

---

# Value of Children and Mother-Child Relationships in Japan: Comparisons With Germany<sup>1</sup>

Noriko Makoshi and Gisela Trommsdorff

---

## 1. Introduction

The present study attempts to clarify whether a transmission of values from generation to generation occurs, and whether mothers' value of children changes across time. Moreover, the present study investigates whether mothers from different generations and cultures value children in a similar or different way. This question seems especially relevant to understand ongoing socio-cultural change in highly industrialized societies such as Japan. Studying the value of children in different age groups of the same culture and in different cultures may provide a better understanding for culture-specifics and ongoing social change. A comparative study taking into account German mothers' value of children should reveal any universalities and cultural specificities.

Japanese mother-child interactions have often been described as being based on strong emotional ties and reflecting a specific feeling of oneness (Caudill & Weinstein, 1969; Fogel, Stevenson & Messinger, 1992; Lebra, 1994). This specific quality of mother-child relations has been interpreted as typical pattern for Japanese social relations and as a distinctive characteristic of Japanese culture (Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000). However, it is not clear whether the "collectivistic" nature of the Japanese culture (in contrast to the "individualistic" nature of Western cultures, e.g. Germany) can be directly related to the culture-specific parent-child relationship and the underlying value of the child.

The value attributed to the child can be seen as an important aspect of parenting, parent-child relations, and the development of children (cf. Hoffman, 1989; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Trommsdorff, 2001; Trommsdorff, Zengh & Tardif, in press). This value of children has been conceptualized as the needs that children satisfy for parents,

---

<sup>1</sup> This research was supported by a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (TR 169/9-1) to the second author. The project is part of the study „Value of Children revisited“ (principal investigators: Gisela Trommsdorff, University of Konstanz and Bernhard Nauck, Technical University of Chemnitz).

e.g., the need for economic security, social status, and love or fun. Accordingly, economic, social, and psychological values were differentiated (Hoffman, 1989). The famous "Value-of-Children" (VOC) study in 1975 started from the assumption that parents' needs differ depending on the society and the culture. This study had the goal to understand the enormous differences in population growth and fertility rates in various societies. In this international, comparative study, the relationships between socio-economic conditions and the parents' value of children were investigated by comparing parents' motivations for childbearing in nine countries (Arnold et al., 1975). The needs of parents were measured as (1) the benefits and costs (advantages and disadvantages) that parents see in having children, and (2) parents' gender preference of the child.

The Value-of-Children study revealed that parents' needs could be differentiated with respect to the economic, social, and psychological value of children. Furthermore, these needs were reflected in parents' gender preference for a child. In line with the expectations, the results of the Value-of-Children study showed that parents who were in need of economic security in their old age had a relatively higher economic value of children; they also preferred boys to girls; in the same way, parents in rural areas who were in need of a successor for their family preferred boys (Arnold et al., 1975; Hoffman, 1989; Kağitçibaşı, 1982).

The main interest of the original Value-of-Children study was to investigate the conditions for parents' fertility motivation. The authors were less interested in the psychological processes how value of children is established and how these influence parenting and the development of children. As a result, previous research failed to investigate how children internalize cultural values during their socialization and what values (values in general and value of children in specific) are transmitted from parents to children. These questions are important in order to explain the effects of value orientations, parenting, and individual development on social change.

The value of children can be expected to differ not only with respect to economic conditions and related economic needs of parents but also with respect to cultural values. Ongoing socio-cultural change, particularly with respect to the role of women, should be related to changes in value of children (Kashiwagi & Nagahisa, 1999; Trommsdorff, 1999, 2001). As the society changes, parents' chang-

ing values may affect the way they value their children which in turn affects their parenting behavior and the development of their children. Thus, the question to be answered how much the value of children remains stable over time and is transmitted from generation to generation (Trommsdorff, 1999, 2001).

More specifically, the present study investigates the “value of child” of mothers from different generations in Japan while taking into account some results from the German study on the value of children. The present study is part of a pilot study which is planned as a first step to replicate and extend the previous Value-of-Children study from 1975 (cf. Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2001). Here, two aspects will be analyzed in more detail: (1) the mothers’ evaluation of advantages and disadvantages of having children, and (2) the mothers’ gender preferences for children. Furthermore, this study attempts to examine whether the value of children changes over time.

## 2. Method

*Subjects and Procedure.* The Japanese participants were 33 maternal grandmother-mother dyads; the mothers had children aged between 2 and 4 years. All the participants were recruited in Shizuoka, Japan. Shizuoka is located approximately 160 kilometers west from the Tokyo metropolitan area, and has a population of 474.000 citizens. Shizuoka is recognized as an average city in Japan in terms of population, industry, and distance from larger metropolitan areas. The interviews were conducted by the first author from May to July 1999. The interview questions were the same in all the countries of this project. The German interview questions were translated into English, and then into Japanese. The back-translation was done from Japanese to German.

The Japanese participants’ mean age was approximately 34 for mothers and 63 for grandmothers. Forty-two percent of the mothers and fifty-one percent of the grandmothers in this study were employed. The median income was approximately 3,811 Euro in the mothers’ households and 4,003 Euro in the grandmothers’ households. This is equivalent to middle and upper-middle class family income in Japan. More than 70% of the mothers and nearly 10% of the grandmothers in this study had finished either junior college or graduated from a university.

In the first part of this study, the participants were asked for their opinions regarding the value of children. As to the first question on perceived advantages and disadvantages of having children, the respondents were read twelve items indicating the value of children. The answers were scored on five-point scales ranging from “totally disagree” (point 1) to “fully agree” (point 5). The mean score for each item was used to determine the ranking.

As for the second question, the participants were told: “There are some reasons why people would have another child [...]” then they were given twelve reasons for wanting another child. The respondents were asked to rate these reasons as “not important (score 1),” “somewhat important (score 2)” or “very important (score 3).” In the same way, the respondents were asked to score nine reasons for not wanting another child. The items were again rank ordered according to the means of mothers’ and grandmothers’ scores.

In the second part of this study gender preferences for the child were explored. The question to be answered was: “If you would have only one child, would you prefer to have a boy or a girl?” Moreover, this study investigated what kind of practical support mothers and grandmothers would expect from sons and daughters. Respondents were each read an item indicating practical help, such as financial aid or help in the house. Then they answered whether or not they would expect this support from a son and from a daughter.

### **3. Results**

#### *3.1 Value of Children: Advantages and Disadvantages of Having Children*

Regarding the results on the advantages and disadvantages of having children, the ranking order showed that the items that indicate positive aspects of having children were ranked higher than the negative items in both the Japanese mothers’ and grandmothers’ answers (see Table 1).

Table 1  
The Ranking Order of Japanese Mothers' and Grandmothers' Value of Children

<b>Mothers' VOC ranking</b>	
Item	Mean
1. It is fun to have children around the house and to watch them growing up.	3.88
2. Children make you feel needed.	3.61
3. Children make life more intensive and fulfilled.	3.58
4. Children make a reduced occupational work necessary.	3.36
5. Children bring husband and wife closer together.	3.06
6. Children bring worries and problems.	3.03
7. Children can be relied on during emergencies.	2.88
8. Children do not leave enough time for one's interests.	2.82
9. Children can be there to help you when you are old.	2.73
10. Children create problems with neighbors, while traveling and in public.	2.73
11. Children are a financial burden reducing one's standard of living.	1.73
12. Children are a burden to a marriage or partnership.	1.36
<b>Grandmothers' VOC ranking</b>	
Item	Mean
1. It is fun to have children around the house and to watch them growing up.	3.91
2. Children make you feel needed.	3.52
3. Children make life more intensive and fulfilled.	3.30
4. Children make a reduced occupational work necessary.	3.27
5. Children bring husband and wife closer together.	2.97
6. Children bring worries and problems.	2.85
7. Children can be relied on during emergencies.	2.73
8. Children do not leave enough time for one's interests.	2.55
9. Children can be there to help you when you are old.	2.33
10. Children create problems with neighbors, while traveling and in public.	2.24
11. Children are a financial burden reducing one's standard of living.	1.48
12. Children are a burden to a marriage or partnership.	1.30

The t-test analysis showed significant differences in the means between the positive and the negative items, both for the Japanese mothers and the grandmothers (see Table 3). When compared with the German top five rankings, the Japanese top five showed that the Japanese mothers and grandmothers emphasized more clearly the positive value of children (see Table 2).

Table 2  
VOC Ranking: Japan vs. Germany

<b>Mothers</b>			
<b>JAPAN</b>		<b>GERMANY</b>	
1. Fun to have children		1. Fun to have children	
2. Feel needed		2. Life fulfilled	
3. Life fulfilled		3. Feel needed	
4. Reduce career		4. Reduce career	
5. Husband-wife closer		5. Financial burden	
<b>Grandmothers</b>			
<b>JAPAN</b>		<b>GERMANY</b>	
1. Fun to have children		1. Fun to have children	
2. Feel needed		2. Life fulfilled	
3. Life fulfilled		3. Feel needed	
4. Rely on for emergencies		4. Reduce career	
5. Husband-wife closer		5. Financial burden	

Note: positive VOC. negative VOC.

The Japanese and German mothers and grandmothers respectively had the same ranking for the top three values. While the 4<sup>th</sup> highest ranking had a negative value, and the 5<sup>th</sup> highest ranking had a positive value for Japanese mothers, for Japanese grandmothers all the rankings for the five values were only positive. This indicates a cohort or age effect in value orientation for the Japanese sample. In contrast, both, the German mothers and grandmothers placed the three values which ranked highest on the positive side, followed by the highest rankings for the two negative values (career, financial costs). Thus, German mothers and grandmothers did not differ in their ranking of values, while Japanese mothers and grandmothers differed significantly (see Table 3).

Table 3  
Japanese Mothers and Grandmothers: Positive vs. Negative Value of Children

		<u>Positive value</u>		<u>Negative value</u>
		Life fulfilled		Not enough time
		Help in old age		Create problems
		Feeling to be needed		Burden the marriage
		Children fun		Financial burden
		Rely at emergency		Worries
		Parents closer		Reduce occupation
		<u>Mean (SD)</u>		<u>Mean (SD)</u>
Mothers	(N = 33)	3.29 (.32)	>	2.50 (.33)***
				∨
Grandmothers	(N = 33)	3.30 (.44)	>	2.11 (.45)***

\*\*\*p < .001.

Although these results showed that both Japanese mothers and grandmothers emphasized the positive aspects of having children more than the negative aspects, significant differences between Japanese mothers and grandmothers were observed in the negative attitudes towards children (see Table 3). T-test analysis revealed that Japanese mothers more than grandmothers perceived disadvantages in having children (see Table 4).

Table 4  
Value of Children: Japanese Mothers vs. Grandmothers

	Mother			Grandmother	
	M	(SD)		M	(SD)
Reduce occupation	3.36	(.55)	>	2.73	(1.07)***
Leave not enough time	2.82	(.68)	>	2.33	(1.11)*
Create problems	2.74	(.67)	>	2.24	(.97)*
Worries and problems	3.03	(.64)	>	2.55	(.90)*
Rely during emergencies	2.88	(.70)	<	3.27	(.88)*

\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Mothers believed that children were a disadvantage because children reduce career opportunities, do not leave enough time, create problems and cause worries. Mothers' feeling that children were a burden derived from both emotional and practical strain. Disadvantages were seen as particularly strong in relation to their career.

The results regarding the "reasons for wanting more children" showed that the top ranked items were the same for both Japanese mothers and grandmothers (see Table 5).

Their most preferred answers were: "It's a pleasure to watch children growing up," "Another child can be a companion for your child," "You want someone that you love and care for," and "It's fun to see children around the house." Table 5 shows that both Japanese mothers and grandmothers place a high value on emotional qualities of having children.

Table 5  
Reasons for Wanting More Children: Japanese Mothers and Grandmothers

Japanese mothers	Mean	Japanese grandmothers	Mean
1. Pleasure to watch children grow	2.61	1. Companion for your child	2.58
2. Companion for your child	2.58	2. Someone to love and care for	2.24
3. Someone to love and care for	2.42	3. Pleasure to watch children grow	2.19
4. Fun to have a child around	2.15	4. Fun to have a child around	2.03
5. You and your husband closer	1.91	5. Want another/ a girl	1.52
5. Want another/ a girl	1.91	6. Want another/ a boy	1.39
7. Help in your old age	1.52	6. You and your husband closer	1.39
8. Carry on your family name	1.27	8. Succeed in work	1.24
9. Want another/ a boy	1.21	9. Carry on your family name	1.21
9. Help around the house	1.21	10. Help in your old age	1.15
11. Succeed in work	1.15	11. Help around the house	1.12
12. Help your family economically	1.09	12. Help your family economically	1.00

The results regarding reasons for “not wanting more children” revealed that Japanese mothers and grandmothers chose the following items “not enough care for all children,” “financial burden,” “hard to discipline” (see Table 6). Unlike the emotional advantages of having children, the disadvantages were not only seen in emotional strain but also in practical strain such as “financial burden.” The eye-catching result here is that Japanese mothers evaluated “time strain” as the heaviest burden when having children. This is not at all the case for Japanese grandmothers.

Table 6  
Reasons for NOT Wanting More Children: Japanese Mothers and Grandmothers

Japanese mothers	Mean	Japanese grandmothers	Mean
1. Not free to do what you want	1.76	1. Not enough care for all children	1.52
2. Not enough care for all children	1.61	2. Financial burden	1.33
3. Financial burden	1.58	3. Hard to discipline and control	1.27
4. Hard to discipline and control	1.52	4. A lot of work and bother for you	1.24
5. Worries about sick children	1.48	5. Not free to do what you want	1.21
6. Harder for you to have a job	1.45	6. Worries about sick children	1.18
7. A lot of work and bother for you	1.42	7. Concerned about overpopulation	1.09
8. Not much time with your husband	1.18	8. Not much time with your husband	1.06
9. Concerned about overpopulation	1.03	8. Harder for you to have a job	1.06

Similar differences between Japanese mothers and grandmothers occurred with respect to reasons for not wanting more children (see Table 7). Consistent to the previous findings, Japanese mothers were more likely than grandmothers to feel restrictions by having children



with respect to time and career. They also mentioned more emotional strains such as concerns about their child's health.

Table 7  
Reasons for NOT Wanting More Children: Japanese Mothers vs. Grandmothers

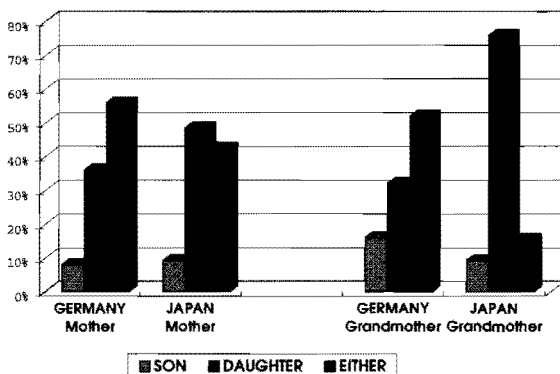
	Mother n = 33		>	Grandmother n = 33		
	M	(SD)		M	(SD)	
Les spare time	1.76	(.66)		1.21	(.48)	***
Harder to have a job	1.45	(.67)		1.06	(.24)	**
Worries about sick children	1.48	(.57)		1.18	(.39)	*

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001.

### 3.2 The Value of Children: Child's Gender Difference

The results regarding gender preferences of the child revealed that Japanese mothers and grandmothers both preferred daughters. Particularly grandmothers favored daughters to sons. The comparison with the German sample showed even more markedly the Japanese mothers' and grandmothers' preference for daughters (see Figure 1).

Figure 1  
Japanese Mothers' and Grandmothers' Gender Preferences for the Child



As for the results regarding mothers' expectations from sons and daughters, only a few significant gender differences occurred. Mothers would not expect their sons to "help in household," "financially assist siblings," "give their income," and "live close by" (see Figure 2). Mothers did not expect their daughters to "financially aid," "financially assist siblings," and "give their income" (see Figure 3).

Figure 2  
Japanese Mothers' Expectation of Practical Support From SON

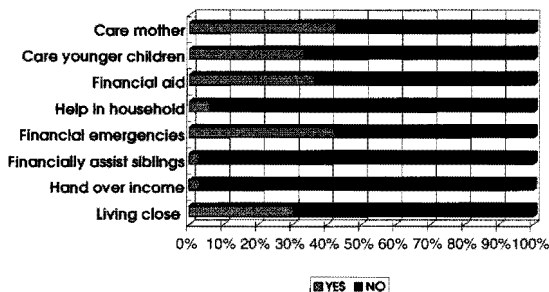
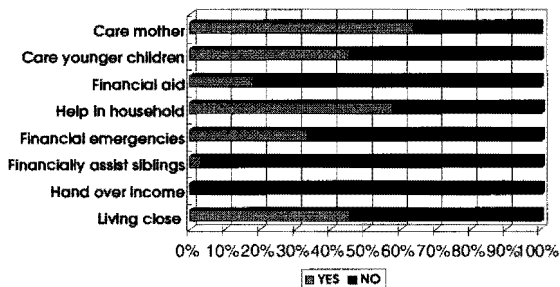


Figure 3  
Japanese Mothers' Expectation of Practical Support From DAUGHTER



These results imply that Japanese mothers preferred to be financially independent from their children in their later life, regardless of whether their child was a son or a daughter. According to these findings, gender differences occurred with respect to practical help: Sons were less expected to give practical support to their mothers.

In the same line, grandmothers did not expect sons' practical help (see Figure 4). Japanese grandmothers expected even less support from sons as compared to mothers. Grandmothers did not expect sons to "financially support," "help in household," "financially assist siblings," "pass on their income," and "live nearby." Also grandmothers did not expect financial support of daughters (see Figure 5).

Figure 4  
Japanese Grandmothers' Expectation of Practical Support From SON

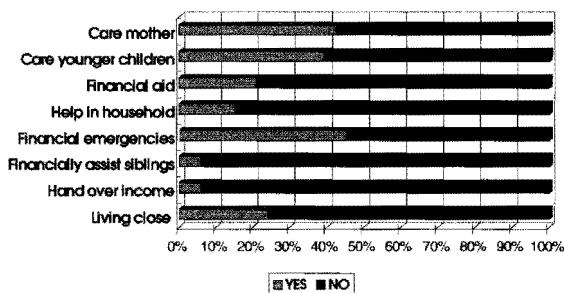
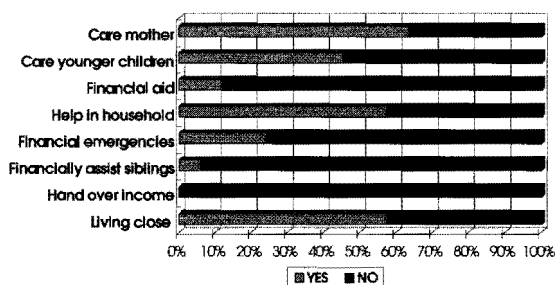


Figure 5  
Japanese Grandmothers' Expectation of Practical Support From DAUGHTER



However, about 60% of the grandmothers answered that they would expect daughters to “take care of mothers,” “help in household,” and “living close.” In other words, grandmothers expected that neither sons nor daughters would provide financial support, but daughters were expected to look after them as caregivers.

In line with these gender differences, the results of the chi-square tests underlined that Japanese mothers and grandmothers hold different expectations with respect to their sons' and daughters' support (see Table 8).

Table 8  
Expectation of Practical Help From Son vs. Daughter

Japanese mothers' expectation of practical help from son vs. daughter				
	n = 33			
	<u>Son</u>		<u>Daughter</u>	
Help in household	2 (6%)	<	19 (56%)	***
Japanese grandmothers' expectation of practical help from son vs. daughter				
	n = 33			
	<u>Son</u>		<u>Daughter</u>	
Living close	8 (24%)	<	19 (56%)	*
Help in household	5 (15%)	<	19 (56%)	**

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001.

Both mothers and grandmothers would expect daughters more than sons to help with household chores. Grandmothers also tended to expect their daughters more than their sons to live closer to them. Japanese mothers and grandmothers did not expect much practical support from their sons. Although they would not fully rely on their daughters as caregivers, they nevertheless expected their daughters more than their sons to help in the household.

#### 4. Discussion

This study has investigated Japanese mothers' and grandmothers' value of children by focusing on (1) the advantages and disadvantages of having children and (2) on gender preferences and expectations from sons and daughters. The findings from this study have to be seen in relation to the results from the original Japanese VOC study in the seventies (Arnold et al., 1975). The first finding of the present study was that Japanese mothers and grandmothers showed higher emotional than economic or practical value of children. Also, Japanese mothers and grandmothers valued children more positively than negatively. This value orientation is in line with the original study in the 1970s in Japan (Arnold et al., 1975).

One may be surprised that Japanese children are not perceived as a financial burden even though the education of Japanese children has become increasingly costly, both financially and with respect to investment of time. This can be seen by the comments of Japanese mothers: 22 out of the 33 participants in this study said that they sent their 2 to 4 year old children to extra private lessons after nursery

school. However, even though mothers are required to invest heavily in their children, they do not evaluate this as so negative, they rather find numerous positive aspects of having children. Japanese mothers see more positive emotional values in having children such as love and companionship. Thus, the psychological value of children is significantly higher than the economic value for Japanese mothers.

The second interesting finding of the present study is that Japanese mothers are more likely than grandmothers to see disadvantages in having children. This is indicated by the mothers' belief that children are a burden when pursuing a career. This belief seems to have been established rather recently and indicates a change of values. The original VOC study in the seventies did not compare the two generations; instead young mothers in their 20s and 30s were interviewed (Arnold et al., 1975). In contrast to the present study, the Japanese mothers from the original VOC study did not emphasize "restrictions on job and career" over and above the other disadvantages of having children (e.g. restrictions on time, financial costs, and child's health problems). Only thirty years later, young mothers perceived restrictions on career opportunities as one of the biggest disadvantages with respect to having children, while time and financial strain were not considered to be so important. This finding may explain why the fertility rate in Japan has dropped from 1.80 in 80s to 1.41 in 2001 (CIA, 2001). More and more females of the younger generations tend to focus on their own needs more than on family concerns (Kashiwagi, 1999; Trommsdorff, 1999). They may rather feel that having a child induces restrictions to pursue their own interests. Thus, Japanese mothers' value of children is undergoing significant changes due to social changes including the changing gender roles and nature of women's career expectations.

The third relevant result is that Japanese mothers and grandmothers preferred daughters to sons. This preference of daughters has only been observed recently. Up until the early 80s, sons had been preferred to daughters in Japan (Kashiwagi, 1999). The original VOC study of the seventies also reported that "the instrumental value of sons as heirs" was quite salient (Arnold et al., 1975). However, the role of Japanese children as providing economic security for parents has become less important in the past decades (Kojima, 1999). This change of children's role for their parents and the accompanying

value change of gender preference, especially the decreasing value of sons, can be interpreted as an indicator of social change.

The results of the present study indicate that Japanese mothers' and grandmothers' preference of daughters is related to expected emotional rewards such as companionship and understanding. In fact, recent studies have observed the phenomenon of intimate mother-daughter relationships which has been labeled "identical twin mother-daughter" (Kashiwagi, 1999). Moreover, mothers and (particularly) grandmothers are likely to expect daughters' practical help as a caretaker around the house. This is a reaction to the problematic situation of the elderly in Japan (see Tominaga in this volume). The elderly in Japan are more likely than their German counterparts to expect informal support from their family (Soumucho, 1997). Most of this informal support in the Japanese family is provided by women (Shimoyama, 2000). Deficits in formal social support for the elderly in Japan may contribute to explaining the grandmothers' preference for daughters. Currently, both emotional and practical needs of mothers seem to be mainly provided by their daughters. For Japanese mothers, the expected emotional rewards from their daughters seem to be particularly important.

In conclusion, this study has shed light on ongoing changes in the Japanese society with respect to the Japanese mothers' value of children. Some decades ago, Japanese mothers still tended to feel economically dependent on their sons, and they relied on their daughters' practical help as caregivers. At the same time, they expected their daughters to be emotionally close as their companion. Currently, the emotional value of children has become the dominant reason for having children in Japan. Japanese mothers have become less likely to count on their sons' income; at the same time, the value of sons has decreased. Daughters, however, continue to play a role both as mothers' future caregivers and companions; this is related to mothers' high preference of daughters. Thus, the current study reveals how the value of children varies depending on socio-economic and cultural changes, and related changes in the role of women.

The present study suggests that contemporary Japanese women prefer to pursue their own interests including having a career; as mothers they feel less dependent on their children. This observation gives rise to the question whether in the future, Japanese mothers will place less emotional value on children. In order to answer this

question, further research is required to investigate which cultural values are internalized and transmitted from parents to children, and from generation to generation. The upcoming main study on “Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations” (cf. Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2001; Trommsdorff, Zengh & Tardif, in press) attempts to deal with this question, and to contribute to the understanding of the parent-child relationships in diverse socio-cultural and socio-economic contexts.

## References

- Arnold, F., Bulatao, R. A., Buripakdi, C., Chung, B. J., Fawcett, J. T., Iritani, T., Lee, S. J., & Wu, T.-S. (1975). *The value of children: A cross-national study. Vol. 1. Introduction and comparative analysis*. Honolulu, HI: East-West Population Institute.
- Caudill, W., & Weinstein, H. (1969). Maternal care and infant behavior in Japan and America. *Psychiatry*, 32, 12-43.
- CIA (2001). *The World Factbook* [On-line]. Available: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>.
- Fogel, A., Stevenson, M. B., & Messinger, D. (1992). A comparison of the parent-child relationship in Japan and the United States. In J. L. Roopnarine & D. Bruce (Eds.), *Annual advances in applied developmental psychology: Vol. 5. Parent-child socialization in diverse cultures* (pp. 35-51). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Hoffman, L. (1989). The value of children to parents and childrearing patterns. In Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı (Ed.), *Growth and progress in cross-cultural psychology: Selected papers from the 8<sup>th</sup> international conference of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology* (pp. 159-170). Berwyn, PA: Swets.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1982). Old-age security value of children: Cross-national socioeconomic evidence. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 13, 29-41.
- Kashiwagi, K. (1999). Kodomo no kachi [Value of child]. In H. Azuma & K. Kashiwagi (Eds.), *Shakai to kazoku no shinrigaku*. (pp. 169-170, pp. 188-190). Kyoto, Japan: Mineruva Shobo.
- Kashiwagi, K., & Nagahisa, H. (1999). Josei ni okeru kodomo no kachi: Ima naze ko wo umunoka [Value of a child for women: Why have a child now?]. *Japanese Journal of Educational Psychology*, 47, 170-179.
- Kojima, H. (1999). Value of children in pre-industrial and industrial Japan. In German-Japanese Society for Social Sciences (Ed.), *Social and psychological change of Japan and Germany: The last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century* (pp. 195-207). Tokyo: Waseda University Press.

- Lebra, T. S. (1994). Mother and child in Japanese socialization: A Japan-US comparison. In P. M. Greenfield & R. R. Cocking (Eds.), *Cross-cultural roots of minority child development* (pp. 259-274). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Rothbaum, F. M., Pott, M., Azuma, H., Miyake, K., & Weisz, J. R. (2000). The development of close relationships in Japan and the United States: Paths of symbiotic harmony and generative tension. *Child Development*, *71*, 1121-1142.
- Shimoyama, A. (2000). Koureisha no fuyou to kaigo no shakaika [Socialization for the elderly support and care]. In Y. Someya (Ed.), *Oi to Kazoku* (pp. 205-206). Kyoto, Japan: Mineruva Shobo.
- Soumucho-chokan-kanbou, koureishakai taisakushitsu (1997). *Koureisha no seikatsu to ishiki: Dai 4 kai kokusai hikakuchousa kekka houkokusho* [The life and thoughts of the elderly: Report of the 4<sup>th</sup> international comparative survey]. Tokyo: Chuo Houki
- Trommsdorff, G. (1999). Cultural and developmental aspects of values of children. In German-Japanese Society for Social Sciences (Ed.), *Social and psychological change of Japan and Germany: The last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century* (pp. 209-229). Tokyo: Waseda University Press.
- Trommsdorff, G. (2001). Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen im interkulturellen Vergleich [Parent-child relationships in cross-cultural comparison]. In S. Walper & R. Pekrun (Hrsg.), *Familie und Entwicklung: Perspektiven der Familienpsychologie* (S. 23-50). Göttingen, Germany: Hogrefe.
- Trommsdorff, G., & Essau, C. A. (1998). Japanese and German adolescents' control orientation: A cross-cultural study. In G. Trommsdorff, W. Friedlmeier, & H.-J. Kornadt (Eds.), *Japan in transition: Social and psychological aspects* (pp. 198-211). Lengerich, Germany: Pabst Science.
- Trommsdorff, G., & Nauck, B. (2001). *Value of children in six cultures: Eine Replikation und Erweiterung der "Value-of-Children-Studies" in Bezug auf generatives Verhalten und Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen* [Value of children in six cultures: A replication and extension of the "Value-of-Children-Studies" with respect to generative behavior and parent-child relationships]. Unpublished manuscript, University of Konstanz, Germany.
- Trommsdorff, G., Zheng, G., & Tardif, T. (in press). Value of children and intergenerational relations in cultural context. In P. Boski (Ed.), *New directions in cross-cultural research*. Warsaw, Poland: Polish Academy of Sciences.