that complete-case estimation eliminates all possible missing-data concerns. To assess the sensitivity of the complete-case strategy, the analysis estimates additional robustness models using alternative constructions of the cultural orientation index. First, a relaxed index is used that requires valid information on at least two of the three cultural subdimensions rather than on all three. Second, an alternative index based only on the migration and LGBT-related subdimensions is estimated to assess whether the main results depend on the inclusion of the more weakly integrated authority-related component. These robustness checks do not replace imputation, but they evaluate whether the main conclusions depend on the stricter complete-case construction of the cultural orientation index. The corresponding robustness specifications are summarised in Appendix Table A5.

3.3 Operationalisation of Variables

This section translates the theoretical expectations developed in Chapter 2 into measurable variables. It describes the dependent variable, the main cultural orientation index, the redistributive preference indicator, the country-level FRE indicator, and the individual-level controls. A compact overview of the main variables and their coding is provided in Appendix Table A1.

3.3.1 Dependent Variable: Support for Equal Split

The dependent variable captures support for a mandatory or strongly regulated equal-split model of paid parental leave. It is based on the ESS item asking whether both parents should be required to take equal periods of paid leave to care for their child. The original response scale ranges from 1 = strongly in favour to 5 = strongly against. For the analysis, the variable is reverse-coded and labelled `eqparlv_r`, so that higher values indicate stronger support for equal split. The recoded scale ranges from 1 = strongly against to 5 = strongly in favour. Responses coded as refusal, don't know, or no answer are treated as missing values. This recoding improves interpretability because the theoretical expectations concern increasing support for the equal-split arrangement analysed here. A coding scheme in which higher values indicate stronger support allows coefficients, predicted probabilities, and descriptive patterns to be interpreted in a substantively intuitive direction. Since the variable consists of five ordered response categories, it is treated as an ordinal outcome in the main models.

3.3.2 Main Independent Variable: Cultural Orientation

The main explanatory variable at the individual level is cultural orientation. Rather than treating conventional left-right self-placement as the primary measure of cultural conflict, the main specification uses a theory-driven composite index that captures broader socio-cultural orientations relevant to attitudes toward equal split. This choice follows from the theoretical argument developed in Chapter 2. Equal split is not only a distributive welfare-state issue, but also a normatively charged policy that touches upon gender equality, family roles, social belonging, and the legitimacy of state involvement in care arrangements. Left-right self-placement is useful as a broad indicator of political orientation, but it is also a compressed and context-dependent measure that may combine economic-

distributive preferences, attitudes toward authority, and views on social belonging within a single self-assessment (Kitschelt & Rehm, 2014; Lachat, 2018). It is therefore retained as an alternative benchmark in the robustness analyses, while the main analysis relies on a more specific cultural orientation index.

The index is not intended to represent a universally standardised measure of cultural orientation. Rather, it is a theory-driven composite operationalisation of central components of the socio-cultural conflict dimension, which has been conceptualised in different but related ways, including GAL–TAN, integration-demarcation, universalism-particularism, and libertarian-authoritarian conflict (Bornschiefer, 2010; Flanagan & Lee, 2003; Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015; Hooghe et al., 2002; Kriesi et al., 2006). These perspectives do not prescribe a single standard index, but they provide the theoretical basis for treating attitudes toward migration, cultural liberalism, and authority as components of a broader socio-cultural orientation. The index should therefore not be interpreted as a direct gender-role scale, but as a broader cultural orientation within which evaluations of gender-equality and family-policy arrangements may be embedded.

The index consists of three subdimensions: migration-related openness, LGBT-related cultural liberalism, and authority-related liberalism. Migration-related openness captures the boundary-drawing component of cultural conflict and is linked to the integration-demarcation and universalism-particularism logic. LGBT-related cultural liberalism captures the recognition of plural and non-traditional ways of life, which is relevant because equal split challenges traditional assumptions about gendered family roles and care responsibilities. Authority-related liberalism captures the authoritarian-libertarian component of cultural conflict and reflects whether respondents are more oriented toward obedience and authority or toward autonomy and self-determination.

The migration-related subdimension is based on two ESS items: *imbgeco*, which measures whether immigration is perceived as bad or good for the country's economy, and *imwbcnt*, which measures whether immigrants make the country a worse or better place to live. Both items are coded from 0 to 10, with higher values indicating more positive evaluations of immigration. A mean score is calculated from both items and then standardised as *migr_z*.

The second subdimension captures LGBT-related cultural liberalism. It is based on the items *freehms*, which measures agreement that gays and lesbians should

be free to live their lives as they wish, and hmsacld, which measures agreement that gay and lesbian couples should have the right to adopt children. Since the original coding ranges from 1 = agree strongly to 5 = disagree strongly, both variables are reverse-coded as freehms_r and hmsacld_r, so that higher values indicate stronger support for liberal positions on LGBT rights. A mean score is calculated from both recoded items and then standardised as lgbt_z.

The third subdimension captures authority-related liberalism. It is based on the items lnobed, which measures agreement that obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn, and loylead, which measures agreement that the country needs most loyalty toward its leaders. In contrast to the LGBT-related items, these variables do not require reverse-coding for the index construction used here. Higher values already indicate stronger disagreement with authority-oriented statements and therefore weaker attachment to authoritarian or traditional authority positions. For clarity, they are stored as lnobed_lib and loylead_lib. A mean score is calculated from both items and then standardised as authlib_z.

The overall cultural orientation index is constructed in three steps. First, a mean score is calculated for each subdimension using the two corresponding items. This is done only when valid responses are available for both items within the respective subdimension. Second, the three subdimension scores are standardised as migr_z, lgbt_z, and authlib_z. Standardisation is necessary because the migration items use a 0–10 scale, whereas the LGBT- and authority-related items use five-point scales. Third, the overall cultural orientation index is calculated as the mean of the three standardised subdimensions and then standardised again as cult_z. Higher values of cult_z indicate a more culturally liberal and universalist orientation.

The main index is constructed only for respondents with valid information on all three subdimensions, ensuring that cult_z has the same observed substantive composition across all cases included in the main model. As discussed in Section 3.2, the sensitivity of this stricter construction is assessed through two alternative specifications: a relaxed index, cult_relaxed_z, requiring valid information on at least two subdimensions, and an alternative migration-plus-LGBT index, cult_ml_z, excluding the more weakly integrated authority-related component.

Before using the index in the main models, its reliability and dimensionality were assessed. Reliability checks for the two-item subdimensions show strong internal consistency for the migration dimension ($\alpha = 0.82$), acceptable consistency for the LGBT dimension ($\alpha = 0.76$), and lower but still usable consistency for the authority-related dimension ($\alpha = 0.66$). Principal component analysis and a supplementary one-factor solution were then used to examine whether the three standardised subdimensions point toward a common broader cultural orientation. Such diagnostics are useful for assessing the empirical structure of composite measures, but they should not be interpreted mechanically or as a substitute for theoretical justification (Fabrigar et al., 1999). The diagnostic results support the use of *cult_z* as a broad, theoretically grounded cultural-orientation index, while also indicating that it should not be interpreted as a perfectly homogeneous latent scale. The first principal component explains 47.3 per cent of the variance across the three standardised subdimensions. Migration-related openness and LGBT-related cultural liberalism load more strongly on this component, whereas authority-related liberalism is more weakly integrated. This pattern is substantively plausible: the authority-related dimension captures an important theoretical component of cultural conflict, but it is empirically less closely aligned with migration- and LGBT-related orientations. The main index therefore retains all three theoretically motivated subdimensions, while the robustness analyses assess whether the findings depend on the inclusion of the authority-related component. Detailed reliability and dimensionality checks are reported in Appendix Table A4.

3.3.3 Redistributive Preferences as an Economic-Distributive Benchmark

Redistributive preferences are included to distinguish the cultural explanation from the economic-distributive dimension of welfare-state attitudes. The variable is based on the ESS item *gincdif*, which measures agreement with the statement that the government should reduce differences in income levels. The original response scale ranges from 1 = agree strongly to 5 = disagree strongly. For the analysis, the variable is reverse-coded as *gincdif_r*, so that higher values indicate stronger support for government-led income redistribution.

The variable is used as a focused indicator of redistributive orientation and as an economic-distributive benchmark against which the cultural explanation can be assessed. This is important because equal split can be understood both as a

gender-equality and care-policy arrangement and as a social-policy intervention involving state regulation and publicly supported leave entitlements. Existing research on welfare-state attitudes shows that support for social policy is often related to views about redistribution, state responsibility, and distributive equality (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Svallfors, 2012). At the same time, the political-preference literature distinguishes economic-distributive orientations from socio-cultural orientations, even though both dimensions may overlap in concrete policy conflicts (Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015; Kitschelt & Rehm, 2014). For the present analysis, `gincdif_r` therefore serves as a theoretically relevant benchmark for assessing whether cultural orientation is associated with support for equal split beyond general support for redistribution. Since ESS Round 11 does not provide a compact set of additional items that would allow the construction of a multidimensional economic-preference index comparable to the cultural orientation index, `gincdif_r` is used as a substantively clear single-item indicator of the economic-distributive dimension.

3.3.4 Institutional Context: The FRE Indicator

The central country-level context variable is the full-rate equivalent indicator of paid, non-transferable father-specific parental-leave entitlements. It is taken from the OECD Family Database PF2.1, using the February 2024 version, and included in the dataset in its original form as `oecd_val` and in standardised form as `oecd_z` (OECD, 2024). The indicator measures the amount of paid leave reserved specifically for fathers and expressed in full-rate equivalent weeks. It therefore combines information on the duration of the entitlement and the level of income replacement attached to it. Higher values indicate more extensive paid and non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements.

The FRE indicator is appropriate for the present research design because the hypotheses concern whether institutionalised father-specific leave design conditions the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split. It captures a specific design feature that is central to gender-equal parental-leave arrangements: paid entitlements that are reserved for fathers and cannot be freely transferred to mothers. At the same time, it should be interpreted as a measure of formal policy design rather than actual behaviour. It does not measure whether fathers take up the entitlement in practice, how leave is implemented in workplaces, or how visible the entitlement is in public debate. Instead, it

measures whether the institutional framework provides paid and non-transferable father-specific leave.

Because `oecd_val` is a country-level variable, it is constant within countries and varies only between countries. For the main models, the standardised version `oecd_z` is used. This facilitates interpretation in the interaction models because both the main individual-level variable, `cult_z`, and the country-level moderator, `oecd_z`, are standardised. The unstandardised version, `oecd_val`, is retained for descriptive presentation and robustness checks. Country-level case numbers, mean support for equal split, the original FRE values, and their standardised equivalents are reported in Appendix Table A2.

3.3.5 Individual-Level Control Variables and Parenthood Proxies

The main models include several individual-level control variables to account for basic sociodemographic and labour-market differences between respondents. These variables are not the central focus of the theoretical argument, but they help reduce compositional differences across countries and respondent groups. The controls include age, gender, education, and main activity status.

Age is measured through `agea` as a continuous variable in years. Gender is captured through `gnr`, which is recorded in the ESS data as a dichotomous variable with the categories male and female. In the models, male respondents serve as the reference category, while female respondents are included as an indicator category. Education is operationalised in the main specification through `eduys`, the number of completed years of full-time education. This choice reflects a preference for a parsimonious continuous education measure in the main model. It does not imply that years of education are superior to categorical education measures in general. Therefore, an alternative education specification based on a collapsed ISCED classification, `eiscd5`, is estimated as a robustness check. Activity status is based on the ESS variable `mnactic`, which is recoded into a six-category variable labelled `mnact6`. The categories are paid work, education, unemployed, retired, housework or care, and other inactive. Paid work serves as the reference category. This recoding preserves the most relevant differences in labour-market position and life situation while avoiding an overly fragmented model specification with many sparsely populated categories.

Parental status is not included as a main covariate because ESS Round 11 does not provide a direct and sufficiently precise measure of whether respondents are

parents of young children. This limitation is relevant because research on parental-leave attitudes commonly considers family context, self-interest, family strains, and children in the household as predictors of support for fathers' leave and related family-policy arrangements (Li et al., 2021). However, the ESS household grid allows only the identification of co-resident children. This measures household composition rather than parental status as such. It does not capture parents whose children do not live in the same household, and it cannot fully distinguish between biological, step, adoptive, or foster parenthood in a way that would be directly equivalent to a young-parent indicator. To address this limitation, two household-based proxy variables are constructed for robustness analyses. The first proxy, `child_hh_young`, indicates whether a respondent lives with at least one child born in 2018 or later. The second proxy, `child_hh_2012`, indicates whether a respondent lives with at least one child born in 2012 or later. These variables are not interpreted as direct measures of parenthood, but as household-based approximations of whether respondents live with young or school-age children. They are therefore excluded from the main specification but included in robustness models to assess whether the main findings are sensitive to accounting for co-resident children.

3.4 Analytical Strategy and Model Specification

The empirical analysis uses mixed-effects ordered logit models to account for two central features of the research design. First, the dependent variable, `eqparlv_r`, is measured on a five-point ordered scale and is therefore treated as an ordinal outcome. Second, respondents are nested within countries, meaning that individual observations cannot be assumed to be fully independent of their national context. The main models therefore estimate ordered logit models with a random intercept at the country level. This specification allows the baseline level of support for equal split to vary between countries while estimating the associations between individual-level attitudes, institutional context, and support for equal split.

The models are interpreted as associational rather than as identifying causal effects. The analysis links cross-sectional survey data from ESS Round 11 with country-level information on parental-leave design. This design is suitable for examining whether theoretically expected associations are observable across individuals and institutional contexts, but it does not allow for strong causal claims

about the effect of parental-leave institutions on individual attitudes. In particular, the cross-level interaction estimated below is interpreted as a moderation pattern that is compatible with the theoretical expectations, not as direct evidence of a causal policy-feedback mechanism.

Given the number of 26 country-level units, the multilevel specification is deliberately parsimonious. The main models include country-level random intercepts, one central country-level predictor, and one theoretically motivated cross-level interaction. More complex random-slope structures or extensive macro-level specifications are not estimated. This choice follows from both the theoretical focus of the study and methodological concerns about estimating higher-level parameters with a limited number of level-2 units. Methodological research on multilevel models shows that the number of higher-level units is particularly important for the precision of macro-level and cross-level estimates (Maas & Hox, 2005; Stegmueller, 2013). Comparative survey designs with respondents nested in countries also require caution because increasing the number of individual respondents cannot fully compensate for a limited number of country-level contexts when the quantities of interest are located at the country level or in cross-level interactions (Bryan & Jenkins, 2016). The 26-country sample is therefore treated as permitting a parsimonious random-intercept specification, while macro-level and cross-level effects are interpreted cautiously and assessed through robustness and sensitivity analyses.

3.4.1 Model Specification

The model specification follows a stepwise logic. First, an empty model (M0) is estimated without individual- or country-level predictors. This model is used as a diagnostic baseline to assess the extent of between-country variation before explanatory variables are introduced. It also provides the basis for calculating the intraclass correlation coefficient, which indicates how much of the residual variation is located at the country level on the latent-response scale.

The first substantive model (M1) includes the main individual-level explanatory variable, *cult_z*, together with redistributive preferences, *gincdif_r*, and the individual-level control variables *agea*, *gndr*, *eduyrs*, and *mnact6*. This model assesses whether cultural orientation is associated with support for equal split after accounting for economic-distributive preferences and basic sociodemographic differences.

The second model (M2) adds the country-level institutional indicator, *oecd_z*. This model incorporates the macro-level context of father-specific parental-leave design and assesses whether support for equal split varies systematically with the extent of paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements.

The final main model (M3) includes the cross-level interaction between *cult_z* and *oecd_z*. This model tests whether the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split varies across institutional contexts. The interaction term is the central empirical test of the competing normalisation and backlash expectations developed in Chapter 2. A negative interaction coefficient would be consistent with the normalisation expectation, according to which more extensive paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements weaken the salience of cultural conflict around equal split. A positive interaction coefficient would be consistent with the backlash expectation, according to which more extensive paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements strengthen the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split. These interpretations refer to the direction of moderation and do not by themselves establish the underlying mechanism.

3.4.2 Estimation, Weights and Substantive Interpretation

The empty model M0 is estimated without survey weights and is used only as a diagnostic baseline for the multilevel structure, especially the random-intercept variance and the intraclass correlation coefficient. The substantive models M1–M3 use the ESS analysis weight, *anweight*, as the primary weighting choice. Robust standard errors adjusted for country clusters are reported for these models. These standard errors are used to account for clustering, but they do not remove the need for cautious interpretation of country-level and cross-level parameters. Since weighting in pooled cross-national analyses can affect both point estimates and uncertainty estimates, the sensitivity of the main interaction model is also assessed using an unweighted specification and the ESS post-stratification weight, *pspwght*.

The model results are reported primarily as odds ratios. Odds ratios indicate whether higher values of a predictor are associated with higher or lower odds of being in a stronger support category of the dependent variable. However, odds ratios from ordered logit models, and especially odds ratios involved in interaction terms, are not always substantively intuitive. The interpretation is therefore

supplemented with average predicted probabilities. These predicted probabilities translate the model estimates into changes in the probability of strongly supporting equal split. Predicted probabilities are used for three purposes. First, they illustrate the cross-level interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context. Second, they provide a benchmark for the substantive size of the economic-distributive dimension by showing how strong support varies across levels of redistributive preferences. Third, left-right self-placement is used as an additional benchmark to compare the cultural orientation index with a more conventional measure of political self-positioning. This approach ensures that the interpretation of the results does not rely on statistical significance alone but also considers the substantive magnitude of the estimated associations.

3.4.3 Diagnostic Checks and Robustness Analyses

Diagnostic checks are conducted to assess the suitability of the model specification. They cover the multilevel structure, potential multicollinearity, and the proportional-odds assumption. Potential multicollinearity is examined using variance inflation factors from an auxiliary linear approximation of the main interaction model. Since the Brant test cannot be directly applied to the full weighted multilevel ordered logit specification, proportional-odds sensitivity is examined using a pooled ordered logit approximation and a generalized ordered logit sensitivity model. The latter allows selected effects to vary across thresholds and is used as a partial proportional-odds check (Williams, 2006). These diagnostics are reported in Appendix Table A7.

The robustness analyses assess whether the main findings depend on specific modelling choices, variable operationalisations, weighting decisions, country composition, or the construction of the cultural orientation measure. The ordered-logit robustness specifications examine sensitivity to alternative education coding, alternative FRE scaling, household-child proxies, cultural-index construction, weighting choices, and ideological benchmarking through left-right self-placement. These specifications are summarised in Appendix Table A5.

Two further sensitivity checks complement these ordered-logit robustness analyses. First, the five-point dependent variable is treated as approximately continuous in linear models to assess whether the substantive interpretation depends on the ordered-logit specification. These linear specification checks are reported in Appendix Table A8. Second, the aggregated cultural orientation index

is replaced by its three standardised subdimensions in turn to examine whether the aggregate cultural finding reflects all components of the index in a similar way or is linked more strongly to specific subdimensions. These subdimension models are reported in Appendix Table A9.

In addition, the influence of individual countries is assessed through a leave-one-country-out analysis of the main interaction model. This procedure re-estimates the full interaction model repeatedly while excluding one country at a time. It is used to evaluate whether the direction and stability of the cross-level interaction are disproportionately driven by any single country. The leave-one-country-out analysis is reported in Appendix Table A6.

Finally, ChatGPT 5.5 was used as a supporting aid during the preparation of this thesis, mainly for language editing, structural refinement, and the clarification of methodological formulations. ChatGPT was not used to independently conduct the statistical analyses or to determine the substantive interpretation of the empirical results. All substantive decisions regarding the theoretical framework, operationalisation, model specification, statistical analyses, interpretation of results, and final wording remained the sole responsibility of the author. All empirical analyses were conducted independently by the author using Stata, version 19.0. The corresponding Stata do-file is documented in Appendix B2, and the log file is provided as a separate appendix. All suggestions generated with ChatGPT were critically reviewed, revised, and integrated by the author.

4 Empirical Results

4.1 Descriptive Variation in Support for Equal Split

Before turning to the multivariate models, this section outlines the descriptive profile of the analytical variables. It moves from the overall distribution of support for equal split to cross-national variation in mean support and then to descriptive statistics for the main variables used in the empirical models. The purpose is to show the empirical variation on which the subsequent multilevel analysis builds.

4.1.1 Distribution of Support for Equal Split

The dependent variable captures support for requiring both parents to take equal periods of paid parental leave. It is coded from 1 to 5, with higher values indicating stronger support for equal split. Descriptively, support for equal split is widespread, although not consensual. In the 26-country sample, the weighted distribution shows that 29.64% of respondents are strongly in favour and 26.27% are somewhat in favour of requiring both parents to take equal periods of paid leave. Taken together, a majority of respondents therefore expresses either strong or moderate support for equal split. By contrast, 8.83% are strongly against and 14.93% are somewhat against, while 17.59% take a neutral position. This pattern suggests that equal split attracts broad support while still leaving substantial room for disagreement and neutrality. The dependent variable therefore does not simply distinguish between acceptance and rejection of a broadly settled policy. Rather, it captures variation in the degree of support for a state-regulated model of parental-leave sharing.

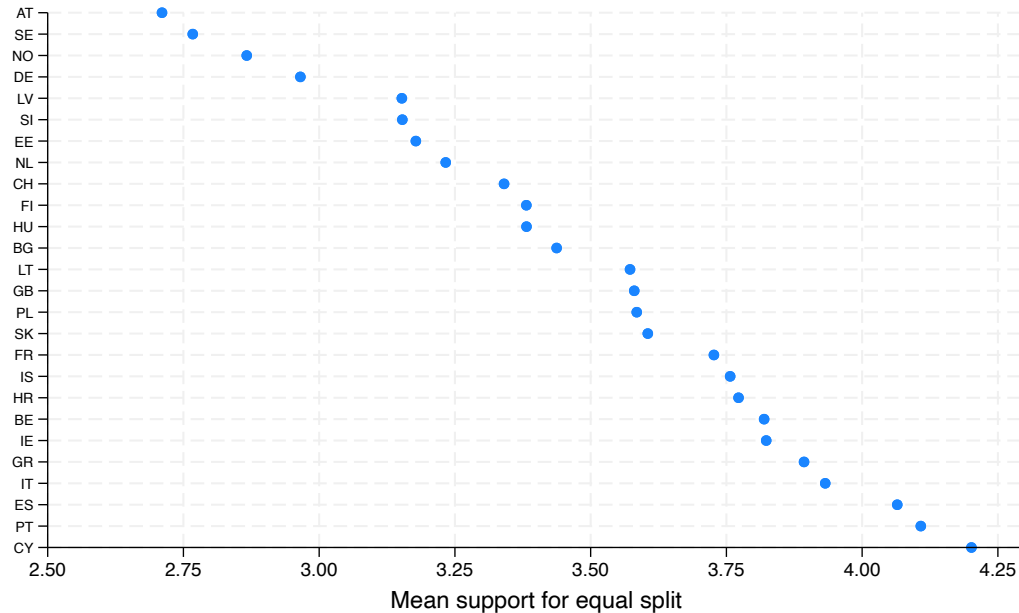
The weighted mean of the dependent variable is 3.545 on the five-point scale, indicating that the overall distribution is tilted towards support. However, the standard deviation of 1.307 also points to substantial variation across respondents. This variation provides the empirical basis for examining whether support for equal split is associated with cultural orientation, redistributive preferences, and the institutional context of parental-leave design.

4.1.2 Cross-National Variation in Support for Equal Split

Beyond individual-level variation, support for equal split differs considerably across countries. Figure 4.1 displays country-level mean support for equal split based on valid responses to the dependent variable. Appendix Table A2 reports

the country-specific mean values underlying Figure 4.1, together with country-level FRE values and complete-case sample sizes.

Figure 4.1 – Country-Level Mean Support for Equal Split Paid Parental Leave



Note. Country-level means are calculated using valid responses to eqparlv_r. The scale ranges from 1 = strongly against to 5 = strongly in favour. Higher values indicate stronger support for requiring both parents to take equal periods of paid parental leave. Countries are sorted in ascending order by mean support. The figure is descriptive and does not adjust for individual-level covariates or country-level institutional characteristics.

The lowest average levels of support are found in Austria, Sweden, Norway, and Germany. Austria has the lowest country mean, with an average of 2.711, followed by Sweden at 2.767, Norway at 2.867, and Germany at 2.965. At the other end of the distribution, the highest mean levels of support are found in Cyprus, Portugal, Spain, and Italy. Cyprus records the highest mean support at 4.201, followed by Portugal at 4.108, Spain at 4.065, and Italy at 3.932.

This descriptive variation illustrates the relevance of the comparative multilevel design developed in Chapter 3, since support for equal split clearly varies across national contexts. At the same time, the country-level pattern does not simply mirror the institutional FRE indicator. For example, Sweden and Norway both have relatively high values on paid, non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements, yet their average support for equal split is among the lowest in the sample. Conversely, Cyprus shows the highest mean support despite a low FRE

value. This pattern suggests that institutional design should not be interpreted as producing a straightforward direct country-level association with support. Instead, the main theoretical question is whether institutional context conditions the relationship between individual cultural orientation and support for equal split.

4.1.3 Descriptive Overview of Main Analytical Variables

Table 4.1 provides descriptive statistics for the main analytical variables used in the empirical models. Panel A reports weighted means and standard deviations for continuous and ordinal variables, while Panel B reports weighted percentages for categorical controls. The multilevel models reported below are based on the complete-case sample of 37,581 respondents.

Table 4.1 – Descriptive Statistics of Main Analytical Variables

Panel A. Continuous and ordinal variables

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Support for equal split, eqparlv_r	42,132	3.545	1.307	1	5
Cultural orientation, cult_z	39,257	0.137	0.964	-3.127	2.729
Support for redistribution, gincdif_r	42,682	3.856	1.007	1	5
FRE context, oecd_z	43,377	-0.134	0.904	-1.491	2.576
Age, agea	43,077	49.494	19.494	15	90
Years of education, eduyrs	42,767	13.324	4.248	0	69

Panel B. Categorical controls

Variable	Category	Weighted percent
Gender, gndr	Male	48.69
	Female	51.31
Main activity, mnact6	Paid work	51.52
	Education	9.13
	Unemployed	4.29
	Retired	24.46
	Housework/care	6.35
	Other inactive	3.77
	Missing	0.49

Note. Descriptive statistics are weighted using the ESS analysis weight (anweight) and are calculated variable-wise. Panel A reports means and standard deviations for continuous and ordinal variables. Panel B reports weighted percentages for categorical controls. The main multilevel models are estimated on the complete-case sample of 37,581 observations. eqparlv_r ranges from 1 = strongly against to 5 = strongly in favour. Higher values of cult_z indicate a more culturally liberal or universalist orientation. Higher values of gincdif_r indicate stronger support for state-led income redistribution. oecd_z is standardised across the 26 countries at the country level.

The descriptive statistics show that support for redistribution is also relatively high in the sample, with a weighted mean of 3.856 on the five-point scale. This is important because redistributive preferences are not merely treated as a technical control variable in the analysis. They provide a benchmark for assessing whether support for equal split is better understood as a primarily cultural attitude or whether it is also embedded in broader support for state intervention and social redistribution.

The cultural orientation index has a weighted mean of 0.137 and a standard deviation of 0.964. Since the index is standardised, its interpretation is primarily relative: higher values indicate a more culturally liberal or universalist orientation. The mean is not exactly zero because the descriptive statistics are weighted and calculated variable-wise, whereas standardisation refers to the reference sample and scaling procedure used in constructing the index. The FRE indicator enters the main models in its standardised country-level form, while the original FRE values are used for descriptive interpretation where appropriate.

Panel B shows a relatively balanced gender distribution and indicates that most respondents are either in paid work or retired. These sociodemographic variables are included as controls in the multilevel models to reduce the risk that the estimated associations between cultural orientation, redistribution, institutional context, and support for equal split are driven by basic compositional differences across respondent groups and countries.

4.2 Multilevel Model Results and Substantive Effect Sizes

Table 4.2 presents the main mixed-effects ordered logit models predicting support for equal split. The empirical specification is introduced gradually across the models. The empty model M0 serves as a diagnostic baseline for between-country variation, while M1 introduces the individual-level predictors and controls. M2 adds the country-level FRE indicator, and M3 provides the main test of the cross-level interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context. The table reports odds ratios. Values above 1 indicate higher odds of being in a stronger support category of the dependent variable, while values below 1 indicate lower odds.

Table 4.2 – Mixed-Effects Ordered Logit Models of Support for Equal Split

Predictor	M0 Empty model	M1 Individual-level model	M2 Context model	M3 Interaction model
Cultural orientation, cult_z	—	1.041 (0.062)	1.041 (0.062)	1.056 (0.048)
FRE context, oecd_z	—	—	1.014 (0.114)	1.022 (0.118)
cult_z × oecd_z	—	—	—	1.077* (0.036)
Support for redistribution, gincdif_r	—	1.337*** (0.047)	1.337*** (0.047)	1.338*** (0.048)
Age, agea	—	0.990*** (0.002)	0.990*** (0.002)	0.990*** (0.002)
Female	—	1.280*** (0.051)	1.280*** (0.051)	1.278*** (0.050)
Years of education, eduys	—	0.981† (0.011)	0.981† (0.011)	0.980† (0.011)
Education	—	1.099 (0.173)	1.099 (0.173)	1.093 (0.172)
Unemployed	—	1.126 (0.211)	1.126 (0.211)	1.127 (0.210)
Retired	—	1.197* (0.105)	1.197* (0.105)	1.196* (0.107)
Housework/care	—	1.091 (0.130)	1.091 (0.130)	1.090 (0.130)
Other inactive	—	1.453*** (0.124)	1.453*** (0.124)	1.445*** (0.125)
Random-intercept variance	0.397	0.337	0.337	0.341
ICC	0.108	—	—	—
Observations	37,581	37,581	37,581	37,581
Countries	26	26	26	26
Log likelihood / pseudolikelihood	-56,043.146	-53,155.283	-53,155.276	-53,136.211

Note. Entries are odds ratios from mixed-effects ordered logit models. Robust standard errors adjusted for 26 country clusters are shown in parentheses for M1–M3. M0 is estimated without survey weights to obtain the ICC and is reported as a diagnostic baseline; M1–M3 use the ESS analysis weight (anweight). The dependent variable is support for equal split paid parental leave, coded from 1 = strongly against to 5 = strongly in favour. Reference categories are male for gender and paid work for main activity. Cut-points are omitted. † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

4.2.1 Empty Model and Between-Country Variation

The empty model indicates meaningful between-country variation in support for equal split. The estimated random-intercept variance is 0.397, and the intraclass correlation coefficient is 0.108. This suggests that approximately 10.8% of the residual variation in support for equal split is located at the country level on the latent-response scale. The likelihood-ratio test comparing the empty mixed-effects model to a pooled ordered logit model is statistically significant, which further indicates that country-level clustering should not be ignored. This result is consistent with the descriptive evidence presented in Section 4.1.2: support for equal split varies not only between individuals but also across national contexts. The empty model therefore provides an empirical basis for estimating random-

intercept multilevel models. However, M0 should be read as a diagnostic baseline rather than as a directly comparable weighted substantive model. The ICC should likewise not be interpreted as evidence that country context directly causes support for equal split. It shows that responses are clustered by country and that a multilevel specification is appropriate for modelling this structure.

4.2.2 Individual-Level Associations

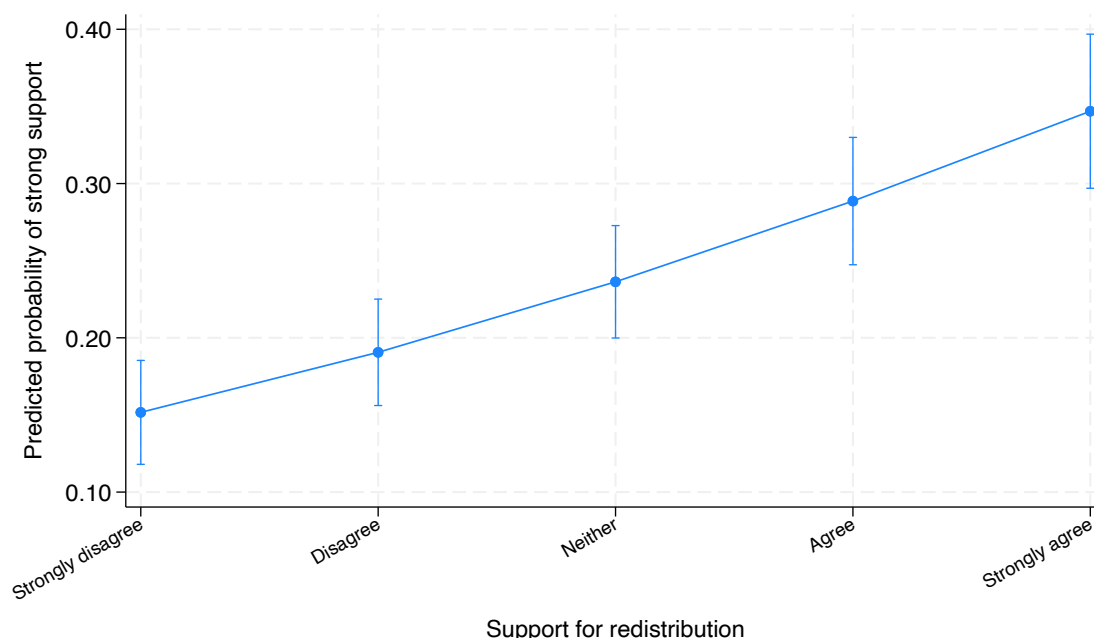
Model M1 introduces cultural orientation, redistributive preferences, and sociodemographic controls. The expected direct individual-level association between cultural orientation and support for equal split is not clearly supported by the main models. The odds ratio for *cult_z* is 1.041 in M1 and remains virtually unchanged after the FRE context is added in M2. In the full interaction model M3, the odds ratio increases slightly to 1.056, but the coefficient remains statistically insignificant. Since M3 includes the interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context, the coefficient for *cult_z* refers to the association at the average FRE context (*oecd_z* = 0). At this average context level, there is no clear evidence that more culturally liberal or universalist respondents are directly more supportive of equal split once redistributive preferences and sociodemographic controls are included. This does not make cultural orientation irrelevant for the analysis. Rather, its role appears primarily in interaction with institutional context, as discussed in Section 4.2.3. At the direct individual level, however, the association is weaker than expected. H1 therefore receives only limited direct support in the main models.

Redistributive preferences show a different pattern. Across M1–M3, the odds ratio for *gincdif_r* remains highly stable at approximately 1.337 to 1.338 and is statistically significant at $p < 0.001$. Respondents who more strongly agree that governments should reduce income differences are therefore more likely to express stronger support for equal split. This association remains virtually unchanged after the country-level FRE indicator and the cross-level interaction are introduced.

The substantive size of this association is considerable. Figure 4.2 shows average predicted probabilities of strongly supporting equal split across the five values of *gincdif_r*, with *cult_z* and *oecd_z* set to 0 and all remaining covariates averaged over their observed distribution. The predicted probability of strong support increases from 0.152 among respondents with the lowest level of support

for redistribution to 0.347 among respondents with the highest level of support for redistribution. This corresponds to a difference of approximately 19.5 percentage points.

Figure 4.2 – Predicted Probability of Strong Support by Redistributive Preferences



Note. Predicted probabilities are based on Model M3. The outcome is strong support for equal split ($eqparlv_r = 5$). Predictions are calculated with $cult_z = 0$ and $oecd_z = 0$; all remaining covariates are averaged over their observed distribution. Higher values of $gincdif_r$ indicate stronger support for state-led income redistribution.

This benchmark is important for interpreting the cultural argument. Support for equal split cannot be understood through cultural orientation alone. It is also embedded in broader support for state intervention and redistribution. In the main models, the redistributive dimension emerges as the more stable and substantively stronger individual-level association.

Among the control variables, age is negatively associated with support for equal split, while women are more supportive than men. Years of education show a weak negative association that reaches only marginal statistical significance. Compared with respondents in paid work, retired respondents and respondents classified as other inactive show higher odds of stronger support, whereas the remaining activity categories do not show statistically significant differences.

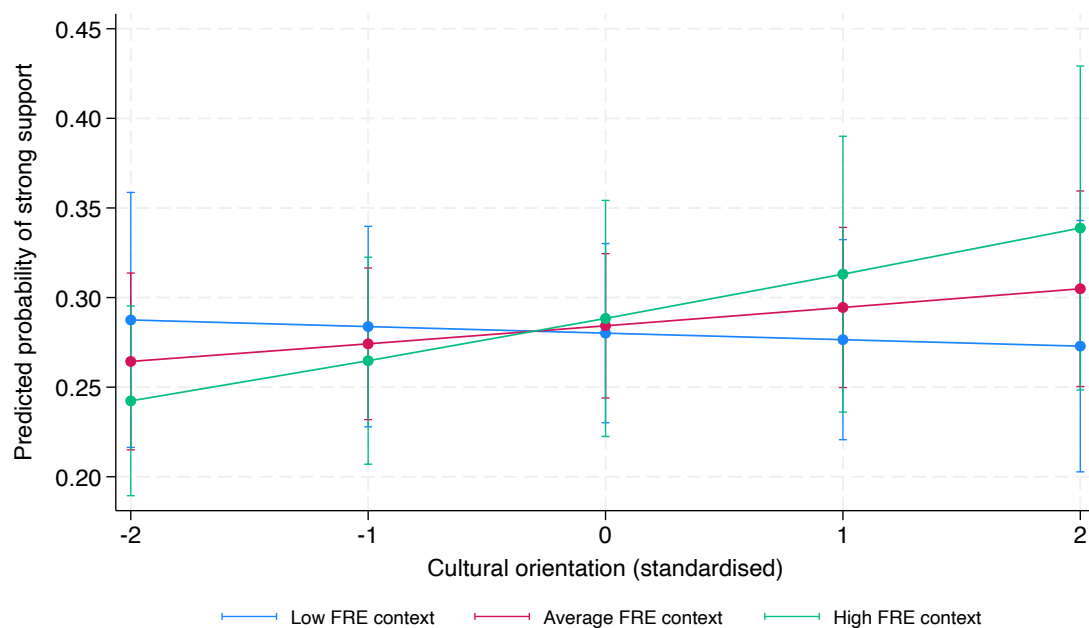
4.2.3 Institutional Context and Cross-Level Interaction

Model M2 adds the country-level FRE indicator, *oecd_z*, to the individual-level specification. The direct association between the FRE context and support for equal split is not statistically significant. In M2, the odds ratio is 1.014; in M3, after including the interaction with cultural orientation, it is 1.022. Both estimates are close to 1 and statistically insignificant. This indicates that there is no evidence for a straightforward direct macro-level association between paid, non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements and individual support for equal split once the individual-level variables are included.

The central macro-level expectation of the study, however, does not primarily concern a direct effect of *oecd_z*. The theoretical argument focuses on whether institutional parental-leave design conditions the relationship between cultural orientation and support for equal split. Model M3 therefore includes the interaction between *cult_z* and *oecd_z*. This interaction is positive and statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 1.077 and $p = 0.028$. Substantively, this suggests that the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split becomes more positive in countries with more extensive paid, non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements.

Figure 4.3 translates this interaction into average predicted probabilities of strongly supporting equal split. In low-FRE contexts, the probability of strong support is almost flat and slightly decreases as cultural orientation becomes more liberal, changing from 0.288 at *cult_z* = -2 to 0.273 at *cult_z* = 2. In average-FRE contexts, the predicted probability increases from 0.264 to 0.305 across the same range of cultural orientation. In high-FRE contexts, the increase is more pronounced: the predicted probability rises from 0.242 at *cult_z* = -2 to 0.339 at *cult_z* = 2. This corresponds to an increase of approximately 9.6 percentage points within high-FRE contexts.

Figure 4.3 – Predicted Probability of Strong Support by Cultural Orientation and FRE Context



Note. Predicted probabilities are based on Model M3. The outcome is strong support for equal split (eqparlv_r = 5). Low, average, and high FRE contexts correspond to oecd_z = -1, 0, and 1. Cultural orientation is shown at selected standardised values from -2 to 2. All remaining covariates are averaged over their observed distribution.

This pattern is not consistent with the normalisation expectation formulated in H2a. If the normalisation expectation were supported, the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split would be expected to weaken in countries with stronger father-specific leave entitlements. The estimated interaction instead points in the opposite direction. The pattern is more consistent with the backlash or polarisation expectation formulated in H2b: in more extensive FRE contexts, support for equal split appears more strongly differentiated by cultural orientation.

This interpretation must remain cautious. The interaction is statistically significant in the main model and substantively visible in the predicted probabilities, but the robustness checks discussed in Section 4.3 show that the result is not fully invariant across all alternative specifications. The finding should therefore be understood as evidence of a backlash-compatible or polarisation-compatible pattern rather than as definitive proof of a backlash mechanism.

4.2.4 Left-Right Self-Placement as a Benchmark

As an additional benchmark, a separate model replaces the cultural orientation index with conventional left-right self-placement. This is useful because equal split may be related not only to cultural orientation and redistributive preferences, but also to broader ideological positioning. Since this specification is estimated on a slightly smaller sample due to missing values on *lrscale*, it is interpreted as a benchmark rather than as a replacement for the main model.

In this alternative specification, left-right self-placement is clearly associated with support for equal split. The odds ratio is 0.936 and statistically significant at $p < 0.001$. Since higher values indicate more right-wing self-placement, this means that respondents further to the right are less likely to express stronger support for equal split. The substantive size of this association is meaningful. The predicted probability of strongly supporting equal split decreases from 0.350 at the left end of the scale to 0.226 at the right end, corresponding to a difference of approximately 12.4 percentage points. Left-right self-placement therefore captures an important general ideological gradient in support for equal split. At the same time, the left-right benchmark does not reproduce the specific cross-level moderation pattern found for the cultural orientation index. When the interaction between *lrscale* and *oecd_z* is included, it is not statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 0.993 and $p = 0.440$. This suggests that conventional left-right self-placement is associated with support for equal split at the individual level, but it does not capture the same institutional moderation pattern as the theoretically constructed cultural orientation index.

4.3 Robustness and Sensitivity Analyses

Several robustness and sensitivity analyses were conducted to assess the stability of the main findings. These checks do not replace the theoretically preferred main specification but examine whether the central results depend on specific modelling choices, variable operationalisations, weighting decisions, country composition, or the construction of the cultural orientation measure. The robustness and sensitivity analyses are reported in Appendix Tables A5–A9.

Overall, the robustness analyses provide a differentiated picture. The association with redistributive preferences remains consistently positive and statistically significant across all robustness specifications considered here. By contrast, the

cross-level interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context is supported in several alternative specifications, but it is more sensitive to weighting choices, model specification, and the construction of the cultural orientation index. The robustness checks therefore reinforce the main interpretation: redistribution emerges as the most stable individual-level association, while the cultural interaction should be interpreted as suggestive and theoretically informative rather than fully invariant across all specifications.

The interaction remains stable when education and the FRE indicator are specified differently. When education is operationalised through a collapsed five-category ISCED variable instead of years of education, the interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context remains positive and statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 1.074 and $p = 0.025$. Similarly, when the original FRE value is used instead of the standardised OECD indicator, the interaction remains positive and statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 1.015 and $p = 0.028$. These checks suggest that the interaction is not simply an artefact of the education specification or of the standardisation of the macro-level FRE variable. The available household-child proxies lead to a similar conclusion. Including a variable for a co-resident young child in the household leaves the interaction virtually unchanged, with an odds ratio of 1.077 and $p = 0.028$. The same applies when a broader proxy for a co-resident child born in 2012 or later is included; here too, the interaction remains positive and statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 1.077 and $p = 0.028$. These results indicate that the central interaction is not driven by the available household-child measures. At the same time, this check should be interpreted cautiously, because these variables capture co-resident children rather than parenthood comprehensively. They therefore cannot fully account for all differences between parents and non-parents.

A more consequential sensitivity issue concerns the construction of the cultural orientation index. When a relaxed version of the cultural index is used, allowing cases with at least two observed cultural subdimensions, the interaction remains positive and narrowly statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 1.068 and $p = 0.046$. However, when the cultural index is restricted to the migration and LGBT dimensions only, excluding the authority-related component, the interaction remains positive but is no longer statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 1.050 and $p = 0.162$. This suggests that the moderation pattern is partly linked to

the broader three-dimensional construction of the cultural orientation index, including the authority-related component. To examine this issue more directly, additional models replace the aggregated cultural orientation index with each of its three standardised subdimensions in turn. These models use the same complete-case sample and the same substantive specification as the main interaction model. Migration-related openness and LGBT-related cultural liberalism are both positively associated with support for equal split. The odds ratios are 1.134 for migration-related openness and 1.223 for LGBT-related cultural liberalism, and both associations are statistically significant. Their interactions with the FRE context are also positive, but they do not reach conventional levels of statistical significance. By contrast, higher anti-authoritarian values are associated with lower support for equal split at the average FRE context, with an odds ratio of 0.836. At the same time, the interaction between anti-authoritarian values and the FRE context is positive and statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 1.073 and $p = 0.008$. This indicates that the negative association between anti-authoritarian values and support for equal split becomes less negative in higher-FRE contexts. These subdimension models clarify the interpretation of the main cultural index. The direct positive association between cultural liberalism and support for equal split appears to be more strongly connected to the migration- and LGBT-related components, whereas the moderation pattern is more strongly linked to the authority-related component. This does not invalidate the use of the aggregate cultural orientation index, but it reinforces the need to interpret it as a broad and heterogeneous measure rather than as a perfectly homogeneous latent scale. Substantively, this pattern is consistent with the conceptualisation of equal split as a multidimensional attitude object: the policy can be interpreted both as a gender-equality and care measure and as a form of state norm-setting in family life.

A further sensitivity check treats the five-point dependent variable as continuous. Both the pooled OLS model with country-clustered standard errors and the linear random-intercept model reproduce the weak direct association between cultural orientation and support for equal split. The coefficient for cultural orientation is 0.005 in the pooled OLS model and 0.021 in the linear random-intercept model, and it is statistically insignificant in both specifications. Redistributive preferences remain positive and highly significant, with coefficients of 0.212 and 0.186

respectively. The interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context is positive in both linear models, but statistically significant only in the linear random-intercept model, with a coefficient of 0.048 and $p = 0.020$. In the pooled OLS model, the coefficient is 0.044 and statistically insignificant, with $p = 0.186$. Treating the dependent variable as continuous therefore does not fundamentally alter the substantive interpretation, but it again supports a cautious reading of the interaction as specification-sensitive.

The strongest qualification concerns weighting choices. In the unweighted model, the interaction is no longer statistically significant and changes direction slightly, with an odds ratio of 0.990 and $p = 0.360$. When the ESS post-stratification weight is used instead of the analysis weight, the interaction is again not statistically significant, with an odds ratio of 0.985 and $p = 0.661$. These results indicate that the positive interaction reported in the main model should not be interpreted as fully robust across weighting specifications. By contrast, the association with redistributive preferences remains positive and statistically significant across the alternative specifications considered here, reinforcing its status as the more stable individual-level predictor.

The leave-one-country-out analysis provides additional information about the stability of the interaction across countries. The interaction coefficient remains positive in all 26 country-exclusion models. In 23 out of 26 models, the interaction remains statistically significant at the 5% level. This supports the directional stability of the interaction and suggests that the main result is not driven solely by one single country. However, the statistical significance weakens when Germany, Spain, or Great Britain is excluded, indicating that the precision of the interaction estimate is not fully independent of the country composition. This is not unexpected given the limited macro-level sample of 26 countries, but it reinforces the need for cautious interpretation of cross-level effects.

The diagnostic checks do not indicate major problems of multicollinearity, but they do point to the need for caution regarding the ordinal model specification. An auxiliary linear model used for the VIF diagnostic produced a mean VIF of 1.37 and a maximum VIF of 2.72, suggesting that multicollinearity is not a serious concern. The proportional-odds assumption is more complex. A pooled Brant test indicates deviations from the parallel-lines assumption for some predictors, while a generalized ordered logit sensitivity analysis allows selected effects to vary

across thresholds. The final test of the parallel-lines constraints in the resulting partial proportional-odds model is not statistically significant, and the substantive interpretation does not change fundamentally. The multilevel ordered logit specification is therefore retained as the main model, while the results are interpreted with awareness of the proportional-odds sensitivity.

4.4 Summary of Findings in Light of the Hypotheses

The empirical results provide a differentiated answer to the hypotheses developed in Chapter 2. Support for equal split is widespread, but it varies clearly across individuals and countries. The model results also show that this support cannot be reduced to a single explanatory dimension. Redistributive preferences and left-right self-placement emerge as important individual-level benchmarks, while institutional parental-leave design matters primarily through its moderating role in the main model.

With regard to H1, the findings provide only limited direct support. The hypothesis expected individuals with a more culturally liberal and universalist orientation to show stronger support for a mandatory or strongly regulated model of equal split. In the main models, the coefficient for cultural orientation is positive, but the direct association is not statistically significant once redistributive preferences and sociodemographic controls are included. The expected individual-level relationship is therefore not clearly supported as a direct effect. Cultural orientation nevertheless remains relevant to the analysis, because its association with support for equal split depends on the institutional FRE context. H1 is therefore best interpreted as receiving limited support at the direct individual level, while the relevance of cultural orientation appears mainly in context-dependent form.

The results do not support H2a, the normalisation hypothesis. H2a expected that more extensive paid and non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements would weaken the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split. In the main interaction model, however, the estimated relationship points in the opposite direction. Cultural differences in strong support are larger in high-FRE contexts than in low-FRE contexts. This pattern is therefore not consistent with the expectation that institutionalised father-specific leave reduces the salience of cultural conflict around equal split.

The main interaction pattern is more consistent with H2b, the backlash or polarisation hypothesis. H2b expected the association between cultural orientation and support for equal split to become stronger in countries with more extensive father-specific leave entitlements. This is what the main model suggests: in high-FRE contexts, culturally more liberal or universalist respondents are more likely to strongly support equal split than culturally less liberal respondents. This interpretation, however, must remain cautious. The robustness analyses show that the interaction remains positive and significant in several alternative specifications but is sensitive to weighting choices, model specification, and the construction of the cultural orientation index. The evidence therefore supports a backlash- or polarisation-compatible interpretation, but it does not prove a backlash mechanism.

A further important result concerns the role of redistributive preferences and left-right self-placement. Support for redistribution emerges as the most stable individual-level association in the analysis. This indicates that support for equal split is not only a matter of cultural conflict over gender roles, care, and state regulation of family life, but is also connected to broader attitudes toward state intervention and redistribution. Conventional left-right self-placement captures an additional ideological gradient: respondents further to the right are less likely to strongly support equal split. However, left-right self-placement does not reproduce the specific cross-level moderation pattern observed for the cultural orientation index.

5 Discussion

5.1 Equal Split as a Multidimensional Attitude Object

The findings of this study suggest that support for equal split is best understood as a multidimensional attitude object. It cannot be reduced either to a conventional welfare-state preference or to a purely cultural position on gender and family life. Rather, equal split brings together several evaluative dimensions: support for state intervention and redistribution, views about gender-equal care, orientations toward family autonomy, and reactions to institutional parental-leave design. This interpretation follows from the theoretical starting point of the thesis, which conceptualised equal split as a contested gender-equality and care policy located at the intersection of state, market, and family (Daly & Lewis, 2000; Ellingsæter & Leira, 2006). The empirical results are more consistent with this multidimensional interpretation than with an account that privileges either redistribution or cultural orientation alone.

A central indication of this pattern is the stability of redistributive preferences across the analysis. Respondents who more strongly support government action to reduce income differences are more likely to support equal split. This finding shows that equal split is not evaluated only through cultural views about gender roles or family autonomy. It also remains embedded in broader welfare-state attitudes concerning public responsibility, social protection, and distributive equality. This is consistent with comparative welfare-attitudes research, which emphasises that support for social policy is shaped by egalitarian orientations, self-interest, and broader moral evaluations of rights, obligations, and public intervention (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Svallfors, 2012). In this sense, the results qualify any interpretation that would treat equal split primarily as a cultural issue detached from the redistributive foundations of welfare-state politics.

At the same time, the findings do not make the cultural dimension irrelevant. The direct association between cultural orientation and support for equal split is positive but not statistically significant in the main models, which means that the individual-level expectation receives only limited direct support. This weak direct association is important because it suggests that support for a mandatory or strongly regulated equal-split model is more ambivalent than support for progressive family policy in general. Existing research has shown that parental-

leave preferences and support for fathers' leave are related to gender ideology, dual-earner expectations, separate-spheres beliefs, intensive-mothering attitudes, and gender egalitarianism (Kaufman et al., 2024; Li et al., 2021; Valarino et al., 2018). The present findings do not contradict this literature, but they refine its implications for a more demanding policy object. Equal split does not merely ask whether fathers should have access to leave or whether parental leave should be generous. It evaluates a more binding arrangement that institutionally defines symmetrical care responsibility as desirable. This may activate both egalitarian support and concerns about choice, maternal protection, and state intervention in family life. The most distinctive cultural finding therefore appears not as a strong direct individual-level association, but as a context-dependent pattern. The interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE indicator is positive in the main model, suggesting that cultural orientation is more strongly associated with support for equal split in countries with more extensive paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements. This pattern is more consistent with the backlash or polarisation expectation than with the normalisation expectation. However, this interpretation must remain cautious. The robustness analyses show that the interaction is supported in several alternative specifications and is directionally stable across leave-one-country-out models, but it is also sensitive to weighting choices and to one alternative construction of the cultural index. The evidence should therefore be understood as suggestive and theoretically informative, rather than as proof that institutional design causes backlash.

Overall, the study contributes to the existing literature by showing that equal split occupies a distinctive position within the politics of family policy: it is a paid and state-supported social-policy arrangement, a contested issue of gendered care and family autonomy, and a policy object whose cultural salience may vary across institutional contexts. It can therefore be interpreted through a policy-feedback lens because institutional parental-leave design may condition the salience of these cultural evaluations (Pierson, 1993; Sjöberg, 2004). The central contribution is not the claim that cultural orientation has greater explanatory power than redistributive preferences. Rather, the thesis shows that support for equal split is structured through the combination of redistributive attitudes, cultural orientations, and institutional context. The following sections discuss

these dimensions in greater detail and specify how the findings contribute to the literature on welfare-state attitudes, progressive family policy, and institutional feedback.

5.2 Redistributive Preferences and the Relevance of Welfare Attitudes

Having established the multidimensional character of support for equal split, the redistributive dimension deserves particular attention because it is the most stable individual-level association in the analysis. Across the main models and robustness checks, support for government action to reduce income differences remains positively and consistently associated with support for equal split. This result should not be treated as a merely technical control finding. It indicates that support for equal split is partly embedded in broader welfare-state attitudes and in more general views about the legitimacy of public intervention to reduce inequalities.

This finding is theoretically plausible because equal split remains a paid and state-supported social-policy arrangement. Although the policy is normatively charged through its implications for gendered care, family autonomy, and parental roles, it also concerns the public organisation of income replacement during periods of care. Respondents who support redistribution may therefore be more willing to endorse a model in which the state not only compensates care-related employment interruptions, but also actively shapes the conditions under which care responsibilities are shared. This interpretation is consistent with comparative welfare-attitudes research, which shows that welfare-state support is shaped by egalitarian ideology, self-interest, and broader evaluations of state responsibility (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003). It also fits Svallfors's (2012) broader understanding of welfare attitudes as part of a moral economy in which citizens evaluate rights, obligations, responsibilities, and the legitimacy of public intervention. The result is important because it qualifies an exclusively cultural interpretation of equal split. The theoretical framework has argued that equal split raises questions of gender equality, care, and legitimate state norm-setting. The empirical findings support the relevance of this cultural dimension mainly in a context-dependent form. At the same time, the strong and stable association with redistributive preferences shows that support for equal split is also linked to the economic-distributive dimension of political conflict. This corresponds to the broader distinction between economic and cultural conflict logics in contemporary

European politics, where redistribution and social protection remain analytically distinct from questions of authority, recognition, belonging, and cultural liberalisation, even though both dimensions may intersect in concrete policy debates (Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015).

In substantive terms, this means that respondents may support equal split for reasons that are not reducible to culturally liberal views about gender and family life. Some may endorse the arrangement because it is perceived as a state-backed mechanism for sharing the costs of care more fairly, reducing economic dependency, or correcting inequalities that arise from gendered employment interruptions. This is compatible with gender-sensitive welfare-state scholarship, which has long emphasised that family policy affects not only cultural ideals of parenthood, but also economic autonomy, care responsibilities, and dependency within the family (Daly & Lewis, 2000; Orloff, 1993). Equal split therefore matters not only because it symbolically promotes shared parenthood, but also because it redistributes the material and temporal consequences of care.

At the same time, redistributive preferences do not exhaust the explanation. If equal split were only a conventional redistributive policy, the cultural and institutional dimensions developed in the theoretical framework would be less important. The findings instead suggest that the redistributive association specifies one side of a broader political evaluation. Support for equal split is partly grounded in welfare-state attitudes, but the policy also concerns a specific normative model of parenthood, care, and legitimate state involvement in family life. The next section turns to this cultural dimension and discusses why its direct association with support for equal split is weaker than expected, while its relevance becomes more visible in interaction with institutional context.

5.3 Culture and Progressive Family Policy: A Conditional Relationship

The limited direct association between cultural orientation and support for equal split is theoretically important. The empirical analysis does not provide strong evidence that culturally liberal and universalist respondents are, across contexts, directly more supportive of equal split once redistributive preferences and sociodemographic controls are taken into account. This qualifies the individual-level expectation developed in Chapter 2. However, it does not imply that cultural orientation is irrelevant for understanding support for equal split. Rather, it suggests that the relationship between cultural orientation and support for this

specific policy object is more conditional and ambivalent than a simple direct-effect argument would imply.

This finding should be interpreted against the broader literature on progressive family-policy attitudes. Existing studies show that attitudes toward parental leave, fathers' leave, and gender-equal leave arrangements are shaped by ideational orientations concerning gender, work, care, and state responsibility. Valarino et al. (2018) show that parental-leave preferences vary with gender ideology and views about the role of the state. Li et al. (2021) find that support for paid parental leave for fathers is higher among respondents with dual-earner expectations, while separate-spheres beliefs and intensive-mothering attitudes reduce support. Kaufman et al. (2024) similarly show that gender egalitarianism is associated with support for longer paternity leave and more similar leave periods for mothers and fathers. The present findings do not contradict this literature, but they indicate that support for a mandatory or strongly regulated equal-split model cannot simply be inferred from general support for gender-equal family policy. The reason is that equal split is a more demanding and normatively complex policy object. It does not only express support for fathers' access to leave or for the symbolic value of paternal care. It evaluates a design in which both parents are expected to take equal periods of paid leave. Such a model can be read as a strong institutional commitment to gender-equal parenthood, but also as a restriction of parental choice or as state involvement in decisions that some citizens may regard as belonging primarily to the family. This helps explain why a broad cultural orientation may not translate into a uniformly strong direct association. Even respondents with generally liberal or egalitarian orientations may differ in how they weigh gender equality against family autonomy, maternal protection, and the legitimacy of state norm-setting.

This interpretation is consistent with the broader cleavage framework developed in the theoretical chapter. Cultural orientations structure how citizens interpret questions of recognition, authority, plural ways of life, and legitimate social order (Bornschieer, 2010; Flanagan & Lee, 2003; Häusermann & Kriesi, 2015). From this perspective, culturally liberal and universalist orientations should make gender-egalitarian care norms more acceptable, while more traditional or authority-oriented orientations may make binding state regulation of family arrangements more problematic. Yet the empirical results suggest that equal split

does not activate this cultural conflict uniformly across all contexts. The policy is culturally meaningful, but its cultural meaning is not fixed. It depends on whether equal split is primarily interpreted as social protection, gender equality, state coercion, restriction of family choice, or institutional recognition of shared parenthood.

The left-right benchmark further supports this interpretation. Conventional left-right self-placement is clearly associated with support for equal split: respondents further to the right are less likely to express stronger support. This shows that equal split is politically structured and not merely a technocratic family-policy issue. At the same time, left-right self-placement does not reproduce the specific cross-level moderation pattern observed for the cultural orientation index. This distinction matters because left-right self-placement captures a broad ideological gradient, while the cultural index was designed to capture a more specific sociocultural conflict axis. The findings therefore suggest that general ideological positioning matters, but that the theoretically distinctive contribution of cultural orientation lies less in a strong direct effect and more in its interaction with institutional context.

The contribution of this result is to refine, rather than reject, the cultural argument. Research on progressive family-policy attitudes has shown that gender ideology and egalitarian orientations matter for attitudes toward leave design and fathers' involvement. This study adds that when the policy object becomes more binding and state-regulatory, cultural orientations may operate in a less straightforward way. Support for equal split is not simply a direct expression of cultural liberalism. It is filtered through competing understandings of equality, choice, care, and state authority. The cultural dimension should therefore be interpreted less as a uniform individual-level effect than as a meaning-making framework whose relevance depends on how equal split is institutionally and politically situated. The next section turns to this institutional context and discusses why the results are more compatible with a backlash- or polarisation-oriented interpretation than with the normalisation expectation.

5.4 Institutional Design, Policy Feedback and Backlash-Moderation

The most theoretically distinctive finding of the analysis concerns the moderating role of institutional parental-leave design. The FRE indicator does not show a clear direct association with support for equal split once individual-level predictors

are included. This is important because it suggests that more extensive paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements should not be interpreted as straightforwardly increasing or decreasing average support for equal split across countries. The more relevant finding is the positive cross-level interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context. In the main model, cultural orientation is more strongly associated with support for equal split in countries where paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements are more extensive. Institutional design therefore appears less as a direct macro-level predictor and more as a context that conditions the salience of cultural orientations.

This result does not support the normalisation expectation. The normalisation hypothesis was theoretically plausible because paid, non-transferable father-specific entitlements may establish paternal care as an ordinary and institutionally recognised part of parenthood. From a policy-feedback perspective, such arrangements could generate positive and self-reinforcing effects by creating routines, legitimising fathers' care time, and making shared care less exceptional (Pierson, 1993; Sjöberg, 2004). Evidence on reserved months and fathers' quotas supports this logic by showing that clear and individually allocated entitlements can increase fathers' leave-taking and strengthen fathers' perceived entitlement to care time (Duvander & Johansson, 2012; Patnaik, 2019). Similarly, earmarked leave can be interpreted as an "owned entitlement", whereas formally shared leave may continue to be perceived as primarily belonging to mothers (Brandth & Kvande, 2019; Kvande & Brandth, 2020). If such mechanisms translated into broader attitudinal normalisation, cultural differences in support for equal split should be weaker in high-FRE contexts. The empirical pattern points in the opposite direction.

The findings are more consistent with the backlash or polarisation expectation. This interpretation starts from the same institutional feature as the normalisation logic: paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements make paternal care institutionally visible. However, visibility can also increase the political salience of the norm-setting character of leave design. A more extensive father-specific entitlement may signal that fathers are recognised as independent caregivers and social-rights holders, but it may also make the loss of full family discretion more visible. In this sense, equal split can become a stronger marker of cultural alignment. Culturally liberal and universalist respondents may interpret it as a

legitimate equality measure, while more traditional, authority-oriented, or particularist respondents may interpret it as excessive state steering of private family arrangements. This interpretation is consistent with research showing that gender-equality reforms in parental leave can produce conflicting normative responses. Ellingsæter's (2012, 2021) work on fathers' quotas shows that the same policy instrument can be framed either as a necessary means of promoting symmetrical parenthood or as an illegitimate restriction of parental choice. Similarly, the Spanish case illustrates how equal and non-transferable parental leave can generate positive feedback for equality-oriented actors while also mobilising demands for transferable or mother-specific leave rights (Alvariño, 2025). These studies suggest that institutional norm-setting does not necessarily depoliticise gender-equality reforms. It may also sharpen disagreement when reforms become symbols of contested boundaries between equality, choice, and family autonomy.

The contribution of this finding lies in how it specifies the role of institutional context. Rather than showing that father-specific entitlements directly produce higher support for equal split, the results suggest that institutional design may condition how cultural orientations matter for a contested family-policy issue. This adds to policy-feedback approaches by highlighting a potentially conflictual pathway. Policies may not only stabilise expectations and routines, but may also make normative disagreement more visible when they touch strongly contested questions of gender, care, and family autonomy (Chung & Meuleman, 2017; Pierson, 1993). In the context of equal split, institutional norm-setting appears more compatible with a backlash- or polarisation-oriented interpretation than with a normalisation interpretation, but this conclusion remains conditional on the measurement and modelling choices discussed above.

5.5 Limitations and Scope Conditions

The findings of this study should be interpreted in light of several limitations and scope conditions. These limitations define the range within which the results should be understood. This is particularly important because the study examines not only individual-level associations, but also cross-level moderation involving institutional parental-leave design. The results therefore provide evidence of structured relationships between attitudes, redistributive preferences, and

institutional context, but they do not identify the underlying mechanisms in a causal sense.

A first limitation concerns the cross-sectional design. The analysis links ESS survey data to country-level information on parental-leave design at one point in time. This design is appropriate for examining whether theoretically expected associations are observable across individuals and countries, but it cannot establish temporal ordering. This matters especially for the policy-feedback interpretation. Policy-feedback theory assumes that policies can shape later political attitudes, identities, incentives, and interpretive frames (Pierson, 1993). The present analysis can identify a moderation pattern that is compatible with such an interpretation, but it cannot show whether institutional parental-leave arrangements shaped individual attitudes over time, whether culturally structured publics influenced the adoption of particular leave designs, or whether both processes developed together.

A second limitation concerns the measurement of institutional context. The FRE indicator is a focused and theoretically meaningful measure because it captures the full-rate equivalent duration of paid, non-transferable father-specific entitlements. It therefore reflects a formal design feature that is central to the institutional recognition of fathers as independent entitlement holders (OECD, 2024). At the same time, the indicator does not capture all mechanisms through which parental-leave institutions may affect attitudes. It does not measure actual take-up, workplace implementation, the visibility of leave rights in public debate, media framing, political contestation, or citizens' subjective interpretations of father-specific leave. The interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context should therefore be interpreted as evidence related to formal institutional design, not as direct evidence of how people perceive or experience these policies.

A third scope condition concerns the number of country-level units. The analysis covers 26 European countries, which allows for a parsimonious comparative multilevel design with country random intercepts and one theoretically specified macro-level moderator. However, the number of level-2 units remains limited for estimating macro-level and cross-level effects with high precision. This is particularly relevant for the interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE indicator. The leave-one-country-out analysis suggests that the direction of the

interaction is not driven by a single country, but the precision of the estimate is not fully independent of country composition. The cross-level findings should therefore be read as theoretically informative patterns rather than as highly generalisable macro-level estimates.

A further limitation concerns the construction of the cultural orientation index. The index is theoretically grounded in the literature on sociocultural conflict, universalism-particularism, and authoritarian-libertarian orientations. It captures a broader cultural conflict axis rather than a direct gender-role scale. This is appropriate for the theoretical argument of the thesis, but it also means that the index condenses several attitudinal components into one measure. The robustness analyses show that the main interaction is sensitive to index construction. When the measure is restricted to migration and LGBT-related attitudes only, the interaction remains positive but is no longer statistically significant. The subdimension models further show that the components of the index do not operate uniformly: migration-related openness and LGBT-related cultural liberalism are more closely linked to the direct positive association with support for equal split, whereas the authority-related component is more strongly connected to the moderation pattern involving the FRE context. The findings should therefore be interpreted as evidence concerning a broad and heterogeneous cultural-orientation composite, rather than as evidence that all cultural subdimensions have the same association with support for equal split.

The treatment of missing data and the measurement of parenthood also define the scope of the analysis. The main models are based on a complete-case sample, which ensures that all variables included in the models are observed for the same respondents. This improves consistency across model specifications, but listwise deletion may still introduce selection if missingness is systematically related to the variables of interest. The robustness checks using a relaxed cultural index partly address this concern, but they cannot fully eliminate the possibility of selection due to missing data. Similarly, the ESS data do not provide a direct and sufficiently precise measure of whether respondents are parents of young children. The household-child proxies used in the robustness analyses capture co-resident children, not parenthood as such. They therefore help assess sensitivity to household composition, but they cannot fully substitute for a direct parenthood measure.

Finally, the modelling strategy itself requires cautious interpretation. The mixed-effects ordered logit model is appropriate for an ordered dependent variable and for respondents nested within countries, but diagnostic checks indicate some sensitivity of the proportional-odds assumption in pooled approximations. The generalized ordered logit sensitivity check does not fundamentally change the substantive interpretation, yet the ordered logit results should still be read with this limitation in mind. The additional linear specification checks show that treating the five-point dependent variable as continuous does not fundamentally alter the main interpretation: redistributive preferences remain stable, while the direct association of cultural orientation remains weak. However, the cultural orientation–FRE interaction is not statistically significant in all linear specifications. In addition, the interaction is sensitive to weighting choices: it is positive and statistically significant in the main weighted model, but not statistically significant in the unweighted model or when the post-stratification weight is used. This does not invalidate the interaction finding, especially given its directional stability in the leave-one-country-out analysis, but it qualifies its strength. The cross-level interaction should therefore be interpreted as theoretically informative and empirically suggestive, rather than as a fully robust or causal estimate.

5.6 Implications for Future Research

The findings of this study point to several directions for future research. A first implication concerns the interpretation of equal split itself. Future studies should examine more directly how citizens understand a mandatory or strongly regulated model of equally shared paid parental leave. The present analysis shows that support for equal split is associated with redistributive preferences, cultural orientations, and institutional context, but it cannot observe the meanings that respondents attach to the policy. Further research should therefore investigate whether equal split is interpreted primarily as a gender-equality measure, a form of social protection, a restriction of family choice, a challenge to maternal protection, or an instance of state overreach into private family life. Qualitative studies and survey designs with more detailed attitudinal items would be especially useful for reconstructing these interpretive patterns.

A second implication concerns the temporal dimension of institutional effects. The policy-feedback interpretation developed in this thesis is theoretically plausible,

but the cross-sectional design cannot show how attitudes change over time. Future research should therefore make greater use of longitudinal data, repeated cross-sectional surveys, or reform-based research designs. Such approaches could examine whether the introduction or expansion of father-specific, non-transferable entitlements changes public support for equal sharing, whether it reduces or increases cultural differentiation, and whether attitudinal change follows the normalisation or backlash logic. This would allow future studies to distinguish more clearly between institutional effects on attitudes and the possibility that pre-existing cultural and political conflicts shape institutional reforms.

A third direction concerns the measurement of institutional context. The FRE indicator used in this study captures a central feature of formal policy design, namely paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements. However, future research should connect such formal indicators with additional measures of policy visibility and implementation. Particularly relevant are fathers' actual take-up rates, workplace cultures, employer responses, public and media salience, political contestation, and the extent to which leave rights are perceived as practically usable. These factors may help explain why similar formal entitlements can be interpreted differently across countries and why institutional design may generate either normalising or conflict-enhancing feedback.

Future research should also examine group-specific patterns more closely. Support for equal split may differ between parents and non-parents, mothers and fathers, respondents with young children, and respondents at different stages of the life course. The present study could only approximate parenthood through household-based child proxies, which cannot fully capture parental status or care experience. More precise data on family status, caregiving responsibilities, employment situation, and household bargaining arrangements would allow a more fine-grained analysis of who supports equal split and why.

Finally, experimental and vignette-based designs could make an important contribution. Equal split consists of several design features that may be evaluated differently: the degree of obligation, the duration of leave, the level of income replacement, transferability between parents, father-specific quotas, and mother-specific protection periods around childbirth. By varying these features systematically, future studies could identify which aspects of equal split generate

support, ambivalence, or opposition. This would help clarify whether resistance is primarily directed at gender-equal care, at state compulsion, at the loss of parental choice, or at perceived conflicts with maternal and child-related needs. Such research would deepen the central finding of this thesis by showing more precisely how citizens combine considerations of redistribution, care, gender equality, and legitimate state intervention when evaluating equal split.

6 Conclusion and Outlook

6.1 Summary of the Main Findings

This thesis examined support for a mandatory or strongly regulated model of equally shared paid parental leave across 26 European countries. The central research question asked to what extent support for equal split is associated with cultural orientation at the individual level and to what extent this association is conditioned by the institutional design of father-specific, non-transferable leave entitlements. The analysis was based on a comparative multilevel design combining individual-level data from ESS Round 11 with country-level information on paid and non-transferable father-specific parental-leave entitlements.

The findings provide a differentiated answer to this question. Support for equal split is widespread in the country sample, but it is not consensual and varies both between individuals and across countries. The multilevel models show that support for equal split cannot be explained by one single dimension. Redistributive preferences emerge as the most stable individual-level association: respondents who more strongly support government action to reduce income differences are also more likely to support equal split. This indicates that equal split remains connected to broader welfare-state attitudes concerning public responsibility, social protection, and distributive equality.

The evidence for the direct individual-level role of cultural orientation is more limited. The coefficient for cultural orientation is positive in the main models, but not statistically significant once redistributive preferences and sociodemographic controls are included. H1 therefore receives only limited direct support. This does not imply that cultural orientation is irrelevant, but it suggests that its role is more conditional than initially expected.

The main contextual finding concerns the interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE indicator. The direct country-level association between the FRE context and support for equal split is not statistically significant in the main models. However, the interaction between cultural orientation and the FRE context is positive in the main model. This pattern is not consistent with the normalisation hypothesis, which expected cultural differences to weaken in contexts with more extensive paid and non-transferable father-specific entitlements. Instead, the result is more compatible with the backlash or

polarisation hypothesis, according to which cultural differentiation in support for equal split becomes stronger in high-FRE contexts. This interpretation must remain cautious, because the interaction is sensitive to some modelling and measurement choices. The evidence is therefore suggestive and theoretically informative, rather than definitive proof of a backlash mechanism.

6.2 Contribution of the Thesis

The thesis contributes to the literature by conceptualising support for equal split as a specific and normatively charged policy attitude. Equal split is not simply a general preference for parental leave or a generic attitude toward family policy. It evaluates a policy arrangement that defines symmetrical care responsibility as desirable and institutionally supported. This makes it a particularly useful case for studying how welfare-state attitudes, cultural conflict, and institutional parental-leave design intersect.

The first contribution lies in showing that equal split should be understood as a multidimensional attitude object. The findings qualify interpretations that would treat support for equal split primarily as either a cultural position or a conventional welfare-state preference. Redistributive preferences matter strongly and consistently, which confirms the continuing relevance of welfare-state attitudes and economic-distributive conflict for progressive family policy. At the same time, equal split also concerns gendered care, family autonomy, and legitimate state norm-setting, which makes cultural orientations theoretically relevant. The study therefore supports a balanced interpretation: support for equal split is shaped through the combination of redistributive attitudes, cultural orientations, and institutional context.

The second contribution concerns the role of cultural orientation. Existing research on parental-leave and family-policy attitudes has shown that gender ideology, dual-earner expectations, intensive-mothering beliefs, and gender egalitarianism matter for support for more gender-equal leave arrangements (Kaufman et al., 2024; Li et al., 2021; Valarino et al., 2018). This thesis adds that a mandatory or strongly regulated equal-split model is more ambivalent than general support for fathers' leave or gender-equal family policy. Cultural orientation does not appear as a strong uniform direct effect. Rather, it functions as a meaning-making framework whose relevance depends on how the policy is institutionally and politically situated.

The third contribution lies in the institutional argument. By linking individual-level orientations to country-level parental-leave design, the study shows that institutional context may matter not only through direct country-level differences in average support, but also by conditioning how cultural orientations relate to support for equal split. This is consistent with a policy-feedback perspective, which treats institutions not only as outcomes of political struggles but also as contexts that may shape later political interpretations and conflicts (Pierson, 1993). In this study, the main interaction pattern suggests that stronger institutional norm-setting around father-specific leave is more compatible with a backlash- or polarisation-oriented interpretation than with a normalisation interpretation. Yet this contribution is deliberately cautious: the analysis identifies an associational moderation pattern, not a causal feedback mechanism.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

The findings of this thesis underline the political relevance of equal split as an object of comparative welfare-state research. Debates over the division of parental leave are not merely technical disputes about policy design. They concern the organisation of care, the distribution of the material and temporal consequences of parenthood, the role of fathers as independent entitlement holders, and the legitimate scope of state involvement in family life. Equal split therefore brings together several of the central tensions of contemporary family policy: equality and choice, social protection and autonomy, gender transformation and institutional regulation. The analysis therefore supports a balanced interpretation of progressive family-policy attitudes. Even where a policy is strongly connected to gender equality and care, redistributive welfare-state orientations remain relevant. At the same time, cultural orientations matter most clearly in this analysis when they are considered in relation to institutional parental-leave design. Equal split thus illustrates how economic-distributive and sociocultural conflict logics intersect in contemporary family policy.

The study is limited by its cross-sectional design, the formal nature of the FRE indicator, and the sensitivity of the interaction finding to some modelling choices. Future research should therefore examine the underlying mechanisms more directly through longitudinal, reform-based, qualitative, or experimental designs.

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Appendix A

Table A1 – Operationalisation and Coding of Main Variables

Variable	Concept	Item / construction	Coding / scale	Role in analysis
eqparlv_r	Support for equal split paid parental leave	Reversed version of eqparlv, measuring support for requiring both parents to take equal periods of paid leave	1 = strongly against, 5 = strongly in favour; higher values indicate stronger support	Dependent variable
cult_z	Cultural orientation	Mean of three standardised subdimensions: migration attitudes (migr_z), LGBT/cultural liberalism (lgbt_z), and anti-authoritarian values (authlib_z)	Standardised index; higher values indicate a more culturally liberal/universalist orientation	Main individual-level predictor
migr_z	Migration-related openness	Mean of imbgeco and imwbont	Standardised subindex; higher values indicate more positive views of immigration	Component of cult_z
lgbt_z	LGBT-related cultural liberalism	Mean of reversed freehms_r and hmsacld_r	Standardised subindex; higher values indicate stronger support for equal rights of gays and lesbians	Component of cult_z
authlib_z	Anti-authoritarian values	Mean of lnobed_ljb and loylead_ljb	Standardised subindex; higher values indicate stronger disagreement with obedience- and authority-oriented values	Component of cult_z
gincdif_r	Support for redistribution	Reversed version of gincdif, measuring agreement that government should reduce income differences	1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree; higher values indicate stronger support for redistribution	Economic-distributive benchmark / control
oecd_val	Father-specific reserved paid leave	Country-level full-rate equivalent indicator for paid, non-transferable, father-specific leave entitlements	Original country-level value in full-rate equivalent weeks	Descriptive macro-level variable and robustness specification
oecd_z	Standardised FRE context	Standardised version of oecd_val across the 26 analytical countries	Country-level z-score; higher values indicate more extensive paid, non-transferable father-specific entitlements	Main macro-level predictor / moderator
agea	Age	Respondent age	Years; valid range in analytical data: 15–90	Control variable
gnbr	Gender	Respondent gender	Male = reference category; female = indicator category	Control variable
eduysr	Education	Years of full-time education completed	Continuous variable in years	Main education control
mnact6	Main activity	Six-category recode of respondent's main activity	Paid work = reference category; education, unemployed, retired, homework/care, other inactive	Control variable
eiscsd5	Educational attainment	Five-category recode based on ES-ISCED	Low education = reference category; upper secondary education; advanced vocational/post-secondary; lower tertiary education; higher tertiary education	Robustness specification for education
lrscale	Left-right self-placement	Self-placement on the left-right scale	0 = left, 10 = right; higher values indicate more right-wing self-placement	Ideological benchmark
child_hh_young	Co-resident young child	Indicator for at least one co-resident child born in 2018 or later	0 = no, 1 = yes	Robustness proxy for young parenthood / household children
child_hh_2012	Co-resident child	Indicator for at least one co-resident child born in 2012 or later	0 = no, 1 = yes	Robustness proxy for parenthood / household children

Note. ESS variables are based on ESS Round 11. The OECD variables are based on the OECD Family Database PF2.1. Higher values of eqparlv_r, cult_z, migr_z, lgbt_z, authlib_z, and gincdif_r are coded to indicate stronger support for equal split, a more culturally liberal or universalist orientation, and stronger support for redistribution, respectively. oecd_val measures paid, non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements in full-rate equivalent weeks, while oecd_z is its standardised version across the 26 analytical countries. child_hh_young and child_hh_2012 capture co-resident children and are used only as robustness proxies; they do not measure parenthood comprehensively.

Table A2 – Country Sample, Mean Support, and FRE-Indicator

Country code	Country	Total N	Complete-case N	Mean support	FRE value	FRE z-score
AT	Austria	2,354	1,899	2.711	7.6	-0.069
BE	Belgium	1,594	1,505	3.819	6.1	-0.365
BG	Bulgaria	2,239	1,875	3.437	1.9	-1.194
CH	Switzerland	1,384	1,220	3.341	1.1	-1.352
CY	Cyprus	685	583	4.201	1.4	-1.293
DE	Germany	2,420	2,237	2.965	5.7	-0.444
EE	Estonia	1,293	1,111	3.178	4.3	-0.721
ES	Spain	1,844	1,664	4.065	16.0	1.589
FI	Finland	1,563	1,471	3.382	10.5	0.503
FR	France	1,771	1,601	3.727	8.7	0.148
GB	Great Britain	1,684	1,345	3.580	0.4	-1.491
GR	Greece	2,757	2,497	3.893	6.3	-0.326
HR	Croatia	1,563	1,333	3.772	7.9	-0.010
HU	Hungary	2,118	1,779	3.382	2.3	-1.115
IE	Ireland	2,017	1,742	3.823	2.0	-1.175
IS	Iceland	842	771	3.757	13.8	1.155
IT	Italy	2,865	2,415	3.932	5.9	-0.405
LT	Lithuania	1,365	1,128	3.573	9.8	0.365
LV	Latvia	1,252	918	3.152	6.8	-0.227
NL	Netherlands	1,695	1,538	3.233	11.1	0.622
NO	Norway	1,337	1,272	2.867	13.8	1.155
PL	Poland	1,442	1,103	3.585	8.3	0.069
PT	Portugal	1,373	1,176	4.108	12.5	0.898
SE	Sweden	1,230	1,150	2.767	10.8	0.563
SI	Slovenia	1,248	1,063	3.153	10.7	0.543
SK	Slovakia	1,442	1,185	3.605	21.0	2.576

Note. Total N refers to all respondents in the 26-country analytical dataset after matching ESS Round 11 with the OECD Family Database PF2.1. Valid N for DV refers to respondents with valid information on eqparlv_r. Complete-case N refers to the observations included in the main multilevel models after listwise deletion on eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduyrs, mnact6, and oecd_z. Mean support is the unweighted country-level mean of eqparlv_r among valid responses, where 1 = strongly against and 5 = strongly in favour. FRE value refers to paid, non-transferable father-specific leave entitlements measured in full-rate equivalent weeks. FRE z-score is the standardised version of the FRE indicator across the 26 analytical countries.

Table A3 – Missingness and Complete-Case Construction**Panel A. Main Sample and Complete-Case Construction**

Sample definition	N	Percent of full sample
Full 26-country analytical sample after ESS/OECD matching	43,377	100.00
Complete-case sample for main multilevel models	37,581	86.64
Observations excluded due to missingness in at least one main-model variable	5,796	13.36

Panel B. Variable-Wise Missingness in the Main Model

Variable	Observed N	Missing N	Missing percent
eqparlv_r	42,132	1,245	2.87
cult_z	39,257	4,120	9.50
gincdif_r	42,682	695	1.60
agea	43,077	300	0.69
gndr	43,377	0	0.00
eduyrs	42,767	610	1.41
mnact6	43,204	173	0.40
oecd_z	43,377	0	0.00

Panel C. Observed Cultural Subdimensions

Number of observed cultural subdimensions	N	Percent
0	152	0.35
1	626	1.44
2	3,342	7.70
3	39,257	90.50
Total	43,377	100.00

Note. The full analytical sample includes all respondents in the 26 countries after matching ESS Round 11 with the OECD Family Database PF2.1. The complete-case sample refers to observations with non-missing values on eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduyrs, mnact6, and oecd_z. Missingness in Panel B is reported variable-wise; missing values may overlap across variables and therefore do not sum to the number of observations excluded from the complete-case sample. cult_z is available only for respondents with valid information on all three cultural subdimensions: migration-related openness, LGBT-related cultural liberalism, and anti-authoritarian values. Percentages are calculated relative to the full 26-country analytical sample.

Table A4 – Reliability and Dimensionality of the Cultural Orientation Index**Panel A. Reliability of two-item Subdimensions**

Subdimension	Items	Observed N	Cronbach's alpha
Migration-related openness	imbgeco, imwbcnt	41,447	0.816
LGBT-related cultural liberalism	freehms_r, hmsacld_r	41,623	0.758
Anti-authoritarian values	lrnobed_lib, loylead_lib	42,011	0.659

Panel B. Principal Component Analysis of the three Standardised Subdimensions

Component	Eigenvalue	Proportion of variance explained	Cumulative proportion
Component 1	1.418	0.473	0.473
Component 2	0.932	0.311	0.783
Component 3	0.651	0.217	1.000

Panel C. Loadings on the first Component and One-Factor Solution

Subdimension	PCA loading on Component 1	One-factor loading	Uniqueness
Migration-related openness (migr_z)	0.650	0.485	0.765
LGBT-related cultural liberalism (lgbt_z)	0.660	0.495	0.756
Anti-authoritarian values (authlib_z)	0.377	0.231	0.947

Note. Panel A reports Cronbach's alpha for the three two-item subdimensions used to construct the cultural orientation index. Panel B reports a principal component analysis of the three standardised subdimensions (migr_z, lgbt_z, and authlib_z) based on 39,257 observations with valid information on all three subdimensions. Panel C reports the loadings of the three subdimensions on the first principal component and in a one-factor solution. Higher values of all three subdimensions indicate a more culturally liberal or universalist orientation. The diagnostics indicate that migration-related openness and LGBT-related cultural liberalism form the stronger empirical core of the index, while anti-authoritarian values load more weakly on the common dimension. The main index nevertheless retains all three theoretically motivated subdimensions in order to capture a broader cultural orientation; alternative index constructions are evaluated in the robustness analyses.

Table A5 – Robustness and Sensitivity Analyses

Specification	Key predictor	N	Countries	OR key predictor	p key predictor	OR interaction	p interaction	OR redistribution	p redistribution
Main interaction model	cult_z	37,581	26	1.056	0.229	1.077	0.028	1.338	<0.001
Alternative education coding (eiscd5)	cult_z	37,778	26	1.072	0.126	1.074	0.025	1.330	<0.001
Alternative FRE scaling (oecd_val)	cult_z	37,581	26	0.940	0.468	1.015	0.028	1.338	<0.001
Co-resident young child proxy (child_hh_young)	cult_z	37,581	26	1.056	0.227	1.077	0.028	1.338	<0.001
Co-resident child proxy (child_hh_2012)	cult_z	37,581	26	1.056	0.232	1.077	0.028	1.338	<0.001
Relaxed culture index	cult_relaxed_z	40,340	26	1.061	0.169	1.068	0.046	1.321	<0.001
Migration + LGBT index only	cult_ml_z	38,229	26	1.249	<0.001	1.050	0.162	1.308	<0.001
Unweighted model	cult_z	37,581	26	1.082	<0.001	0.990	0.360	1.305	<0.001
Post-stratification weight (pspwght)	cult_z	37,581	26	1.074	0.020	0.985	0.661	1.300	<0.001
Left-right benchmark with FRE interaction	lrscale	36,288	26	0.935	<0.001	0.993	0.440	1.295	<0.001

Note. Entries are odds ratios from mixed-effects ordered logit models. The dependent variable is support for equal split paid parental leave (eqparlv_r). All specifications include the same baseline controls as the main model unless modified by the respective robustness check: support for redistribution (gincdif_r), age (agea), gender (gndr), education, and main activity (mnact6). The main model uses years of education (eduyrs) as the education control and the ESS analysis weight (anweight). Weighted models use robust standard errors adjusted for clustering at the country level. The interaction column reports the interaction between the key predictor and the respective FRE indicator. For most specifications, this is the interaction with the standardised FRE indicator (oecd_z); in the alternative FRE scaling model, it is the interaction with the original FRE value (oecd_val). Main effects in interaction models are conditional on the moderator being zero and are therefore not always directly comparable across specifications. The left-right benchmark uses lrscale instead of cult_z. p-values reported as <0.001 correspond to Stata output reported as 0.000.

Table A6 – Leave-One-Country-Out Analysis for the Interaction Model

Excluded country	N	OR cultural orientation	p cultural orientation	OR interaction	p interaction
Austria	35,682	1.051	0.279	1.077	0.030
Belgium	36,076	1.055	0.248	1.078	0.028
Bulgaria	35,706	1.053	0.251	1.083	0.015
Switzerland	36,361	1.051	0.261	1.089	0.008
Cyprus	36,998	1.056	0.231	1.077	0.028
Germany	35,344	1.099	0.030	1.054	0.219
Estonia	36,470	1.057	0.227	1.077	0.030
Spain	35,917	1.042	0.426	1.044	0.230
Finland	36,110	1.056	0.232	1.079	0.023
France	35,980	1.046	0.392	1.071	0.039
Great Britain	36,236	1.080	0.193	1.059	0.455
Greece	35,084	1.054	0.250	1.077	0.028
Croatia	36,248	1.056	0.233	1.077	0.028
Hungary	35,802	1.055	0.244	1.079	0.030
Ireland	35,839	1.055	0.237	1.078	0.029
Iceland	36,810	1.056	0.229	1.077	0.028
Italy	35,166	1.032	0.426	1.090	0.013
Lithuania	36,453	1.057	0.221	1.078	0.025
Latvia	36,663	1.055	0.236	1.077	0.028
Netherlands	36,043	1.061	0.205	1.083	0.013
Norway	36,309	1.061	0.191	1.085	0.009
Poland	36,478	1.046	0.336	1.076	0.027
Portugal	36,405	1.053	0.263	1.073	0.041
Sweden	36,431	1.055	0.249	1.078	0.025
Slovenia	36,518	1.056	0.229	1.078	0.027
Slovakia	36,396	1.061	0.174	1.087	0.013

Note. Entries are odds ratios from separate mixed-effects ordered logit models in which one country is excluded at a time. The dependent variable is support for equal split paid parental leave (eqparlv_r). Each model uses the same specification as the main interaction model: cultural orientation (cult_z), the standardised FRE context (oecd_z), their interaction, support for redistribution (gincdif_r), age (agea), gender (gnedr), years of education (eduysr), and main activity (mnact6), with a country-level random intercept and the ESS analysis weight (anweight). The interaction refers to $\text{cult_z} \times \text{oecd_z}$. The interaction coefficient remains positive in all 26 country-exclusion models and statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ in 23 out of 26 models.

Table A7 – Model Diagnostics

Panel A. Multilevel Structure		
Diagnostic	Estimate / result	Interpretation
Random-intercept variance, empty model	0.397	Indicates between-country variation in support for equal split
Intraclass correlation coefficient, empty model	0.108	Approximately 10.8% of residual variation is located at the country level on the latent-response scale
LR test vs. pooled ordered logit	$\chi^2(01) = 4168.83, p < 0.001$	Supports modelling country-level clustering through a random intercept
Number of countries	26	Allows estimation of a parsimonious random-intercept model, but macro-level and cross-level effects require cautious interpretation

Panel B. Multicollinearity Diagnostics		
Diagnostic	Estimate / result	Interpretation
Mean VIF	1.37	No indication of problematic multicollinearity
Highest VIF	2.72	Highest value observed for age; below conventional concern thresholds
VIF for cult_z	1.26	Low multicollinearity for main individual-level predictor
VIF for oecd_z	1.10	Low multicollinearity for macro-level FRE indicator
VIF for cult_z x oecd_z	1.13	Low multicollinearity for cross-level interaction term
VIF for gincdif_r	1.02	Low multicollinearity for redistributive benchmark

Table A7 (continued) – Model Diagnostics

Panel C. Ordinal Model Diagnostics		
Diagnostic	Estimate / result	Interpretation
Pooled Brant test, overall	$\chi^2(30) = 517.54, p < 0.001$	Indicates deviations from the proportional-odds / parallel-lines assumption in a pooled ordered logit approximation
Brant test for cult_z	$\chi^2(3) = 138.52, p < 0.001$	Suggests non-parallel effects for cultural orientation in the pooled approximation
Brant test for gincdif_r	$\chi^2(3) = 31.38, p < 0.001$	Suggests non-parallel effects for redistributive preferences in the pooled approximation
Generalized ordered logit sensitivity check	Partial proportional-odds model estimated	Allows selected effects to vary across thresholds
Final test of parallel-lines constraints in partial model	$\chi^2(21) = 29.44, p = 0.104$	Does not reject the constraints retained in the partial proportional-odds model
Substantive conclusion	—	Ordered logit results should be interpreted with awareness of proportional-odds sensitivity, but the substantive interpretation remains broadly consistent

Note. Panel A is based on the empty mixed-effects ordered logit model. Panel B reports VIF diagnostics from a linear approximation of the main interaction model using the same predictors. Panel C reports diagnostics from a pooled ordered logit approximation and a generalized ordered logit sensitivity check. The Brant test cannot be directly applied to the multilevel ordered logit model and is therefore used only as an approximation. The generalized ordered logit check is likewise a pooled sensitivity analysis and does not reproduce the full random-intercept structure of the main model. The final partial proportional-odds test is based on the gologit2 sensitivity specification. Together, the diagnostics support the use of a parsimonious mixed-effects ordered logit model while indicating that macro-level and cross-level effects, as well as the proportional-odds assumption, should be interpreted cautiously.

Table A8 – Linear Specification Sensitivity Models

	Pooled OLS	Linear random-intercept model
Cultural orientation, cult_z	0.005 -0.031	0.021 -0.026
FRE context, oecd_z	0.119 -0.097	0.008 -0.078
Cultural orientation × FRE context	0.044 -0.033	0.048* -0.021
Support for redistribution, gincdif_r	0.212*** -0.02	0.186*** -0.021
Age, agea	-0.006*** -0.001	-0.007*** -0.001
Female	0.167*** -0.023	0.165*** -0.023
Years of education, eduyrs	-0.018* -0.008	-0.016* -0.007
Main activity: education	0.08 -0.093	0.093 -0.108
Main activity: unemployed	0.17 -0.136	0.073 -0.134
Main activity: retired	0.092 -0.069	0.128* -0.062
Main activity: housework/care	0.084† -0.043	0.08 -0.067
Main activity: other inactive	0.241** -0.072	0.259*** -0.067
Constant	3.157*** -0.149	3.189*** -0.149
Observations	37,581	37,581
Countries	26	26
R-squared	0.053	
Root MSE	1.276	
Random-intercept variance		0.161
Residual variance		1.485

Note. Entries are unstandardised linear regression coefficients; robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. The dependent variable is support for equal split paid parental leave, treated as a continuous five-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly against to 5 = strongly in favour. The pooled OLS model uses standard errors clustered at the country level. The linear random-intercept model includes country-level random intercepts and robust standard errors. Both models use the same complete-case sample and the same substantive specification as the main interaction model. The reference categories are male for gender and paid work for main activity. Both models use the ESS analysis weight (anweight). These models are estimated as specification sensitivity checks and do not replace the ordered-logit models used as the main specification. † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A9 – Cultural Subdimension Sensitivity Models

Specification	Key predictor	N	Countries	OR key predictor	p key predictor	OR interaction	p interaction	OR redistribution	p redistribution
Migration-related openness	migr_z	37,581	26	1.134	<0.001	1.027	0.065	1.333	<0.001
LGBT-related cultural liberalism	lgbt_z	37,581	26	1.223	0.007	1.056	0.18	1.318	<0.001
Authority-related liberalism / anti-authoritarian values	authlib_z	37,581	26	0.836	<0.001	1.073	0.008	1.341	<0.001

Note. Entries are odds ratios from mixed-effects ordered logit models. The dependent variable is support for equal split paid parental leave (eqparlv_r). Each specification replaces the aggregated cultural orientation index with one standardised cultural subdimension while keeping the complete-case sample and the remaining model specification identical to the main interaction model. All subdimensions are coded so that higher values indicate a more culturally liberal, universalist, or anti-authoritarian orientation. The interaction column reports the interaction between the respective cultural subdimension and the standardised FRE indicator (oecd_z). All specifications include support for redistribution (gincdif_r), age (agea), gender (gndr), years of education (eduyrs), and main activity (mnact6) as controls, with a country-level random intercept and the ESS analysis weight (anweight). Robust standard errors adjusted for clustering at the country level are used but not reported in this compact table.

Appendix B

Table B1 – FRE-Indicator as Provided in the OECD Source

Table PF2.1.B. Summary of paid leave entitlements for fathers

Paid paternity leave and paid parental and home care leave (effectively) earmarked for fathers, in weeks, 2023

	Paid paternity leave			Paid parental and home care leave earmarked for fathers			Total paid leave earmarked for fathers		
	Length (weeks)	Average payment rate (%)	Full-rate equivalent (weeks)	Length (weeks)	Average payment rate (%)	Full-rate equivalent (weeks)	Length (weeks)	Average payment rate (%)	Full-rate equivalent (weeks)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)=(1)+(4)	(8)	(9)
Australia	2.0	42.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	42.4	0.8
Austria	4.3	25.8	1.1	8.7	74.8	6.5	13.0	58.5	7.6
Belgium	4.0	67.2	2.7	17.3	19.8	3.4	21.3	28.7	6.1
Canada	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	39.4	2.0	5.0	39.4	2.0
Chile	1.0	100.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	100.0	1.0
Colombia	2.8	100.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	100.0	2.8
Costa Rica	1.6	100.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	100.0	1.6
Czechia	2.0	60.9	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	60.9	1.2
Denmark	2.0	48.2	1.0	9.0	48.2	4.3	11.0	48.2	5.3
Estonia	4.3	100.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	100.0	4.3
Finland	3.0	81.9	2.5	13.2	61.2	8.1	16.2	65.0	10.5
France	5.0	100.0	5.0	26.0	14.3	3.7	31.0	28.1	8.7
Germany	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.7	65.3	5.7	8.7	65.3	5.7
Greece	2.8	100.0	2.8	8.7	40.4	3.5	11.5	55.0	6.3
Hungary	2.0	70.0	1.4	8.8	10.0	0.9	10.8	21.1	2.3
Iceland	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	68.9	13.8	20.0	68.9	13.8
Ireland	2.0	22.6	0.5	7.0	22.6	1.6	9.0	22.6	2.0
Israel	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italy	2.0	100.0	2.0	13.0	30.0	3.9	15.0	39.3	5.9

Table B1 (continued) – FRE-Indicator as Provided in the OECD Source

Japan	4.0	67.0	2.7	48.0	59.1	28.4	52.0	59.7	31.1
Korea	2.0	100.0	2.0	52.0	38.6	20.1	54.0	40.9	22.1
Latvia	2.0	80.0	1.6	8.7	60.0	5.2	10.7	63.8	6.8
Lithuania	4.0	77.6	3.1	8.7	77.6	6.7	12.7	77.6	9.8
Luxembourg	2.0	100.0	2.0	26.0	69.4	18.0	28.0	71.6	20.0
Mexico	1.0	100.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	100.0	1.0
Netherlands	6.0	79.7	4.8	9.0	70.0	6.3	15.0	73.9	11.1
New Zealand	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Norway	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	92.3	13.8	15.0	92.3	13.8
Poland	2.0	100.0	2.0	9.0	70.0	6.3	11.0	75.5	8.3
Portugal	5.0	100.0	5.0	17.3	43.6	7.5	22.3	56.3	12.5
Slovak Republic	2.0	75.0	1.5	26.0	75.0	19.5	28.0	75.0	21.0
Slovenia	2.1	100.0	2.1	8.6	100.0	8.6	10.7	100.0	10.7
Spain	16.0	100.0	16.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.0	100.0	16.0
Sweden	1.4	59.5	0.9	12.9	77.6	10.0	14.3	75.8	10.8
Switzerland	2.0	55.9	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	55.9	1.1
Turkiye	1.0	100.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	100.0	1.0
United Kingdom	2.0	19.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	19.1	0.4
United States	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
OECD average	2.5	-	-	10.2	-	-	12.7	-	-
Bulgaria	2.1	90.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	90.0	1.9
Croatia	2.0	100.0	2.0	8.7	67.6	5.9	10.7	73.7	7.9
Cyprus	2.0	72.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	72.0	1.4
Malta	2.0	100.0	2.0	8.0	50.0	4.0	10.0	60.0	6.0
Romania	2.0	100.0	2.0	8.7	85.0	7.4	10.7	87.8	9.4
EU average	3.2	-	-	10.1	-	-	13.3	-	-

Notes: Information refers to entitlements to paternity leave, 'father quotas' or periods of parental leave that can be used only by the father and cannot be transferred to the mother, and any weeks of shareable leave that must be taken by the father in order for the family to qualify for 'bonus' weeks of parental leave. The table refers to paid leave entitlements in place as of April 2023. Data reflect entitlements at the national or federal level only, and do not reflect regional variations or additional/alternative entitlements provided by states/provinces or local governments in some countries (e.g. Québec in Canada, or California in the United States). The 'average payment rate' refers to the proportion of previous earnings replaced by the benefit over the length of the paid leave entitlement for a person earning 100% of average national full-time earnings. If this covers more than one period of leave at two different payment rates then a weighted average is calculated based on the length of each period. In most countries benefits are calculated on the basis of gross earnings, with the 'payment rates' shown reflecting the proportion of gross earnings replaced by the benefit. In Austria, Chile, Germany, Lithuania and Romania (parental leave only), benefits are calculated based on previous net (post income tax and social security contribution) earnings, while in France benefits are calculated based on post-social-security-contribution earnings. Payment rates for these countries reflect the proportion of the appropriate net earnings replaced by the benefit. Additionally, in some countries maternity and parental benefits may be subject to taxation and may count towards the income base for social security contributions. As a result, the amounts actual amounts received by the individual on leave may differ from those shown in the table. See Tables PF2.1.C, PF2.1.D, PF2.1.E and PF2.1.F for details on benefit payment rules and conditions. Data on all earnings refer to 2023 and net earnings for Chile refer to 2016.

Note. Adapted from OECD Family Database, Table PF2.1.B, Summary of paid leave entitlements for fathers. The table reports paid father-specific leave entitlements as provided in the OECD source; countries included in the analytical sample of this study are highlighted in red (author's highlighting). The OECD publishes the most recent version of PF2.1 Parental leave systems on its website. Earlier versions of the dataset can be requested directly from the OECD via e-mail.

Table B2 – Stata-Do-File

```
1 *****
2 * Master's thesis
3 * Author: brn
4 * File: ESS11_brn_FINAL.do
5 * Purpose: Final replication do-file
6 *****
7
8 version 19.0
9 clear all
10 set more off
11 capture log close
12
13 *****
14 * 0. Setup
15 *****
16
17 cd "/Users/brn/Documents/ESS11e04_1"
18
19 log using "ESS11_brn_final.log", replace text name(
masterlog_ESS11)
20
21 global ess_raw "ESS11e04_1.dta"
22 global ess_work "ESS11_brn_final.dta"
23 global oecd_file "oecd_fatherfre.dta"
24
25 * This do-file is designed to be run from start to finish.
26 * The working directory above must contain the raw ESS file.
27 use "$ess_raw"
, clear
28
29
30 *****
31 * 1. Restrict dataset to final 26-country sample
32 *****
33
34 describe
35 count
36 tab centry
37
38 * Exclude countries not used in the final analysis
39 drop if inlist(centry, "IL", "ME", "RS", "UA")
40
41 count
42 tab centry
43
44
45 *****
46 * 2. Create and merge OECD macro-level data
47 *****
48
49 preserve
50
51 clear52 input str2 centry double oecd_val
53 "AT" 7.6
54 "BE" 6.1
55 "BG" 1.9
56 "CH" 1.1
57 "CY" 1.4
58 "DE" 5.7
59 "EE" 4.3
60 "ES" 16.0
61 "FI" 10.5
62 "FR" 8.7
63 "GB" 0.4
64 "GR" 6.3
65 "HR" 7.9
66 "HU" 2.3
67 "IE" 2.0
```

```

68 "IS" 13.8
69 "IT" 5.9
70 "LT" 9.8
71 "LV" 6.8
72 "NL" 11.1
73 "NO" 13.8
74 "PL" 8.3
75 "PT" 12.5
76 "SE" 10.8
77 "SI" 10.7
78 "SK" 21.0
79 end
80
81 label variable oecd_val "Paid non-transferable father-specific
leave, FRE"
82
83 egen oecd_z = std(oecd_val)
84 label variable oecd_z "Standardised father-specific leave FRE"
85
86 tempfile oecd
87 save `oecd'
88 save "$oecd_file"
89 , replace
90
91 restore
92
93 merge m:1 centry using `oecd'
94 tab _merge
95 count if _merge != 3
96 keep if _merge == 3
97 drop _merge
98
99 count
100 sum oecd_val oecd_z
101 tab centry
102
103 *****
104 * 3. Recode variables and construct controls
105 *****
106
107 * ----- *
108 * 3a. Dependent variable: support for equal split
109 * Original: 1 = strongly in favour ... 5 = strongly against
110 * Recoded: 1 = strongly against ... 5 = strongly in favour
111 * ----- *
112 recode eqparlv (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1), gen(eqparlv_r)
113 label variable eqparlv_r "Support for equal split paid leave,
reversed"
114
115 * ----- *
116 * 3b. Redistributive preference
117 * Original: 1 = agree strongly ... 5 = disagree strongly
118 * Recoded: 1 = disagree strongly ... 5 = agree strongly
119 * ----- *
120 recode gincdif (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1), gen(gincdif_r)
121 label variable gincdif_r "Support for income redistribution,
reversed"
122
123 * ----- *
124 * 3c. LGBT-related items
125 * Original: 1 = agree strongly ... 5 = disagree strongly
126 * Recoded: 1 = disagree strongly ... 5 = agree strongly
127 * ----- *
128 recode freehms (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1), gen(freehms_r)
129 label variable freehms_r "Gays and lesbians free to live life as
they wish, reversed"
130
131 recode hmsacld (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1), gen(hmsacld_r)
132 label variable hmsacld_r "Gay and lesbian couples right to adopt
children, reversed"

```

```

133
134 * ----- *
135 * 3d. Authority-related items
136 * Original: 1 = agree strongly ... 5 = disagree strongly
137 * Direction for index: higher values = weaker authority-oriented
138 * attitudes.
139 * No reversal is needed because higher original values already
140 * indicate
141 * ----- *
142 gen lrnobed_lib = lrnobed
143 label variable lrnobed_lib "Disagreement with obedience/respect
144 for authority as key child virtues"
145
146 gen loylead_lib = loylead
147 label variable loylead_lib "Disagreement with need for loyalty
148 towards leaders"
149 * ----- *
150
151 gen mnact6 = .
152
153 replace mnact6 = 1 if mnactic == 1
154 replace mnact6 = 2 if mnactic == 2
155 replace mnact6 = 3 if inlist(mnactic, 3, 4)
156 replace mnact6 = 4 if mnactic == 6
157 replace mnact6 = 5 if mnactic == 8
158 replace mnact6 = 6 if inlist(mnactic, 5, 7, 9)
159
160 label define mnact6_lbl ///
161 1 "Paid work" ///
162 2 "Education" ///
163 3 "Unemployed" ///
164 4 "Retired" ///
165 5 "Housework/care" ///
166 6 "Other inactive", replace
167
168 label values mnact6 mnact6_lbl
169 label variable mnact6 "Main activity, six-category recode"
170 * ----- *
171
172 * 3f. Education, five-category ES-ISCED recode
173 * Used in robustness models
174 * ----- *
175
176 gen eisced5 = .
177
178 replace eisced5 = 1 if inlist(eisced, 1, 2)
179 replace eisced5 = 2 if inlist(eisced, 3, 4)
180 replace eisced5 = 3 if eisced == 5
181 replace eisced5 = 4 if eisced == 6
182 replace eisced5 = 5 if eisced == 7
183
184 label define eisced5_lbl ///
185 1 "Low education" ///
186 2 "Upper secondary education" ///
187 3 "Advanced vocational / post-secondary" ///
188 4 "Lower tertiary education" ///
189 5 "Higher tertiary education", replace
190
191 label values eisced5 eisced5_lbl
192 label variable eisced5 "Education, five-category recode from
193 ES-ISCED"
194
195 * ----- *
196
197 * 3g. Co-resident child proxies
198 * Relationship code 2 = son/daughter/step/adopted/foster.
199 * ESS11 was fielded in 2023-2024. Since exact interview year
200 * is not used here, child age is approximated through birth-year
201 * thresholds rather than exact ages.

```

```

197 * ----- *198 gen child_hh_any
= 0
199 gen child_hh_young = 0
200 gen child_hh_2012 = 0
201
202 forvalues i = 2/13 {
203 replace child_hh_any = 1 if rshipa`i' == 2
204
205 replace child_hh_young = 1 if rshipa`i' == 2 ///
206 & !missing(yrbrn`i') ///
207 & yrbrn`i' >= 2018
208
209 replace child_hh_2012 = 1 if rshipa`i' == 2 ///
210 & !missing(yrbrn`i') ///
211 & yrbrn`i' >= 2012
212 }
213
214 label variable child_hh_any "Co-resident child in household"
215 label variable child_hh_young "Co-resident young child in
household, born 2018 or later"
216 label variable child_hh_2012 "Co-resident child in household, born
2012 or later"
217
218
219 *****
220 * 4. Construct cultural orientation indices
221 *****
222
223 * ----- *
224 * 4a. Main cultural orientation index
225 * Subdimensions require complete information on both items.
226 * Final index requires complete information on all three
subdimensions.
227 * ----- *
228 egen migr_mean = rowmean(imbgeco imwbcnt) if !missing(imbgeco,
imwbcnt)
229 egen lgbt_mean = rowmean(freehms_r hmsacld_r) if !missing(
freehms_r, hmsacld_r)
230 egen authlib_mean = rowmean(lrnobed_lib loylead_lib) if !missing(
lrnobed_lib, loylead_lib)
231
232 label variable migr_mean "Migration-related openness mean"
233 label variable lgbt_mean "LGBT-related cultural liberalism mean"
234 label variable authlib_mean "Authority-related liberalism mean"
235
236 egen migr_z = std(migr_mean)
237 egen lgbt_z = std(lgbt_mean)
238 egen authlib_z = std(authlib_mean)
239
240 label variable migr_z "Standardised migration-related openness"
241 label variable lgbt_z "Standardised LGBT-related cultural
liberalism"
242 label variable authlib_z "Standardised authority-related
liberalism"
243
244 egen cult_raw = rowmean(migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z) if !missing(migr_z
, lgbt_z, authlib_z)
245 egen cult_z = std(cult_raw)
246
247 label variable cult_raw "Cultural orientation index, raw"
248 label variable cult_z "Cultural orientation index, standardised"
249
250 sum migr_mean lgbt_mean authlib_mean
251 sum migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z cult_raw cult_z
252
253 * ----- *
254 * 4b. Alternative index: migration and LGBT only
255 * Used in robustness models
256 * ----- *

```

```

257 egen cult_ml_raw = rowmean(migr_z lgbt_z) if !missing(migr_z,
lgbt_z)
258 egen cult_ml_z = std(cult_ml_raw)
259
260 label variable cult_ml_raw "Alternative culture index: migration
and LGBT only, raw"
261 label variable cult_ml_z "Alternative culture index: migration and
LGBT only, standardised"
262
263 * ----- *
264 * 4c. Relaxed index: at least two subdimensions observed
265 * Used in robustness models
266 * ----- *
267 egen n_cult_subdims = rownonmiss(migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z)
268 egen cult_relaxed_raw = rowmean(migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z) if
n_cult_subdims >= 2
269 egen cult_relaxed_z = std(cult_relaxed_raw)
270
271 label variable n_cult_subdims "Number of observed cultural
subdimensions"
272 label variable cult_relaxed_raw "Relaxed cultural orientation
index, raw"
273 label variable cult_relaxed_z "Relaxed cultural orientation index,
standardised"
274
275 save "$sess_work"
, replace
276
277
278 *****
279 * 5. Data checks, missingness, and index diagnostics
280 *****
281
282 use "$sess_work"
, clear
283
284 * ----- *285 * 5a. Direction
and distribution checks
286 * ----- *
287 tab eqparlv eqparlv_r, missing
288 tab gincdif gincdif_r, missing
289 tab freehms freehms_r, missing
290 tab hmsacld hmsacld_r, missing
291 tab lrnobed lrnobed_lib, missing
292 tab loylead loylead_lib, missing
293
294 summarize eqparlv_r gincdif_r freehms_r hmsacld_r lrnobed_lib
loylead_lib
295 sum imbgeco imwbcnt migr_mean migr_z
296 sum freehms_r hmsacld_r lgbt_mean lgbt_z
297 sum lrnobed_lib loylead_lib authlib_mean authlib_z
298 sum cult_raw cult_z cult_ml_z cult_relaxed_z
299 sum oecd_val oecd_z
300
301 pwcorr migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z cult_z gincdif_r, sig obs
302 pwcorr cult_z cult_ml_z cult_relaxed_z migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z, sig
obs
303
304 tab lrscale, missing
305 tab gndr, missing
306 tab mnact6, missing
307 tab eisced5, missing
308 tab child_hh_any, missing
309 tab child_hh_young, missing
310 tab child_hh_2012, missing
311
312 * ----- *
313 * 5b. Missingness diagnostics
314 * ----- *
315 count

```

```

316
317 count if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduysr,
mnact6, oecd_z)
318
319 misstable summarize eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r agea gndr eduysr
mnact6 oecd_z
320 misstable summarize imbgeco imwbcnt freehms_r hmsacld_r lrnobed_lib
loylead_lib
321 misstable summarize migr_mean lgbt_mean authlib_mean cult_z
322
323 count if !missing(imbgeco, imwbcnt)
324 count if !missing(freehms_r, hmsacld_r)
325 count if !missing(lrnobed_lib, loylead_lib)
326 count if !missing(imbgeco, imwbcnt, freehms_r, hmsacld_r,
lrnobed_lib, loylead_lib)
327 count if !missing(migr_z, lgbt_z, authlib_z)
328
329 tab n_cult_subdims, missing
330331 preserve
332 gen main_cc = !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr,
eduysr, mnact6, oecd_z)
333 collapse (count) N_total=main_cc (sum) N_main_cc=main_cc, by(cntry)
334 gen missing_main = N_total - N_main_cc
335 gen pct_missing_main = 100 * missing_main / N_total
336 format pct_missing_main %9.2f
337 list cntry N_total N_main_cc missing_main pct_missing_main, sep(0)
338 restore
339
340 * ----- *
341 * 5c. Reliability and dimensionality checks
342 * ----- *
343 alpha imbgeco imwbcnt
344 alpha freehms_r hmsacld_r
345 alpha lrnobed_lib loylead_lib
346
347 pca migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z if !missing(migr_z, lgbt_z, authlib_z)
348 factor migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z if !missing(migr_z, lgbt_z,
authlib_z), factors(1)
349
350 pca imbgeco imwbcnt freehms_r hmsacld_r lrnobed_lib loylead_lib ///
351 if !missing(imbgeco, imwbcnt, freehms_r, hmsacld_r, lrnobed_lib
, loylead_lib)
352
353 factor imbgeco imwbcnt freehms_r hmsacld_r lrnobed_lib loylead_lib
///
354 if !missing(imbgeco, imwbcnt, freehms_r, hmsacld_r, lrnobed_lib
, loylead_lib), factors(1)
355
356
357 *****
358 * 6. Descriptive statistics and country-level figure
359 *****
360
361 use "$sess_work"
, clear
362
363 * ----- *
364 * 6a. Unweighted and weighted descriptives
365 * ----- *
366 tab eqparlv_r, missing
367 tab eqparlv_r [aw=anweight], missing
368
369 sum eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r oecd_z agea eduysr
370 mean eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r agea eduysr [aw=anweight]
371
372 tab gndr, missing
373 tab gndr [aw=anweight], missing
374
375 tab mnact6, missing
376 tab mnact6 [aw=anweight], missing376 tab mnact6 [aw=anweight], missing
377

```

```

378 tab gincdif_r, missing
379 tab gincdif_r [aw=anweight], missing
380
381 tabstat eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r oecd_z agea eduysr ///
382 [aw=anweight], ///
383 statistics(n mean sd min max) ///
384 columns(statistics)
385
386 * ----- *
387 * 6b. Weighted country-level means and country figure
388 * ----- *
389
390 use "$ess_work"
391 , clear
392
392 * Keep valid dependent variable observations and valid analysis
weight
393 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, anweight)
394
395 * Save unweighted valid N by country
396 preserve
397 collapse (count) N_valid_dv = eqparlv_r, by(cntry)
398 tempfile country_N
399 save `country_N'
400 restore
401
402 * Compute weighted country-level mean support
403 collapse (mean) mean_eqparlv = eqparlv_r [aw=anweight], by(cntry)
404
405 * Merge valid N and OECD indicator
406 merge 1:1 cntry using `country_N'
407 drop _merge
408
409 merge 1:1 cntry using "$oecd_file"
410 drop if _merge != 3
411 drop _merge
412
413 sort mean_eqparlv
414 list cntry mean_eqparlv oecd_val N_valid_dv, sep(0)
415
416 preserve
417
418 sort mean_eqparlv
419 gen country_order = _n
420
421 twoway ///
422 (scatter country_order mean_eqparlv, ///
423 msymbol(circle) msize(medsmall)), ///
424 yscale(reverse) ///
425 ylabel(1 "AT" 2 "SE" 3 "NO" 4 "DE" 5 "LV" 6 "SI" 7 "EE" 8 "NL"
///426 9 "CH" 10 "FI" 11 "HU" 12 "BG" 13 "LT" 14 "GB" 15 "PL"
///
427 16 "SK" 17 "FR" 18 "IS" 19 "HR" 20 "BE" 21 "IE" 22 "GR"
///
428 23 "IT" 24 "ES" 25 "PT" 26 "CY", labsize(vsmall) angle(
horizontal)) ///
429 xtitle("Mean support for equal split", size(medsmall)) ///
430 xlabel(2.50(0.25)4.25, labsize(small) format(%4.2f)) ///
431 xscale(range(2.50 4.30)) ///
432 ytitle("") ///
433 title("") ///
434 graphregion(color(white) margin(l+4 r+4 t+2 b+2)) ///
435 plotregion(color(white) margin(zero)) ///
436 bgcolor(white) ///
437 name(fig_country_support, replace)
438
439 graph export "Figure_country_support.png", replace width(2800)
height(1800)
440
441 restore
442

```

```

443
444 *****
445 * 7. Main models
446 *****
447
448 use "$sess_work"
449 , clear
450 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduyrs,
mnact6, oecd_z)
451 count
452
453 * M0: Empty model
454 meologit eqparlv_r || cntry:, or
455 estat icc
456
457 * M1: Micro-level model
458 meologit eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduyrs i.mnact6
///
459 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:, or
460
461 * M2: Macro-context model
462 meologit eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r oecd_z agea i.gndr c.eduyrs i.
mnact6 ///
463 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:, or
464
465 * M3: Cross-level interaction model
466 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
467 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:, or
468
469 *****
470 *****
471 * 8. Predicted probabilities and effect-size benchmarks
472 *****
473
474 use "$sess_work"
475 , clear
476 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduyrs,
mnact6, oecd_z)
477
478 * Re-estimate M3 without odds-ratio display for margins
479 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
480 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:
481
482 * ----- *
483 * 8a. Interaction: cultural orientation by FRE context
484 * ----- *
485 margins, at(cult_z=(-2 -1 0 1 2) oecd_z=(-1 0 1)) predict(outcome(1
))
486 margins, at(cult_z=(-2 -1 0 1 2) oecd_z=(-1 0 1)) predict(outcome(5
))
487
488 marginsplot, ///
489 xdimension(cult_z) ///
490 title("") ///
491 ytitle("Predicted probability of strong support", size(medsmall
)) ///
492 xtitle("Cultural orientation (standardised)", size(medsmall))
///
493 xlabel(-2(1)2, labsize(medsmall)) ///
494 ylabel(0.20(0.05)0.45, angle(horizontal) labsize(medsmall)
format(%3.2f)) ///
495 legend(order(1 "Low FRE context" 2 "Average FRE context" 3
"High FRE context")) ///
496 rows(1) size(small) position(6) ring(1) region(fcolor(
white) lcolor(none)) ///
497 plot1opts(lwidth(medthin) msymbol(circle) msize(medsmall)) ///
498 plot2opts(lwidth(medthin) msymbol(circle) msize(medsmall)) ///

```

```

499 plot3opts(lwidth(medthin) msymbol(circle) msize(medsmall)) ///
500 ci1opts(lwidth(thin)) ///
501 ci2opts(lwidth(thin)) ///
502 ci3opts(lwidth(thin)) ///
503 graphregion(color(white)) ///
504 plotregion(color(white)) ///
505 bgcolor(white) ///
506 name(fig_interaction_pp, replace)
507
508 graph export "Figure_interaction_pp.png", replace width(2800)
height(1800)
509
510
511 * ----- *512 * 8b.
Redistributive preferences benchmark
513 * ----- *
514 margins, at(gincdif_r=(1 2 3 4 5) cult_z=(0) oecd_z=(0)) predict(
outcome(5))
515
516 marginsplot, ///
517 xdimension(gincdif_r) ///
518 title("") ///
519 ytitle("Predicted probability of strong support", size(medsmall
)) ///
520 xtitle("Support for redistribution", size(medsmall)) ///
521 xlabel(1 "Strongly disagree" 2 "Disagree" 3 "Neither" 4 "Agree"
5 "Strongly agree", ///
522 angle(30) labsize(small)) ///
523 ylabel(0.10(0.10)0.40, angle(horizontal) labsize(medsmall)
format(%3.2f)) ///
524 plot1opts(lwidth(medthin) msymbol(circle) msize(medsmall)) ///
525 ci1opts(lwidth(thin)) ///
526 graphregion(color(white)) ///
527 plotregion(color(white)) ///
528 bgcolor(white) ///
529 name(fig_redistribution_pp, replace)
530
531 graph export "Figure_redistribution_pp.png", replace width(2800)
height(1800)
532
533
534 * ----- *
535 * 8c. Left-right self-placement benchmark
536 * ----- *
537 use "$ess_work"
, clear
538
539 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, lrscale, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduysr,
mnact6, oecd_z)
540
541 meologit eqparlv_r c.lrscale gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduysr i.
mnact6 ///
542 [pweight=anweight] || centry:, or
543
544 margins, at(lrscale=(0 2.5 5 7.5 10)) predict(outcome(5))
545
546
547 *****
548 * 9. Model diagnostics
549 *****
550
551 use "$ess_work"
, clear
552
553 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduysr,
mnact6, oecd_z)
554 count
555556 * ----- *
557 * 9a. Proportional-odds assumption
558 * Unweighted approximation via pooled ordered logit

```

```

559 * ----- *
560 ologit eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduyrs i.mnact6
561 capture which brant
562 if _rc {
563 display "brant command not found. Install manually if this
diagnostic is required."
564 }
565 else {
566 brant, detail
567 }
568
569 * ----- *
570 * 9b. Generalized ordered logit sensitivity check
571 * ----- *
572 capture which gologit2
573 if _rc {
574 display "gologit2 command not found. Attempting to install
from SSC."
575 capture ssc install gologit2
576 }
577
578 capture which gologit2
579 if !_rc {
580 gologit2 eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduyrs i.
mnact6 ///
581 [pweight=anweight], autofit
582 }
583 else {
584 display "gologit2 command still not found. Generalized ordered
logit sensitivity check skipped."
585 }
586
587 ologit eqparlv_r cult_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
588 [pweight=anweight]
589
590 * ----- *
591 * 9c. Multicollinearity check
592 * Linear approximation using same predictors as M3
593 * ----- *
594 reg eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduyrs i.
mnact6 ///
595 [pweight=anweight]
596
597 vif
598
599
600 *****
601 * 10. Robustness checks
602 *****602
603 *****
604 * ----- *
605 * 10a. Alternative ideology specification: lrscale
606 * ----- *
607 use "$ess_work"
, clear
608
609 tab lrscale, missing
610 sum lrscale
611
612 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, lrscale, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduyrs,
mnact6, oecd_z)
613 count
614
615 meologit eqparlv_r c.lrscale gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduyrs i.
mnact6 ///
616 [pweight=anweight] || cnty:, or
617
618 meologit eqparlv_r c.lrscale##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///

```

```

619 [pweight=anweight] || centry:, or
620
621 margins, at(lrscale=(0 2.5 5 7.5 10)) predict(outcome(5))
622
623 * ----- *
624 * 10b. Collapsed ES-ISCED categories instead of education years
625 * ----- *
626 use "$ess_work"
627 , clear
628 tab eisced, missing
629 tab eisced5, missing
630 tab eisced eisced5, missing
631
632 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eisced5,
mnact6, oecd_z)
633 count
634
635 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr i.
eisced5 i.mnact6 ///
636 [pweight=anweight] || centry:, or
637
638 * ----- *
639 * 10c. Raw OECD FRE indicator instead of standardised oecd_z
640 * ----- *
641 use "$ess_work"
642 , clear
643 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduysr,
mnact6, oecd_val)
644 count
645 sum oecd_val
646 list centry oecd_val if !missing(oecd_val), sep(0)
647 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_val gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduysr i.mnact6 ///
648 [pweight=anweight] || centry:, or
649
650
651 * ----- *
652 * 10d. Co-resident child proxies
653 * ----- *
654 use "$ess_work"
655 , clear
656 tab child_hh_young, missing
657 tab child_hh_2012, missing
658
659 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduysr,
mnact6, oecd_z, child_hh_young)
660 count
661
662 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r child_hh_young ///
663 agea i.gndr c.eduysr i.mnact6 ///
664 [pweight=anweight] || centry:, or
665
666 use "$ess_work"
667 , clear
668 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduysr,
mnact6, oecd_z, child_hh_2012)
669 count
670
671 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r child_hh_2012 ///
672 agea i.gndr c.eduysr i.mnact6 ///
673 [pweight=anweight] || centry:, or
674
675 * ----- *
676 * 10e. Weighting sensitivity: unweighted and pspwght
677 * ----- *
678 use "$ess_work"
679 , clear

```

```

680 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduyrs,
mnact6, oecd_z)
681 count
682
683 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
684 || centry:, or
685
686 capture confirm variable pspwght
687 local has_pspwght = (_rc == 0)
688
689 if `has_pspwght' {
690 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
691 [pweight=pspwght] || centry:, or
692 }
693 else {694 display "Variable pspwght not found. Post-stratification
weight robustness not estimated."
695 }
696
697 * ----- *
698 * 10f. Alternative culture index: migration and LGBT only
699 * ----- *
700 use "$sess_work"
, clear
701
702 sum cult_z cult_ml_z
703 pwcorr cult_z cult_ml_z migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z, sig obs
704
705 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_ml_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr,
eduyrs, mnact6, oecd_z)
706 count
707
708 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_ml_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
709 [pweight=anweight] || centry:, or
710
711 * ----- *
712 * 10g. Relaxed culture index: at least two subdimensions
713 * ----- *
714 use "$sess_work"
, clear
715
716 tab n_cult_subdims, missing
717 sum cult_z cult_relaxed_z
718 pwcorr cult_z cult_relaxed_z migr_z lgbt_z authlib_z, sig obs
719
720 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_relaxed_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr,
eduyrs, mnact6, oecd_z)
721 count
722
723 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_relaxed_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr
c.eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
724 [pweight=anweight] || centry:, or
725
726 * ----- *
727 * 10h. Leave-one-country-out analysis for interaction model
728 * ----- *
729 use "$sess_work"
, clear
730
731 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduyrs,
mnact6, oecd_z)
732 count
733
734 tempname memhold
735
736 postfile `memhold' str2 excluded_country ///
737 double N ///
738 double b_cult se_cult p_cult or_cult ///
739 double b_interaction se_interaction p_interactionor_interaction ///

```

```

740 using loo_results_m3.dta, replace
741
742 levelsof centry, local(countries)
743
744 foreach c of local countries {
745
746     preserve
747
748     drop if centry == "`c'"
749
750     quietly meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.
751     gndr c.eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
752     [pweight=anweight] || centry:
753     local N = e(N)
754
755     local b1 = _b[cult_z]
756     local se1 = _se[cult_z]
757     local z1 = `b1' / `se1'
758     local p1 = 2 * normal(-abs(`z1'))
759     local or1 = exp(`b1')
760
761     local b2 = _b[c.cult_z#c.oecd_z]
762     local se2 = _se[c.cult_z#c.oecd_z]
763     local z2 = `b2' / `se2'
764     local p2 = 2 * normal(-abs(`z2'))
765     local or2 = exp(`b2')
766
767     post `memhold' ("`c'") ///
768     (`N') ///
769     (`b1') (`se1') (`p1') (`or1') ///
770     (`b2') (`se2') (`p2') (`or2')
771
772     restore
773 }
774
775 postclose `memhold'
776
777 use "loo_results_m3.dta", clear
778
779 label variable excluded_country "Excluded country"
780 label variable N "Number of observations"
781
782 label variable b_cult "Coefficient: cult_z"
783 label variable se_cult "SE: cult_z"
784 label variable p_cult "p-value: cult_z"
785 label variable or_cult "Odds ratio: cult_z"
786
787 label variable b_interaction "Coefficient: cult_z x oecd_z"
788 label variable se_interaction "SE: cult_z x oecd_z"
789 label variable p_interaction "p-value: cult_z x oecd_z"
790 label variable or_interaction "Odds ratio: cult_z x oecd_z"
791
792 format b_cult se_cult b_interaction se_interaction %9.3f
793 format p_cult p_interaction %9.3f
794 format or_cult or_interaction %9.3f
795
796 sort excluded_country
797
798 list excluded_country N b_cult se_cult p_cult or_cult ///
799 b_interaction se_interaction p_interaction or_interaction, sep
800 (0)
801
802 sum b_cult p_cult or_cult b_interaction p_interaction
803 or_interaction
804
805 count if p_interaction < 0.05
806 count if p_interaction < 0.10
807 count if b_interaction > 0
808
809 count if p_cult < 0.05
810 count if b_cult > 0

```

```

809
810 save "loo_results_m3.dta", replace
811
812 * ----- *
813 * Additional sensitivity check:
814 * Excluding countries whose single exclusion weakened
815 * the interaction significance in the leave-one-country-out
analysis
816 * ----- *
817
818 use "$ess_work"
, clear
819
820 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduysr,
mnact6, oecd_z)
821
822 * Exclude Germany, Spain, and Great Britain
823 drop if inlist(cntry, "DE", "ES", "GB")
824
825 count
826 tab cntry
827
828 meologit eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduysr i.mnact6 ///
829 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:, or
830
831 margins, at(cult_z=(-2 -1 0 1 2) oecd_z=(-1 0 1)) predict(outcome(5
))
832
833
834 *****
835 * 10i. Linear model specification sensitivity836 * Treating the 5-point
dependent variable as continuous
837 *****
838
839 use "$ess_work"
, clear
840
841 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduysr,
mnact6, oecd_z)
842
843 count
844
845 * ----- *
846 * 10i.1 Pooled OLS with country-clustered standard errors
847 * Same substantive specification as M3
848 * ----- *
849
850 reg eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduysr i.
mnact6 ///
851 [pweight=anweight], vce(cluster cntry)
852
853 estimates store ols_cluster_m3
854
855 * Predicted mean support by cultural orientation and FRE context
856 margins, at(cult_z=(-2 -1 0 1 2) oecd_z=(-1 0 1))
857
858 * Marginal association of cultural orientation at low, average,
and high FRE
859 margins, dydx(cult_z) at(oecd_z=(-1 0 1))
860
861
862 * ----- *
863 * 10i.2 Linear random-intercept model
864 * Same substantive specification as M3
865 * ----- *
866
867 mixed eqparlv_r c.cult_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.eduysr i
.mnact6 ///
868 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:, mle vce(robust)
869
870 estimates store mixed_linear_m3

```

```

871
872 * Predicted mean support by cultural orientation and FRE context
873 margins, at(cult_z=(-2 -1 0 1 2) oecd_z=(-1 0 1))
874
875 * Marginal association of cultural orientation at low, average,
and high FRE
876 margins, dydx(cult_z) at(oecd_z=(-1 0 1))
877
878
879 *****
880 * 10j. Cultural subdimension sensitivity models
881 * Individual subdimensions instead of aggregated index
882 *****883
884 use "$sess_work"
, clear
885
886 * Keep the same complete-case sample as the main interaction model
887 keep if !missing(eqparlv_r, cult_z, migr_z, lgbt_z, authlib_z, ///
888 gincdif_r, agea, gndr, eduyrs, mnact6, oecd_z)
889
890 count
891
892 * ----- *
893 * 10j.1 Migration-related openness
894 * ----- *
895
896 meologit eqparlv_r c.migr_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
897 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:, vce(robust)
898
899 estimates store sub_migr
900
901 * ----- *
902 * 10j.2 LGBT-related cultural liberalism
903 * ----- *
904
905 meologit eqparlv_r c.lgbt_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
906 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:, vce(robust)
907
908 estimates store sub_lgbt
909
910 * ----- *
911 * 10j.3 Anti-authoritarian values
912 * ----- *
913
914 meologit eqparlv_r c.authlib_z##c.oecd_z gincdif_r agea i.gndr c.
eduyrs i.mnact6 ///
915 [pweight=anweight] || cntry:, vce(robust)
916
917 estimates store sub_authlib
918
919
920 *****
921 * 11. End of do-file
922 *****
923
924 use "$sess_work"
, clear
925 save "$sess_work"
, replace
926
927 capture log close

```

Note. The corresponding Stata log file is available as a separate attachment.