

ves” in the framework of the Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2007/2008, taken place from May, 30 – June, 1, 2008, at the University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany

Overview of the Workshop .

The international workshop on „Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations: European and Asian Perspectives“ has taken place from the 30th of May to the 1st of June 2008 at the University of Konstanz, Germany, within the framework of the Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2007/2008 funded by the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) and the European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance). Renowned scientists as well as young researchers from eight European and five Asian countries presented and discussed their work on general and domain-specific value orientations with regard to children and family, as well as on intergenerational family relations in different cultural contexts. The workshop was organised by Dr. Isabelle Albert (University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg), Dipl.-Psych. Boris Mayer (University of Konstanz, Germany) and Prof. Dr. Gang Zheng (Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing, China). The workshop was connected to the cross-cultural and interdisciplinary project “Value-of-Children and Intergenerational Relations (VOC-IR)” funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and carried out by Prof. Dr. Gisela Trommsdorff, University of Konstanz, and Prof. Dr. Bernhard Nauck, Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany, as principal investigators. The primary focus of the Value-of-Children/Intergenerational Relations-Project is on European-Asian comparisons of child- and family related value orientations as well as their role for intergenerational relationships.

Programme and Contributions

The workshop started with a welcome address by the Vice President of the University of Konstanz, Prof. Dr. Brigitte Rockstroh. After a short introduction to the workshop by the organizers, the thematic sessions started. These were organized into three parts:

Tagungsberichte

Report on the Workshop “Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations: European and Asian Perspecti-

- 1) Value of Children in Cultural Context
- 2) Intergenerational Relations in Cultural Context
- 3) Cross-cultural Perspectives on Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations

The first part concentrated on the topic of 'Value of Children in Cultural Context'. The papers in this first section dealt with changes of child- and family-related values, focussing on distinct European and Asian countries in different stages of modernization and transition. These family-related values were also partly related to different fertility rates in the different countries.

The first paper was presented by *Ivo Mozny (Czech Republic)* dealing with "Some Changes in Value of Children in a Changing Czech Society". The author stated that in the Czech Republic family patterns have significantly changed in the last years with falling birth rates and a rising age of women at the birth of their first child. At the same time, more children are born out of wedlock, and divorce rates are rising, too. However, the analyses of the data collected on "Value of Children" indicated that parenthood is generally still seen as an important part of life. Especially for women, the educational status is related to their attitudes towards parenthood: On the one hand, educated women have a much stronger feeling that motherhood is an obstacle to their career and a limitation of their freedom, and they feel the constant presence of children to be the source of strain. On the other hand, working-class women were almost twice as likely as the university-educated to feel that one needs to have children in order to be happy. Across the entire study the cautious, hesitant, and reserved attitude towards parenthood was generally more widespread among the educated, and less common in the working-class population (especially among working-class women).

The second paper in this section was presented by *Makoto Kobayashi (Japan)*, who gave a talk on his work entitled "VOC Study in Japan: Cross-Cultural Comparison and Culture-Specific Characteristics". He underlined the particular and unique position of Japan among the countries participating in the VOC study,

because Japan is a highly industrialized country with at the same time a collectivist and family-centred socio-cultural background. This combination is especially relevant as far as the study on value socialisation is concerned. The author stated two contradictory tendencies of today's Japanese youth: on the one hand, rather conservative tendencies which include a preference for social stability, patriotism and traditional values are observed; on the other hand, an emphasis of individualistic values such as creativity, privacy, freedom, or leisure time is found. Regarding the results of the VOC study, Japanese grandmothers identified themselves stronger with their family compared to younger generations. Also, Japanese adolescents showed rather positive attitudes towards traditional family values, whereas their mothers tended to share more individualistic values. It has to be investigated in further detailed analyses, whether this result reflects a new conservatism of adolescents or whether the high importance of family reflects the adolescents' age-specific dependency on the protection by their family. The lower family values of mothers may be related to the fact that the mothers are directly responsible for the management of family issues and therefore tend to underline their personal freedom. In general, value orientations are reflected in attitudes towards parenting. In the Japanese VOC study, both Japanese grandmothers and mothers stressed sociable parenting goals such as *being popular with others* and *being a good person*. But there was a clear generational difference as far as the *obedience* and *academic performance* of the child are concerned, which were both more highly valued by grandmothers compared to mothers. This result seems to correspond with the non-authoritarian and more individually-oriented life style of the younger generation. In sum, the significance of the ongoing social change in Japanese society was indicated by the preliminary results of the Japanese VOC study and will be examined in more detail in the future.

Next, *Daniela Klaus and Jana Suckow (Germany)* presented a paper dealing with "Social Change and Decrease in

Fertility in Turkey: the Value of Children as the Explanatory Link". The aim of this paper was to find explanations for the continuing decrease of fertility rates in Turkey over the last years. As especially large numbers of children per family are becoming more seldom, a closer look was taken with regard to the transition to the third child in Turkish families. The paper identified two dimensions of benefits from having children as well as two dimensions of costs, which may be subsumed under comfort/self-esteem (e.g., "children bring partners closer together" as positive aspect, and "children create problems in public" as negative aspect), and affect/stimulation (e.g., "children increase your responsibility and help you to develop" as positive aspect, and "being concerned about child's future" as a negative one). Concentrating on the likelihood of having a third child in Turkish families, analyses of the VOC data showed that parents have a higher probability of having a third child, the higher they rate benefits of the comfort/esteem dimension, while the number of children decreases the higher parents evaluate benefits regarding affect/stimulation and the higher they rate child costs. This result is in accordance with basic assumptions of the value-of-children model: values related to economic-utilitarian needs ("comfort") that children can fulfil are predictive of a higher fertility while values related to emotional needs ("affect") are negatively related to fertility. Of special interest is that these relations seem to be especially valid in case of having more than two children.

Peter R. Nelwan, Lieke Wisnubrata, Kusdwiratri Setiono, and Samsunuwijati Marat (Indonesia) reported on "Reasons for Having Children in Indonesia". Their report focussed on the gender preference of adolescents (in case they could have only one child). Almost half of the Indonesian adolescents participating in the VOC study reported *no* gender preference regarding their future children. More than half of these adolescents gave religious reasons for their opinion that having a boy or girl as a child is just the same (because the gender of the child is god-given). Furthermore, this opinion

was mostly expressed by adolescents from lower socioeconomic strata living in both rural as well as urban areas. The second issue the authors concentrated on was the support that adolescents are willing to provide for their parents in daily household chores. Most Indonesian adolescents said they would help their parents if they requested it instead of going out with friends (as originally planned). The reasons to do so were mostly norm-oriented, only few adolescents indicated to help out of empathy and emotions or reciprocity. These results underline the high importance of intergenerational solidarity and high interdependence in Indonesian families.

As the final paper in this section, *Daniela Barni (Italy)* presented some results on the "Value of Children in Italy: A Comparison Among Adolescents, Their Parents, and Their Grandmothers." She found a two-dimensional structure of the "Value of Children" instrument in Italy with satisfactory internal consistency, the dimensions representing social/utilitarian value of children and emotional value of children. Emotional value of children was altogether rated as more important than social/utilitarian value of children by all generations studied. All in all, grandmothers rated both value of children dimensions highest. While boys rated the social/utilitarian value of children higher than girls, the opposite was true for emotional value of children. Regarding the intergenerational transmission of the values attributed to children, a dyadic approach was applied. Results indicated a higher parent-child discrepancy with respect to social/utilitarian value of children than with respect to emotional value of children, especially between parents and sons (while the differences between parents and daughters were less pronounced). In order to take into account shared societal values as well, pseudo-dyads were created. A presumably higher societal sharing of emotional value of children compared to social/utilitarian value of children was indicated by the comparison of the pseudo-dyads with actual dyads regarding the intergenerational discrepancies. These results do not only give insight into the dimensional structure

re and into intergenerational differences with regard to the value of children in Italy: in addition to that, the author employed an innovative methodology to capture the intergenerational transmission of values that allows to separate genuine intra-familial similarities from similarities based on shared societal values.

Altogether, the presentations of the workshop's first part draw a picture of a shift from more traditional to more individualistic values across time and across generations. However, the family is still important for younger generations in spite of intergenerational differences, and there is also transmission of values between generations. Also, a link between value orientations, attitudes towards parenting and family planning can be drawn and should be studied further.

The second thematic section of the workshop was related to 'Intergenerational Relations in Cultural Context'.

The first two papers concentrated on two Asian countries, starting with a presentation on "Intergenerational Differences in Values in Rural and Urban Indian Settings" by *Ramesh Mishra and Shubhra Sinha (India)*. First, the authors underlined the importance of the Indian sample as part of the VOC study: India is a huge country with one of the oldest living civilizations; however, the population is characterized by high diversity, such that modernity and traditions are living side-by-side. Differences are especially seen between rural and urban areas. In the urban areas, there is a fast growing economy and tremendous technological advancement with immense growth of the industrial sector and with population being occupied in commerce and trade and mostly wage earning. In contrast, the rural population is mostly occupied in the agricultural sector. Due to modernization tendencies in urban areas, generations are brought up in different historical and cultural conditions. The question arises if preferred value orientations are preserved over the generations or if demands of mobility and sociocultural change lead to strong intergenerational differences in value orientations. Results of the VOC study in India indicated that in the urban setting each successive generation showed a greater indi-

vidualistic orientation than the preceding generation, while there was a gradual decline in each successive generation with respect to a collectivist orientation in the urban setting as well. This may be a possible reflection of people's attempt towards adaptation to the changing demands of life. However, in spite of the slight decline of collectivist values over the generations, in the urban sample high collectivism, high interdependence, and a high responsibility of parents towards children as well as a high responsibility of children towards their parents (these two scales represent traditional family values) were reported. One reason for high intergenerational interdependence in urban areas may be that in the urban context it becomes more important to rely on close family members, as small nuclear families prevail, and there is an altogether weaker social support compared to rural families which have larger networks. In conclusion, collectivism and interdependence seem still to stand as the cardinal values of the Indian society. Interestingly, rural grandmothers were more individualistic and independent than urban grandmothers, but urban mothers and adolescents were more individualistic and independent than the rural. The authors explained these results by the fact that rural grandmothers in agricultural society are economically self-dependent and their authority is well accepted in the family. In contrast, urban grandmothers are generally financially dependent on others. The situation is reversed for the younger generations where urban mothers and adolescents enjoy more financial independence than rural. The authors concluded that there are significant differences in beliefs, preferences, and practices of people from different regions of India and further studies concentrating on other areas of India are needed, because generalizations about the whole Indian society cannot be made. The next paper by *Uichol Kim and Young-Shin Park (Republic of Korea)* concentrated on "Parent-child Relationship, Values of Children and Social Change from Indigenous, Psychological and Cultural Perspectives". The authors concentrated on positive values of children,

i.e., reasons for having children, as well as negative values of children, i.e., reasons for not having children, in Korea. They found that the most important aspects for having children were family happiness, harmony in family, personal happiness and security, while negative aspects included costs of living, educational expenses, personal constraints and child-rearing expenses. The high expenses for child-rearing and educational costs were identified as an important reason for low fertility rates in Korea. Also, a generational difference with regard to the value of children between grandmothers and mothers was found with grandmothers being more traditionally oriented. More precisely, they expected care from their offspring in old age and continuity of lineage was important for them, and they had a preference for sons over daughters, while mothers emphasized these reasons for having children less.

Subsequently, a European point of view was taken by *Katarzyna Lubiewska (Poland)* who talked on "Intergenerational Relations and Support in Polish Families". She found a generally high emotional closeness in Polish families, i.e., between mothers respectively grandmothers and other family members like brothers, sisters or father, with the relations in the female line being closest. These results indicated stability in emotional closeness in middle and late adulthood, but intergenerational comparisons also pointed to an "intergenerational stake" regarding intimacy between the generations: grandmothers declared highest intimacy in their relationship with daughters and grandchildren as compared to the younger generations who saw the (same) relationship with their mother/grandmother as less marked by intimacy. As far as intergenerational solidarity and support are concerned, participants were more ready to give support to family members in negative life-events compared with positive ones. In more detail, grandmothers were more ready to tolerate emotional stress compared to mothers, but they had problems with tolerance of financial strain. Mothers were less willing to tolerate problems with partnership caused by support provision. For adolescents, tolerance of

emotional stress in helping parents would be the most difficult. As far as the reasons for intergenerational support were concerned, a prosocial motivation was dominant in all age groups except for adolescents who would support parents rather with an expectation of reciprocal help to be provided by parents in the future.

This presentation was followed by two presentations focussing on two neighbouring European countries, Luxembourg and France, concentrating especially on relationships between grandparents and grandchildren.

Tom Michels, Isabelle Albert, Dieter Fering and Thomas Boll (Luxembourg) presented a paper on "Patterns of Relationship Quality in Luxembourgish Families: On the Concept of Psychological Ambivalence in Parental and Grandparental Relations". Grandchild-grandparent relationships were studied here from the views of adolescent grandchildren by distinguishing between relations to maternal and paternal grandparents. Additionally, relationships with elderly mothers and fathers were investigated from the views of adult children. In both cases, a classification approach was adopted. These analyses showed that relationships with maternal grandparents were mostly characterized as harmonic, while relationships with paternal grandparents tended to be more emotionally detached. Also, ambivalent relations were found in the case of maternal grandparents. As far as relations between adult children and their elder parents are concerned, the majority of these relationships were found to be harmonic, however, about one fifth of the sample showed ambivalent relationship-patterns. Relationships with mothers were rated in a similar way as relationships with fathers. Altogether, the diversity of relationship quality patterns underlined the usefulness of the cluster analytic approach and of the concept of psychological ambivalence. *Colette Sabatier (France)* then talked about "Adolescent-Grandmother Relationships and Transmission of Values in France". She found that during adolescence, the links between grandchildren and grandmothers are more or less distant. However, those adolescents who have

frequent contact with their grandmothers also have a more intense relationship with them because they report a higher level of conflict as well as a higher level of intimacy than those adolescents with less frequent contact with their grandmothers; it has also to be noted that no gender differences were found here. As far as the mutual perception of the grandmother-adolescent relationship is concerned, results showed high concordance rates, although grandmothers indicated somewhat more intimacy in the relationship than what was indicated by adolescents. Regarding value similarity between the generations, the correspondence between adolescents and grandmothers was clear but modest. Grandmothers clearly participate in the process of value transmission to adolescents. However, they play a mainly indirect role through their influence on mothers (their daughters). *Kairi Kasearu (Estonia)* gave a presentation on "Family Relationships in Estonia and the Influence of Societal Changes". In particular, she concentrated on the potential impact of macro level changes in society on family relationships, especially as far as unmarried cohabitation, divorce rates, decreased fertility and the changing value of children are concerned. Drawing on national statistics for Estonia, the author stated a short reversion to the traditional family values in the late 1980s as birth rates increased. However, the new social, political and economic situation of the 1990s put pressures on people who had then to cope with the new socio-economic and political situation. A rationalisation of family-related decisions could then be observed with the number of births and new marriages decreasing, and the number of divorces and unmarried (cohabiting) couples starting to increase. Since 1998 the number of births is slightly increasing again and in 2004 a parental leave scheme has been introduced together with a family-friendly policy. To conclude, the societal changes seem to have an impact on individuals' family arrangements and family-related values, and changing family patterns have an impact on family relations (e.g., as far as cohabitation and marriage are concerned). It seems that Estonia is approaching the

family model of Scandinavian countries in some features of family patterns but at the same time the family related attitudes are staying rather traditional. In sum, these papers showed that intergenerational family relations show similarities as well as differences with respect to the countries studied; however, it can be generally claimed that there is still high solidarity between the generations and also an all in all positive relationship quality. The extent and the reasons for intergenerational support depend partially on the cultural context, being either based on norms about family and feelings of obligation or more determined by the quality of the relationship itself. The third part of the workshop served to integrate the country-specific findings from the first two parts and concentrated on the theme of 'Cross-cultural Perspectives on Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations.' First, *Boris Mayer and Gisela Trommsdorff* reported on "A Multi-Level and Cross-Cultural Perspective on the Relation Between Adolescents' Values of Children and Their Intended Fertility". The results showed that adolescents' values of children were differently related to the number of children they intended to have at the individual and at the cultural level in a cross-cultural study across eleven countries from the VOC-project. More specifically, adolescents' emotional value of children was positively related to having a higher number of children at the individual level while it was negatively related at the cultural level. The unexpected positive relation at the individual level may be explained by the fact that in most cultures the emotional value of children was the only relevant reason left to want children since traditional economic-utilitarian values have lost nearly all of their importance. In light of this increased salience of emotional reasons for having children it becomes understandable that those adolescents reporting a higher importance of these values also prefer to have more children in the future. This interpretation was supported by the result that the culture-level traditional value of children significantly attenuated the individual-level positive effect of the emo-

tional value of children on intended fertility. Thus, in more traditional cultures (where the traditional value of children was still important), there was no individual-level relation between emotional value of children and intended fertility. The traditional value of children itself was unrelated to intended fertility at the individual level and showed only a weak positive relation to intended fertility at the cultural level. Overall, the results underlined that a multilevel perspective has to be taken to account for different effects of the value of children on fertility on the cultural and on the individual level. *Shaohua Shi and Gang Zheng (People's Republic of China)* reported on "Intercultural and Intracultural Differences in the Value of Children Regarding Comparisons Between Four Countries and the Urban, Rural, and Floating Populations in China". This study aimed to understand the current state with regard to the value of children in China, to study the effect of the value of children on fertility, the general effect of country, industrialization, urbanization on the value of children, and to predict future changes in the value of children. More precisely, different groups within China, namely urban, rural and floating people (i.e., those coming to the cities from the countryside for work) were compared. Most interestingly, an in-depth analysis of the floating population indicated differences between professional groups: floating people who were occupied as workers had a higher emotional value of children, while those who were occupied as vendors and traders held higher social-economic value of children. One explanation may be that for vendors and traders, children may help with the family business, while this is not the case for workers who do not own any family business. After this, *Beate Schwarz and Gisela Trommsdorff (Switzerland and Germany)* presented their results on "Patterns of Adult Parent-Child Relationships and Intergenerational Support in Collectivistic and Individualistic Cultures", based on the data from the VOC study obtained in rural and urban samples from China, Indonesia and Turkey as well as a sample from Germany. They reported that simi-

lar patterns of intergenerational relations occurred in all studied countries; however, countries differed with respect to the prevalence of relationship patterns. This was partly explained by different value orientations. More precisely, three patterns of intergenerational relationships in accordance with the three family models suggested by *Kagitcibasi (2007)* were found: an *interdependent*, an *independent*, and an *emotionally interdependent* family model. Apart from that also two additional patterns were found which fitted into earlier studies from the USA and the Netherlands, namely an *affective intense* group. Although all patterns were found in each region studied, they differed with regard to their distribution. In rural Indonesia the more traditional "interdependent" pattern was very typical, although among Indonesian daughters from the urban area a greater variety of patterns occurred. This may be related to the greater social change leading to greater variety. Daughters from Turkey were overrepresented in the "emotional interdependence" pattern, however, contrary to assumptions based on the *Kagitcibasi* model this was the case in the urban as well as in the rural sample. For the rural sample the "intensive" pattern was also typical, a partial support of the *Kagitcibasi* model. Most of the German daughters were assigned to the "independent" pattern, again supporting the *Kagitcibasi* model. Among Chinese daughters those from rural areas were overrepresented in the "affective but distant" pattern; surprisingly, the daughters from the urban areas were in the more traditional "interdependent" pattern. This may be explained by the greater geographical distance between the rural daughters and their parents compared to the urban daughters. Altogether, structural aspects had a strong impact on the characteristics of intergenerational relationships. Finally, *Bernhard Nauck (Germany)* reported on "Patterns of Exchange in Kinship Systems in Germany, Russia and China". He underlined the importance of kinship systems and institutional regulations when studying intergenerational support. The theoretical aim of the paper was to integrate two major theoretical

approaches of kinship analysis, an institutional approach (social anthropology) and an interactionist approach (family sociology, social gerontology). The empirical aims of the presentation included the analysis of cross-societal variations in kinship, of opportunity structures, communication and emotional closeness, as well as of mutual help. The analyses of the VOC data comparing Germany, Russia and China as three countries with different socio-economic background and different family traditions showed that institutional regulations are much more important (predictive) for kinship relationships than individual preferences or resources.

This last thematic session made clear that country-specific analyses have to be complemented by cross-cultural comparisons in order to get a full picture of the data. Only by systematic cross-cultural comparisons based on indicators that have been tested for cross-cultural content-wise and structural equivalence is it possible to extract the core differences and similarities with respect to values attributed to children, fertility (intentions), and intergenerational relationships. Though the two thematic strands of "values of children and its relation to fertility" on the one hand and "intergenerational relationships" on the other hand, may sometimes appear somewhat distant, the cross-cultural analyses made clear that motivations for having children and intergenerational relationships are systematically related. Both themes show substantial cross-cultural variation. Emotional reasons for having children are dominating in Western European and other highly modernized cultures, often accompanied by affectionally close but in other respects also rather distant intergenerational relationships. Other more traditional cultures lay more importance on social-economic/traditional/comfort-related values of children. Intergenerational relationships in these cultures are often characterized by a close emotional and functional/material interdependence based on traditional concepts of family hierarchy and patriarchy. In spite of these variations it becomes clear that change is prevalent in all cultures, as indicated by often strong differen-

ces with regard to value orientations between generations, in urban as well as in rural areas.

The general discussion was introduced by Prof. Dr. Gisela Trommsdorff who reviewed the main strands of results and the most urgent open questions. Invaluable comments and contributions to the discussion were provided by Prof. Dr. Hans-Joachim Kornadt, advisory member of the VOC project.

Conclusions

With the present workshop, the collaboration between European and Asian researchers working together on questions about value of children and intergenerational relations has been strengthened and deepened. Especially, country-specific knowledge regarding reasons for different fertility rates in the respective countries, including the societal framework and policy issues as well as changing culture-specific value orientations, has been exchanged. The workshop also dealt with intergenerational relations and solidarity. This issue is becoming more and more important due to growing life-expectancies and decreasing fertility rates all over the world, resulting in a longer period of life-time generations spend together as well as in rising needs for support due to longer periods of frailty in old age. Thus, relations between different generations are becoming more important, while less members of the same generation are available. This has an impact on availability of younger persons who may care for their old parents or even grandparents. The contributions from different cultural contexts regarding intergenerational relations draw a picture of persisting intergenerational solidarity and continuity, although value orientations of younger generations are adapted to new situations and challenges.

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