

Societal Attitudes Toward Women's Reproductive Autonomy: Findings from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study

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The
New Zealand
Attitudes and
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Overview

- **Background**
- **Part I:** Sexism in New Zealand
- **Part II:** Attitudes toward Abortion
- **Part III:** Attitudes toward Breastfeeding in Public
- **Conclusions**

Background: Women's rights in New Zealand

- 2017: **16th** out of 189 nations in the Gender Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2018)
- 2018: **7th** out of 149 nations in the Global Gender Gap Index (World Economic Forum, 2018)

Background: Reproductive autonomy

- **Abortion**

- Abortion is illegal except under certain circumstances (Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act 1977)
- Potential shift toward legislative change to treat abortion as a health issue (New Zealand Law Commission, 2018)

Background: Reproductive autonomy

- **Breastfeeding**

- Breastfeeding (or expressing) at work is protected by the Employment Relations Act 2000
- Breastfeeding in general and in public is protected by the Human Rights Act 1993

Background: NZAVS

- **The New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS)** – 20 year longitudinal panel sample of New Zealand adults.
- Started in 2009.
- Postal questionnaire
 - (with an online version available for completion)
- $N \approx 50,000$.
- Aims: New Zealand focussed questions about values, attitudes, health etc.
 - Longitudinal change.

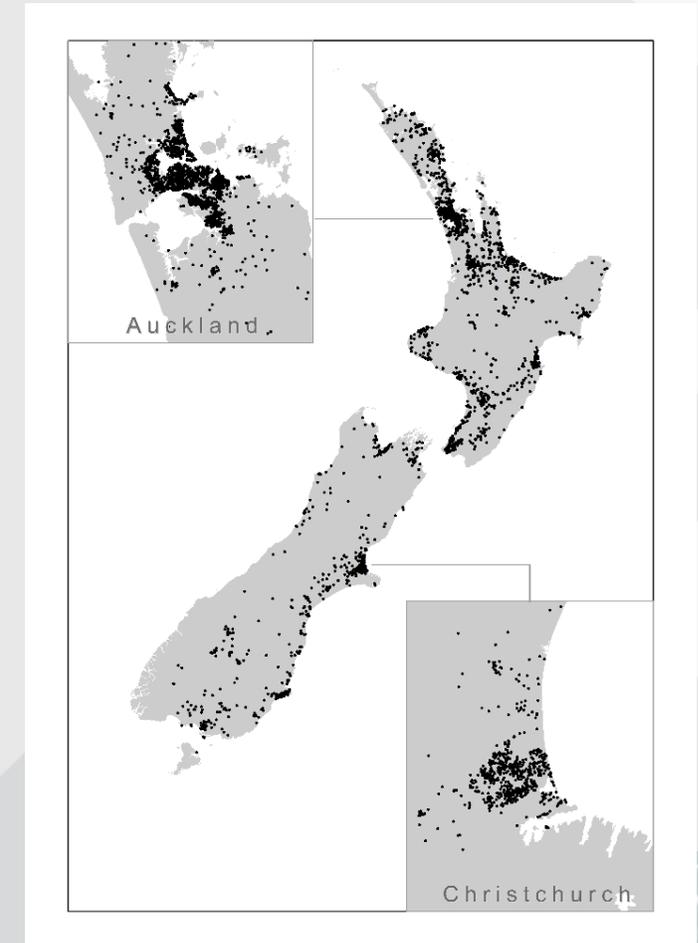


Figure 1. Meshblock clustering of NZAVS participants (Milfont et al., 2014).

Part I: Sexism in New Zealand

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Part I: Sexism in New Zealand

- **Ambivalent Sexism Theory** (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001)
 - **Hostile Sexism** (HS): an outward antipathy, reflective of traditional notions of prejudice
 - Example item: "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men."
 - **Benevolent Sexism** (BS): a subjectively positive but patronising view of women as "wonderful but weak"
 - Example item: "Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility."

Study 1: How egalitarian is New Zealand?

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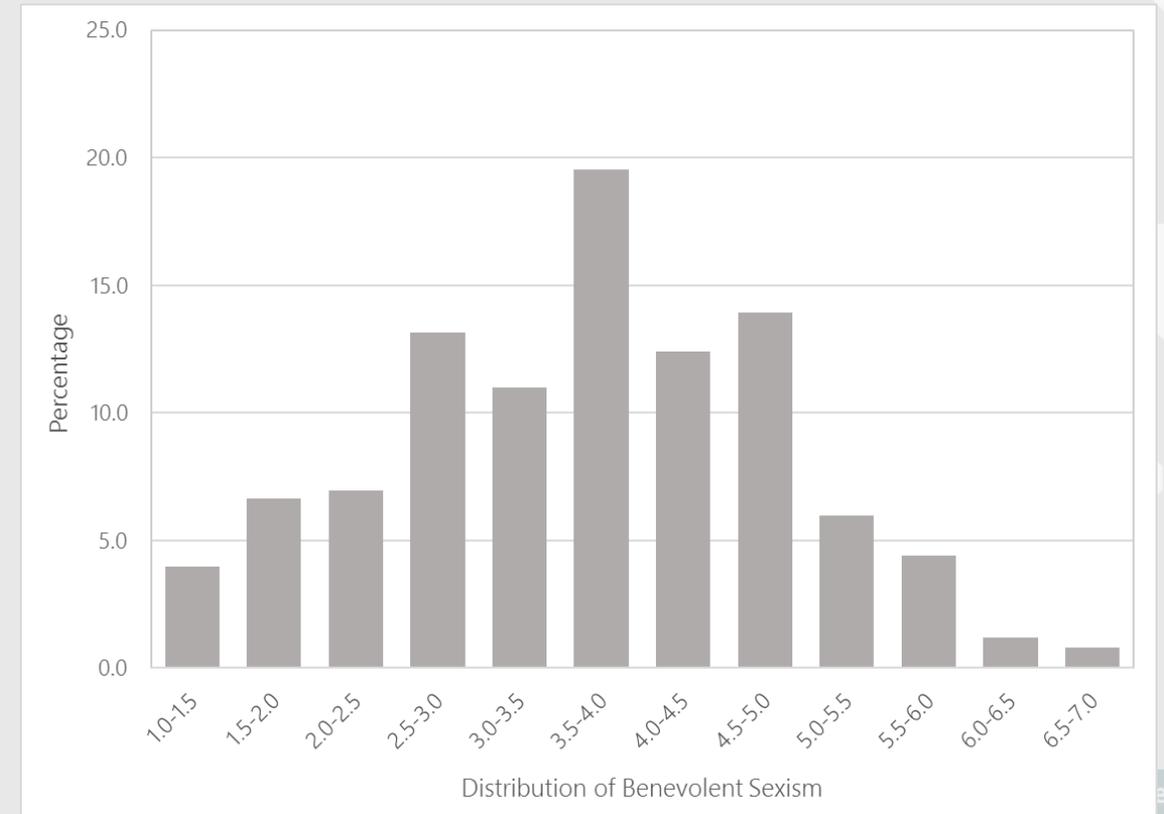
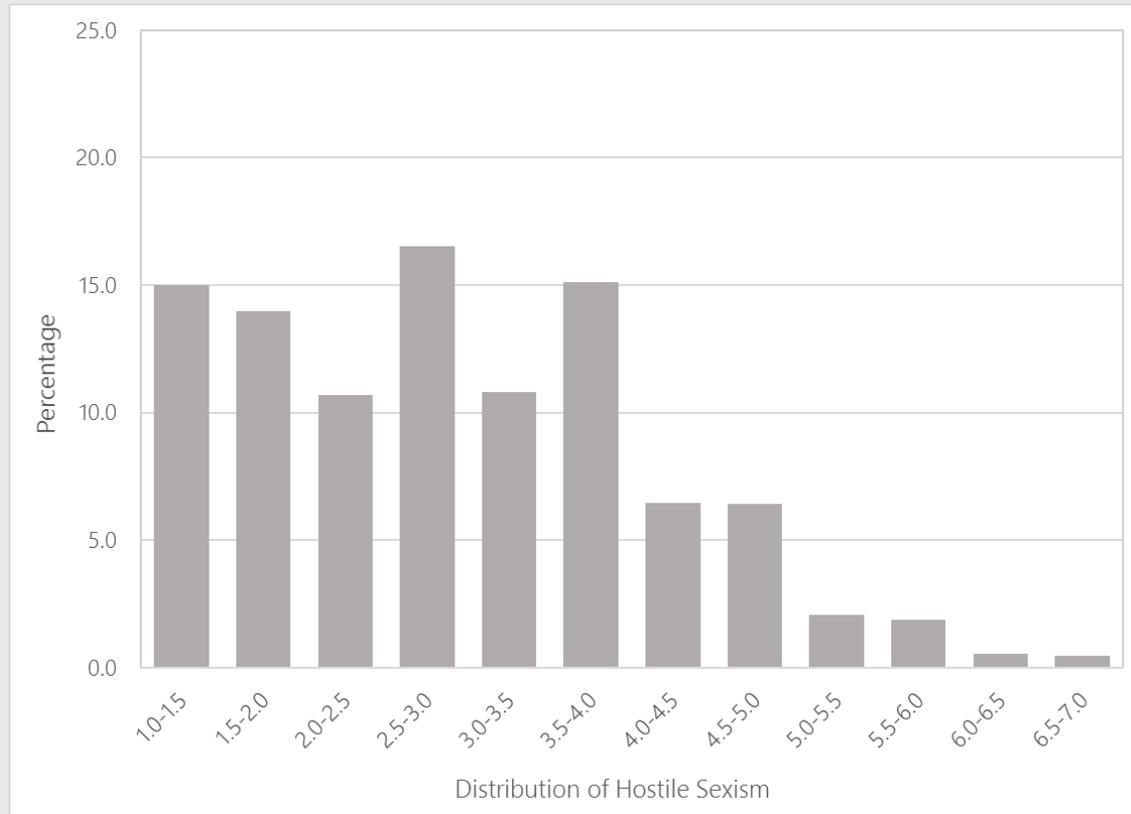
NZAVS

Part I: Sexism in New Zealand

- **Time 8** (2016/17) of the NZAVS ($N = 21,924$)
- **Ambivalent sexism** (Glick & Fiske, 1996)
 - **Hostile Sexism** ($\alpha = .840$)
 - **Benevolent Sexism** ($\alpha = .745$)
- **Demographic correlates**
 - Gender, age, ethnicity, household income, area-level deprivation, education, socioeconomic status, employment status, relationship status, parental status, religious affiliation, population density
- **Personality factors** (Big-Six or HEXACO; Ashton & Lee, 2007; Lee & Ashton, 2004; Sibley et al., 2011)
 - **Extraversion:** "Am the life of the party" ($\alpha = .754$)
 - **Agreeableness:** "Sympathise with others' feelings" ($\alpha = .711$)
 - **Conscientiousness:** "Often forget to put things back in their proper place" (reverse-scored; $\alpha = .679$)
 - **Neuroticism:** "Have frequent mood swings" ($\alpha = .722$)
 - **Openness to experience:** "Have a vivid imagination" ($\alpha = .706$)
 - **Honesty-humility:** "Feel entitled to more of everything" (reverse-scored; $\alpha = .769$)

Part I: Sexism in New Zealand

Figures 2a and 2b. Distributions of Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism.



Note. Scale ranges from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Distribution is based on a scale mean of five items per construct.

Hostile Sexism: $M = 2.941$, $SD = 1.261$

Benevolent Sexism: $M = 3.713$, $SD = 1.217$

	Benevolent Sexism				Hostile Sexism			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>z</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>z</i>
Gender ^a	0.282	0.015	.137	18.250**	0.466	0.017	.196	26.773**
Age	0.007	0.001	.099	11.516**	0.003	0.001	.041	5.067**
Age ²	0.000	0.000	.034	4.296**	0.000	0.000	.017	2.152
Māori ethnicity ^b	0.207	0.023	.065	9.100**	0.099	0.026	.027	3.840**
Pacific ethnicity ^c	0.394	0.048	.063	8.247**	0.249	0.054	.035	4.571**
Asian ethnicity ^d	0.489	0.036	.102	13.697**	0.531	0.040	.097	13.167**
Household income (log)	-0.039	0.009	-.041	-4.457**	-0.032	0.010	-.029	-3.359**
Deprivation ^e	0.015	0.003	.041	5.565**	0.015	0.003	.035	4.873**
Education ^f	-0.057	0.003	-.156	-17.029**	-0.062	0.004	-.148	-16.817**
Socioeconomic status ^g	-0.005	0.001	-.074	-8.529**	-0.005	0.001	-.071	-8.518**
Employment status ^h	-0.022	0.019	-0.009	-1.160	-0.022	0.021	-0.008	-1.054
Relationship status ^h	-0.029	0.018	-0.012	-1.554	-0.061	0.020	-.023	-2.999*
Parental status ^h	0.109	0.019	.048	5.766**	0.037	0.021	.014	1.811
Religious affiliation ^h	0.250	0.015	.121	16.973**	0.212	0.016	.090	13.298**
Urban or Rural ⁱ	-0.081	0.015	-.039	-5.398**	-0.093	0.016	-.039	-5.685**
Extraversion ^j	0.011	0.006	.013	1.707	0.007	0.007	.007	0.963
Agreeableness ^j	-0.020	0.009	-0.019	-2.313	-0.191	0.010	-.160	-19.659**
Conscientiousness ^j	0.039	0.007	.041	5.494**	0.032	0.008	.029	4.037**
Neuroticism ^j	0.005	0.007	.006	0.744	0.027	0.007	.027	3.691**
Openness to experience ^j	-0.152	0.007	-.170	-21.241**	-0.132	0.008	-.128	-16.767**
Honesty-humility ^j	-0.174	0.007	-.209	-25.844**	-0.197	0.007	-.206	-26.747**

Table 1. *Regression models of demographic and personality factors predicting BS and HS (N = 21,924).*

Note. **p* < .005, ***p* < .001.

Estimated using Maximum Likelihood with Robust standard errors. Fit indices: *Loglikelihood* = -367830.183, *AIC* = 735806.366, *BIC* = 736390.025, *R*²_{BS} = 0.267, *R*²_{HS} = 0.289

^a 0 = women, 1 = men

^b Dummy-coded; 0 = no Māori identification, 1 = Māori identification

^c Dummy-coded; 0 = no Pacific identification, 1 = Pacific identification

^d Dummy-coded; 0 = no Asian identification, 1 = Asian identification

^e Area-level deprivation; 1 = least deprived, 10 = most deprived

^g Socioeconomic status (SES); 10 = lowest SES, 90 = highest SES

^h 0 = no, 1 = yes

ⁱ 0 = rural, 1 = urban

^j 1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree

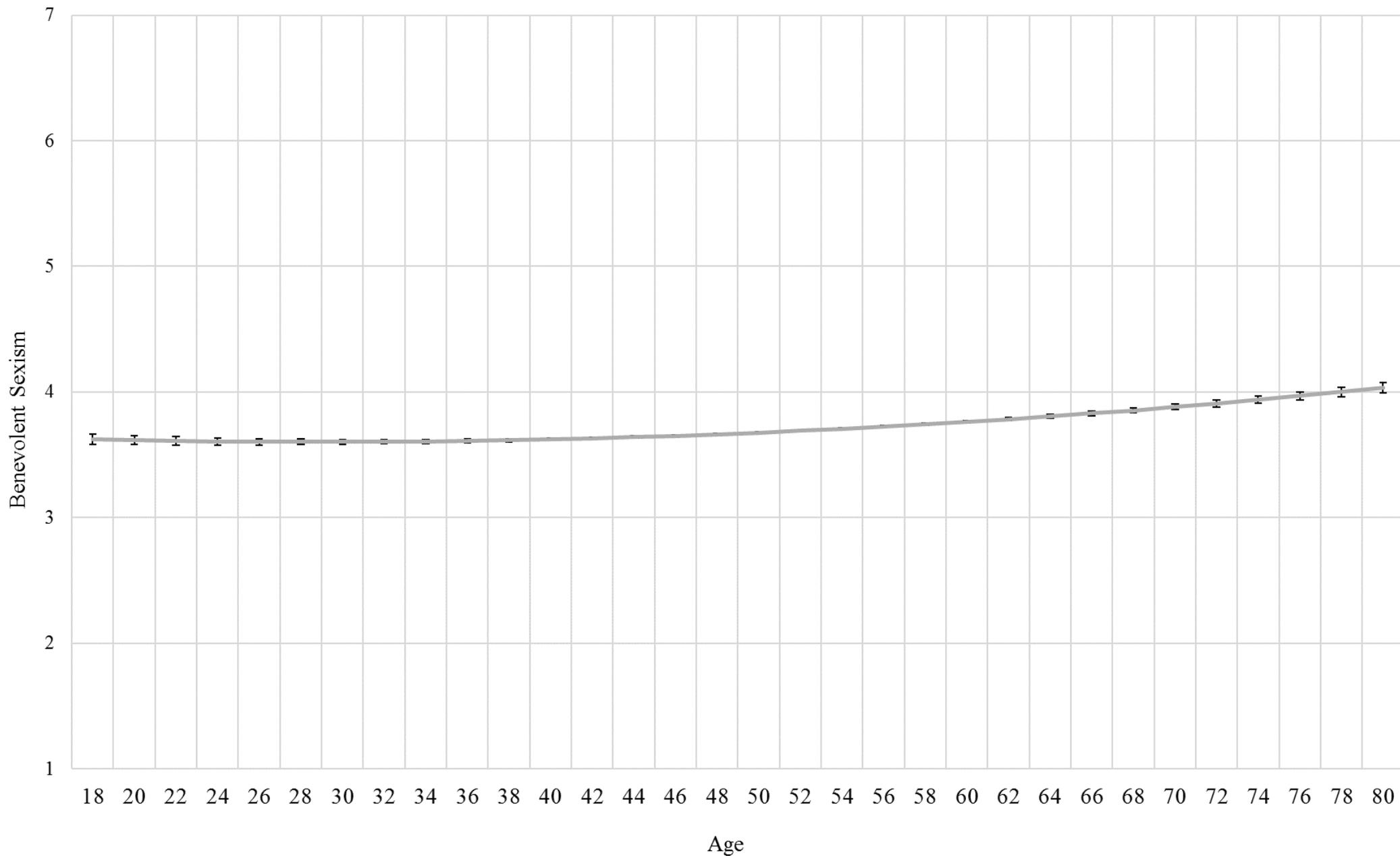


Figure 3. Curve illustrating the quadratic effect of age on BS, adjusting for other demographic and personality variables. Error bars represent standard errors.

Study 2: Are gender role attitudes changing?

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Part I: Sexism in New Zealand

- **Biggest change was during 1970s**, slowing down around the 1980s-1990s (Brewster & Padavic, 2000) before further plateaus in 1990s-2000s (Cotter, Hermsen & Vanneman, 2011; Cunningham, 2008)
- **Stronger shift for women** relative to men (Scott, 2008; Twenge, 1997)
- **Resistance to change in domestic arenas?** (Scott, 2008; Yu & Lee, 2013)
- **Contextual differences** – some Western nations (e.g., Denmark, Norway) experiencing shifts whereas others (e.g., the US and the UK) observing plateaus (Braun & Scott, 2009)

Part I: Sexism in New Zealand

- Is sexism changing over time?

- Times 1 to 7 (2009-2015/16)
- $n_{\text{Women}} = 9,832$, $n_{\text{Men}} = 5,914$

Yes!

Table 2. *Sample sizes for Times 1-7*

Survey Wave	Sample Size		Age				
	Women	Men	Total	Women		Men	
				M	SD	M	SD
Time 1 - 2009	2889	1853	4742	48.41	14.98	51.93	14.81
Time 2 - 2010	2521	1548	4069	50.30	14.90	53.81	14.86
Time 3 - 2011	3905	2353	6258	49.76	15.44	55.17	15.17
Time 4 - 2012	6320	3764	10084	49.32	14.56	53.90	14.50
Time 5 - 2013	9129	5334	14463	48.44	13.75	52.19	14.04
Time 6 - 2014	8878	5164	14042	49.38	13.76	53.02	14.01
Time 7 - 2015	8246	4885	13131	50.44	13.63	53.90	13.88

Table 3. Fixed and random effects for Latent Growth Models predicting linear and quadratic change in BS and HS (on a scale from 1 to 7) for adult men and women in New Zealand over the October 2009 – October 2016 period.

	Men's BS			Women's BS			Men's HS			Women's HS		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% <i>CI</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% <i>CI</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% <i>CI</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% <i>CI</i>
Fixed effects (means)												
Intercept	3.999*	0.014	[3.973, 4.026]	3.747*	0.011	[3.724, 3.769]	3.432*	0.015	[3.402, 3.462]	2.821*	0.011	[2.798, 2.843]
Linear growth parameter	-0.010*	0.003	[-0.015, -0.004]	-0.037*	0.002	[-0.042, -0.032]	-0.037*	0.003	[-0.043, -0.031]	-0.020*	0.002	[-0.025, -0.015]
Quadratic growth parameter	0.002	0.001	[0.000, 0.004]	-0.003*	0.001	[-0.005, -0.001]	0.005*	0.001	[0.003, 0.008]	0.005*	0.001	[0.003, 0.007]
Random effects (variances)												
Intercept	0.861*	0.020	[0.822, 0.900]	1.050*	0.018	[1.015, 1.084]	1.099*	0.023	[1.053, 1.144]	0.995*	0.017	[0.963, 1.028]
Linear growth parameter	0.006*	0.001	[0.005, 0.008]	0.008*	0.001	[0.007, 0.010]	0.007*	0.001	[0.005, 0.009]	0.009*	0.001	[0.008, 0.011]
Quadratic growth parameter	0.001*	0.000	[0.000, 0.001]	0.001*	0.000	[0.000, 0.001]	0.001*	0.000	[0.000, 0.001]	0.001*	0.000	[0.001, 0.001]

Note: * $p < .05$. $N = 9,832$ women, 5,794 men. Models estimated using Maximum Likelihood with robust estimation of standard errors. Participant birth year cohort was included as a covariate. Disturbances of the scale means (BS over time, HS over time) were each constrained to equality over time. Participants who completed less than 3 of the 7 waves were excluded from the model. Missing data were handled using Full Information Maximum Likelihood and assuming data were missing at random. Fit statistics: BS Men (Quadratic): *Log-likelihood* = -28490, *AIC* = 57005, *BIC* = 57092. BS Women (Quadratic): *Log-likelihood* = -50136, *AIC* = 100298, *BIC* = 100392. HS Men (Quadratic): *Log-likelihood* = -30093, *AIC* = 60213, *BIC* = 60299. HS Women (Quadratic): *Log-likelihood* = -50429, *AIC* = 100885, *BIC* = 100978.

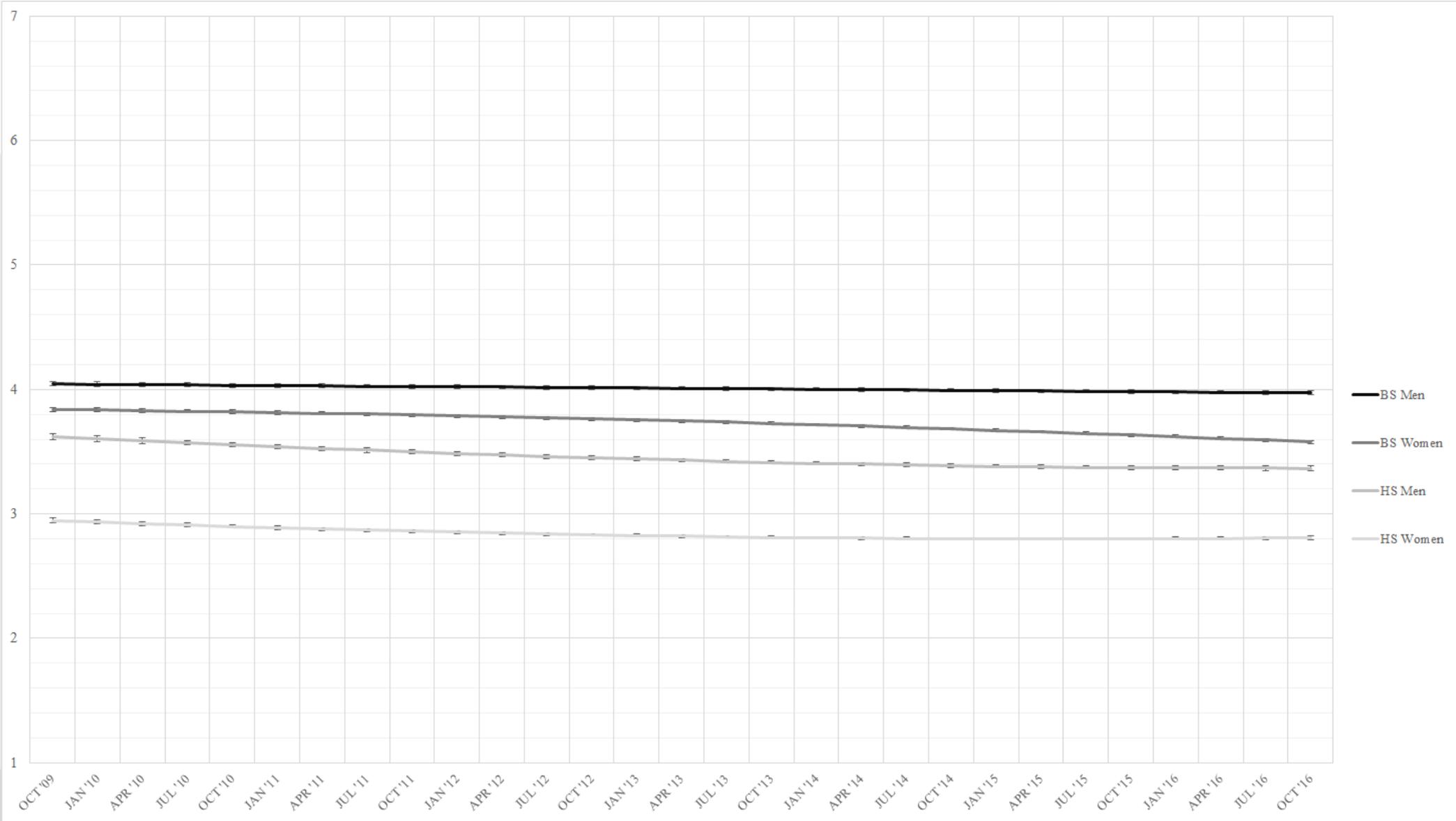


Figure 4. Model-implied rates of change in ambivalent sexism (y-axis ranged from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree) for New Zealand adults over the October 2009 – October 2016 period, statistically adjusting for birth cohort. Error bars represent the standard error of point estimates.

Part I: Sexism in New Zealand

- **Times 1-6** (2009-2014/15) of the NZAVS
- Latent growth models to assess cohort differences in change in HS and BS

Table I. The Number of Participants in Each of the Sequential 5-Year Birth Cohorts Organized for the Multigroup Latent Growth Models.

Birth Cohort	N Women	N Men	Ages Sampled (T1–T5)
1940 and older	198	197	69–74
1941–1945	363	330	64–69
1946–1950	637	509	59–64
1951–1955	744	492	54–59
1956–1960	803	497	49–54
1961–1965	794	488	44–49
1966–1970	721	366	39–44
1971–1975	644	284	34–39
1976–1980	491	206	29–34
1981–1985	356	104	24–29
1986–1990	381	165	19–24
1991 and younger	186	63	18–23

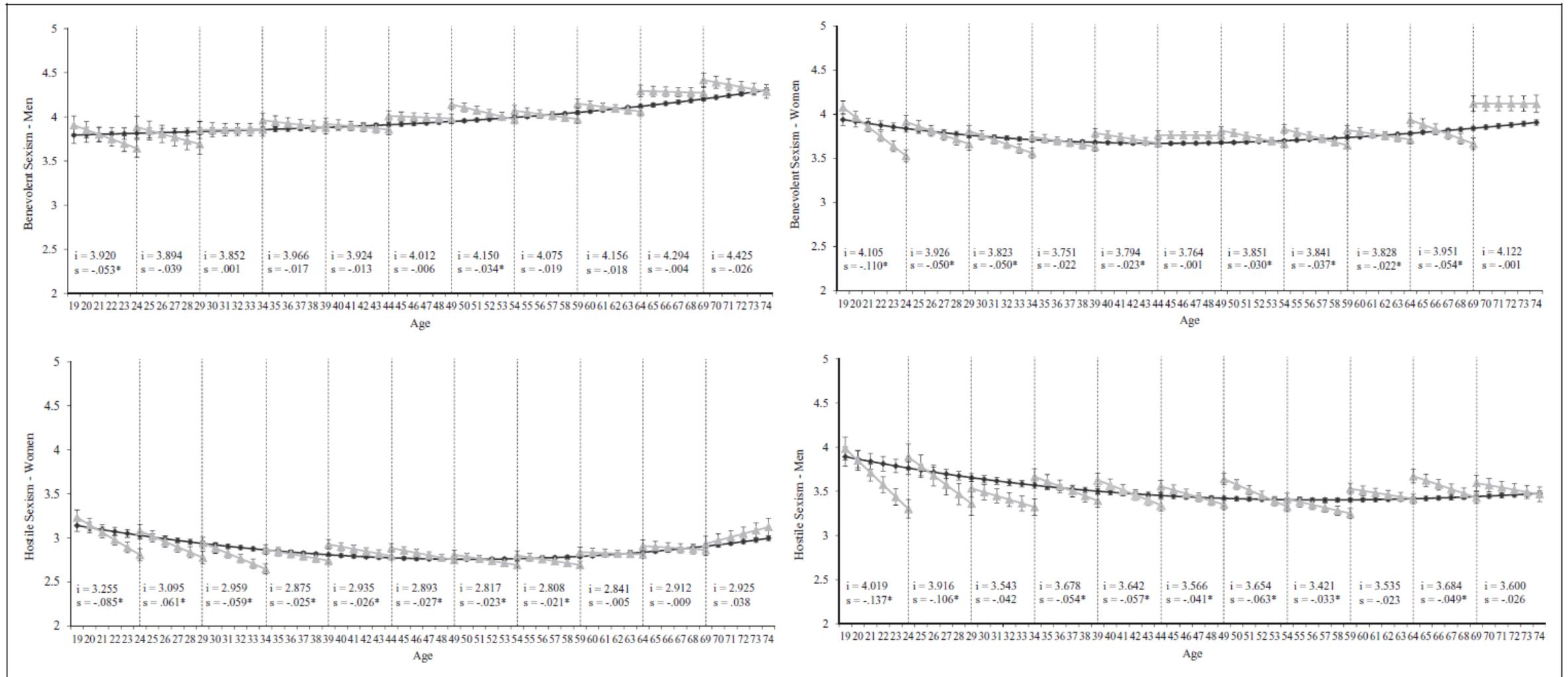


Figure 1. Change trajectories for men's and women's endorsement of benevolent sexism (BS; displayed as a dark line in the upper panels) and hostile sexism (HS; displayed as a dark line in the lower panels) from ages 19 to 74. The lines within each 5-year cohort represent longitudinal change in endorsement of BS and HS estimating latent intercepts (*i*) and slopes (*s*). **p* < .05.

Part II: Abortion Attitudes

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Part II: Abortion Attitudes

- Early 1970s (Trlin, 1975)
 - 15.6-31.5% agreed abortion should be legal under any circumstance
 - 8.1-13.9% agreed that abortion should be illegal, regardless of circumstance
- Late 1970s (Perry & Trlin, 1982)
 - Abortion should be approved:
 - 91.1% if “danger to mother’s life”
 - 85.3% if “danger to mother’s health”
 - 80.8% if “child might be might be deformed”
 - 46.3% if “cannot afford another child”
 - 35.3% if “wants abortion for any reason”

Part II: Abortion Attitudes

- Support for abortion can differ depending on the circumstances under which an abortion is sought (Craig, Kane, & Martinez, 2002)
 - **'Elective' abortion:** 'social' reasons such as:
 - a lack of financial resources for parenthood
 - partnership concerns
 - not wanting to have a child (or more children) etc.
 - **'Traumatic' abortion:** 'physical' reasons such as:
 - the pregnancy endangering a woman's life or health
 - the pregnancy is as a result of sexual assault
 - the foetus/child having a chance of a health condition etc.



Study 3: What do New Zealanders think of abortion?

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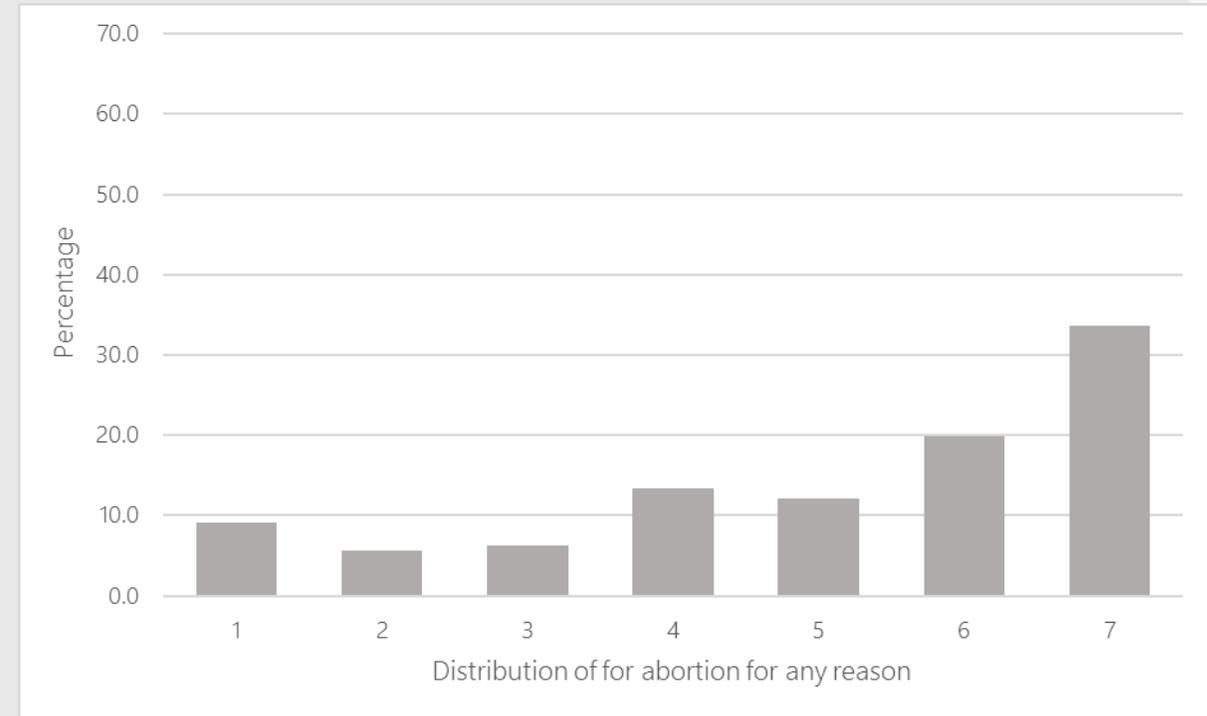
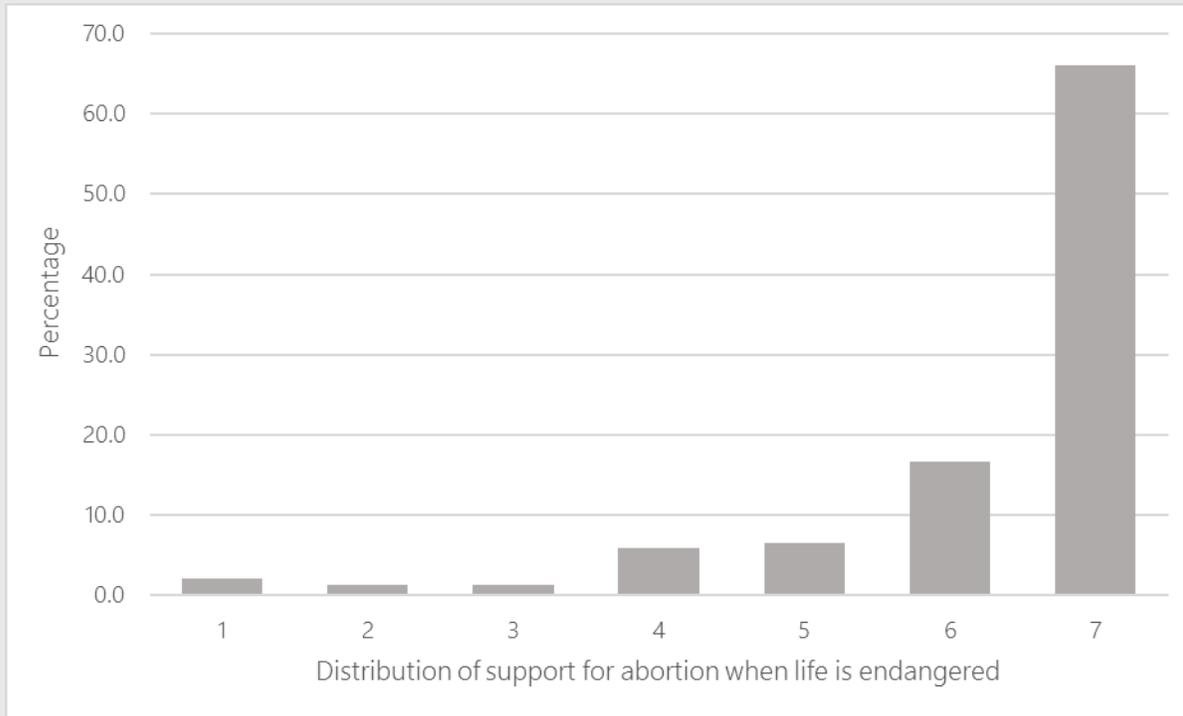
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Part II: Abortion Attitudes

- **Time 8** (2016/17) of the NZAVS ($N = 19,973$)
- **Sociodemographics**
 - gender, age, ethnicity, religious affiliation, parental status, number of children, relationship status, employment status, education, population density, birthplace, area-level socioeconomic deprivation, and socioeconomic status
- **Abortion support** (Smith, Marsden, Hout, & Kim, 2011)
 - “Legalized abortion for women, regardless of the reason”
 - “Legalized abortion when the woman’s life is endangered”

Part II: Abortion Attitudes

Figures 5a and 5b. Distributions of Support for Abortion



Note. Scale ranges from 1 (Strongly Oppose) to 7 (Strongly Support).

Abortion – regardless of the reason: $M = 5.079$, $SD = 1.973$

Abortion – when life is endangered: $M = 6.281$, $SD = 1.317$

Table 6.
Multiple linear regressions of sociodemographic correlates of support for abortion (N = 19,973).

Note. *p < .005, **p < .001
R²_{Model 1} = .222, p < .001, R²_{Model 2} = 0.119, p < .001
Weighted regression coefficients.
Support for legalised abortion; 1 = Strongly Oppose, 7 = Strongly Support
^a 0 = women, 1 = men
^b Dummy-coded; 0 = no Māori identification, 1 = Māori identification
^c Dummy-coded; 0 = no Pacific identification, 1 = Pacific identification
^d Dummy-coded; 0 = no Asian identification, 1 = Asian identification
^e 0 = yes, 1 = no
^f 0 = rural, 1 = urban
^g 11-unit ordinal rank of New Zealand qualifications; 0 = no qualifications, 1-3 = partial/full secondary school, 4-6 = non-undergraduate tertiary qualifications, 7 = undergraduate degree, 8-10 = post-graduate qualifications
^h Area-level socioeconomic deprivation; 1 = least deprived, 10 = most deprived
ⁱ Socioeconomic status (SES); 10 = lowest SES, 90 = highest SES
^j Children given birth to, fathered, or adopted

	Model 1					Model 2				
	Legalized abortion for women, regardless of the reason					Legalized abortion when the woman's life is endangered				
	B	99% CI	SE	β	z	B	99% CI	SE	β	z
Intercept	5.840	[5.550, 6.129]	0.112	2.961	51.983	6.113	[5.896, 6.330]	0.084	4.643	72.649
Gender^a	-0.130	[-0.210, -0.049]	0.031	-0.033	-4.128**	-0.016	[-0.076, 0.044]	0.023	-0.006	-0.681
Age	-0.005	[-0.008, -0.001]	0.001	-0.032	-3.452*	0.005	[0.003, 0.008]	0.001	0.054	5.111**
Māori ethnicity^b	0.175	[0.053, 0.296]	0.047	0.028	3.713**	0.014	[-0.072, 0.101]	0.034	0.004	0.431
Pacific ethnicity^c	-0.284	[-0.562, -0.006]	0.108	-0.035	-2.629	-0.496	[-0.735, -0.257]	0.093	-0.092	-5.340**
Asian ethnicity^d	-0.611	[-0.807, -0.416]	0.076	-0.107	-8.052**	-0.349	[-0.502, -0.196]	0.059	-0.092	-5.874**
Religious affiliation^e	-1.508	[-1.594, -1.423]	0.033	-0.376	-45.236**	-0.669	[-0.732, -0.607]	0.024	-0.250	-27.486**
Parental status^e	-0.042	[-0.182, 0.097]	0.054	-0.010	-0.781	0.043	[-0.065, 0.152]	0.042	0.015	1.031
Relationship status^e	0.046	[-0.052, 0.145]	0.038	0.010	1.207	0.014	[-0.058, 0.087]	0.028	0.005	0.514
Employment status^e	0.036	[-0.069, 0.141]	0.041	0.007	0.885	-0.008	[-0.085, 0.069]	0.030	-0.002	-0.267
Population density^f	0.048	[-0.030, 0.126]	0.030	0.011	1.581	-0.023	[-0.085, 0.039]	0.024	-0.008	-0.975
Born in New Zealand^e	0.099	[-0.010, 0.207]	0.042	0.022	2.349	0.070	[-0.011, 0.150]	0.031	0.023	2.236
Education^g	0.038	[0.021, 0.056]	0.007	0.052	5.598**	0.023	[0.010, 0.036]	0.005	0.048	4.585**
NZ Deprivation 2013^h	-0.039	[-0.054, -0.023]	0.006	-0.054	-6.391**	-0.019	[-0.031, -0.007]	0.005	-0.040	-4.199**
Socioeconomic statusⁱ	0.006	[0.003, 0.009]	0.001	0.053	5.462**	0.006	[0.003, 0.008]	0.001	0.068	6.253**
Number of children^j	-0.157	[-0.200, -0.113]	0.017	-0.122	-9.361**	-0.068	[-0.104, -0.032]	0.014	-0.080	-4.902**

**Study 4:
Do gender role attitudes affect abortion
attitudes?**

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Part II: Abortion Attitudes

- Benevolent sexism is correlated with **positive evaluations of fertile women** (Chrisler, Gorman, Marván, & Johnston-Robledo, 2013)
 - For example, women with young infants, pregnant women
- Benevolent sexism is associated with **the intention to restrict 'dangerous' behaviours of pregnant women** (Murphy, Sutton, Douglas, & McClellan, 2011; Sutton, Douglas, & McClellan, 2011)
 - For example, restricting exercise, tap water, soft cheese
- Benevolent sexism is cross-sectionally linked to **opposition to abortion** (Huang, Osborne, Sibley, & Davies, 2014; Osborne & Davies, 2009, 2012)

Part II: Abortion Attitudes

- **Study 1**

- **Times 3-4** (2011-2012) of the NZAVS ($N = 6,881$).

- **Ambivalent Sexism** (Glick & Fiske, 1996)

- **Hostile Sexism** (α s: 2011 = .742; 2012 = .735)

- **Benevolent Sexism** (α s: 2011 = .822; 2012 = .816)

- **Abortion Attitudes** (Smith et al., 2011)

- “Legalized abortion for women, regardless of the reason”

- “Legalized abortion when the woman’s life is endangered”

- **Covariates**

- Gender, religious affiliation, political conservatism, support for gender-based affirmative action policies

Part II: Abortion Attitudes

- **Study 2**

- Undergraduate student sample ($N = 309$).
- **Ambivalent sexism** (Glick & Fiske, 1996)
 - **Hostile Sexism** ($\alpha = .905$)
 - **Benevolent Sexism** ($\alpha = .826$)
- **Abortion attitudes** (Smith et al., 2011)
 - “Legalized abortion for women, regardless of the reason” ($\alpha = .931$)
 - “Legalized abortion when the woman’s life is endangered” ($\alpha = .843$)
- **Attitudes toward motherhood** (Holton Fisher, & Rowe, 2009)
 - “A woman is not a ‘real woman’ until she becomes a mother” ($\alpha = .810$)

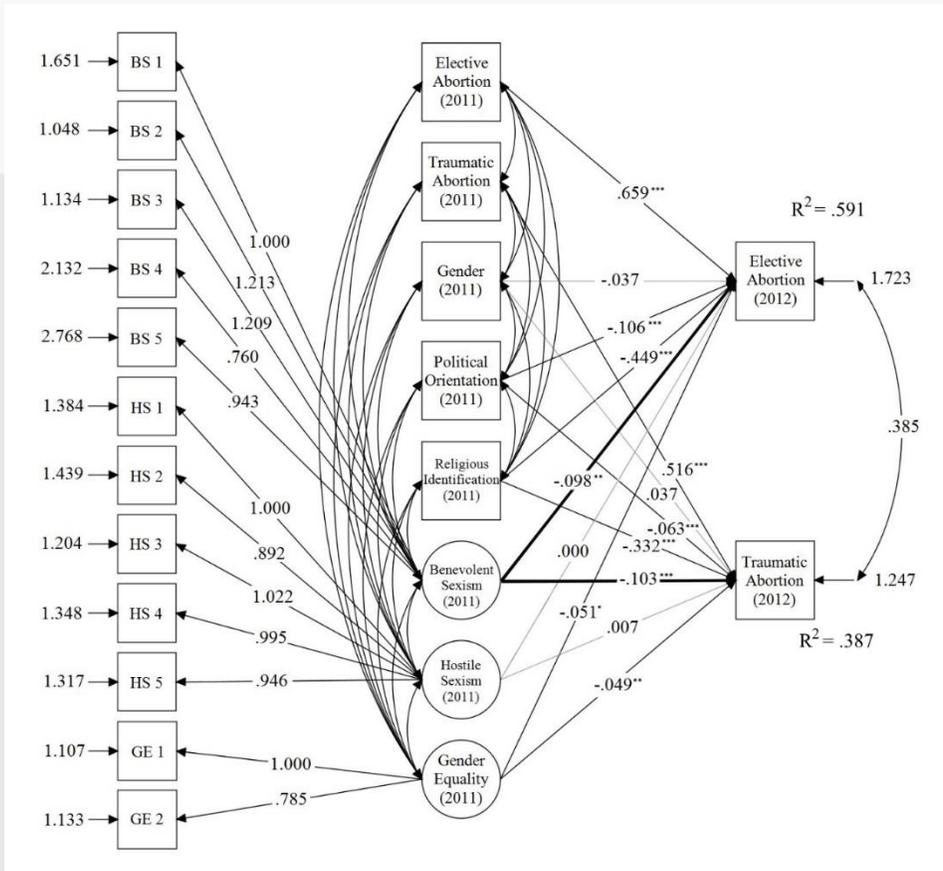


Figure 7. Cross-lagged structural equation model of BS and HS measured in 2011 predicting support for elective and traumatic abortion in 2012 with unstandardised coefficients ($\chi^2(116) = 3166.48$; $p < .001$; CFI = .915; RMSEA = .046; sRMR = .043).

* $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$
 *** $p < .001$

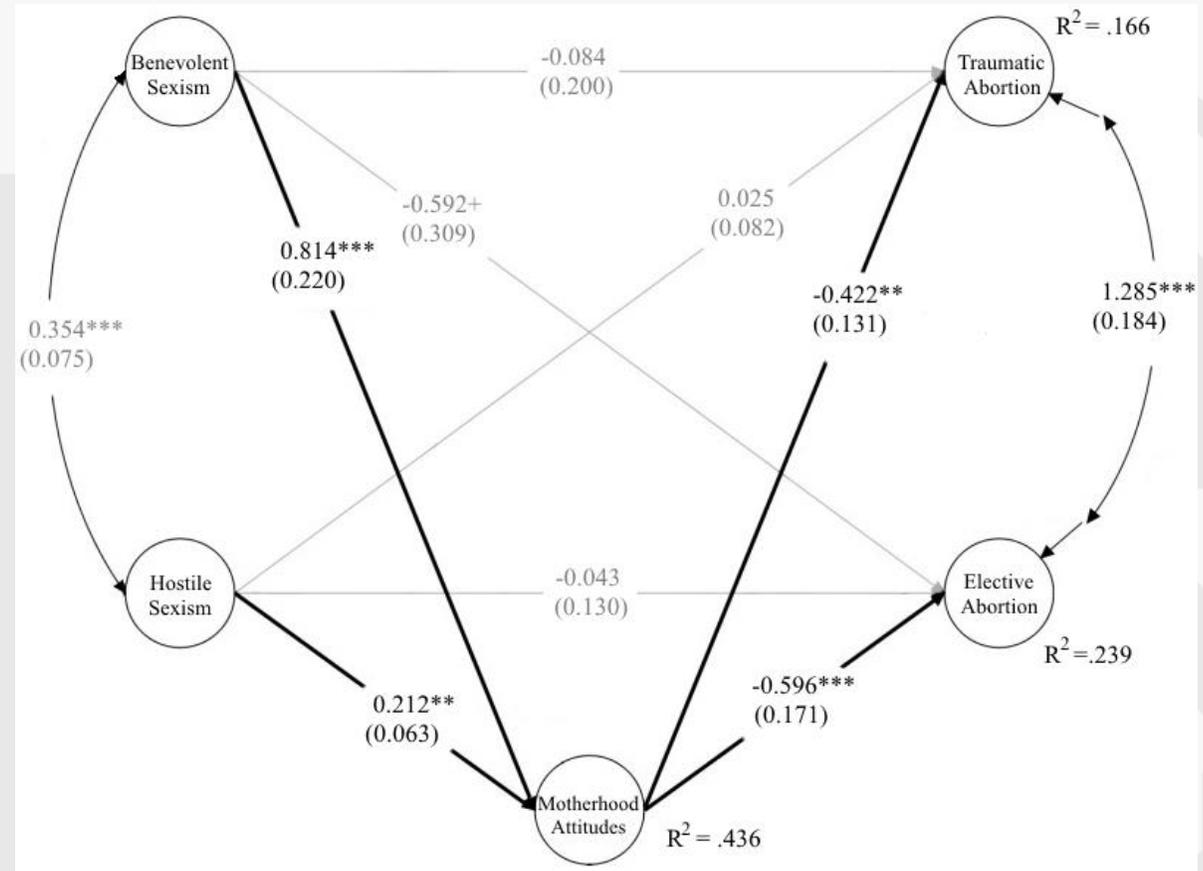


Figure 8. Structural equation model of BS and HS predicting support for traumatic and elective abortion, mediated by attitudes toward motherhood with unstandardised coefficients ($\chi^2(584) = 1149.65$, $p < .001$; CFI = .897; sRMR = .056, RMSEA = .056). Indicator variables for the latent factors are excluded for presentation purposes.

+ $p < .10$
 ** $p < .01$
 *** $p < .001$

Part III: Attitudes toward breastfeeding in public

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Part III: Breastfeeding in Public

- Breastfeeding in public is a human right (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2005).
- News coverage primarily examines women getting ejected or asked to leave.
 - Thus women often report feeling embarrassed (Heath, Tuttle, Simons, Cleghorn, & Parnell, 2002).



**Study 5:
How do New Zealanders feel about
breastfeeding in public?**

The
New Zealand
Attitudes and
Values Study

NZAVS

Part III: Breastfeeding in Public

- **Time 8** (2016/17) of the NZAVS ($N = 19,598$)
- **Support for breastfeeding in public**
 - “Women should avoid breastfeeding in public.”
- **Demographic correlates**
 - Gender, age, ethnicity, religious affiliation, parental status, parity, relationship status, employment status, education, population density, birthplace, area-level deprivation

Part III: Breastfeeding in Public

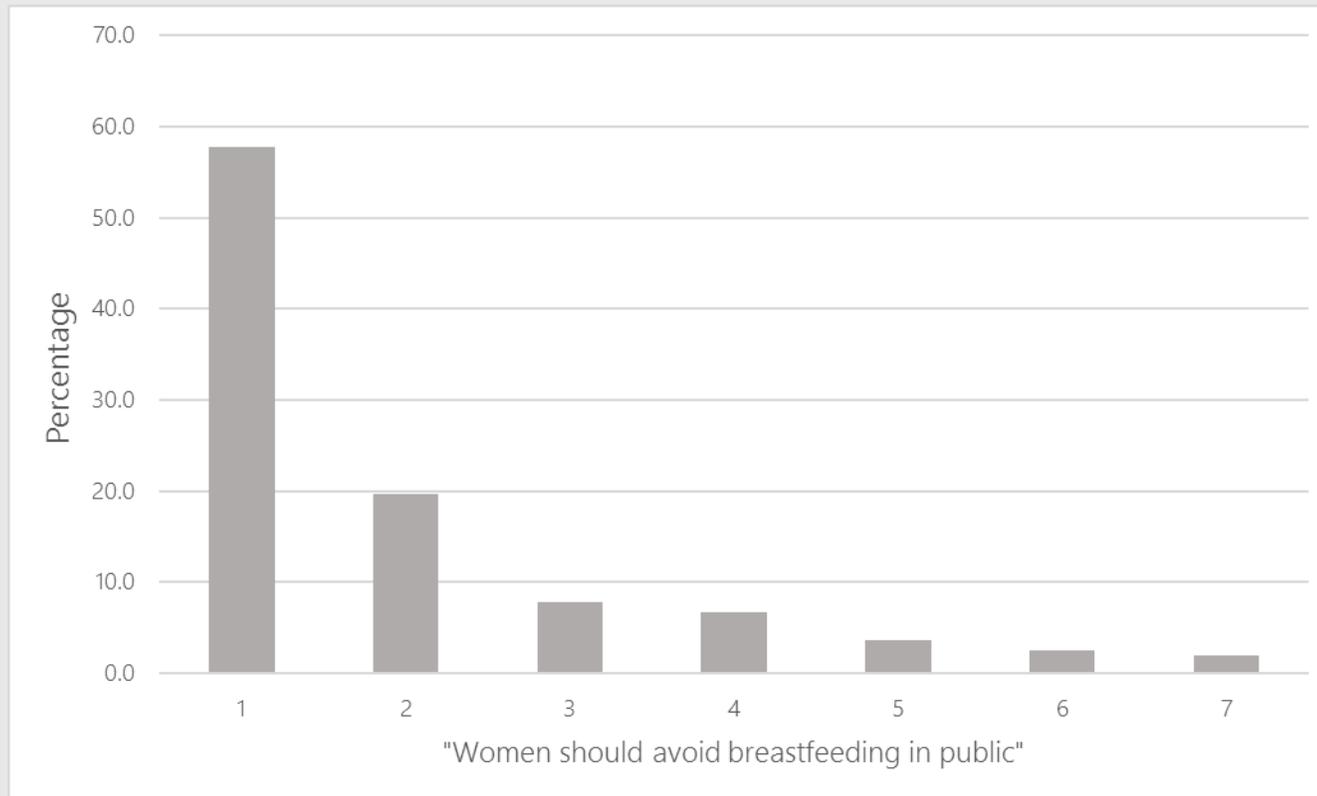


Figure 9. Agreement with the statement "Women should avoid breastfeeding in public."

1 = Strongly Disagree
7 = Strongly Agree

	<i>B</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>z</i>
Intercept	1.52	[1.35, 1.69]	0.09	1.01	17.48**
Gender ^a	0.19	[0.13, 0.24]	0.03	.06	6.94**
Age	0.02	[0.02, 0.02]	0.001	.21	19.48**
Māori ^b	-0.13	[-0.21, -0.05]	0.04	-.03	-3.08*
Pacific nations ^c	-0.08	[-0.26, 0.11]	0.09	-.01	-0.82
Asian ^d	0.48	[0.35, 0.61]	0.07	.11	7.11**
Religious affiliation ^e	0.27	[0.22, 0.32]	0.03	.09	9.93**
Parental status ^e	-0.28	[-0.38, -0.19]	0.05	-.08	-5.83**
Number of children	-0.06	[-0.10, -0.03]	0.02	-.06	-3.93**
Relationship status ^e	-0.14	[-0.21, -0.08]	0.04	-.04	-4.12**
Employment status ^e	-0.07	[-0.14, -0.01]	0.03	-.02	-2.09
Education ^f	-0.06	[-0.07, -0.05]	0.01	-.10	-11.49**
Urban vs. Rural ^g	0.01	[-0.04, 0.06]	0.03	.003	0.45
Born in NZ ^e	-0.07	[-0.15, -0.002]	0.04	-.02	-2.01
NZ Deprivation ^h	-0.00	[-0.01, 0.01]	0.01	-.001	-0.13

Table 8. *Multiple linear regression of sociodemographic correlates of opposition to breastfeeding in public.*

Note. * $p < .005$, ** $p < .001$

$R^2 = .078$, $p < .001$

Weighted regression coefficients.

Opposition to breastfeeding in public; 1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 Strongly Agree

^a 0 = women, 1 = men

^b Dummy-coded; 0 = no Māori identification, 1 = Māori identification

^c Dummy-coded; 0 = no Pacific identification, 1 = Pacific identification

^d Dummy-coded; 0 = no Asian identification, 1 = Asian identification

^e 0 = yes, = 1 no

^f 11-unit ordinal rank of New Zealand qualifications; 0 = no qualifications, 1-3 = partial/full secondary school, 4-6 = non-undergraduate tertiary qualifications, 7 = undergraduate degree, 8-10 = post-graduate qualifications

^g 0 = rural, 1 = urban

^h Area-level socioeconomic deprivation (Atkinson et al., 2014); 1 = least deprived, 10 = most deprived

**Study 6:
How is sexism related to support for public
breastfeeding?**

The
New Zealand
Attitudes and
Values Study

NZAVS

Part III: Breastfeeding in Public

- For men, BS is positively correlated with perceptions of a **breastfeeding woman** (relative to a bottle-feeding) as being a **better mother** (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, Hamm, & White, 2003)
- For **men, high BS** is linked to **disapproval of public breastfeeding** (Acker, 2009)
 - High HS meant disapproval of breastfeeding regardless of location
- For women, sexism is not linked to their approval of breastfeeding or breastfeeding location (Acker, 2009; Forbes et al., 2003)

Part III: Breastfeeding in Public

- **Time 8** (2016/17) of the NZAVS ($N = 16,536$)
- **Ambivalent Sexism** (Glick & Fiske, 1996)
 - **Hostile Sexism** ($\alpha = .839$)
 - **Benevolent sexism** ($\alpha = .736$)
- **Covariates**
 - Gender, age, parental status, relationship status, employment status, birthplace, education, number of children, political conservatism

Table 9. Regression models of ambivalent sexism predicting opposition to women breastfeeding in public, moderated by gender.

	Baseline Model			β	Model 2			
	B	SE	95% CI		B	SE	95% CI	β
Gender^a	0.043	0.023	[-0.002, 0.087]	0.014	0.046	0.022	[0.001, 0.091]	0.015
Age	0.022**	0.001	[0.020, 0.024]	0.210	0.022**	0.001	[0.021, 0.024]	0.213
Parental status^b	-0.338**	0.037	[-0.411, -0.266]	-0.102	-0.342**	0.037	[-0.414, -0.269]	-0.103
Number of children	-0.077**	0.011	[-0.099, -0.056]	-0.077	-0.077**	0.011	[-0.098, -0.055]	-0.077
Relationship status^b	-0.118**	0.027	[-0.171, -0.066]	-0.034	-0.114**	0.027	[-0.166, -0.061]	-0.033
Employment status^b	-0.096**	0.027	[-0.150, -0.042]	-0.027	-0.095*	0.027	[-0.149, -0.041]	-0.026
Education^c	-0.015**	0.004	[-0.023, -0.007]	-0.028	-0.015**	0.004	[-0.024, -0.007]	-0.028
Born in New Zealand^b	-0.076*	0.026	[-0.127, -0.025]	-0.021	-0.076*	0.026	[-0.128, -0.025]	-0.022
Political Orientation^d	0.142**	0.008	[0.126, 0.159]	0.135	0.143**	0.008	[0.127, 0.159]	0.136
Hostile sexism^e	0.247**	0.010	[0.228, 0.267]	0.209	0.249**	0.010	[0.229, 0.269]	0.211
Benevolent sexism^e	0.026	0.010	[0.006, 0.046]	0.021	0.018	0.011	[-0.003, 0.038]	0.015
Hostile sexism × Gender					0.038	0.020	[-0.001, 0.076]	0.016
Benevolent sexism × Gender					-0.072**	0.021	[-0.113, -0.032]	-0.029

Note. All predictor variables except for gender and interaction terms have been mean-centered.

* $p < .005$, ** $p < .001$

a -0.5 = women, 0.5 = men (contrast-coded)

b 0 = yes, 1 = no

c 11-unit ordinal rank of qualifications, 0 = no qualifications, 1-3 = partial/full secondary school, 4-6 = non-undergraduate tertiary qualifications, 7 = undergraduate degree, 8-10 = post-graduate qualifications

d 1 = Extremely Liberal, 7 = Extremely Conservative

e 1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree

Part III: Breastfeeding in Public

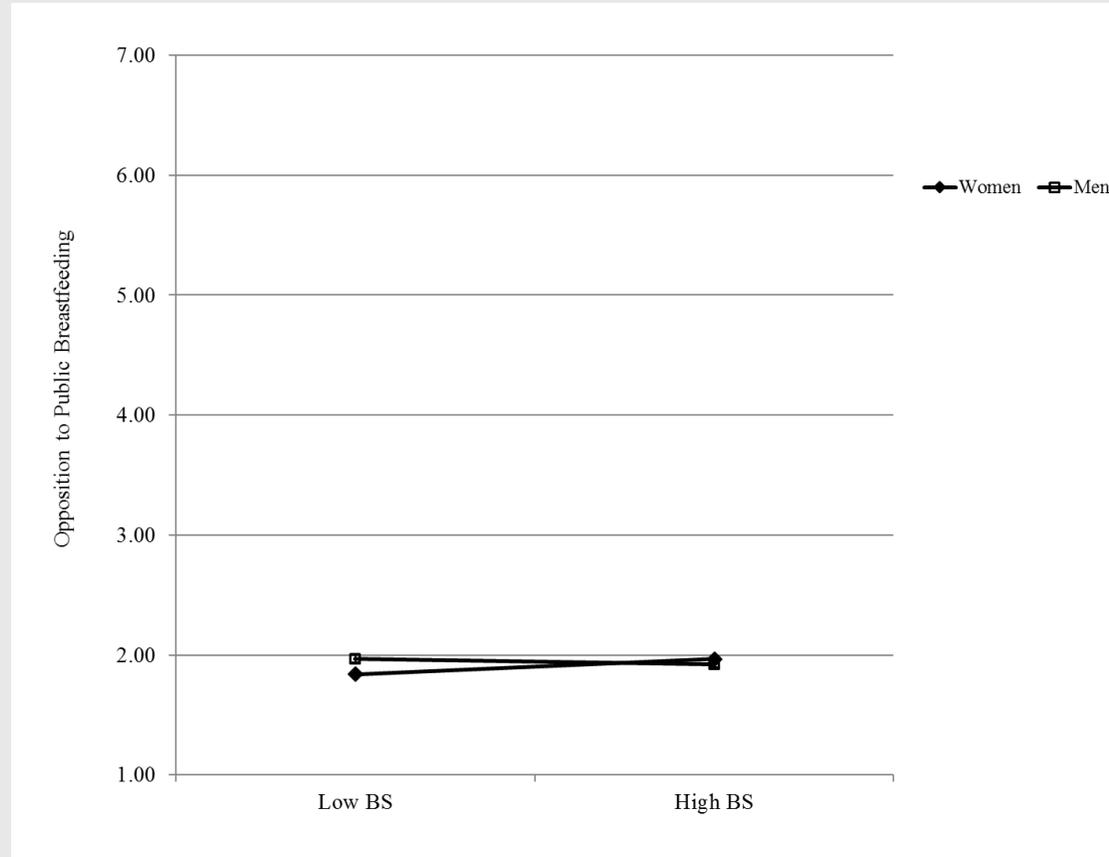


Figure 10. Relationship between benevolent sexism and opposition to breastfeeding, moderated by gender. Results are adjusted for all covariates and the two-way interaction between hostile sexism and opposition to public breastfeeding.

Conclusions

The
New Zealand
Attitudes and
Values Study

NZAVS

Summary and Implications

- **Gender role attitudes are becoming increasingly egalitarian**
 - Slowly
- **Support for abortion in New Zealand is mixed but generally high**
 - Reflective of recent polling data and NZES
- **Overwhelming support for public breastfeeding**
 - The majority of respondents were positive or neutral: the norm is to accept breastfeeding in public
- **Opposition to women's reproductive autonomy may still be driven by sexist attitudes**
 - Hostility toward women's bodies and how women choose to negotiate their reproductive choices

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Dedication: to the 50,000+ people who have generously taken the time to complete one or more of our annual NZAVS questionnaires. Over the first seven years of the study you, our participants, have completed a combined total of 78,033+ questionnaires, which we estimate has taken a total of 67,629+ hours. Thank you for making this research possible (and we hope you are not too fatigued to see out the remaining 10 years of the study)!

-- The NZAVS Research Group

