

Bernhard Nauck

***Cross-cultural variations in
intergenerational ambivalence***

**Affect and conflict in the relationship of women
with their parents in seventeen areas
in Asia, Africa, Europe and America**

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CHEMNITZ UNIVERSITY
OF TECHNOLOGY

Why Intergenerational Ambivalence?

- Credit to the conference place
- much is known about intergenerational solidarity, about emotional closeness, even in cross-cultural comparison
- much less is known about the intersection of affection and conflict

- allows for the combination of a „psychological“ study of affective bonds and a „sociological“ study of action choices under constraints, such as kinship systems, normative obligations and available resources
- „exit“ and „voice“ as important choices in intimate relationships, besides „loyalty“ and „neglect“

Intergenerational Ambivalence

Theoretical aim

- extend the explanation of intergenerational ambivalence to culturally and economically diverse societies
- relate intergenerational ambivalence of women to institutional settings of the kinship system

Empirical aim

- replication of the solidarity-conflict-model from the younger generation's perspective
- application of a meaningful typology of intergenerational relationships
- analysis of affect and conflict in a three-level-framework of societal, individual and relational conditions

Two immediate predecessors

Merril Silverstein, Daphna Gans, Ariela Lowenstein, Roseann Giarrusso & Vern Bengtson (2010)

Older Parent-Child Relationships in Six Developed Nations:
Comparisons at the Intersection of Affection and Conflict
Journal of Marriage and Family, 72, 1006 - 1021

Bernhard Nauck & Oliver Arránz Becker (2012)

Institutional Regulations and the Kinship Solidarity of
Women. Results from 13 Areas in Asia, Africa, Europe,
and North America

European Sociological Review, 28, (in press)

DOI:10.1093/esr/jcr110

Research questions

- Is the intergenerational solidarity and ambivalence paradigm valid under economically, culturally and institutionally diverse conditions?
 - Are similar patterns of amicable, ambivalent, disharmonious and detached relationships valid for matrilineal, patrilineal and bilineal kinship systems?
- Are affection and conflict in intergenerational relationships structured by institutional settings, or just a matter of opportunities and individual choices?
 - Is intergenerational ambivalence related to the (lack of) welfare state provisions?
 - Does a matrilineal and patrilineal kinship system result in different patterns of affection and conflict of women towards (biological) mothers and fathers than a bilineal kinship system?

Research Program

Value of Children in Six Cultures

Fertility behavior and intergenerational relationships
in cross-cultural comparison

(at present: **PR China**, Taiwan, (South Korea), **Indonesia**,
North and South India, **South-Africa**, Nigeria, **Ghana**, **Israel**,
Palestine, **Turkey**, Czech Republic, **Russia**, **Estonia**, **Poland**,
France, **East and West Germany**, **Jamaica**, **United States**
in the future: Lithuania)

Principal investigators:

Bernhard Nauck, Chemnitz University of Technology

Gisela Trommsdorff, University of Konstanz

Funded by the *German Research Foundation* 1998 - 2006
(Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft DFG)

Design of the Study

In every participating country about

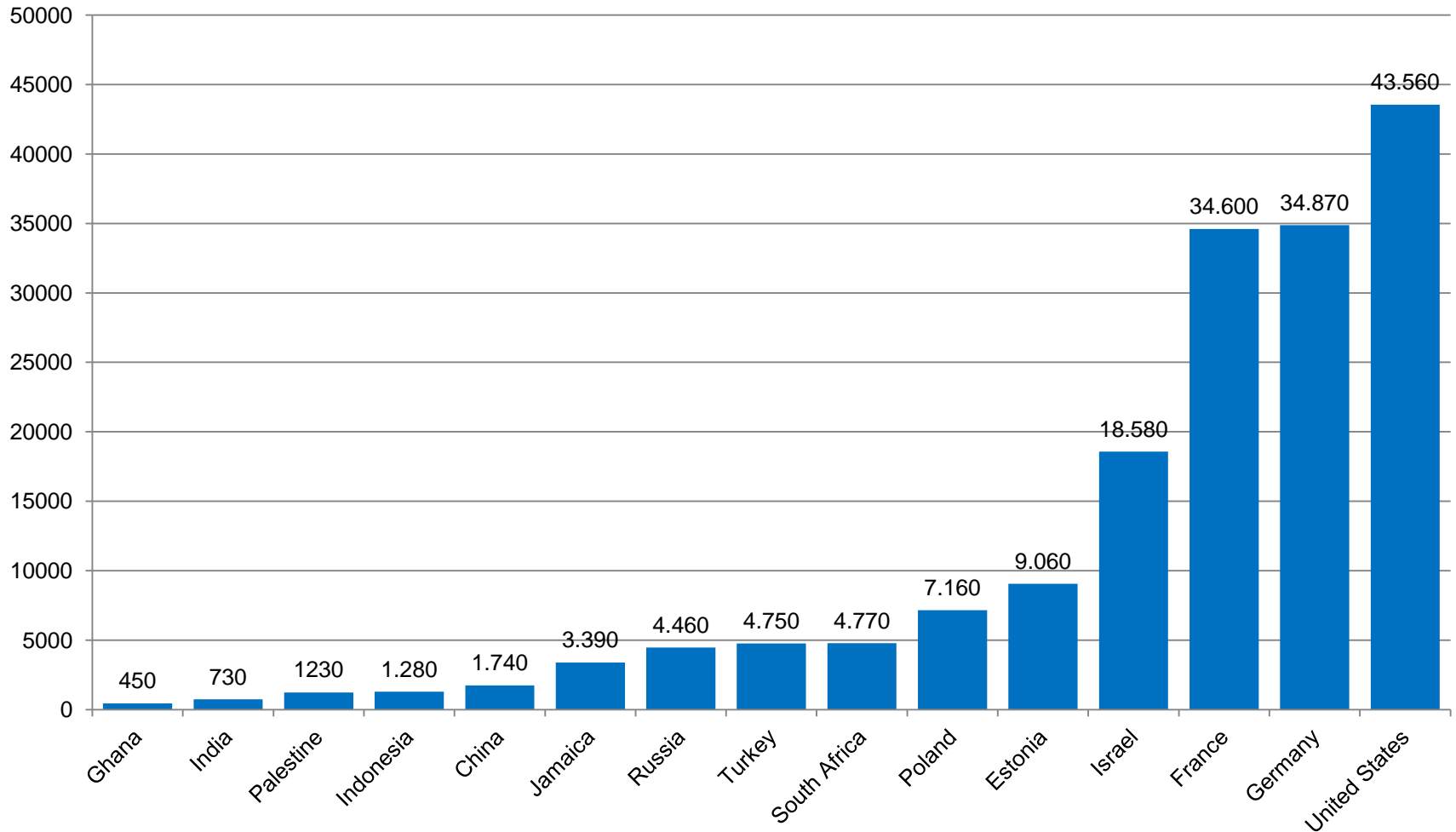
- **300 young mothers** whose oldest child is between two and five years of age
- **300 older mothers** with at least one adolescent child between 14 and 17 years
- these 300 adolescents
- in 100 of these cases the maternal grandmother

As a result, 100 families compose a *three-generation sample* and 300 a *mother-child-dyad* (linked data).

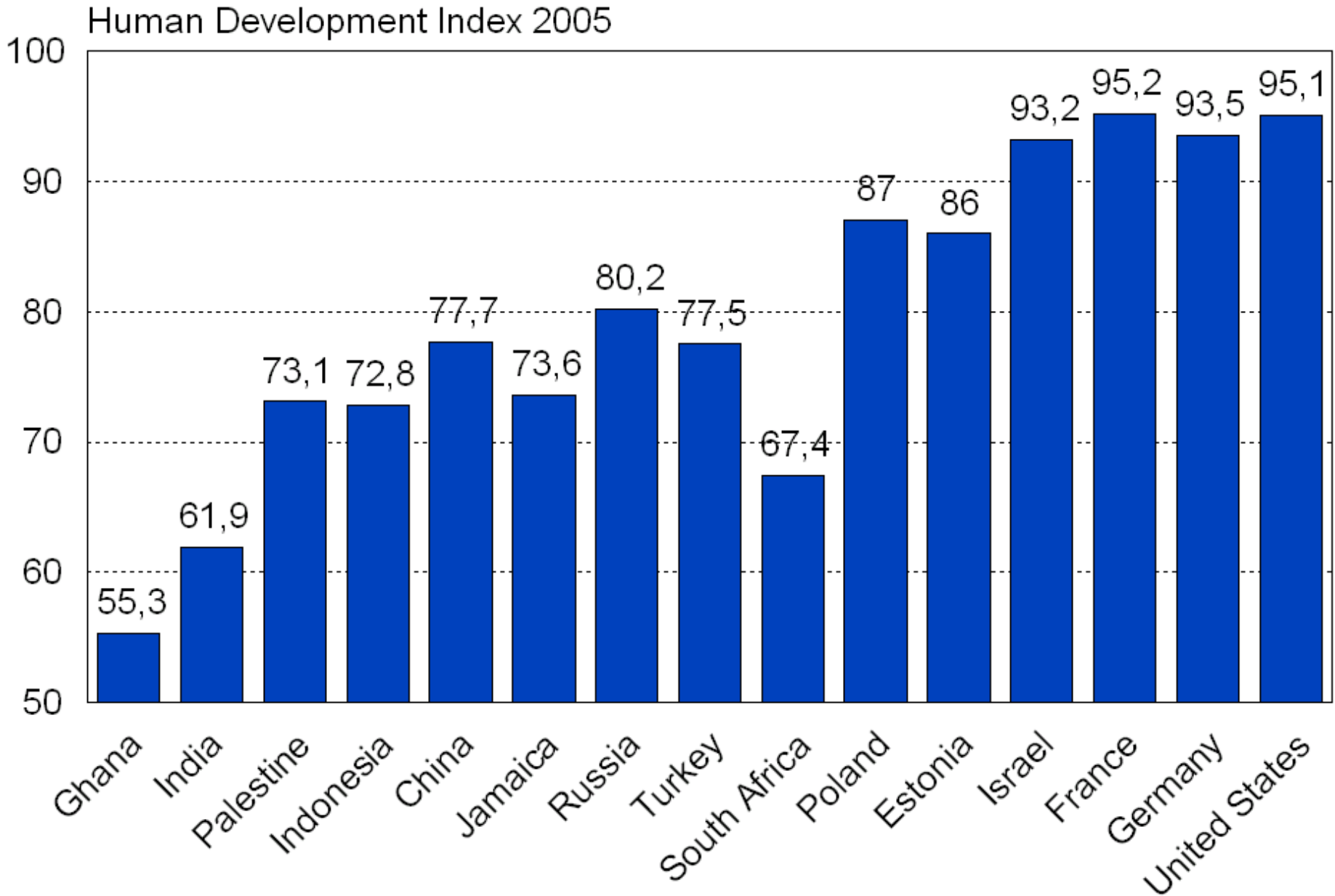
The total sample consists of about 1.000 respondents per country.

Economic differences between societies

Gross National Income per Capita 2005 in USD



Development differences between societies

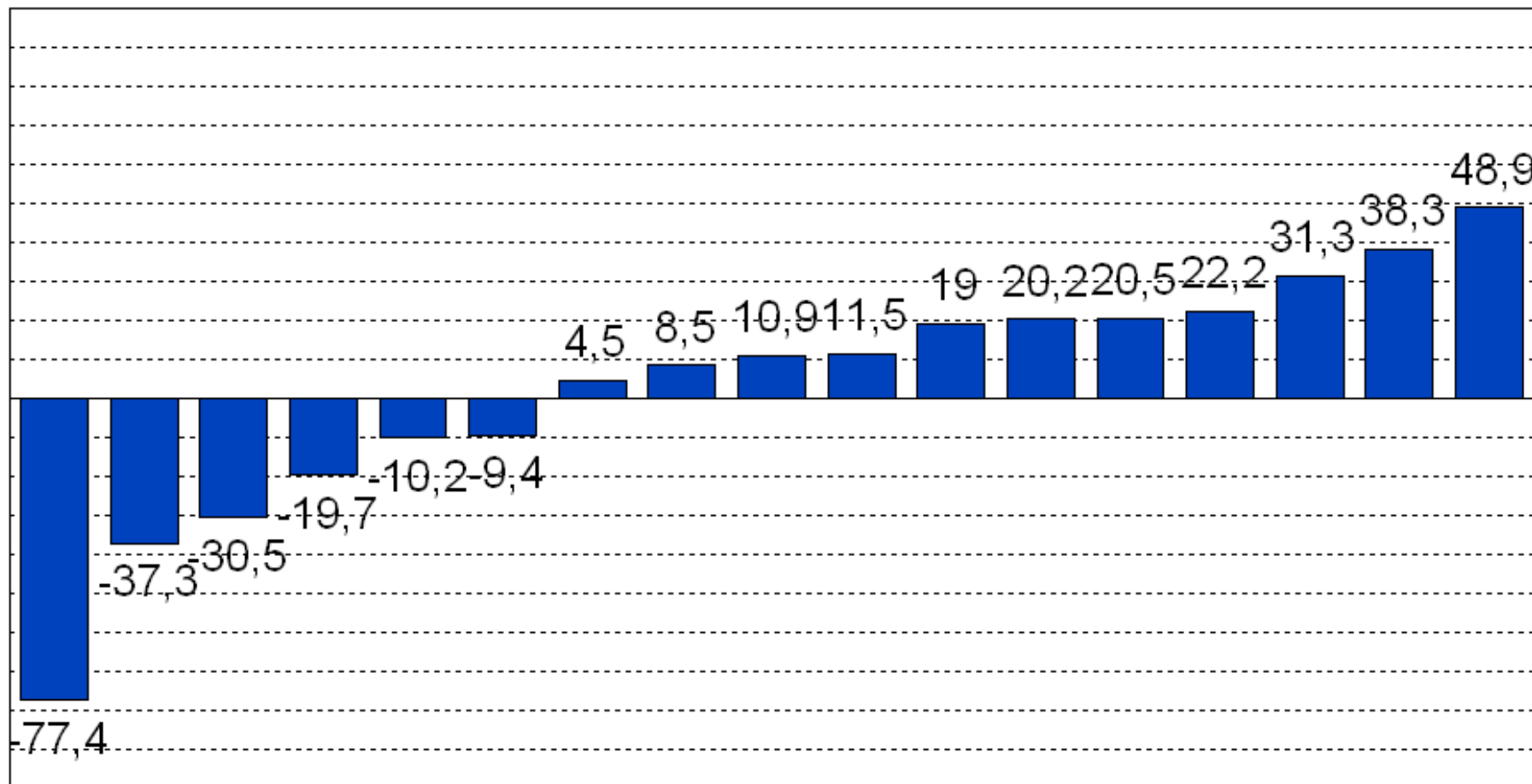


Welfare Hypothesis

Affluence and corporate welfare states provide *alternatives to functional solidarity* within intergenerational relationships. Relationships “survive”, if based on *emotional closeness*.

Disharmonious intergenerational relationships are „opted out“ in affluent societies and in corporate welfare states, whereas ambivalent relationships increase with normative obligations.

Matrifocal Orientation



North India
South India
Ghana
Palestine
China
Turkey
Israel
West Germany
East Germany
USA
Russia
France
Poland
Estonia
Jamaica
Indonesia
South Africa

Lineage Hypothesis

Neolocality and patrilineal descent *reduce functional solidarity* in intergenerational relationships of women.

Matrilocal and unilineal descent result in *structural solidarity* and increase ambivalent intergenerational relationships.

Design of the analysis

- based on **17 areas** (Level 3)
- based on the data from young and older mothers (**9.303 respondents**) (Level 2)
- Respondents were asked about their relationship to their mother and father (**13.166 relationships**) (Level 1)
 - **7.668** existing **relationships to mothers**
 - **5.498** existing **relationships to fathers**

Measurements of intergenerational relationships

Conflict

- respondents rated 3 items (from (1) „never" to (5) „always")

Affection

- respondents rated 3 items (from (1) „never" to (5) „always")

Items were chosen from sub-scales of the Network of Relationships Inventory (NRI), developed by Furmann & Buhrmester (1985)

Factor analysis revealed 73 % explained variance for a 2 factor solution ($r = -.02$)

Latent Class Analysis

(13.166 relationships with 2 parents in 17 areas)

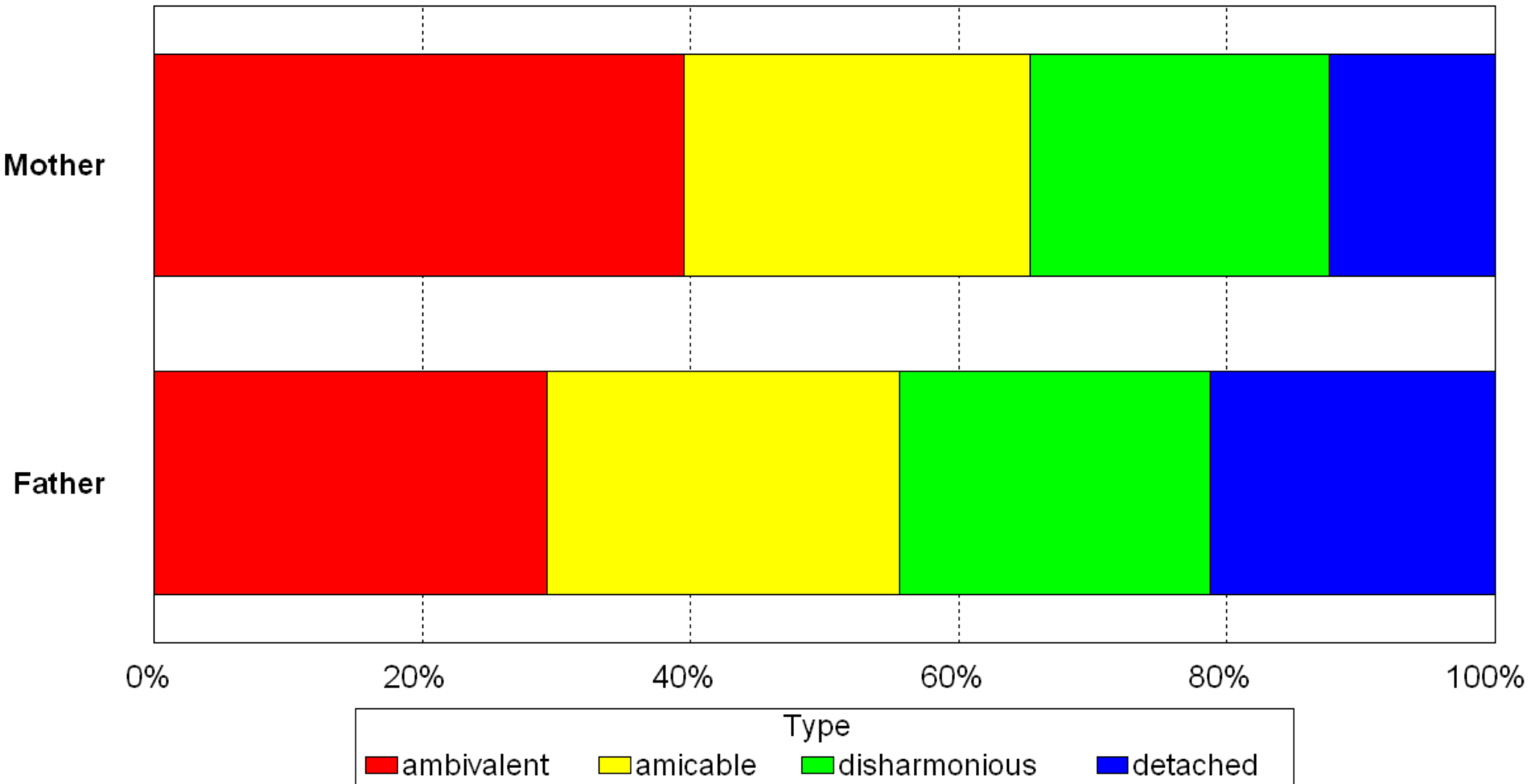
# of classes	LL	BIC	AIC	Entropy	L ²	df	P
1 class	-53308.74	106674.40	106629.48	–	19176.19	57	.000
2 classes	-48397.01	96917.36	96820.02	.80	9352.72	50	.000
3 classes	-45404.69	90999.13	90449.38	.79	3368.08	43	.000
4 classes	-43775.88	87807.93	87605.76	.79	110.47	36	.000
5 classes	-43751.55	87825.67	87571.10	.75	61.80	29	.000
6 classes	-43742.21	87873.41	87566.42	.72	43.13	22	.005
7 classes	-43728.70	87912.81	87553.41	.66	16.11	15	n.s.
8 classes	-43724.56	87970.95	87559.13	.65	7.83	8	n.s.

Latent Class Probabilities

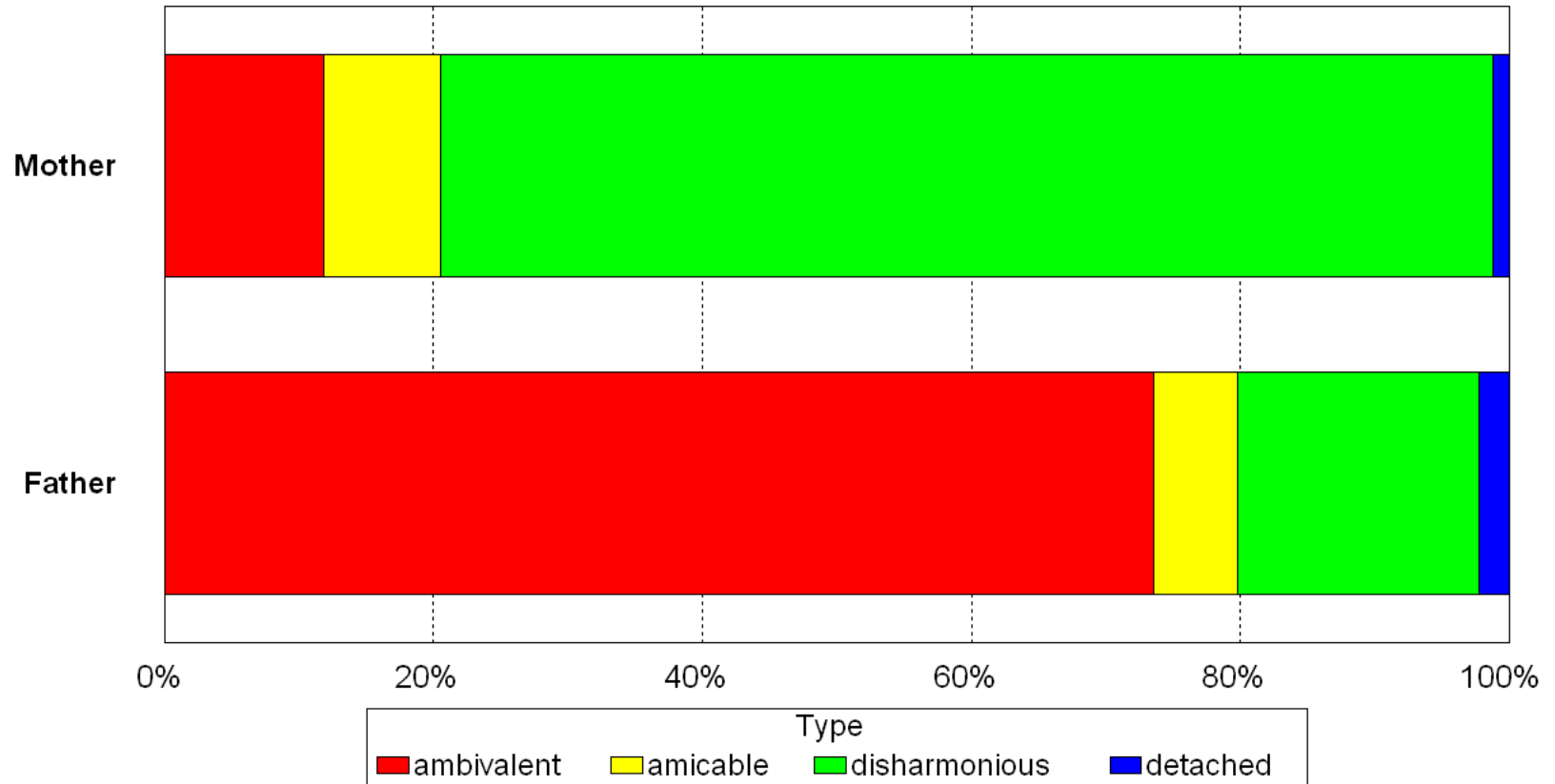
(13.166 relationships with 2 parents in 17 areas)

	Relationship type			
	ambivalent	amicable	disharmonious	detached
appraisal	.88	.88	.10	.10
approval	.92	.93	.20	.23
admiration	.84	.91	.15	.13
disagreement	.95	.23	.92	.15
arguing	.93	.24	.92	.21
being upset	.83	.13	.90	.17
Total prevalence	.33	.28	.22	.17

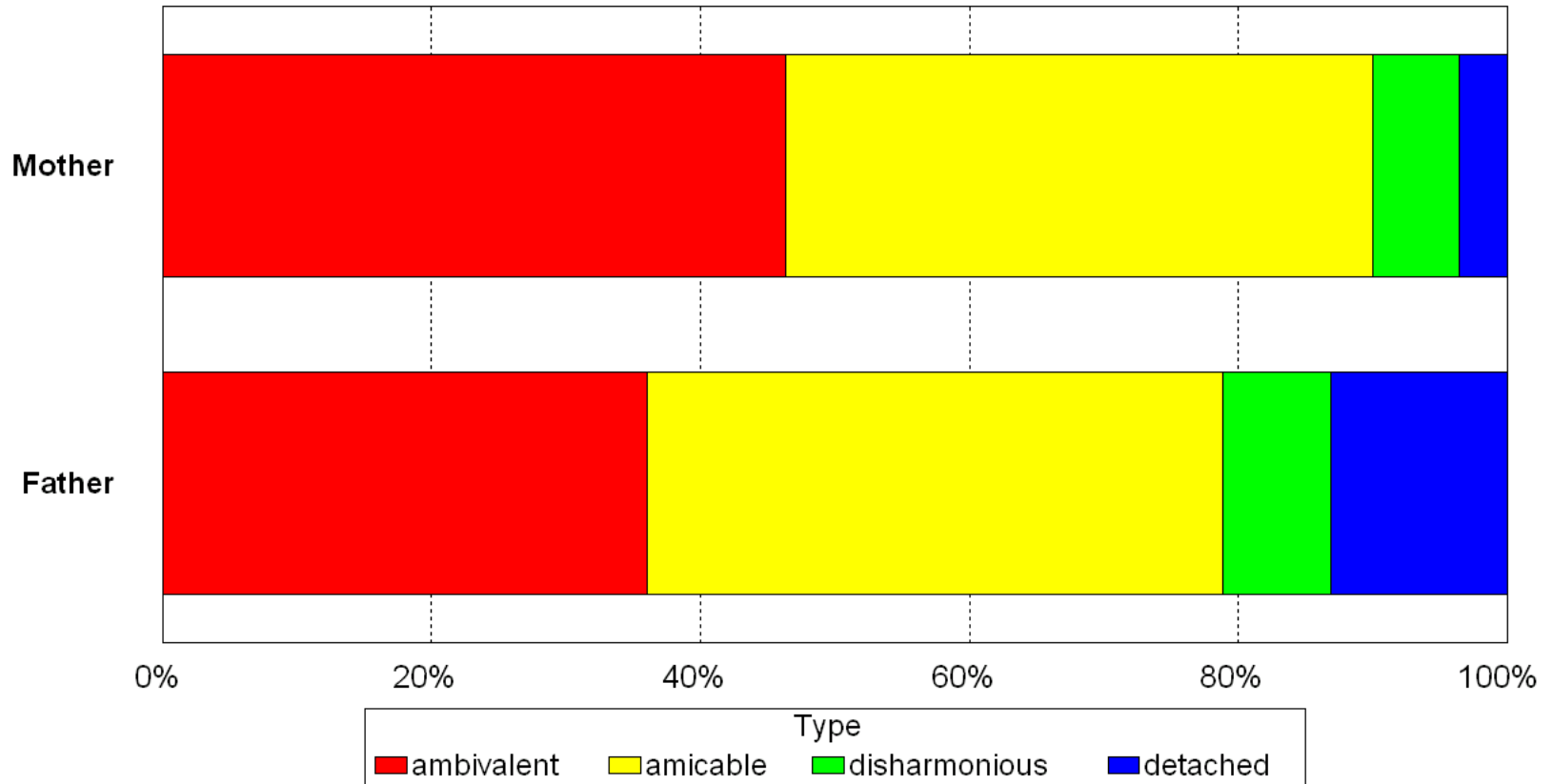
Intergenerational relationships across all areas



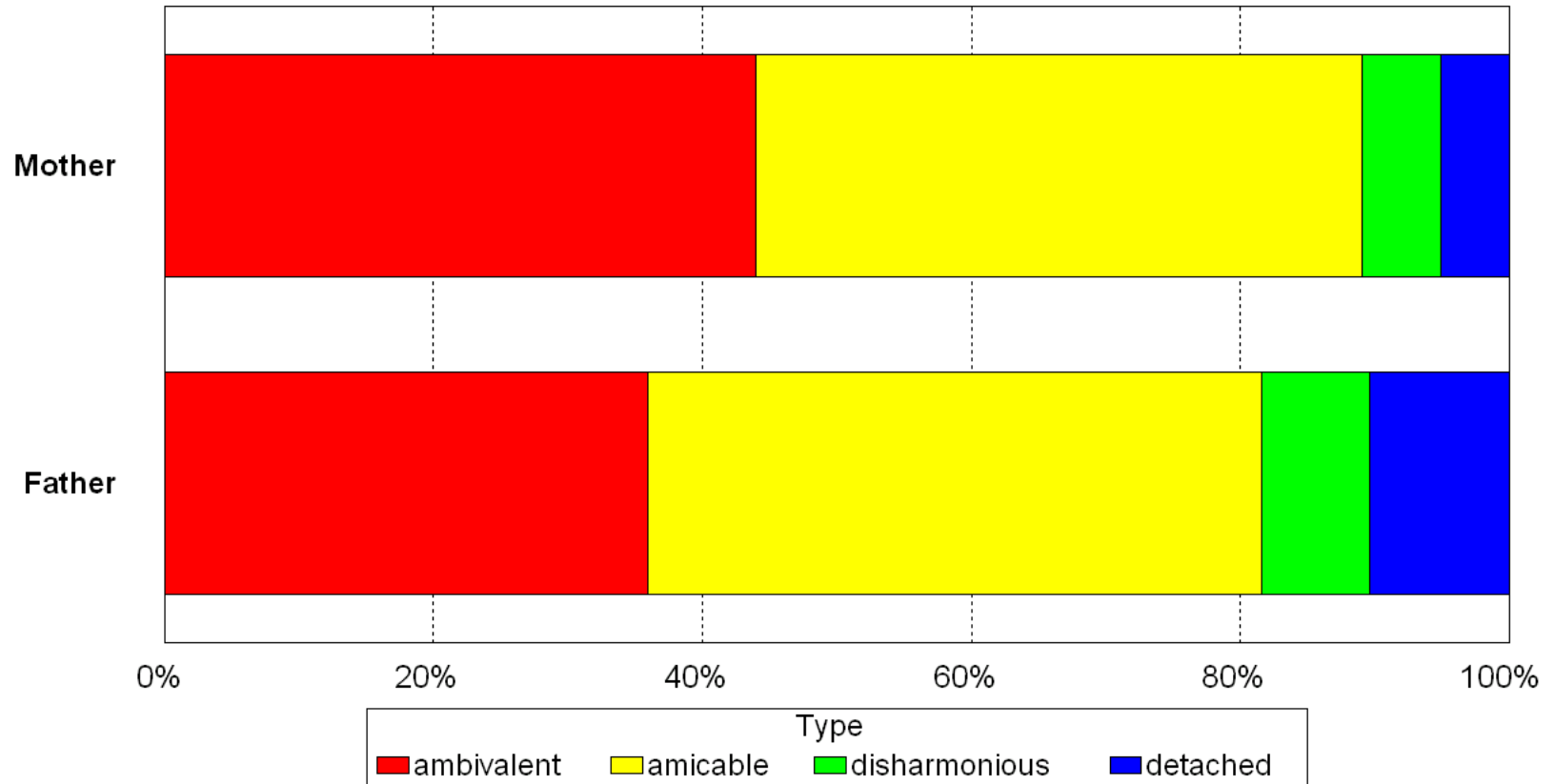
Intergenerational Relationships in Ghana



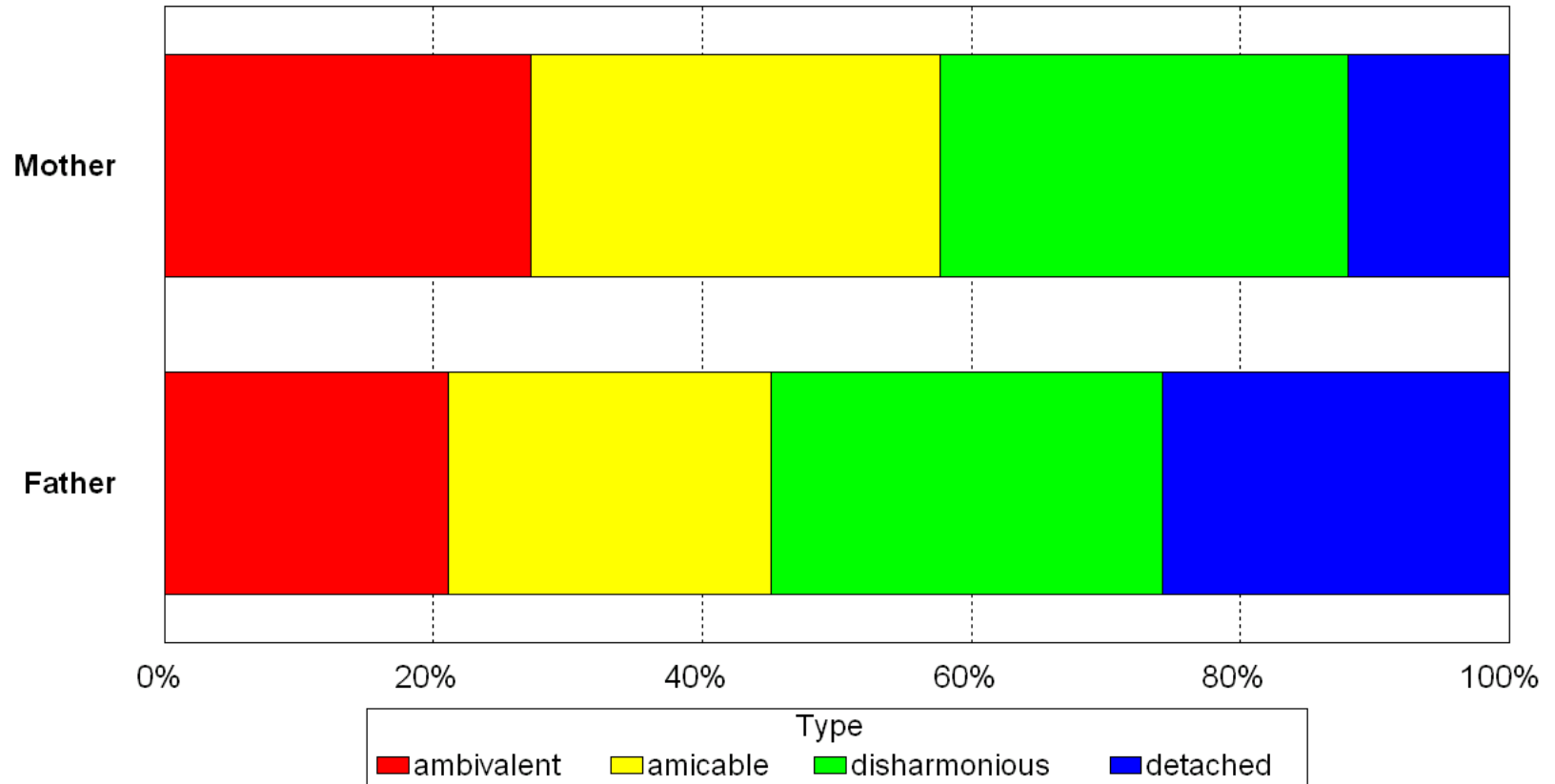
Intergenerational Relationships in India



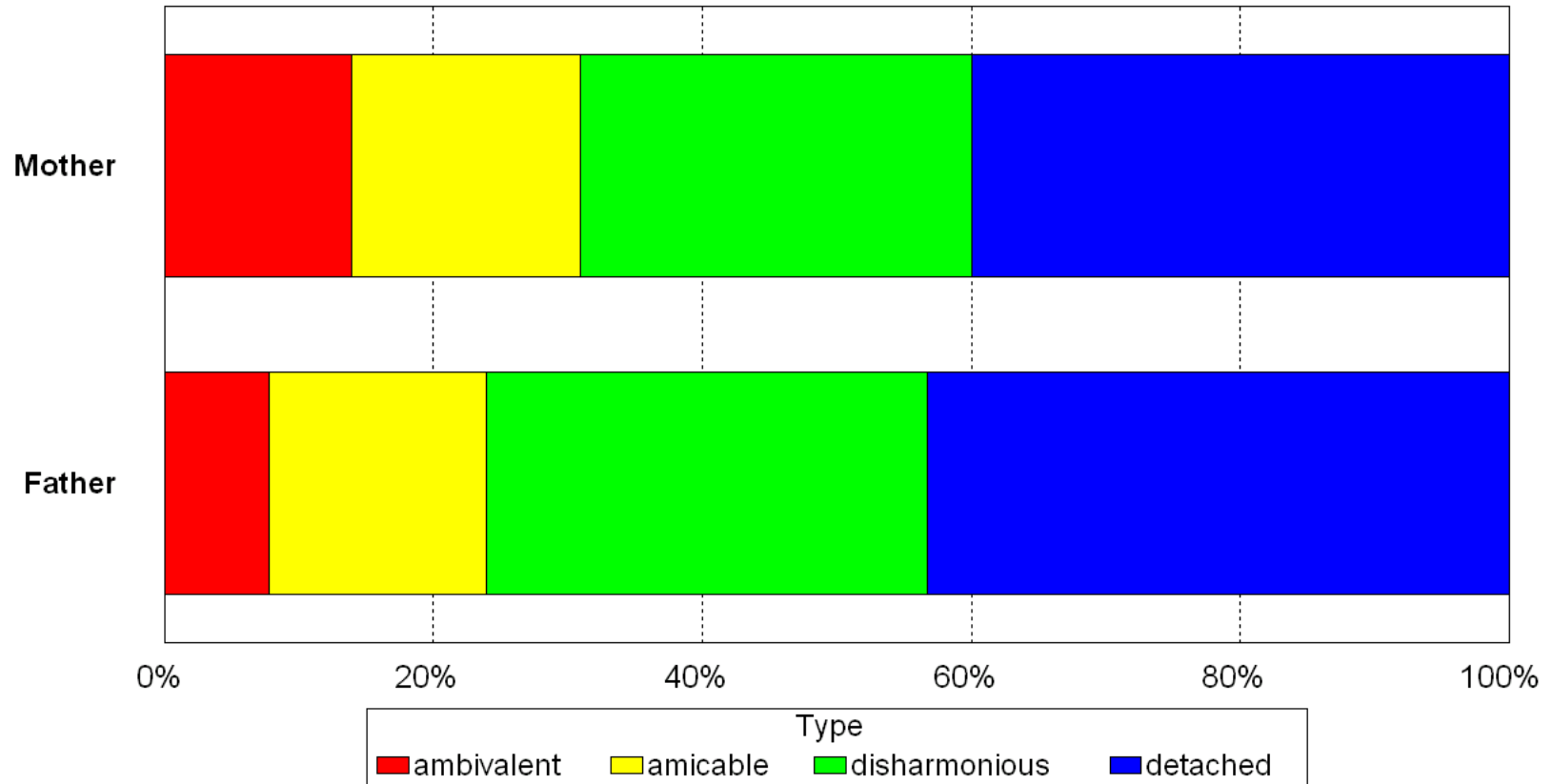
Intergenerational Relationships in Palestine



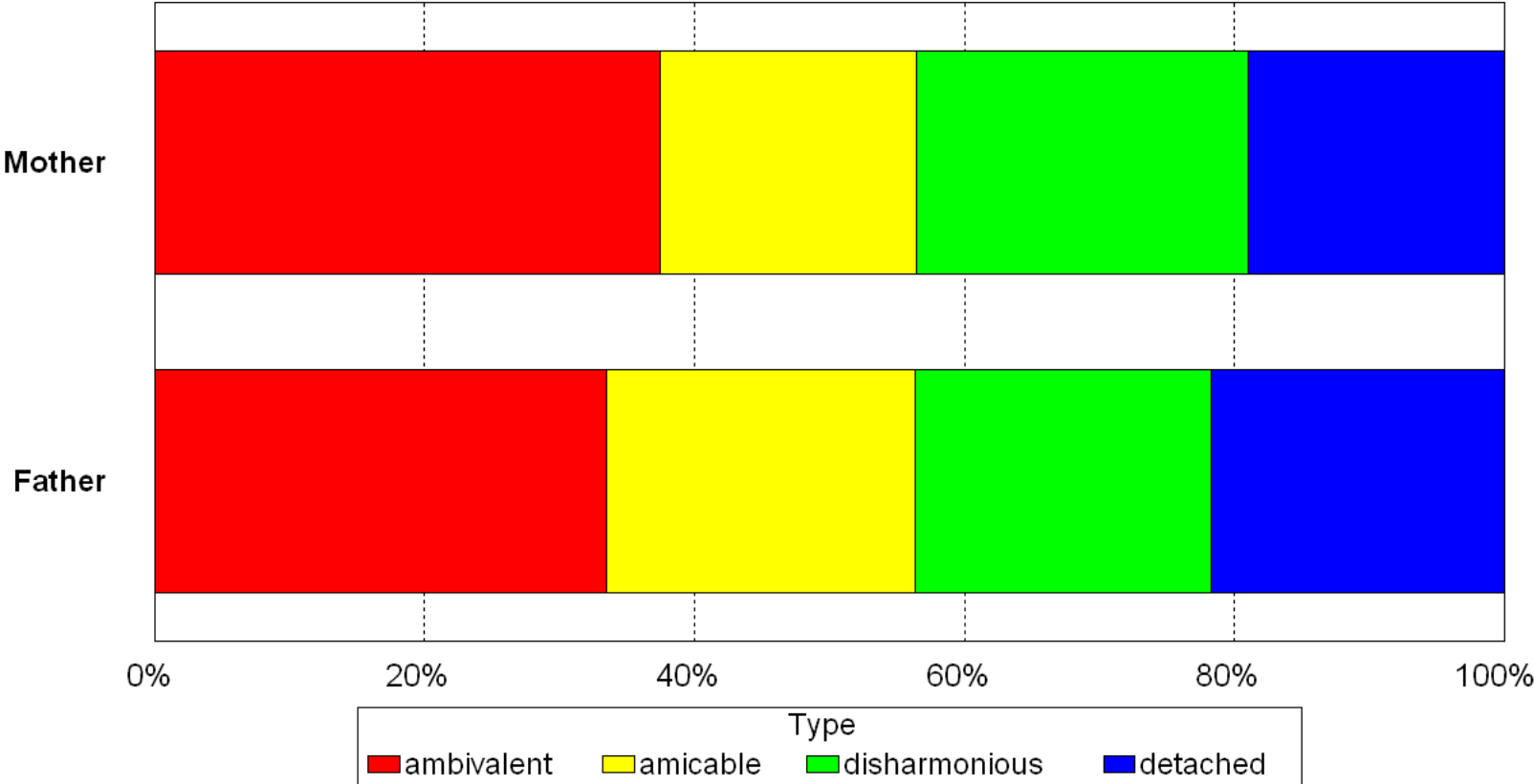
Intergenerational Relationships in Indonesia



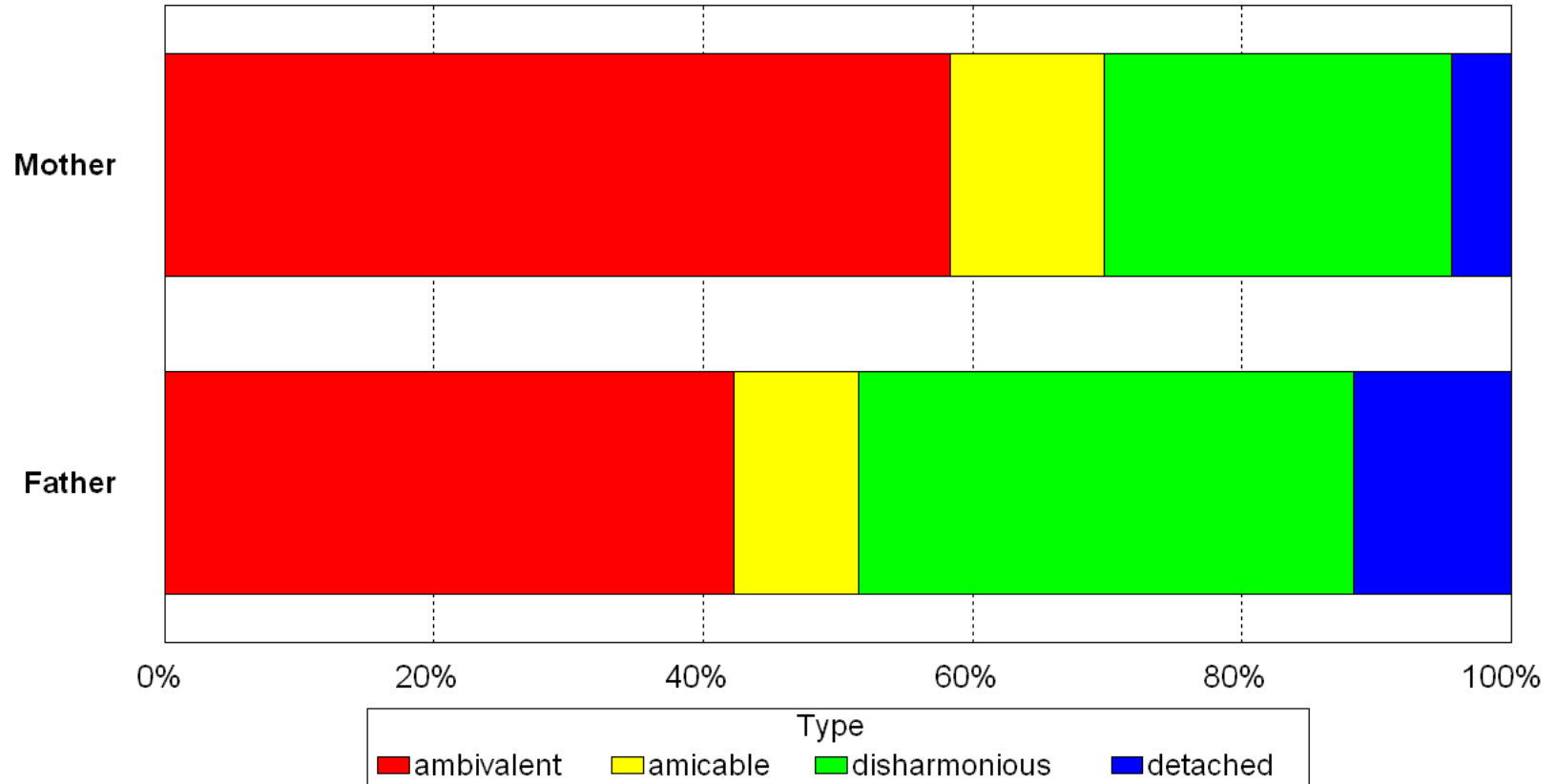
Intergenerational Relationships in China



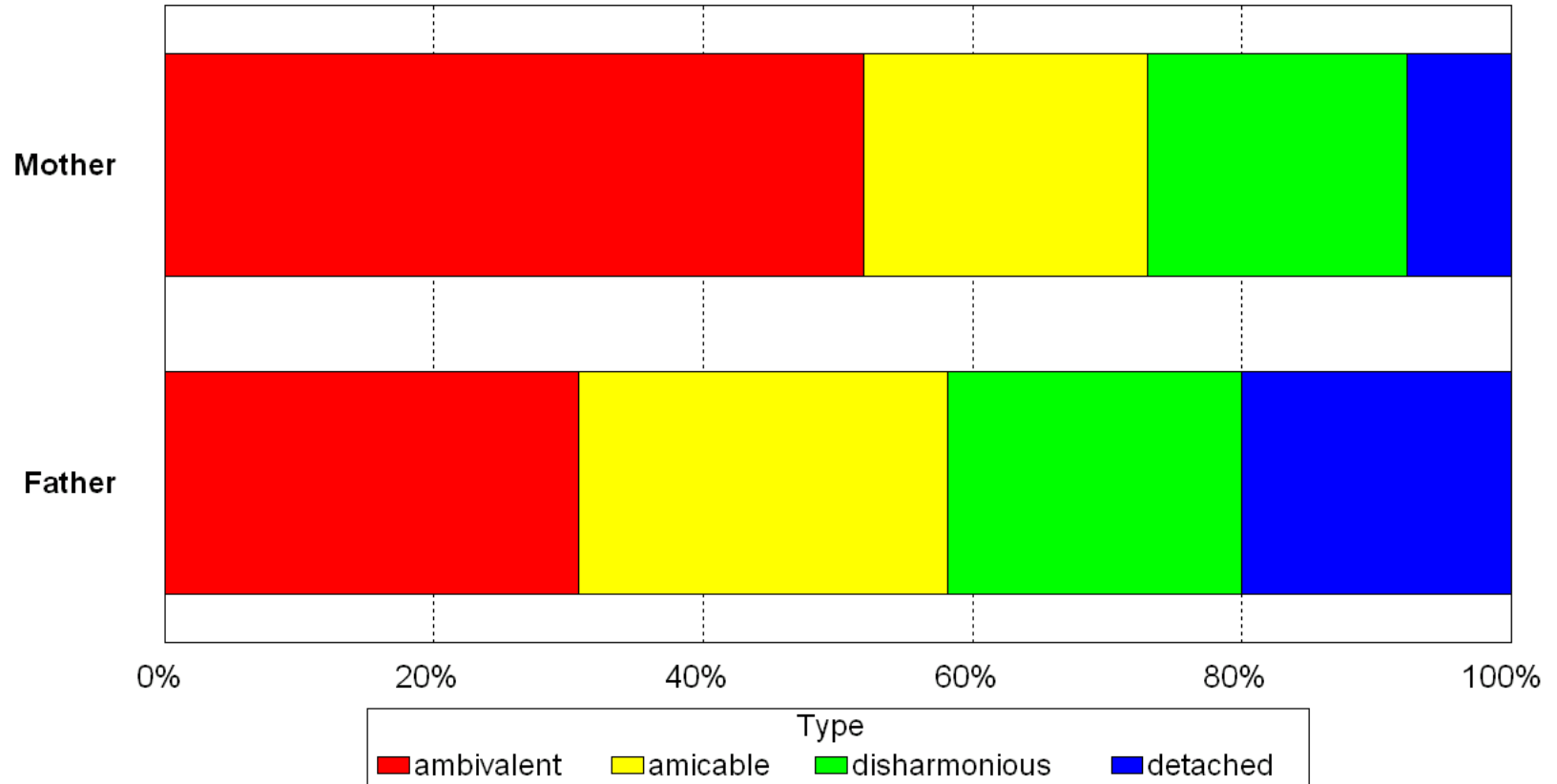
Intergenerational Relationships in Jamaica



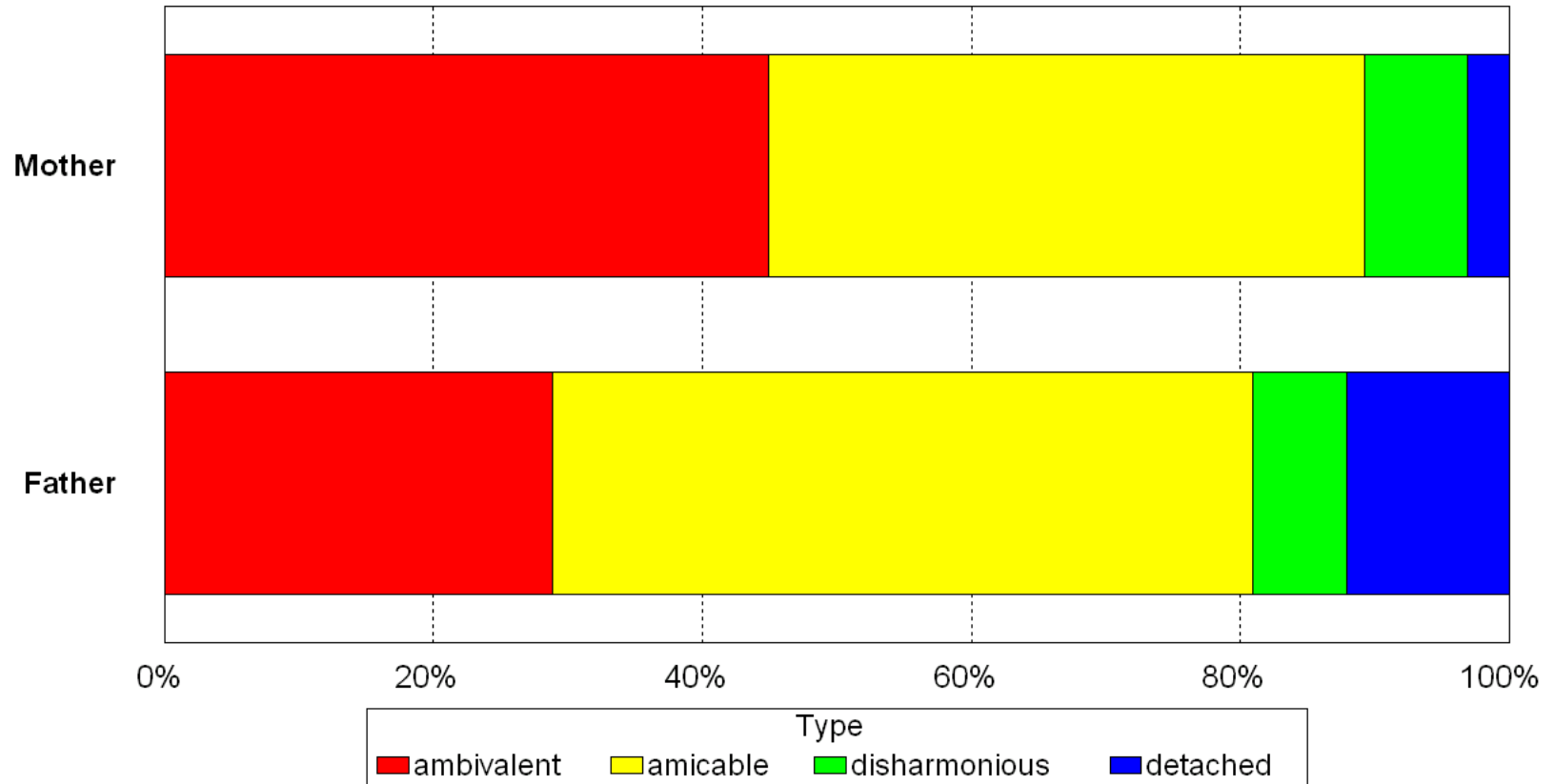
Intergenerational Relationships in Russia



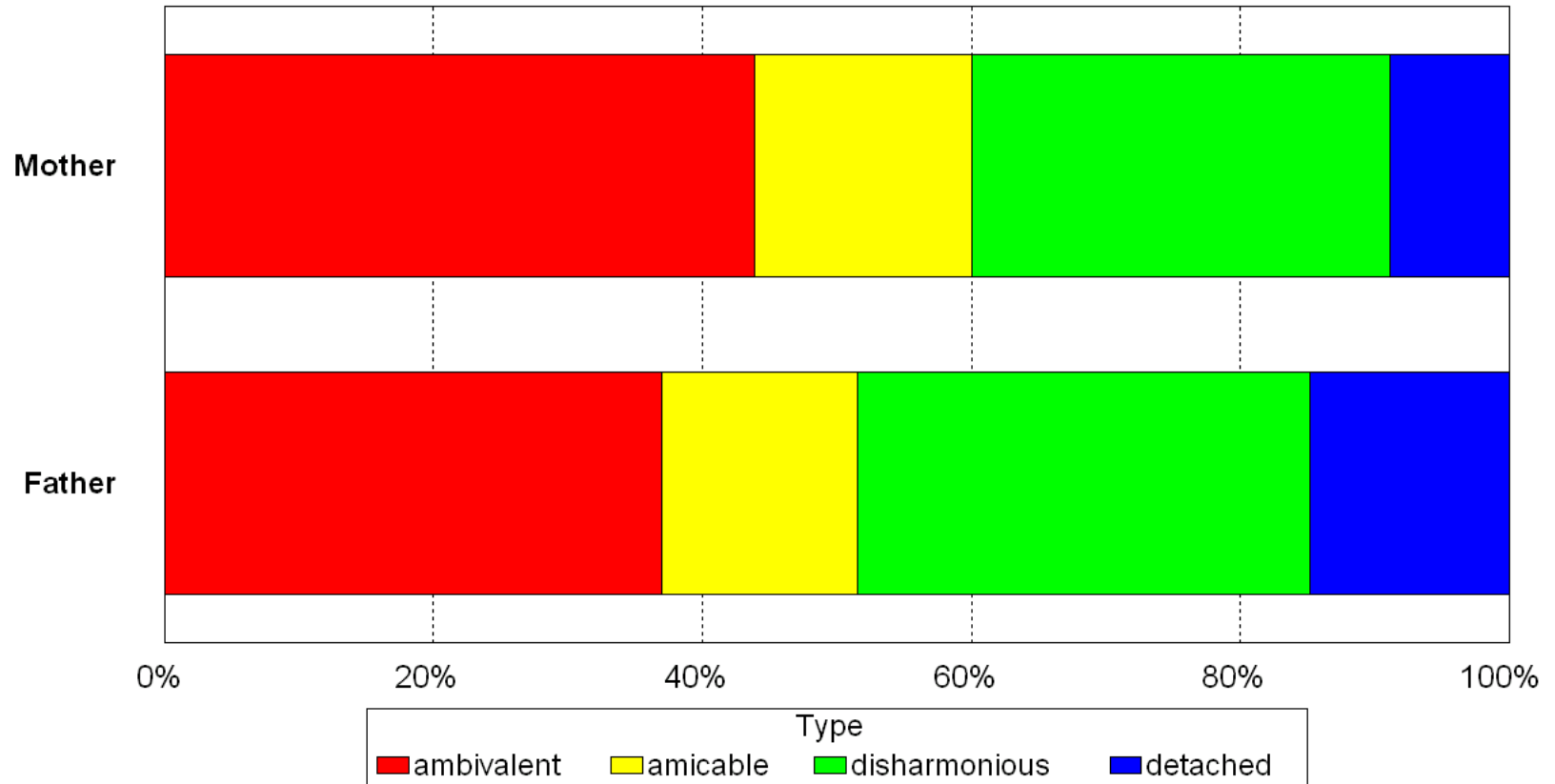
Intergenerational Relationships in Turkey



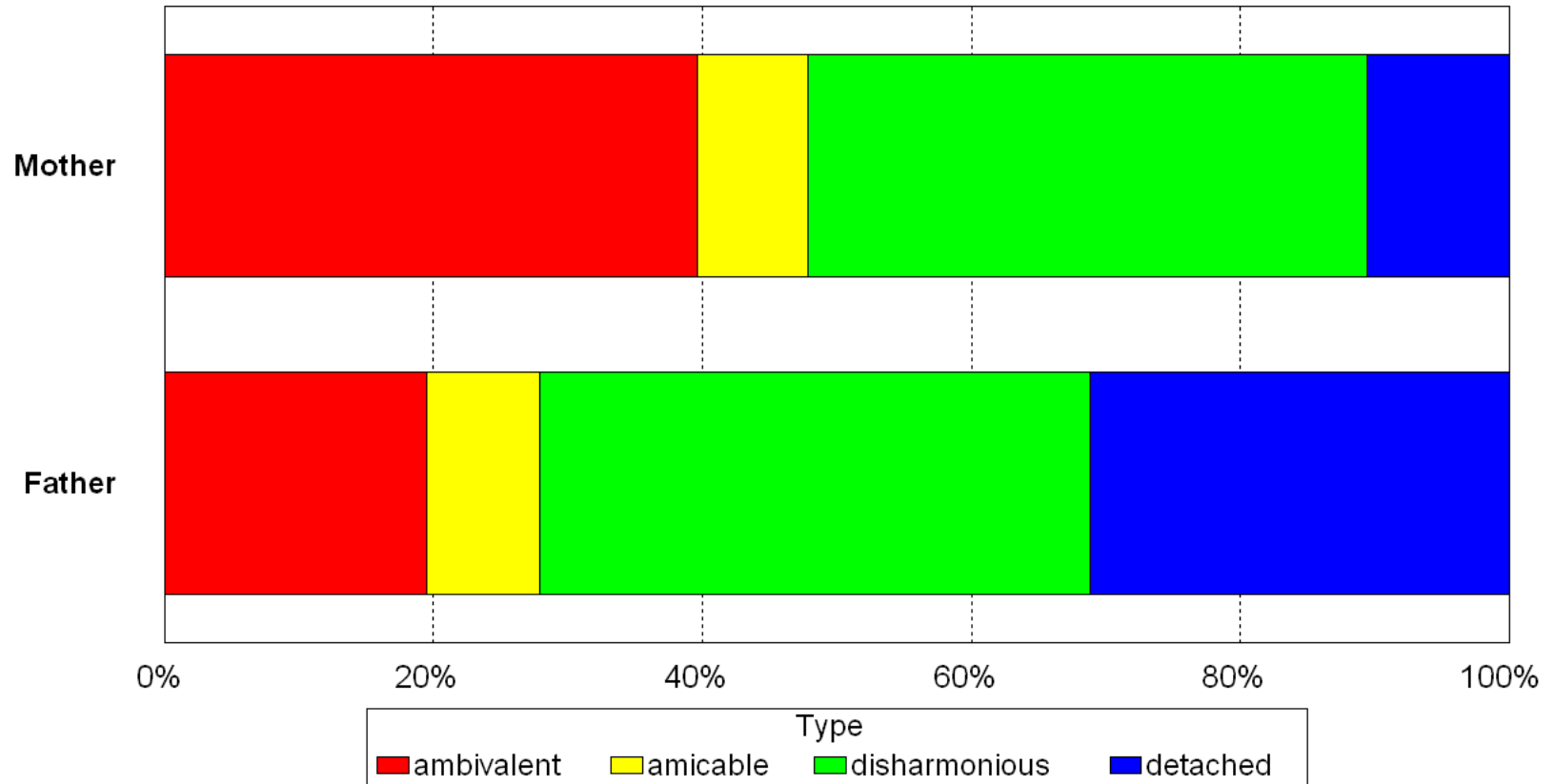
Intergenerational Relationships in South Africa



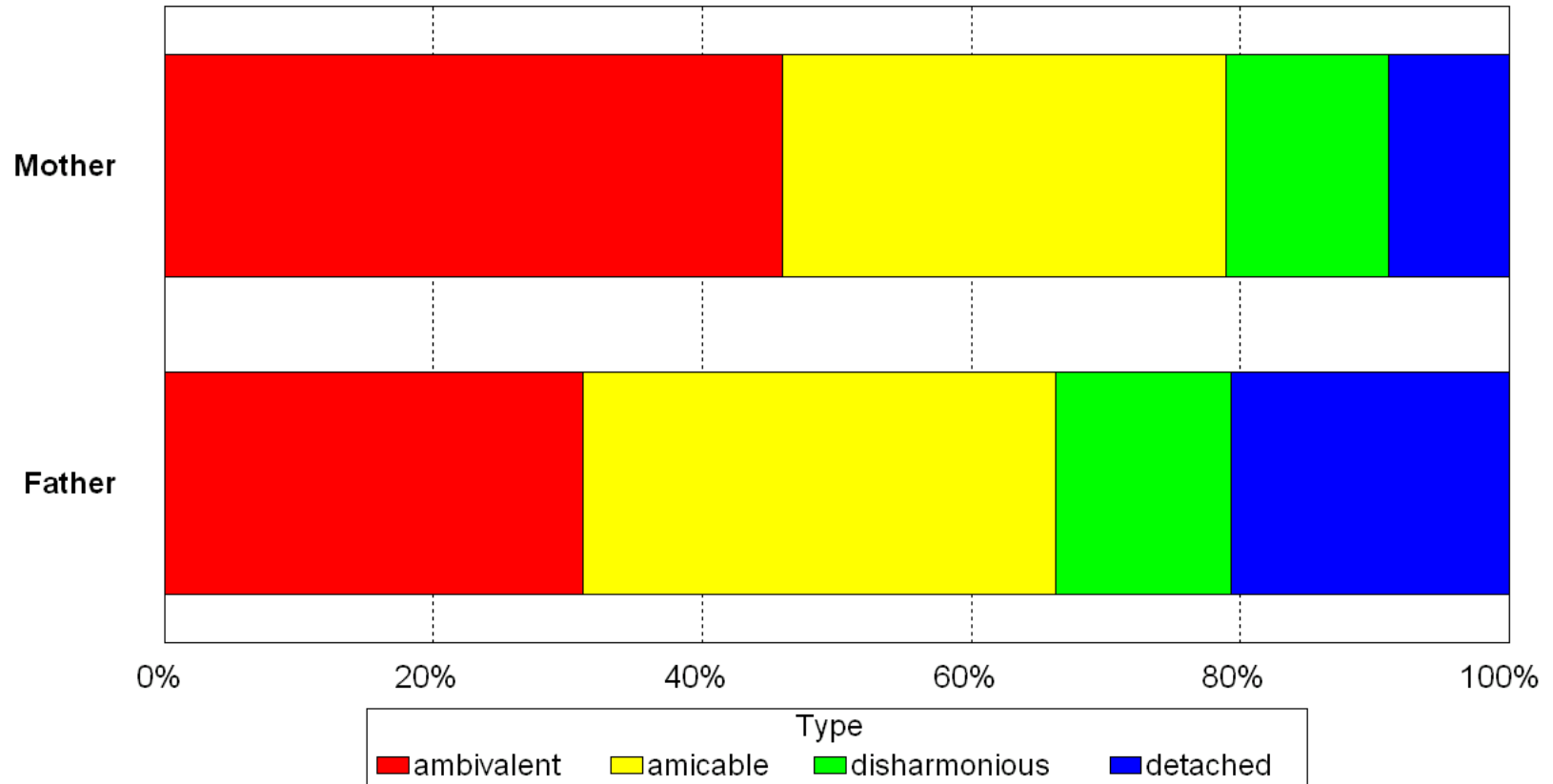
Intergenerational Relationships in Poland



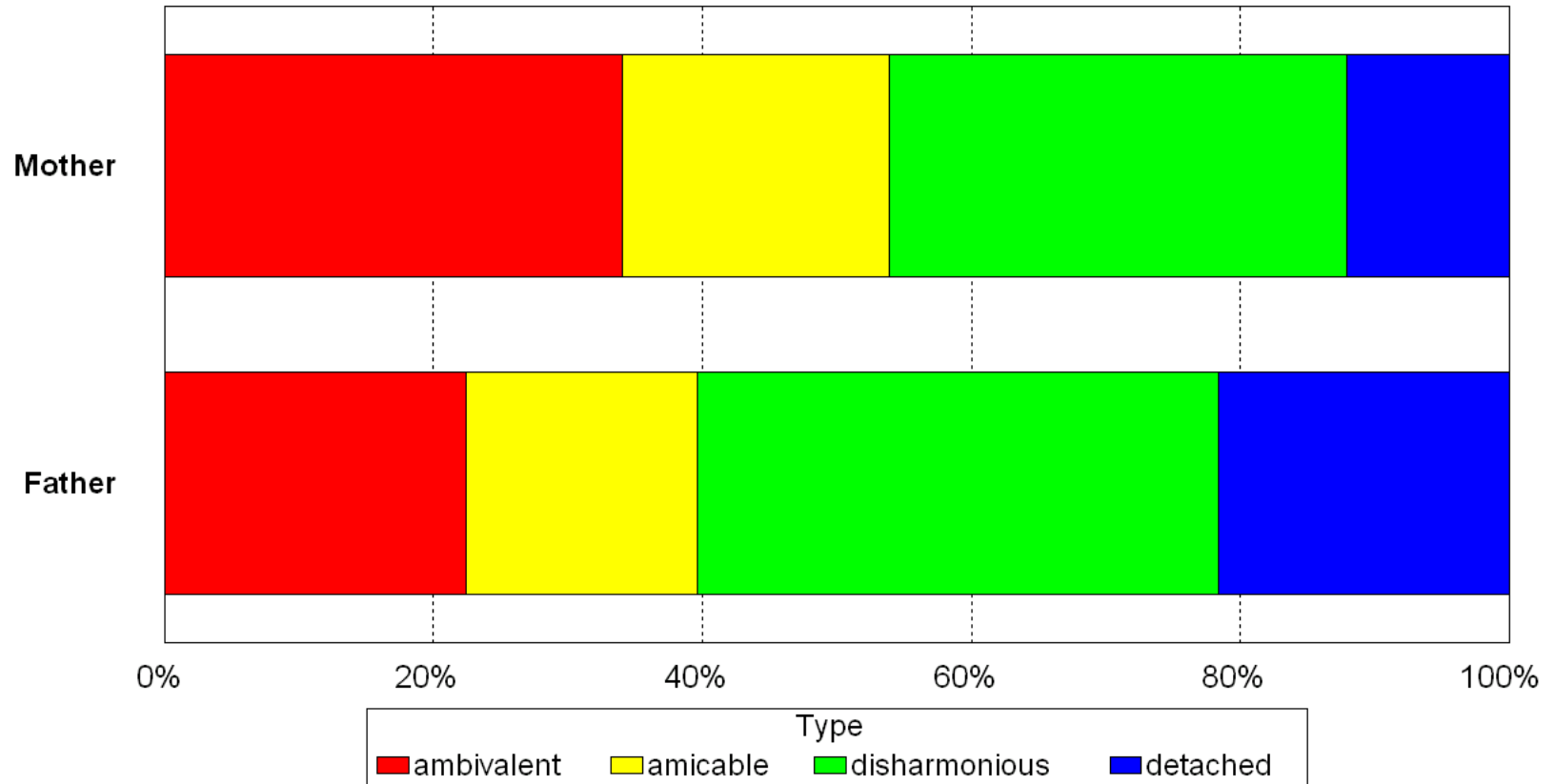
Intergenerational Relationships in Estonia



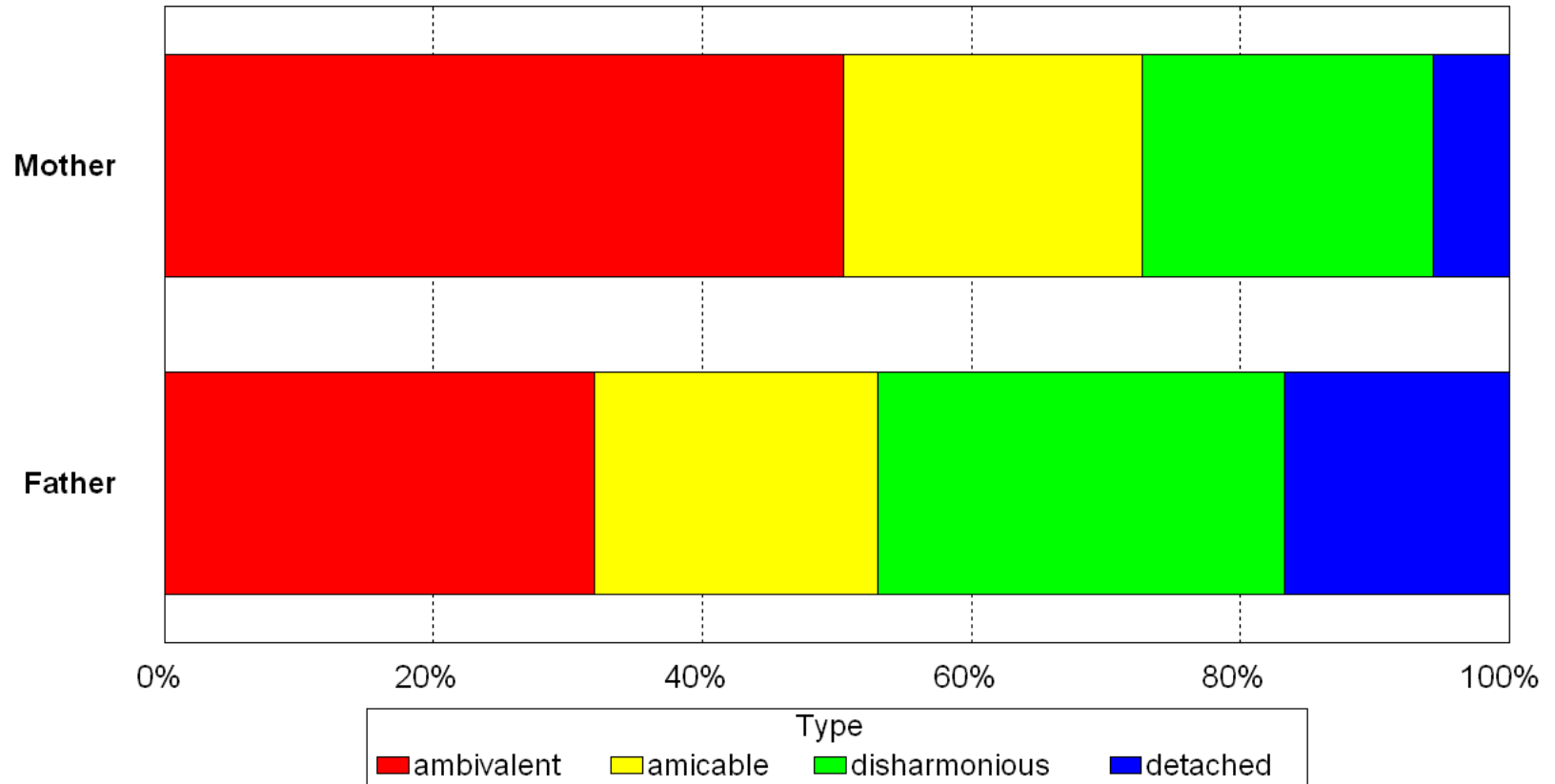
Intergenerational Relationships in Israel



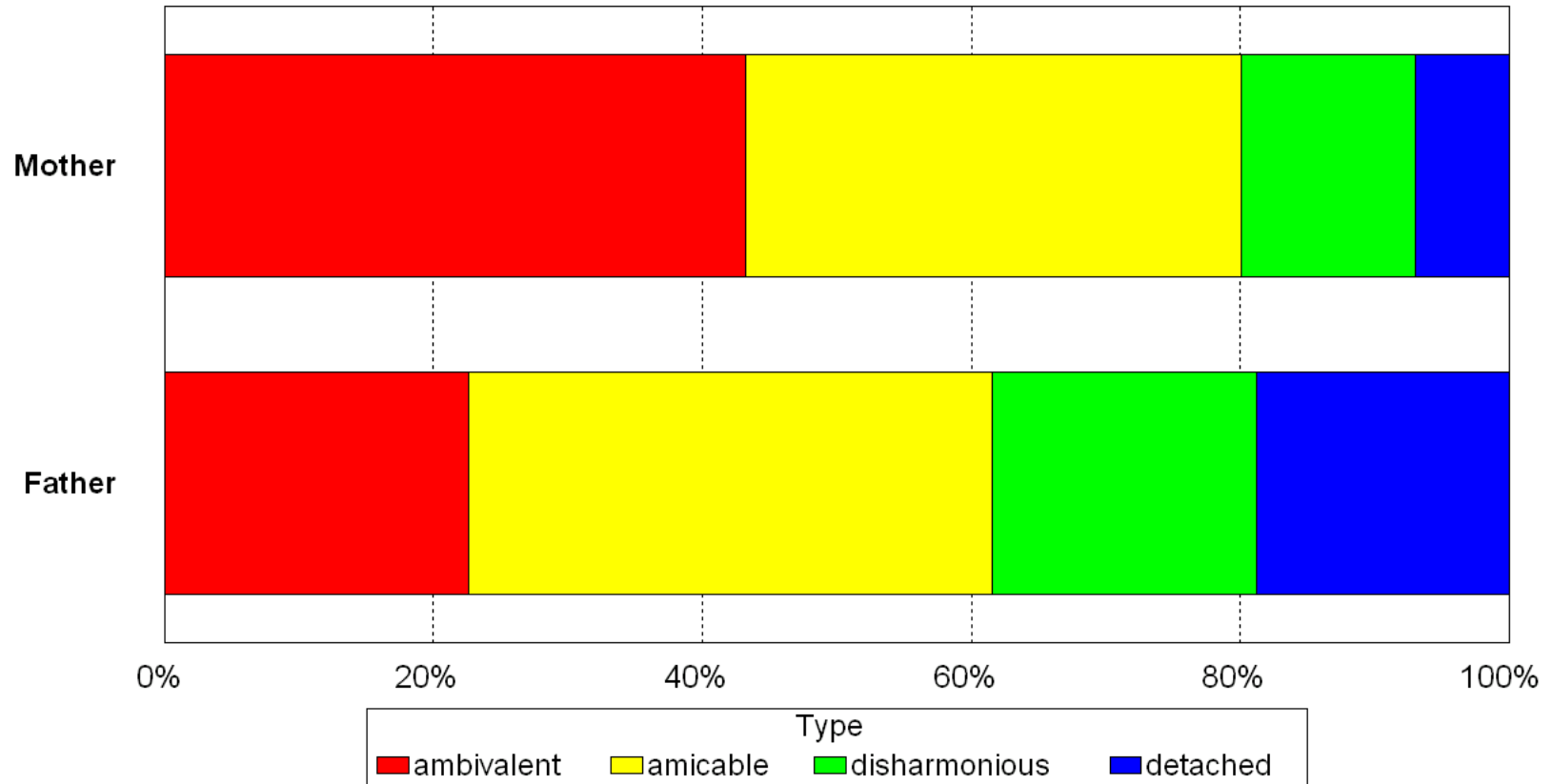
Intergenerational Relationships in France



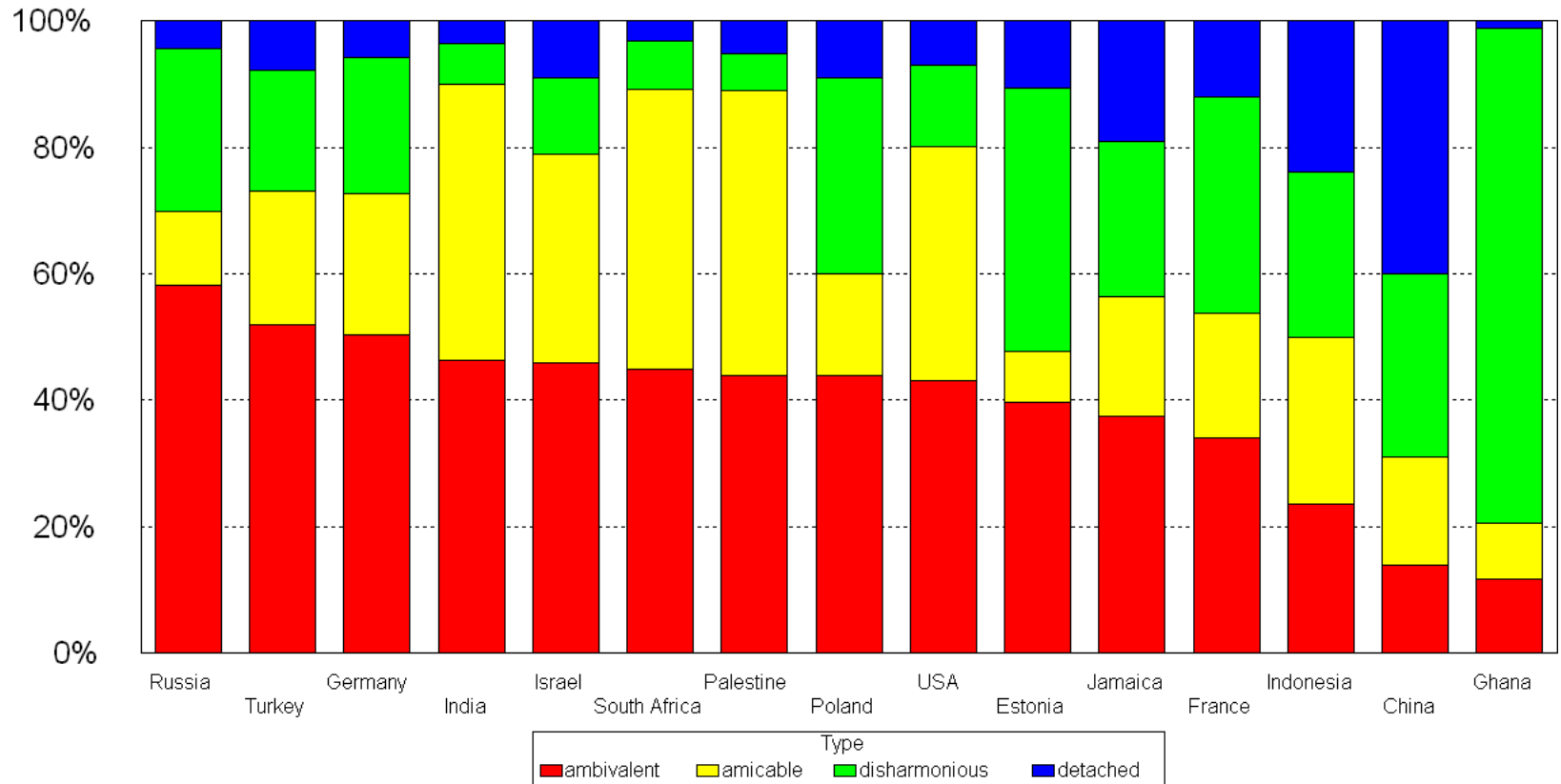
Intergenerational Relationships in Germany



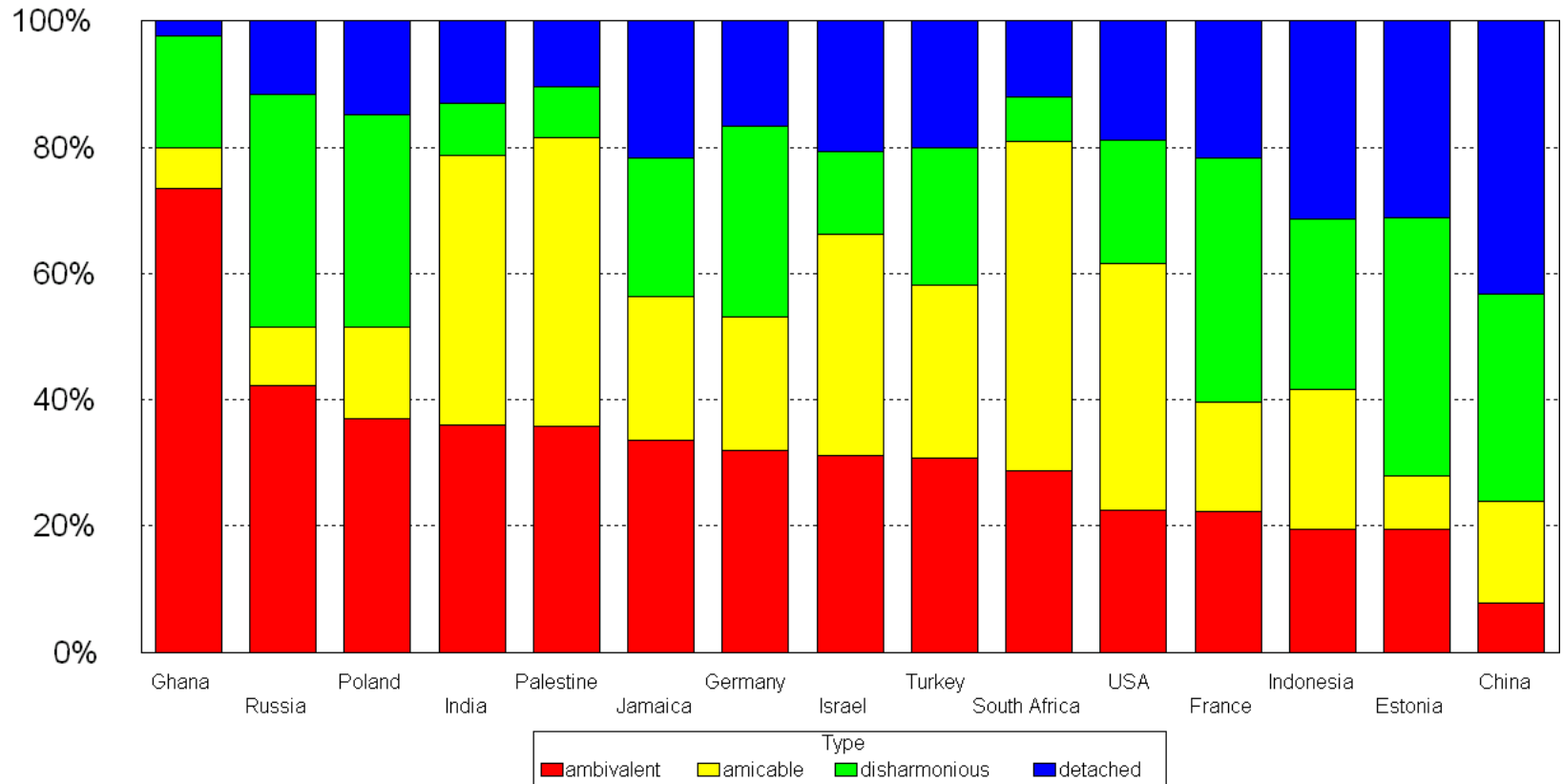
Intergenerational Relationships in the United States



Relationship with Mothers across Areas



Relationship with Fathers across Areas



Design of the 3-Level-Analysis

Level 1: interaction level of intergenerational relationships

Parent's age

Sex of parent (reference: father)

Proximity of parent

Contact to parent

Functional exchange

Level 2: individual characteristics

Rural background

Educational level

Female workforce inclusion

Household welfare level

Number of children

Age of respondent

Perception of an instrumental value of children

Perception of a stimulation & affect value of children

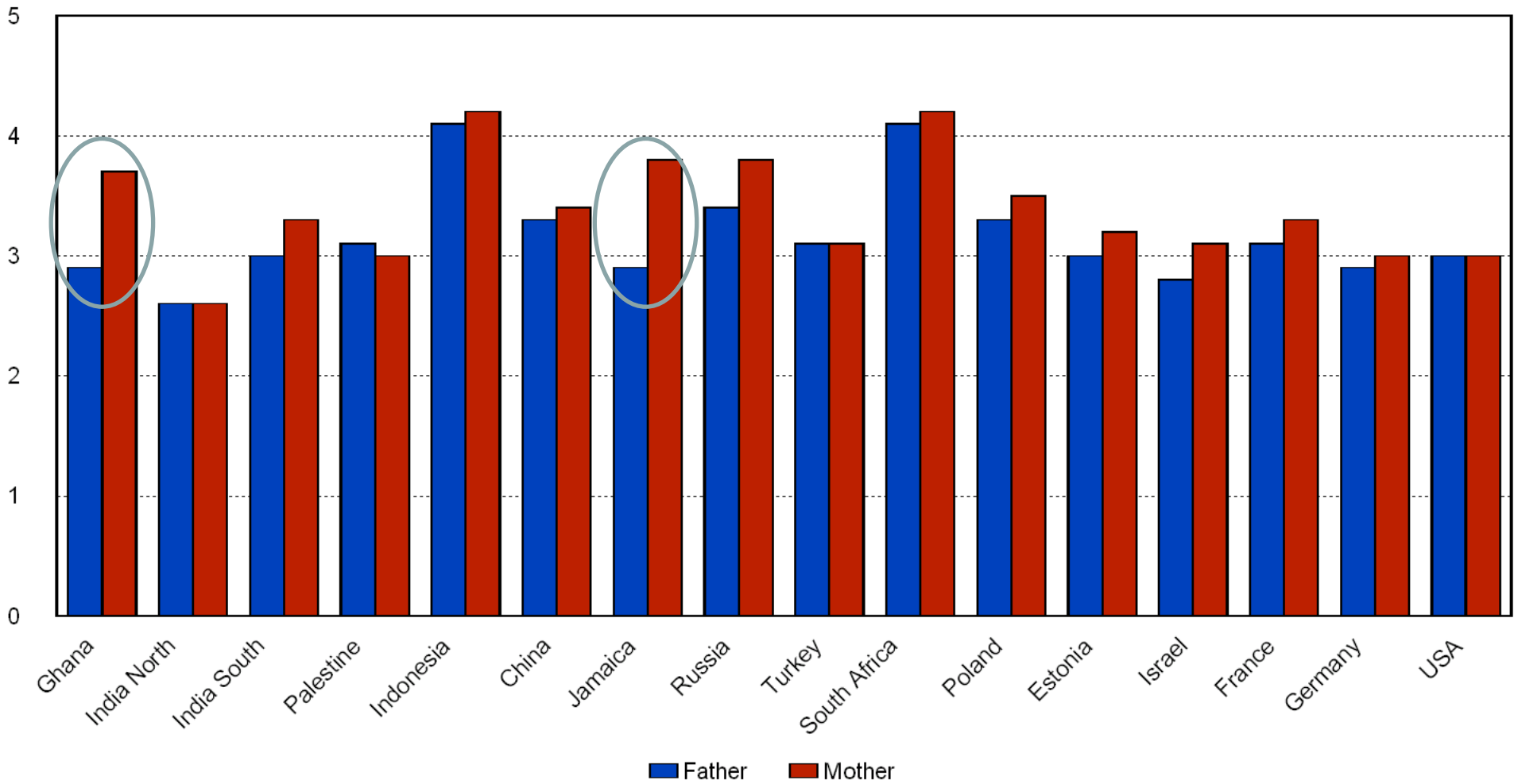
Perception of normative family obligations

Level 3: societal level

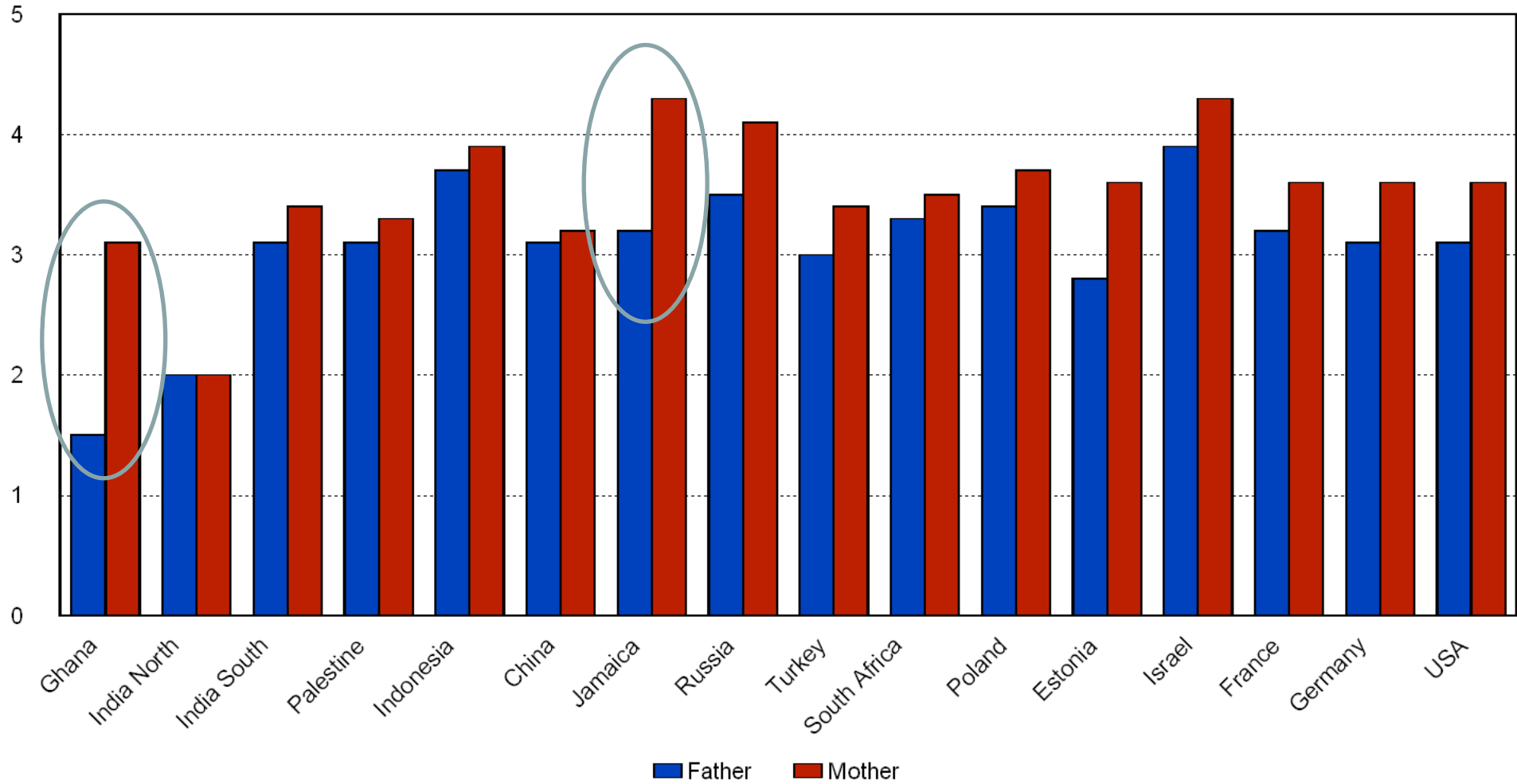
Human Development Index

Matrifocal kinship system

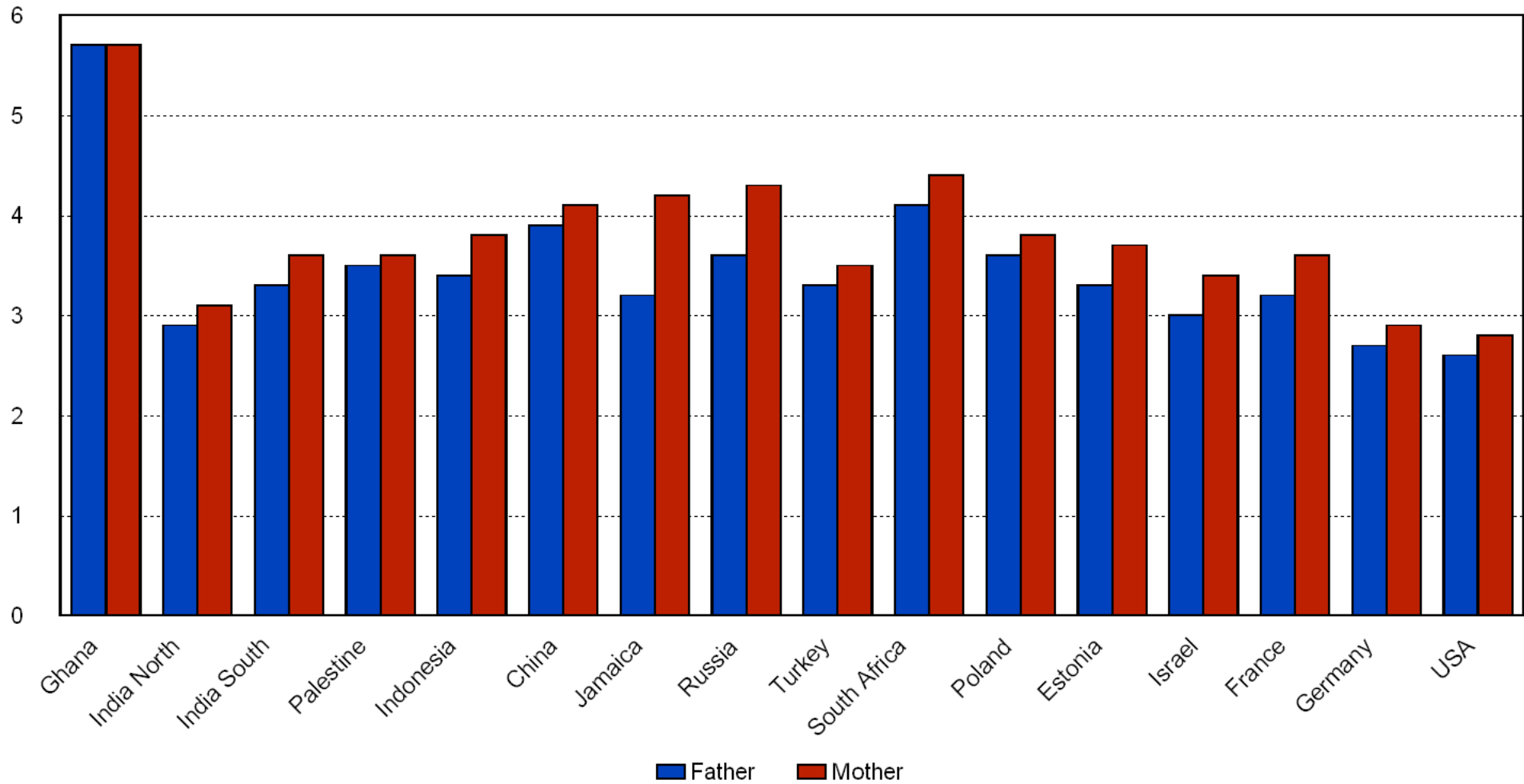
Proximity with Fathers and Mothers



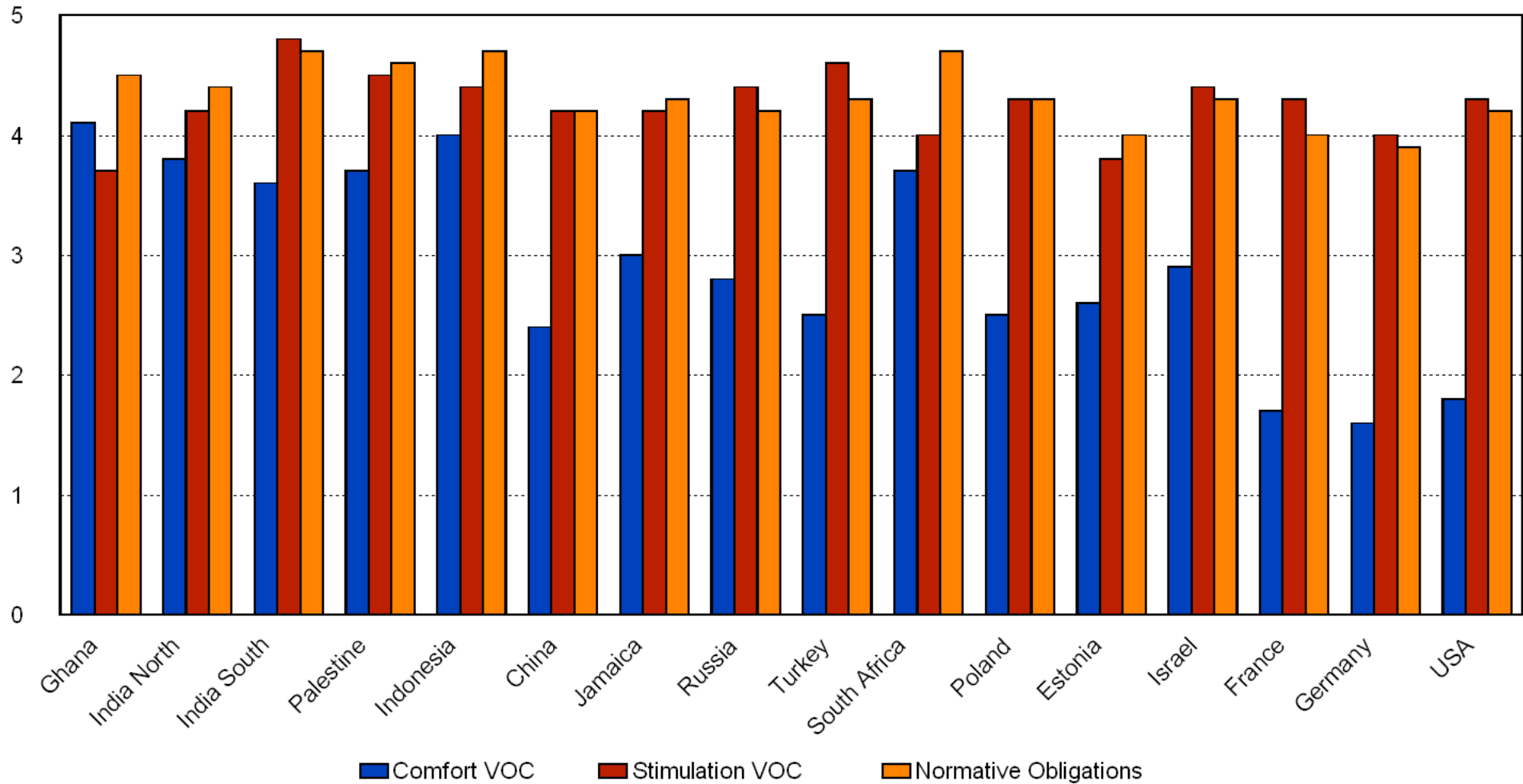
Contact with Fathers and Mothers



Mutual Help with Fathers and Mothers



VOC and Normative Family Obligations



Relationship characteristics predicting class membership

Multinomial regression (reference: detached) controlled for level 2 variables

	ambivalent	amicable	disharmonious
Parent's age	.99*	1.00	.99**
Mother	2.28***	1.69***	1.57***
Proximity	.93*	.95	1.11***
Contact	1.26***	1.30***	1.10***
Mutual help	1.13***	.96	1.08***

Individual characteristics predicting class membership

Multinomial regression (reference: detached) controlled for level 3 variables

	ambivalent	amicable	disharmonious	ambivalent	amicable	disharmonious
Rural background	1.03	1.02	1.05*	.89***	.93**	.96
Education	1.07*	1.19***	1.21***	1.01	1.18***	1.11*
Workforce inclus.	1.03*	.97	1.03	1.05***	1.01	1.00
Family welfare	1.13***	1.09***	1.01	1.10***	1.08***	1.01
Extended househ.	.86	.76	1.05	1.05	.88	1.13
Age	.99***	.99	1.00	.99	1.02***	.99*
No. of children	1.05*	1.12***	1.01	.91***	.97	.95
Comfort VOC	1.18***	1.23***	1.05	1.03	1.11**	.98
Stimulation VOC	1.03	1.15**	.94	1.06	1.14**	.96
Normative oblig.	1.11	2.27***	.73***	1.01	1.79***	.72***
Matrifokal kinship				1.00	.99	1.00
HDI				.96	.98	.98

Areas predicting class membership

Multinomial regression (**reference: detached; USA**) controlled for level 2

	ambivalent	amicable	disharmonious
Ghana	.10***	1.09	.03***
India	.76	1.04	1.29
Palestine	.63	.86	1.15
Indonesia	5.20***	6.13***	1.16
China	15.48***	9.53***	1.92***
Jamaica	2.21***	4.14***	1.15
Russia	.59**	2.86***	.35***
Turkey	1.23	2.35***	.80
South Africa	.50***	.62**	.94
Poland	1.12	3.46***	.46***
Estonia	2.39***	8.46***	.63*
Israel	1.72***	2.20***	1.71**
France	2.58***	3.82***	.67
Germany	.77	1.27	.55**

Research questions revisited

- Is the intergenerational solidarity and ambivalence paradigm valid under economically, culturally and institutionally diverse conditions?

YES, definitively!
the measurement model holds

- Are affection and conflict in intergenerational relationships structured by institutional settings (or just a matter of opportunities, individual choices and internalized norms)?

Yes, very much so!
area effects remain strong, when individual characteristics are controlled for

Research questions revisited

- Are similar patterns of amicable, ambivalent, disharmonious and detached relationships valid for matrilineal, patrilineal and bilineal kinship systems?

Yes, they vary in a systematic way, as they structure „exit“ (detachment) and „voice“ (ambivalence) in intergenerational relationships!

- Is intergenerational ambivalence related to the (lack of) welfare state provisions and to a culture of individualism?

No, not so much!

Take home message in one sentence
(if there is any):

Intergenerational ambivalence is not bound to „Western“ individualism, but depends on how „exit“ and „voice“ are institutionally structured in relation to emotional and functional interdependence.

Thank you for your patience!



Criticism and suggestions are welcome to

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