

# Adolescents' Values and Future Orientation

## Multi-level Analyses From 11 Cultures in the Value-of-Children Study

*Boris Mayer*

*Gisela Trommsdorff*

University of Konstanz



# The Value of Children Project

- Cross-cultural 3-generation study with about 1000 participants per culture
- Extension and replication of the VOC-studies done in the 1970s (Arnold et al., 1975)
- Focus on family relationships, the value of children, and fertility



# The Value of Children

- Reasons for and against having children
- Psychological mediator between socio-economic/cultural conditions and fertility decisions
- Previous studies suggest 3 dimensions:
  - Economic-utilitarian VOC
  - Social-normative VOC
  - Psychological/Emotional VOC



# Goals of the Present Study

- Explore the dimensionality of adolescents' VOC in 11 cultures
- Compare adolescents' VOC and their wish to have children across cultures
- Explore the relationship between VOC and planned fertility on the individual and the cultural level





# Culture, VOC and Fertility

- Low fertility in industrialized vs. high fertility in traditional cultures
- High importance of Emotional VOC in Western cultures vs. high importance of Economic VOC in traditional non-Western cultures
- Economic VOC declines with socio-economic development, Emotional VOC stays high or gets more important
- Economic VOC related to higher fertility, Emotional VOC related to lower fertility (Kagitcibasi, 1982)



# Sample

Country	Males	Females	N	Age	(SD)
Germany	137	174	311	15.7	(1.1)
France	90	110	200	15.7	(1.2)
Switzerland	55	76	131	19.8	(1.9)
Israel	69	119	194	15.8	(1.4)
Turkey	144	162	308	14.7	(1.1)
South Africa	122	195	317	15.0	(1.2)
India	148	152	300	16.0	(1.5)
Indonesia	135	165	300	15.3	(1.0)
China	129	177	306	13.8	(1.1)
Korea	143	252	397	15.3	(1.5)
Japan	77	130	208	16.5	(0.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1249</b>	<b>1712</b>	<b>2972</b>	<b>15.5</b>	<b>(1.7)</b>



# VOC Factor Structure

VOC-Items	Emotional	Traditional
Because it increases sense of responsibility and helps you develop.	.61	.21
Because it is a joy to have a small baby.	.73	.14
Because it is fun to have young children around the house.	.76	.10
Because of the pleasure you get from watching your children grow	.78	.12
Because of the special feeling of love between a parent and a child.	.75	.03
Because raising children helps you to learn about life and yourself.	.62	.21
To have someone to love and care for.	.63	.18
Because parenthood improves standing /reputation among your kin.	.30	.58
Because older relatives feel that you should have more children.	.03	.62
To be sure that enough children will survive to adulthood.	.07	.59
To carry on the family name.	.13	.68
To have one more person to help your family economically.	.07	.72
When it is a duty to have children according to your belief.	.15	.56
Your children can help you when you're old.	.20	.62
Because a child helps around the house.	.15	.61
Because your life will be continued through your children.	.38	.46
Because any new family member makes your family more important.	.50	.32
Because people with children are less likely to be lonely in old age.	.34	.49



# Target Rotations (Tucker's Phi)

	Emotional	Traditional
Germany	.97	.97
France	.96	.94
Switzerland	.98	.96
Israel	.75	.61
Turkey	.99	.99
South Africa	.84	.73
India	.96	.97
Indonesia	.95	.96
China	.98	.98
Korea	.97	.98
Japan	.98	.99



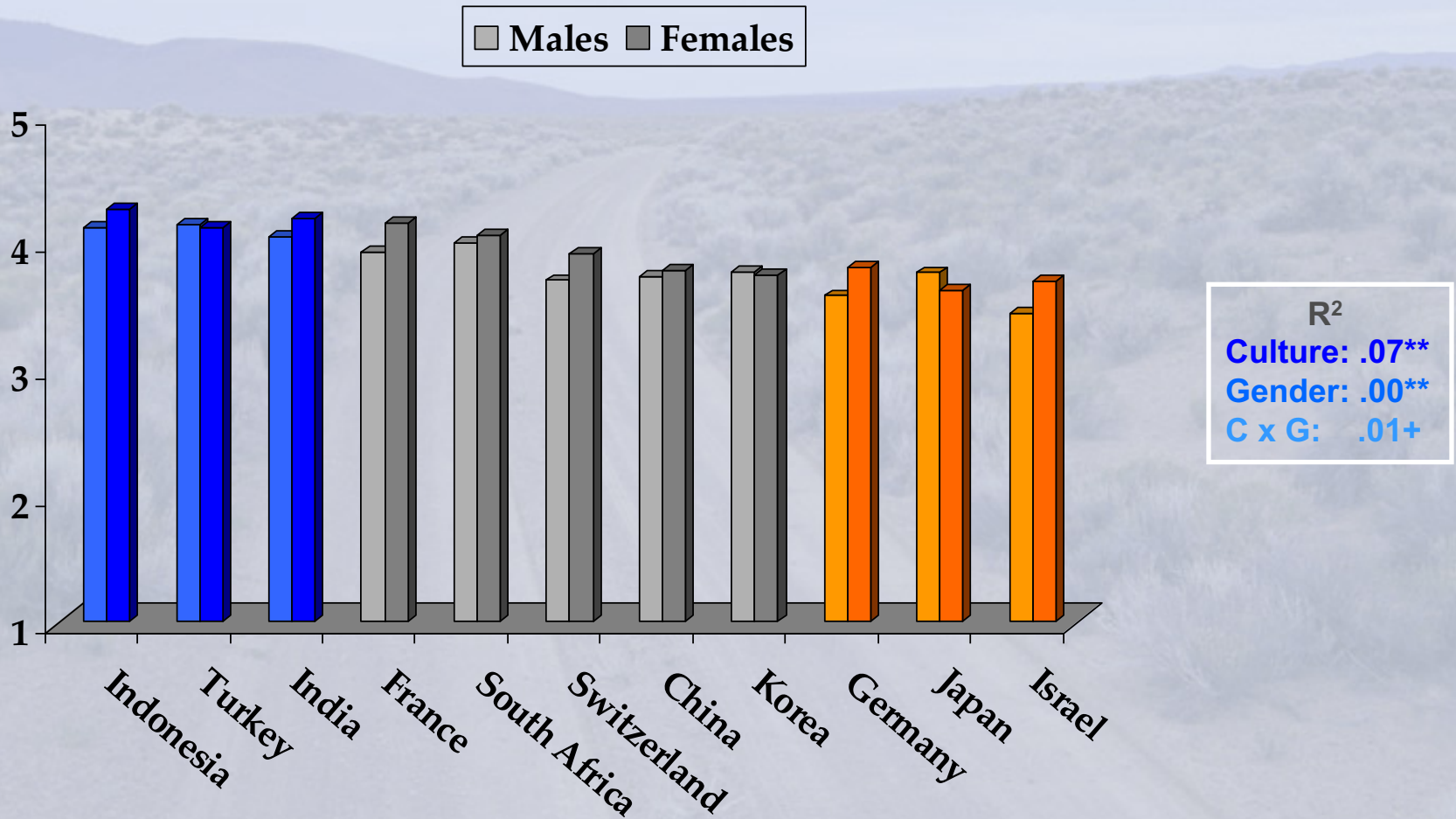


# Reliabilities (Cronbach's Alpha)

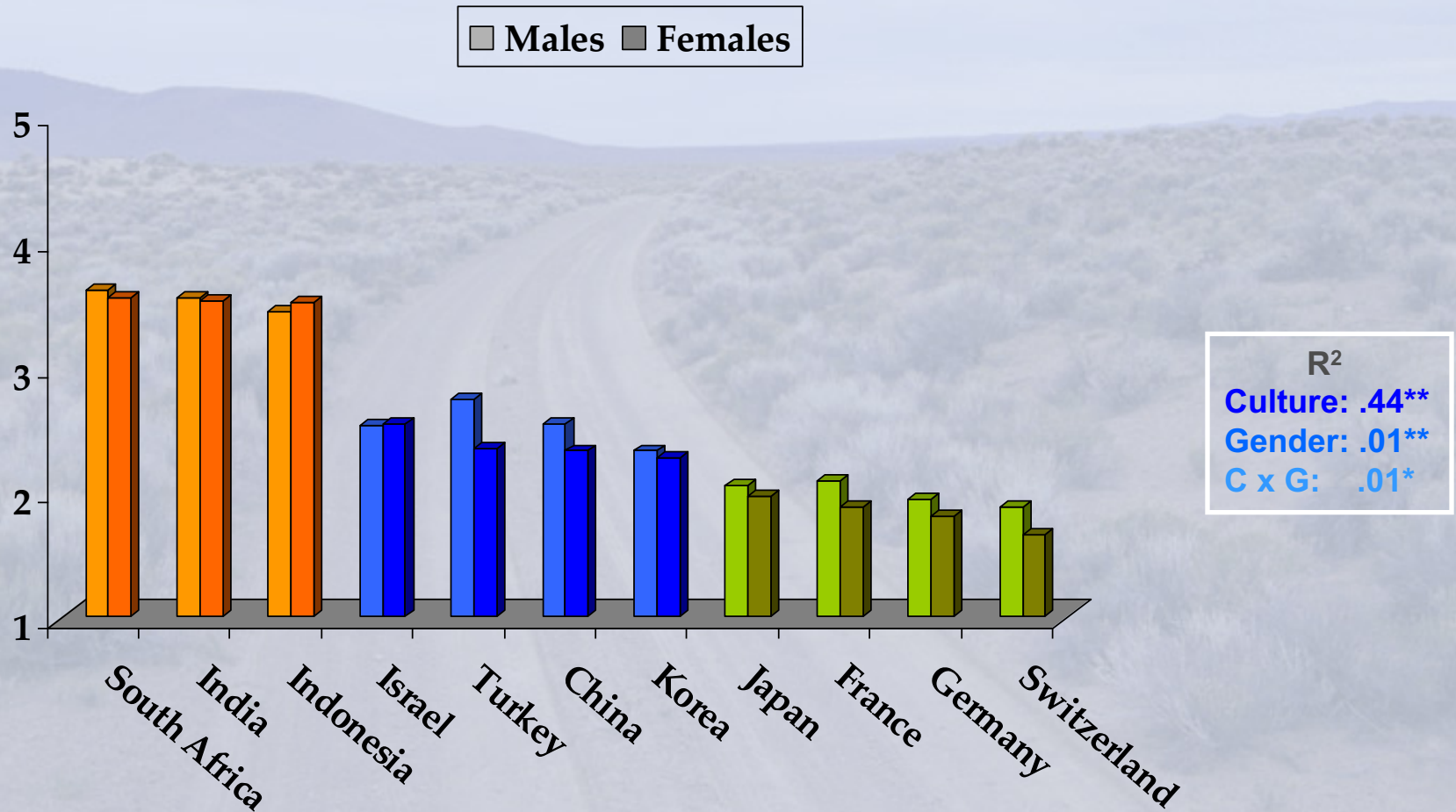
	Emotional	Traditional
Germany	.81	.80
France	.75	.77
Switzerland	.78	.80
Israel	.76	.68
Turkey	.84	.86
South Africa	.88	.77
India	.84	.84
Indonesia	.79	.76
China	.89	.82
Korea	.83	.78
Japan	.89	.81



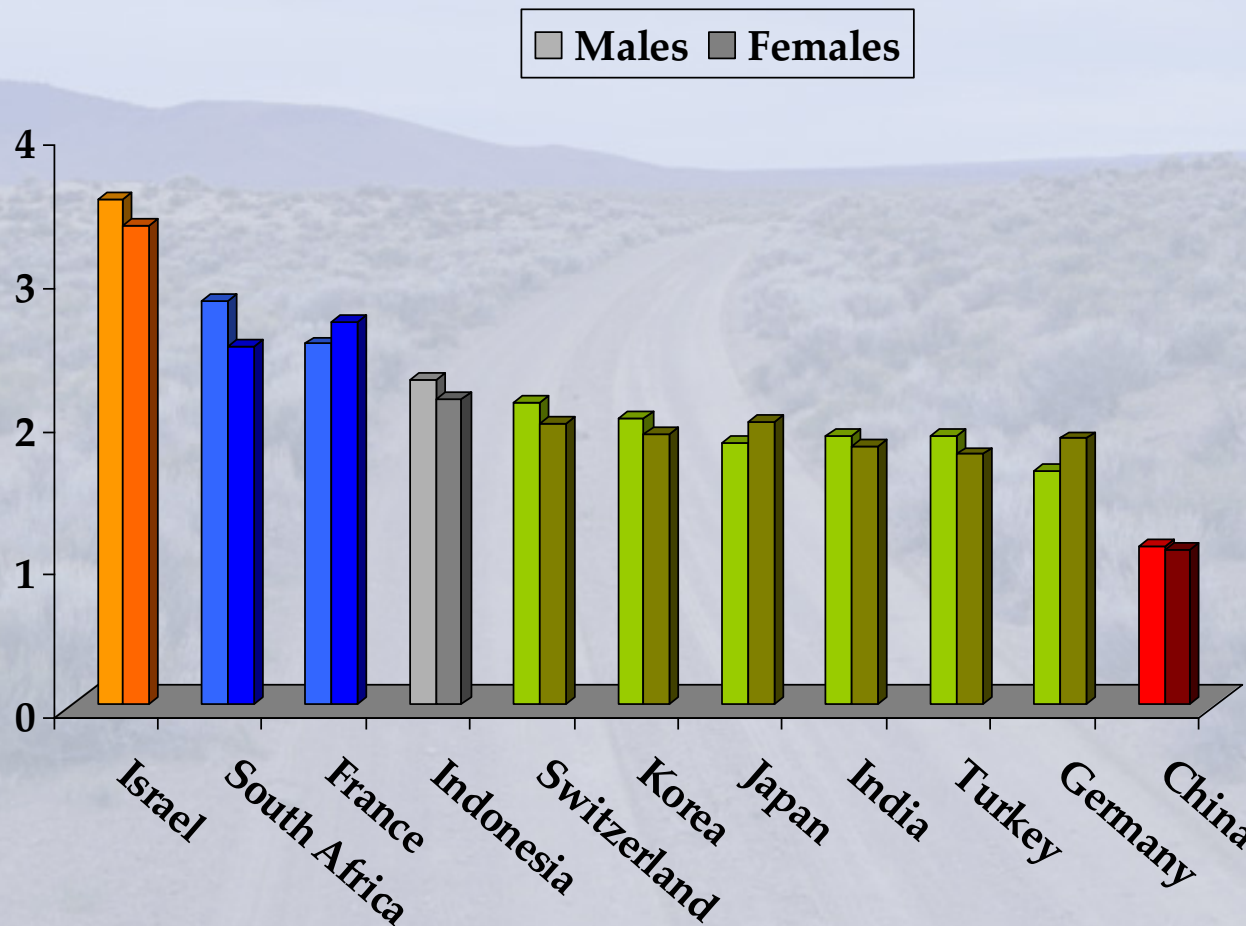
# Emotional VOC



# Traditional VOC



# Planned Number of Children



$R^2$   
Culture: .21\*\*  
Gender: .00  
C x G: .01





# Multi-Level Analysis

- Different *relations* between VOC and planned fertility on the individual and cultural level possible
- Relations on the individual level
- Relations on the cultural level:  
cultural mean values

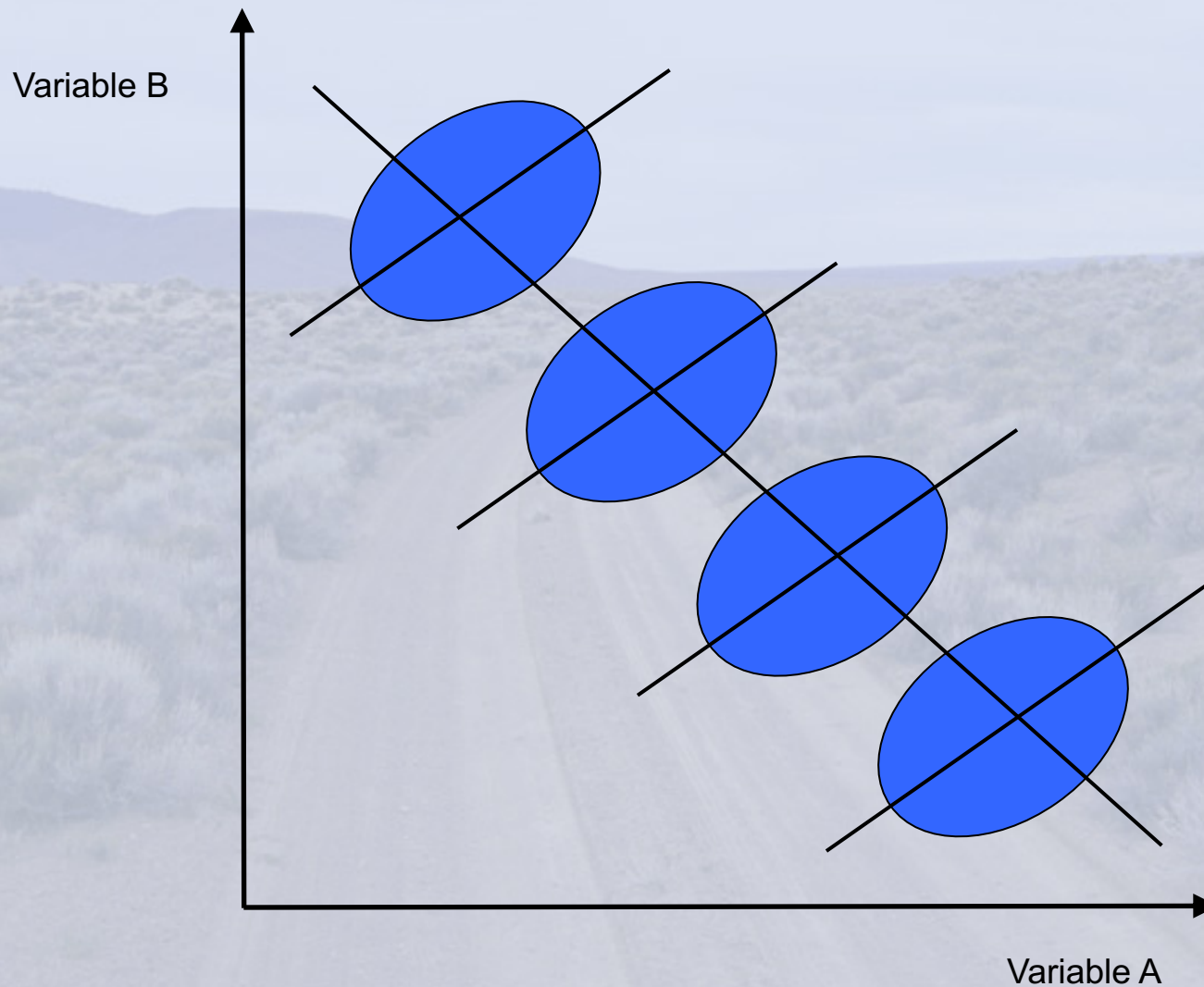


# Multi-Level Analysis

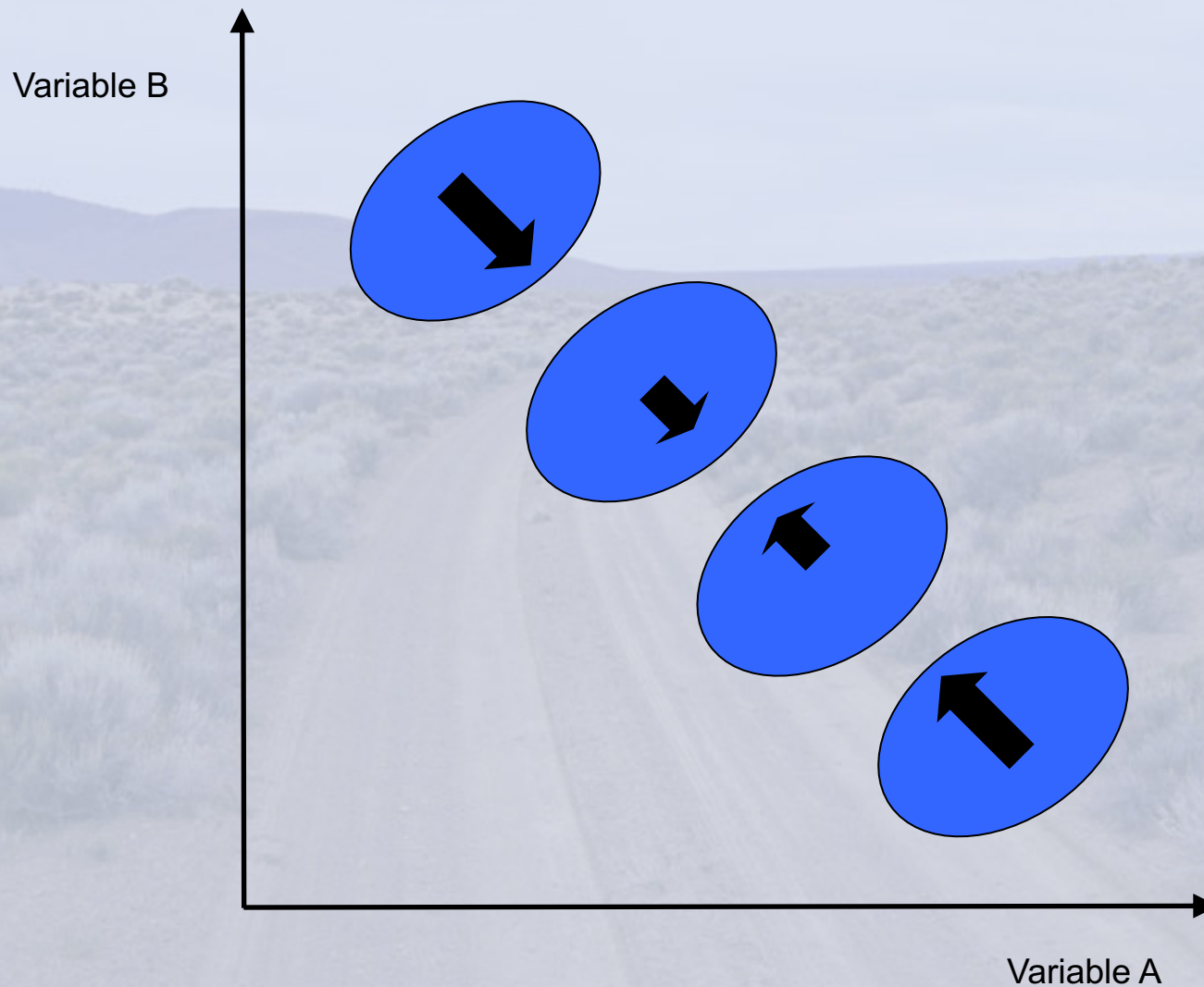
- Regression procedure similar to HLM but without random effects on the cultural level
- VOC is included group-centered as predictor on the individual level
- Culture-mean of VOC is included as an additional predictor (every person is assigned his/her culture's respective mean value)



# Multi-Level Analysis

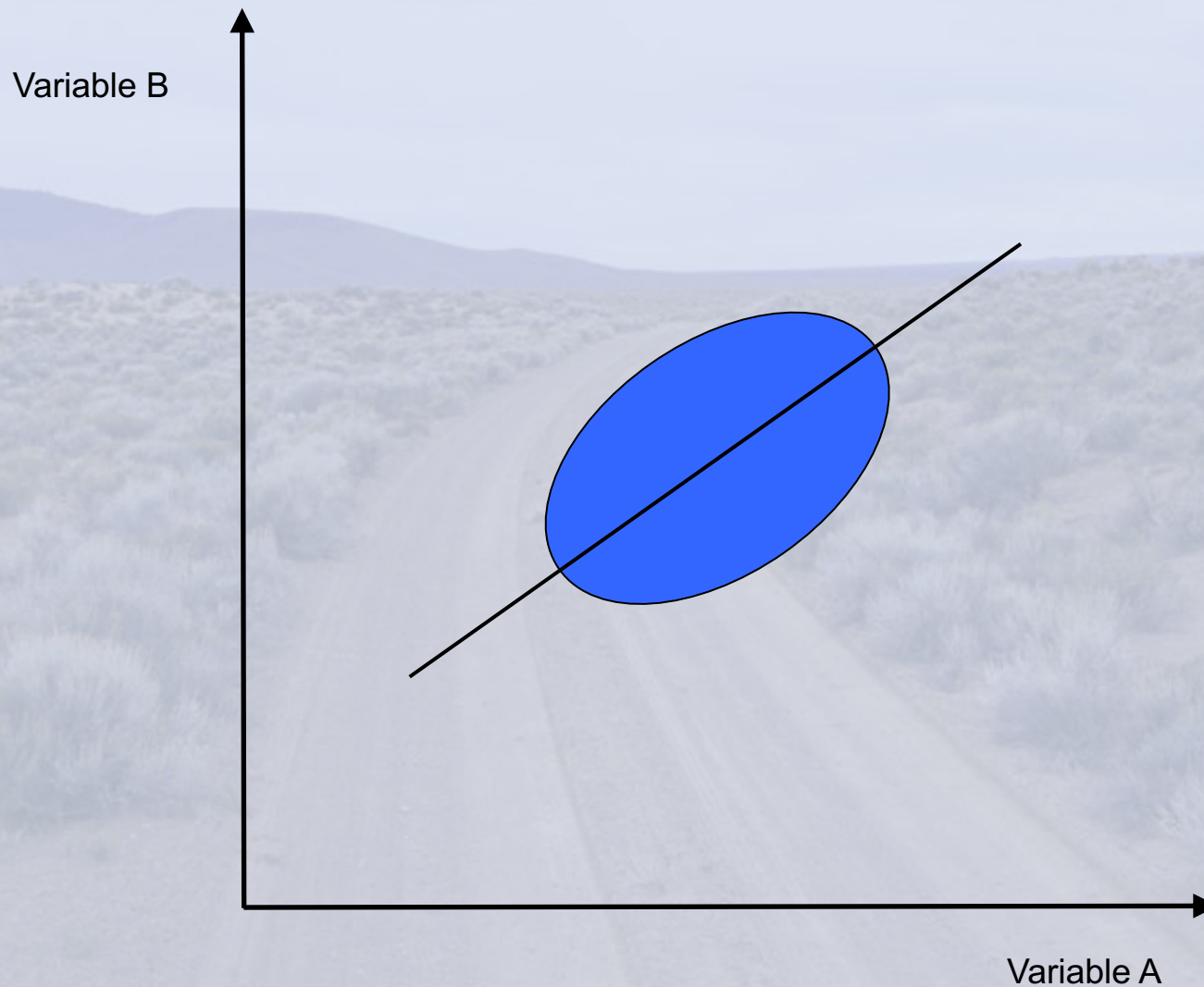


# Multi-Level Analysis

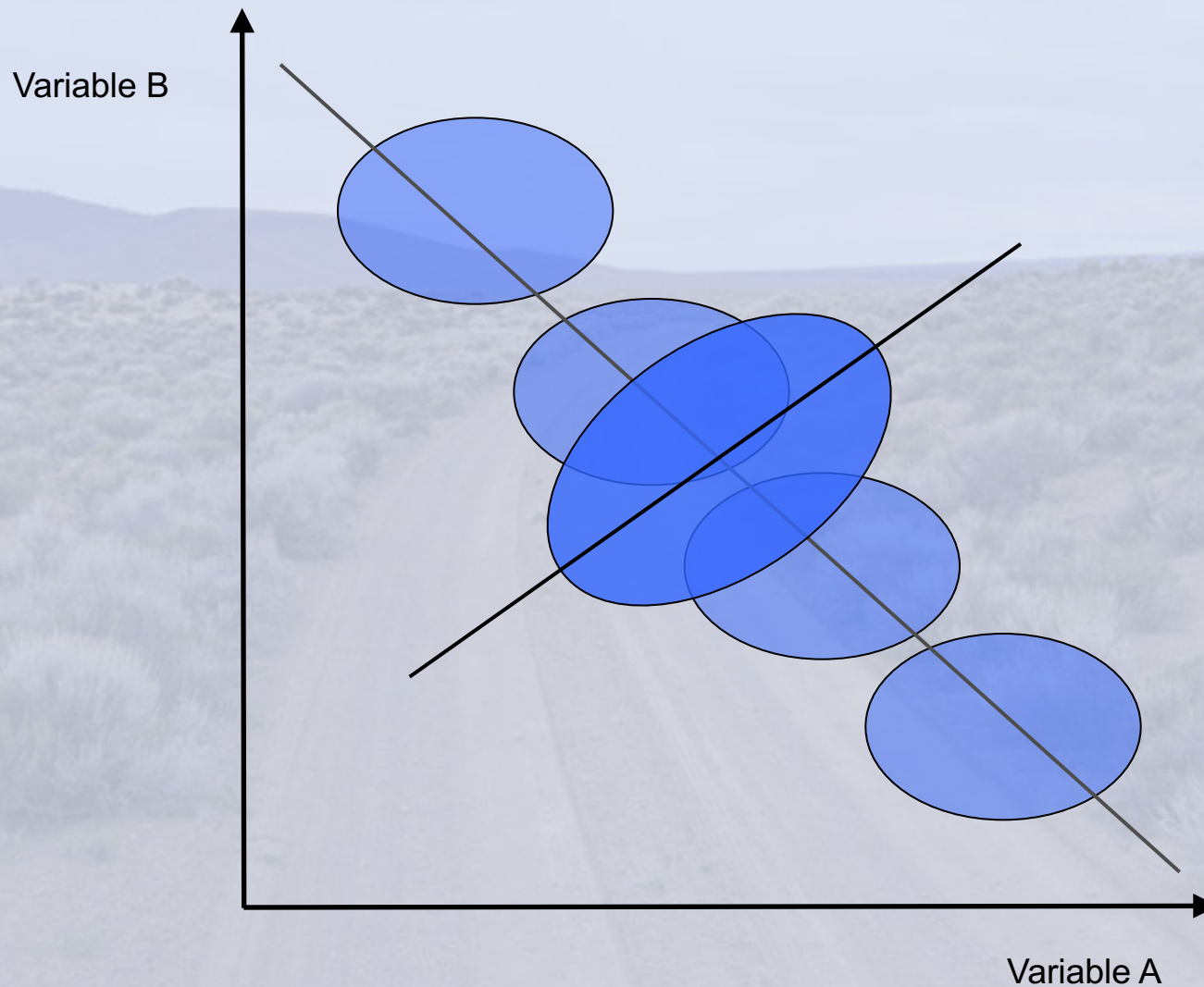




# Multi-Level Analysis



# Multi-Level Analysis



# Multi-level Analysis

How many children would you like to have?

	VOC	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
<b>Individual effects</b>	Emotional	.22	.03	.19**	.04**
	Traditional	-.01	.02	.01	
<b>Cultural effects</b>	Emotional	-.81	.16	-.14**	.03**
	Traditional	.38	.05	.22**	

N = 2342 Total R<sup>2</sup> = .07

\*\*p < .01



# Multi-level Analysis

Individual level

Cultural level



\*\*p < .01

N = 2342, Total R<sup>2</sup> = .07





Culture	Predictors	$\beta$ (Males)	$\beta$ (Females)	$\beta$ (All)
Japan	Emotional VOC	.42**	.57**	.52**
	Traditional VOC	.14	.04	-.01
Germany	Emotional VOC	.61**	.35**	.46**
	Traditional VOC	.01	-.08	-.05
Switzerland	Emotional VOC	.32+	.43**	.37**
	Traditional VOC	.12	.09	.12
Korea	Emotional VOC	.26**	.37**	.33**
	Traditional VOC	-.01	.01	.02
China	Emotional VOC	.18	.36**	.31**
	Traditional VOC	.15	.18+	.16+
France	Emotional VOC	.16	.23*	.20*
	Traditional VOC	.02	-.10	-.05
Turkey	Emotional VOC	-.02	.36**	.16*
	Traditional VOC	-.06	-.02	-.04
Indonesia	Emotional VOC	.12	.29**	.16*
	Traditional VOC	-.02	-.19*	-.09
Israel	Emotional VOC	-.02	.12	.06
	Traditional VOC	-.04	-.10	-.05
South Africa	Emotional VOC	.41*	-.08	.04
	Traditional VOC	-.20	.13	.07
India	Emotional VOC	-.20+	-.07	-.14+
	Traditional VOC	.37**	.23	.30**



# Discussion: VOC Dimensions

- 2 cross-culturally stable dimension were found (Traditional, Emotional) rather than 3 dimensions (Economic, Social, Emotional)
- Traditional VOC combines economic-utilitarian as well as social-normative reasons to have children
- Is a differentiation between economic-utilitarian and social-normative values of children nevertheless important (regarding the relation with fertility)?



# Discussion: Mean differences

- High Emotional VOC in all cultures and strong differences in Traditional VOC confirm results of previous studies
- Importance of Traditional VOC is divided along the line of cultures' socio-economic development
- Adolescents in most cultures plan to have between 2 and 2.5 children (except: Israel = 3.5 and China = 1)
- French adolescents' high planned fertility confirms previous data regarding the overall fertility



# Discussion: Multi-level Analysis

- Expected effects were observed only on the cultural level: Traditional VOC positively and Emotional VOC negatively related to planned fertility
- On the individual level Emotional VOC was *positively* related while Traditional VOC was *unrelated* to planned fertility

➔ VOC seems to have different functions for fertility on the individual and cultural level

**But:** Effect of Emotional VOC on planned fertility was non-significant in Israel, India and South Africa





# Conclusions & Outlook

- Is the function of Emotional VOC for fertility different in traditional vs. non-traditional cultures?
- The relation between Emotional VOC and planned fertility may be non-linear
- Limitations of the study: Adolescents' VOCs and planned fertility cannot be generalized to adults' VOC and their actual fertility



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Team leaders: Prof. Dr. Gang Zheng (China)  
Prof. Dr. Colette Sabatier (France)  
Prof. Dr. Ramesh Mishra (India)  
Dr. Lieke Wisnubrata (Indonesia)  
Dr. Asher Ben-Arieh & Dr. Muhammad Haj-Yahia (Israel)  
Prof. Dr. Naosuke Itoigawa & Chiaki Yamada, MA (Japan)  
Prof. Dr. Uichol Kim (Korea)  
Prof. Dr. Karl Peltzer (South Africa)  
Dipl.-Psych. Karen Fux (Switzerland)  
Prof. Dr. Cigdem Kagitcibasi & Dr. Bilge Ataca (Turkey)

Principal Prof. Dr. Bernhard Nauck (Chemnitz, Germany)  
investigators: Prof. Dr. Gisela Trommsdorff (Konstanz, Germany)

