

Cross-cultural Research on “Value of Children”

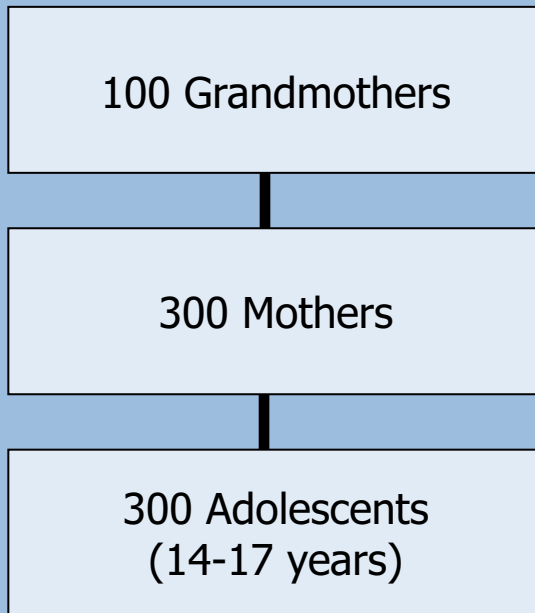
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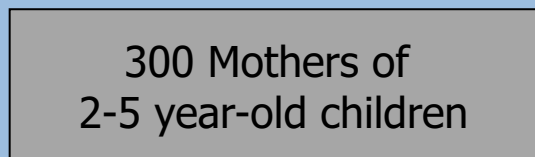
The Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations Study (VOC-Study)

Design (per country)

3-Generations Study



Replication Study



- Replication and extension of the cross-cultural VOC-studies carried out in the 1970ies (Arnold et al., 1975; Hoffman & Hoffman, 1973)
- Focus of the original study on
 - Relations between VOC (Reasons for having/not having children) and fertility
 - Knowledge and practice of birth control
- Focus of the new study on
 - Interplay of values and parent-child relations across three generations
 - see Trommsdorff & Nauck (2005)
- About 18 cultural groups have joined

Value of Children (VOC)

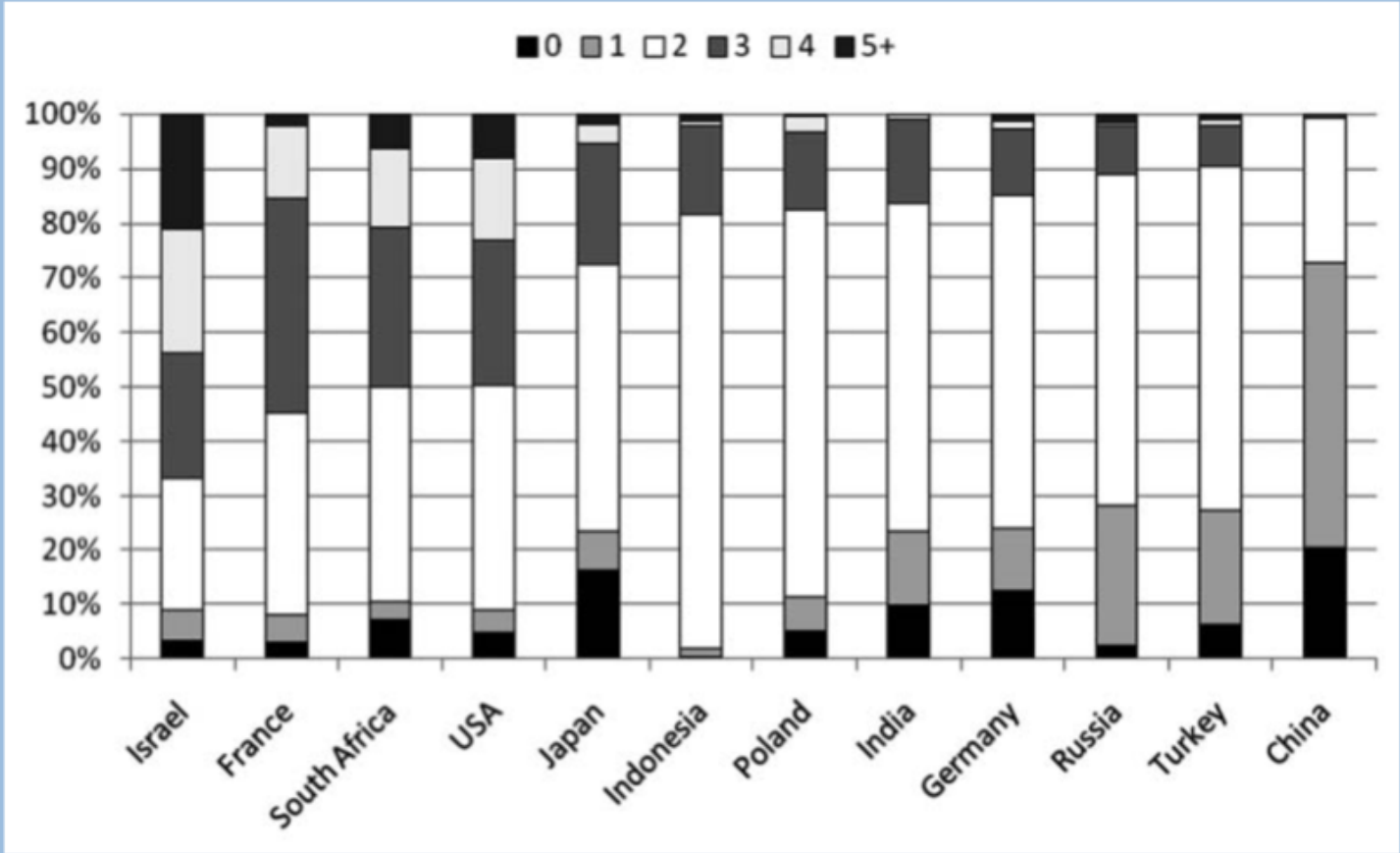
- > Reasons for having (or not having) children
- > Refers to the needs children fulfill for their parents (Hoffman & Hoffman, 1973)
- > Emotional, social, and economic benefits and costs from having children (Arnold et al., 1975; Kagitcibasi, 1982)
 - Economic needs best fulfilled by many children → **Economic VOC** positively related to fertility
 - Emotional needs fulfilled by 1 or 2 children as good as by many children → **Emotional VOC** negatively related to fertility
- > VOC as psychological mediator of the relationship between economic development and declining fertility
- > Relations mostly confirmed at group-level (across cultures/time/cohorts) (e.g., Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005; Mayer et al., 2005)
- > Relations partly confirmed at individual level (Kagitcibasi, 1982; Nauck, 2007)
- > Uni-directional conceptualization of “VOC → Fertility” relations problematic

Adolescents' Value of Children and Their Intentions to Have Children

n = 3348

Culture	GDP PPP ^a	Total fertility rate ^b		Economic status		Age		Years of school completed		
	US\$	1970–1975	2000–2005	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M adj ^c
India	2,126	5.3	3.1	3.16	1.01	15.94	1.42	9.18	4.37	9.04
Indonesia	3,234	5.3	2.4	2.83	0.73	15.25	1.00	9.60	1.43	9.78
China	4,091	4.9	1.7	2.70	0.75	13.91	0.93	8.20	1.17	9.19
Turkey	7,786	5.3	2.2	3.13	0.85	14.80	1.04	9.20	1.43	9.67
South Africa	8,477	5.5	2.8	2.63	0.87	14.96	1.21	9.56	1.39	9.95
Russia ^d	11,861	2.0	1.3	—	—	16.09	1.35	8.92	1.25	8.53
Poland	13,573	2.3	1.3	3.05	0.71	15.60	1.25	8.40	1.53	8.34
Israel	23,845	3.8	2.9	3.09	0.72	15.79	1.35	9.95	1.53	9.80
France	29,644	2.3	1.9	3.46	0.59	15.75	1.18	9.72	1.13	9.57
Germany	30,496	1.6	1.3	3.22	0.59	15.65	1.04	9.34	1.13	9.25
Japan	31,267	2.1	1.3	3.09	0.80	16.46	0.77	10.10	0.71	9.52
United States	41,674	2.0	2.0	3.22	0.70	16.24	1.45	10.26	1.37	9.80

Intended # of Children across Cultures: $\eta^2 = 0.19$



Culture	M
India	1.82 _b
Indonesia	2.19 _c
China	1.08 _a
Turkey	1.82 _b
South Africa	2.63 _d
Russia	1.84 _b
Poland	2.05 _{bc}
Israel	3.41 _e
France	2.59 _d
Germany	1.76 _b
Japan	1.92 _b
United States	2.74 _d

VOC Factor Structure for Adolescents (Pooled Solution)

	Emotional VOC	Utilitarian-normative VOC
Because of the pleasure you get from watching your children grow.	.79	.10
Because it is a joy to have a small baby.	.77	.10
Because it is fun to have young children around the house.	.76	.11
Because of the special feeling of love that develops between a parent and a child.	.76	.01
To have someone to love and care for.	.65	.18
Because raising children helps you to learn about life and yourself.	.59	.26
Because having children increases your sense of responsibility and helps you to develop.	.57	.29
Because any new family member makes your family more important.	.46	.37
To have one more person to help your family economically.	.06	.72
To carry on the family name.	.12	.67
Because some of your older relatives feel that you should have more children.	.02	.64
Because a child helps around the house.	.13	.64
Your children can help you when you're old.	.20	.63
Because parenthood improves your standing and betters your reputation among your kin.	.24	.62
To be sure that enough children will survive to adulthood.	.09	.60
When it is a duty to have children according to your belief.	.17	.56
Because people with children are less likely to be lonely in old age.	.31	.54
Because your life will be continued through your children.	.40	.45

Target rotation Tucker's Phis between .95 and .99 for both factors in the 2-dimensional solution

Exceptions (.59 - .83):

Israel (3 dimensions)

South Africa (1 dimension)

Reliabilities (Cronbachs α):

Emotional VOC: 0.75 - 0.83

Utilitarian-normative VOC:
0.68 – 0.85

Mayer & Trommsdorff (2010)

Emotional VOC across Cultures:

$\eta^2 = 0.06$

Table 4. Culture and Gender Differences in Emotional Value of Children

Culture	Boys		Girls		All	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
India	4.06	0.76	4.15	0.78	4.11 _{bc}	0.77
Indonesia	4.09	0.48	4.24	0.44	4.17 _c	0.47
China	3.70	0.85	3.76	0.90	3.73 _a	0.88
Turkey	4.13	0.57	4.08	0.76	4.10 _{bc}	0.68
South Africa	3.98	1.07	4.04	0.91	4.01 _{bc}	0.98
Russia	3.81	0.73	4.09	0.55	3.96 _b	0.65
Poland	3.97	0.60	4.06	0.63	4.02 _{bc}	0.62
Israel	3.42	0.85	3.65	0.72	3.56 _a	0.78
France	3.91	0.63	4.13	0.52	4.03 _{bc}	0.58
Germany	3.56	0.70	3.78	0.65	3.68 _a	0.68
Japan	3.74	0.92	3.60	0.93	3.65 _a	0.92
United States	3.88	0.86	4.23	0.63	4.10 _{bc}	0.74

N = 3,279; boys *n* = 1,387; girls *n* = 1,892. Means in the “all” column that share a common subscript do not differ significantly in comparison of marginal means of the culture main effect. Cultures are listed according to their GDP in ascending order.

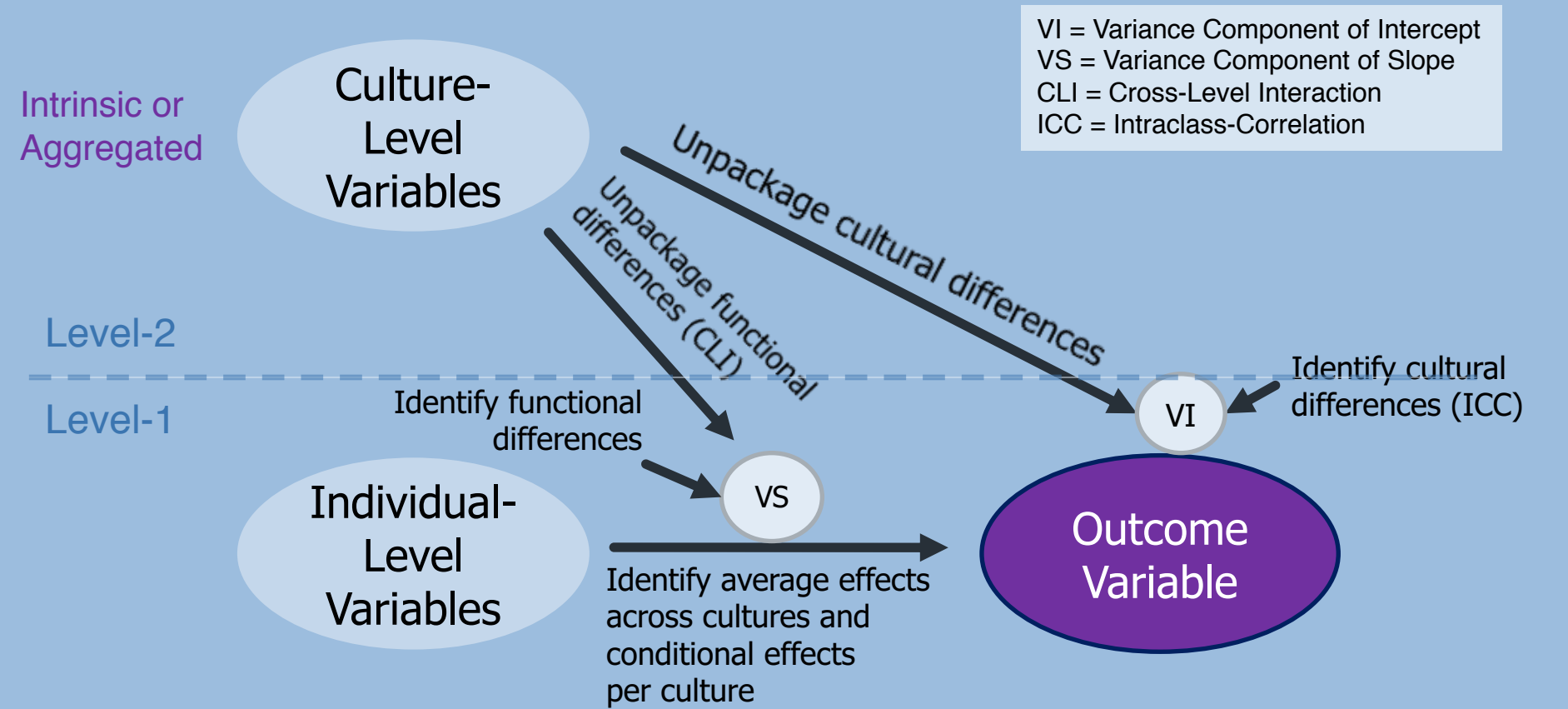
Utilitarian-normative VOC across Cultures: $\eta^2 = 0.37$

Table 5. Culture and Gender Differences in Utilitarian-Normative Value of Children

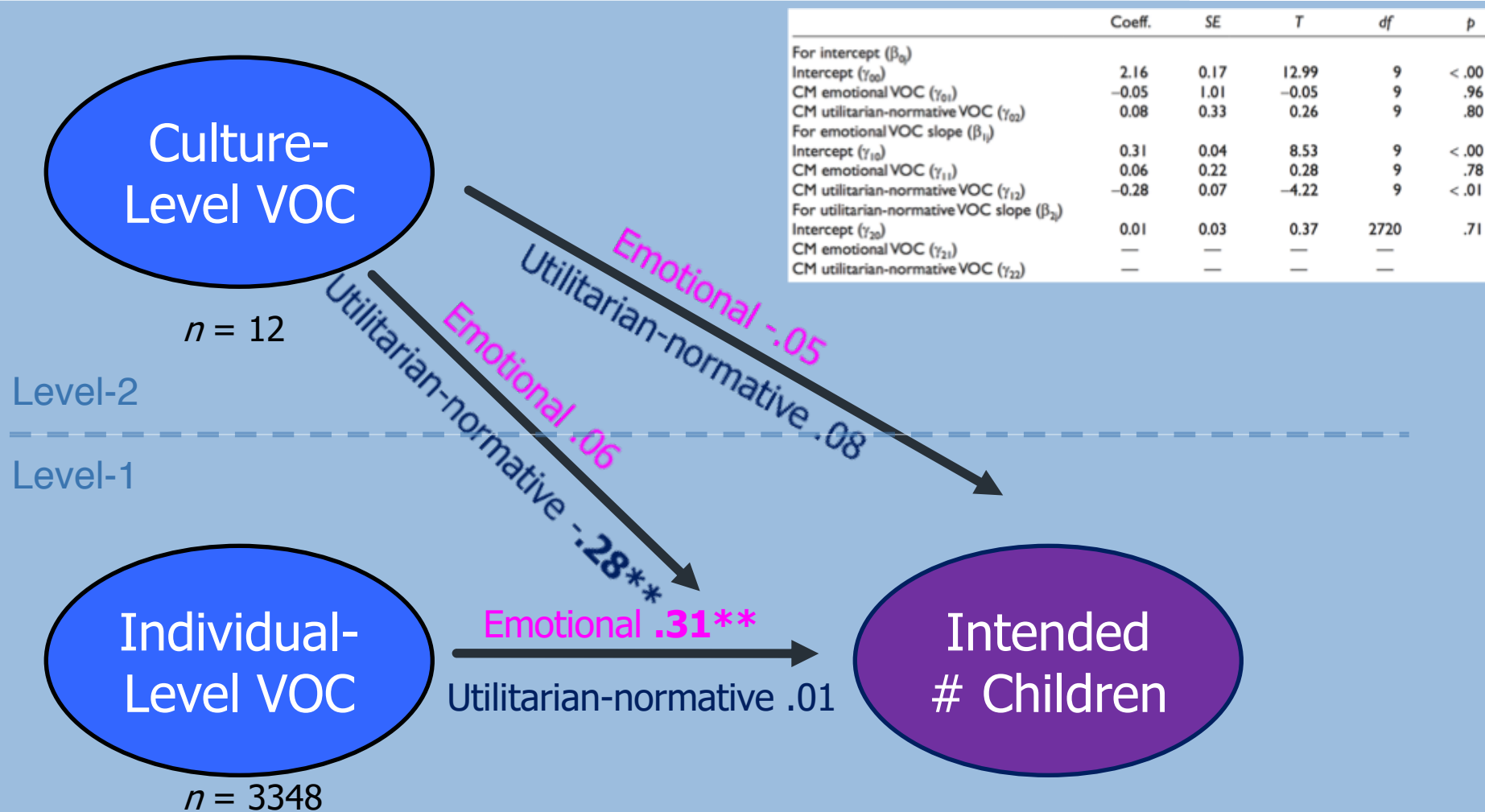
Culture	Boys		Girls		All	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
India	3.54	0.88	3.49	0.95	3.51 _d	0.92
Indonesia	3.43	0.56	3.50	0.60	3.47 _d	0.58
China	2.49	0.81	2.32	0.72	2.39 _b	0.76
Turkey	2.69	0.87	2.32	0.88	2.49 _b	0.89
South Africa	3.60	0.88	3.55	0.88	3.57 _d	0.88
Russia	3.01	0.75	2.71	0.74	2.85 _c	0.76
Poland	2.50	0.73	2.45	0.80	2.47 _b	0.77
Israel	2.52	0.63	2.50	0.72	2.51 _b	0.69
France	2.08	0.76	1.88	0.55	1.97 _a	0.66
Germany	1.93	0.57	1.80	0.57	1.86 _a	0.58
Japan	2.05	0.62	1.96	0.65	1.99 _a	0.64
United States	2.50	0.83	2.18	0.82	2.30 _b	0.84

N = 3,279; boys *n* = 1,387; girls *n* = 1,892. Means in the “all” column that share a common subscript do not differ significantly in comparison of marginal means of the culture main effect. Cultures are listed according to their GDP in ascending order.

Potential of Multilevel-Models in Cross-Cultural Research



Adolescents' Value of Children and Their Intentions to Have Children: **HLM**



Kagitcibasi's Generic Model of the Family in Context

Context

Culture

Individualistic/
collectivistic

Living Conditions

Urban – rural, SES
Level of affluence

Family Structure

Family type
Wealth flows
Family ties
Fertility
Woman's status

Family Systems

Socialization Values

Loyalties
Emotional/material investments
In(ter)dependence values
Value of children
Degree of son preference

Family Interaction/Socialization

Parenting style
Child-rearing orientation

Self-other relations

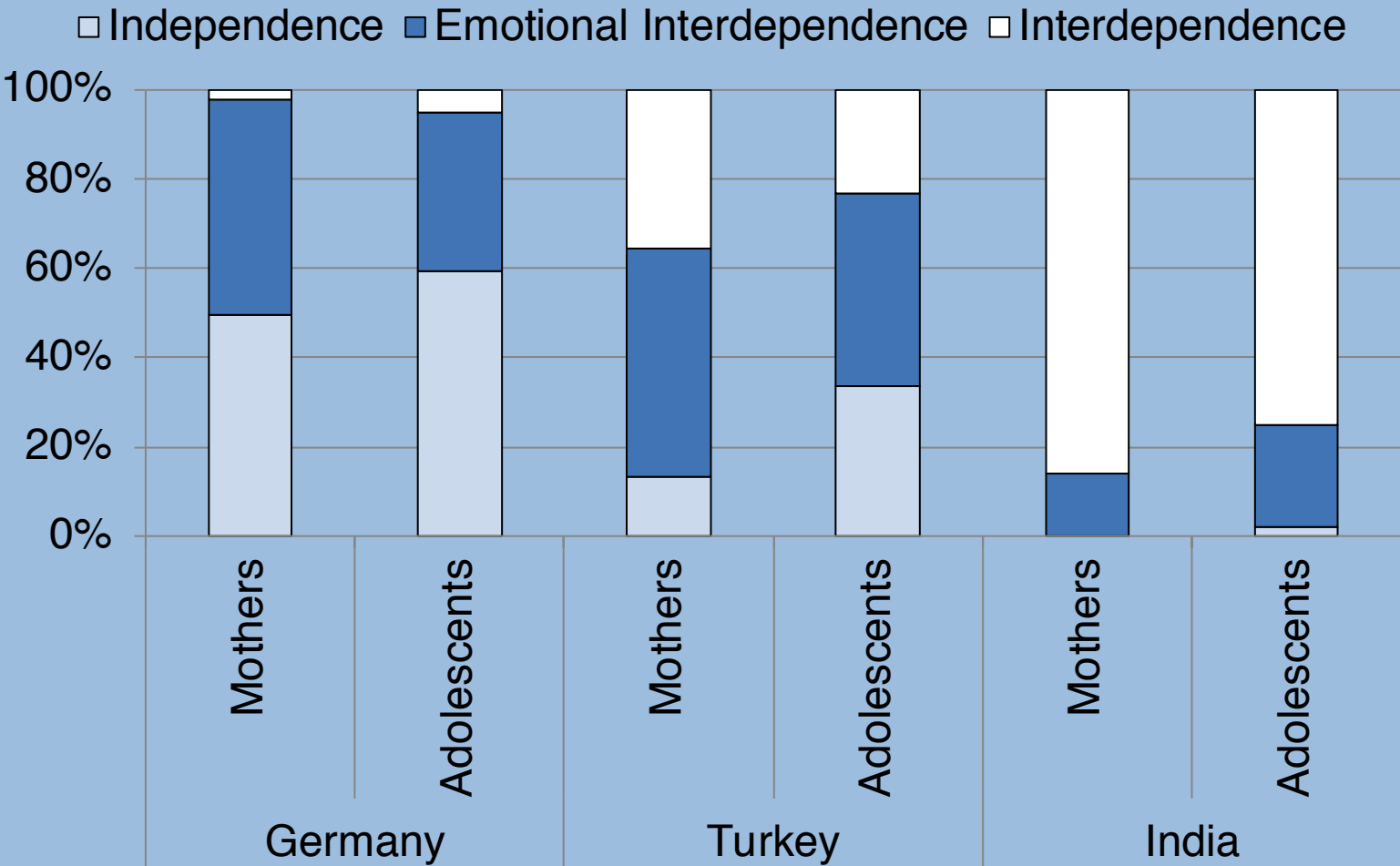
Intergenerational / familial
(in)dependence
Interpersonal (in)dependence
Development of Self

Kagitcibasi (2007)

Kagitcibasi's Family Change Theory

- > Focuses on the universality of the basic human needs of autonomy and relatedness
- > Emphasis on family relationships and related values as reflecting a culture's capacity for fulfilling its members' basic needs
- > Postulates a synthesis in family models through cultural change
 - Optimal family model is one of ***emotional interdependence (but material independence)***
 - Family models will (and should) converge to this model through...
 - changes in ***traditional cultures*** from a model of total interdependence to a model with more autonomy, less hierarchy, and more material independence of family members, but with the ***same amount of emotional closeness***
 - changes in ***Western individualistic cultures*** from a model of total independence to a synthetic family model of emotional inter-dependence (by developing more closeness among family members)
 - Empirical status of the theory unclear (Mayer, 2013)

Family Models across Generations in Germany, Turkey, and India



Intergenerational Similarity of Family Value Patterns: **Transmission**

Pan-Cultural Analysis

		Mothers				
Adolescents		Indep	Emo Inter	Interdep	Kappa	Weighted Kappa
	Indep	130	141	20	.38***	.49***
	Emo Inter	53	154	101		
	Interdep	8	51	245		

- Overall generational similarity of family models substantial
- Deviations of adolescents' family models from their mothers' family models mostly in direction of more **independent** family models
- **But:** mixes culture-level transmission with individual-level transmission!
Therefore: cross-generational family model similarity per culture (next slides)

Intergenerational Similarity of Family Value Patterns: **Transmission**

Mothers						
Adolescents		Indep	Emo Inter	Interdep	Kappa	Weighted Kappa
	Germany				.13**	.15***
	Indep	101	79	2		
	Emo Inter	45	60	3		
	Interdep	4	9	2		
	Turkey				.19***	.27***
	Indep	29	60	14		
	Emo Inter	8	74	52		
	Interdep	4	23	43		
	India				.24***	.24***
	Indep	0	2	4		
	Emo Inter	0	20	46		
	Interdep	0	19	200		

Multilevel-Effects of Religiosity on the Value of Children and Family Values

- > Secularization thesis: Religion and traditional values decline with economic prosperity (Norris & Inglehart, 2011)
- > Modernization theory: Impact of the rise of individualism/self-expression values on the family? (Georgas, 2006; Inglehart & Oyserman, 2004; Kagitcibasi, 2007)
- > Both processes fueled by economic development
 - Relation between religion/religiosity and family orientation?
 - Direction of influence? (Eberstadt, 2013)
- > Differential impact of cultural change on different aspects of adolescents' family orientation?
 - Traditional conservative values
 - Psychological VOC and plans for children in the future

Multilevel-Effects on Traditional Family Aspects

<i>DV: Traditional Family Values</i>		<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>	
Fixed Effects		<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>
Level 1							
Intercept (γ_{00})		4.24	56.29***	4.24	51.94***	5.34	13.01***
Religiosity (γ_{10})				0.10	14.19***	0.10	14.20***
SES (γ_{20})				0.00	0.15	0.00	0.17
Level 2							
Human Development Index (γ_{01})						-1.26	-2.58*
Traditional/Secular-Rational (γ_{02})						-0.18	-3.33**
Survival/Self-Expression (γ_{03})						-0.02	-0.33
Variance Components							
Random Intercept (σ^2_{v0})		.101		.102		.026	
Level-1 Residual (σ^2_{ϵ})		.281		.269		.264	
<i>DV: Utilitarian-Normative VOC</i>		<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>	
Fixed Effects		<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>
Level 1							
Intercept (γ_{00})		2.56	17.81***	2.67	17.91***	6.06	10.77***
Religiosity (γ_{10})				0.06	6.43***	0.06	6.43***
SES (γ_{20})				-0.04	-2.57*	-0.04	-2.63**
Level 2							
Human Development Index (γ_{01})						-3.97	-5.91***
Traditional/Secular-Rational (γ_{02})						-0.15	-2.01+
Survival/Self-Expression (γ_{03})						-0.04	-0.52
Variance Components							
Random Intercept (σ^2_{v0})		.369		.363		.048	
Residual (σ^2_{ϵ})		.567		.561		.561	

Multilevel-Effects on Psychological and Future-Oriented Family Aspects

<i>DV: Psychological VOC</i>		<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>	
Fixed Effects		<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>
Level 1							
Intercept (γ_{00})		3.97	75.94***	3.91	58.51***	4.16	10.54***
Religiosity (γ_{10})				0.07	7.57***	0.07	7.57***
SES (γ_{20})				0.02	1.48	0.02	1.57
Level 2							
Human Development Index (γ_{01})						-0.26	-0.56
Traditional/Secular-Rational (γ_{02})						-0.15	-2.88*
Survival/Self-Expression (γ_{03})						-0.01	-0.27
Variance Components							
Random Intercept (σ^2_{v0})		.047		.047		.023	
Residual (σ^2_e)		.498		.492		.492	

<i>DV: Intended Number of Children</i>		<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>	
Fixed Effects		<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>T</i>
Level 1							
Intercept (γ_{00})		2.12	17.32***	1.99	14.39***	0.09	0.08
Religiosity (γ_{10})				0.15	9.86***	0.15	9.86***
SES (γ_{20})				0.04	2.01*	0.04	1.94+
Level 2							
Human Development Index (γ_{01})						2.34	1.87+
Traditional/Secular-Rational (γ_{02})						-0.29	-2.12*
Survival/Self-Expression (γ_{03})						0.07	0.56
Variance Components							
Random Intercept (σ^2_{v0})		.265		.259		.170	
Residual (σ^2_e)		1.02		.991		.991	

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