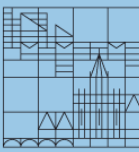


Value of Children and Intergenerational Relationships: Culture-Level Relations in Two Generations

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This research is based on data from the international study on



“Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations”

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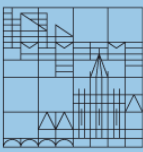
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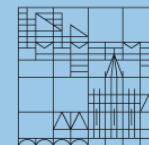
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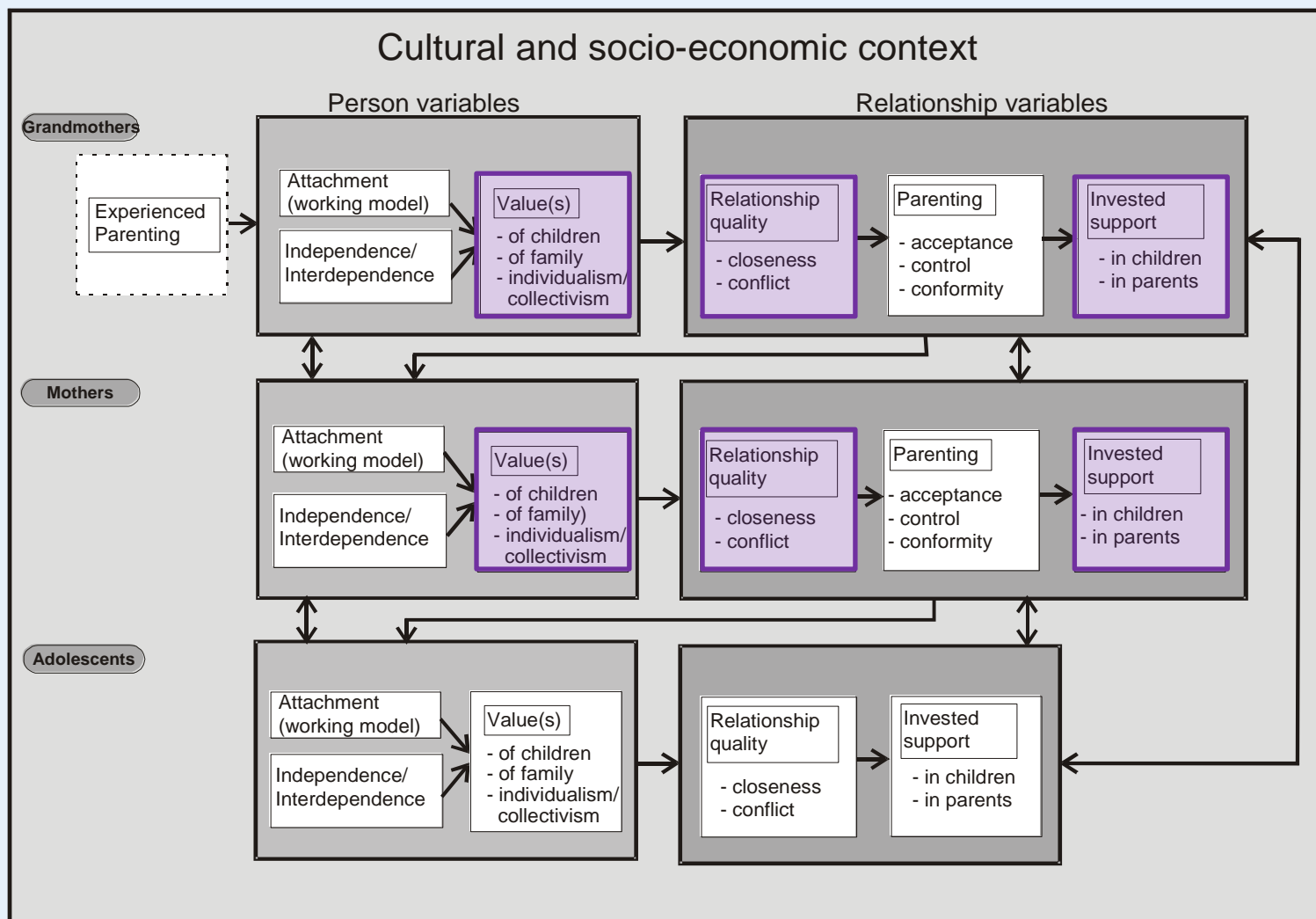


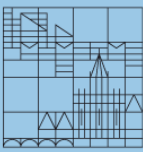
Socioeconomic Development and Family Change

- Modernization affects family relations (Inkeles, 1974)
 - Rising personal autonomy → Decline of family cohesion?
- Longer shared life-time of generations
 - Rising importance of intergenerational relations? (Bengtson, 2001)
- Modernization not necessarily related to decline of relatedness
 - Family model of emotional interdependence (Kagitcibasi, 2007)
- Culturally informed model of intergenerational relations (Trommsdorff, 2006)
 - Individualistic cultures: parent-child relations as partnerships, negotiation of conflicting interests → **trust** (Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007)
 - Collectivistic cultures: harmonious parent-child relations, familial obligations + hierarchies not threatening, but preconditions for committed close relationships → **assurance** (Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007)



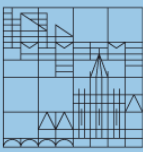
Culturally Informed Model of Intergenerational Relations (Trommsdorff, 2006)





Value of Children (VOC)

- VOC = Reasons for having children
 - Fertility decisions affected by values/expectations regarding having children
 - Emotional, economic-utilitarian and normative VOCs
 - Generalized cultural values: Influence on parenting and parent-child relationship
- Socioeconomic development and culture related to VOC
 - Emotional VOC salient in affluent, individualistic cultures where children are costly and do not contribute to old-age security → **low fertility**
 - Utilitarian and normative VOC salient in agrarian, collectivistic cultures where children contribute to family income and old-age security → **high fertility**



The Present Study: Adult Daughters and Their Mothers in 10 Cultures

- Patterns of culture-level relations:

Socioeconomic development (HDI) &

Macro-level value indicators (Hofstede, Inglehart)

WITH

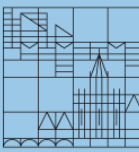
Values in the VOC-study: COLINDEX, Family Values, VOC

WITH

Mother-daughter relationship quality: Intimacy, Conflict

WITH

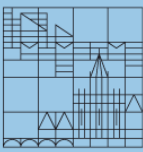
Intergenerational support: Financial, Instrumental, Emotional



Hypotheses and Research Questions 1

Culture-level correlations reflecting **(linear) patterns of cultural differences**. No extrapolation possible to individual-level relations and (causal) psychological processes (danger of ecological fallacy).

1. Affluence negatively related to collectivism, family values & utilitarian-normative VOC + related to more conflicts and less support in the parent-child relationship
2. Macro-level cultural values correlate with cultural and family values in the VOC-study. → e.g., Hofstede's IND correlates negatively with collectivism in the VOC-study
3. Macro-level cultural values and values in the VOC-study are related to intergenerational relationship quality
 - a) **The higher traditional values, the lower the level of conflicts.**
 - b) **How are values related to the level of intimacy?**
 - c) **Do the generations differ with regard to these relations?**



Hypotheses and Research Questions 2

4. Both, macro-level cultural values and values in the VOC-study are related to intergenerational support.
 - a) **The higher traditional values, the higher the level of intergenerational support.**
 - b) **Differential relations with different support domains?**
 - c) **Do the generations differ with regard to these relations?**

5. Heightened conflicts expected in affluent individualistic cultures (see 1. & 4.) indicative of low relationship quality?
 - a) **Is a high level of conflicts related lower levels of intergenerational support?**
 - b) **How is the level of intimacy related to the level of intergenerational support?**
 - c) **Do the generations differ with regard to these relations?**



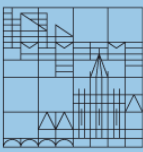
Sample

	Adult Daughters			Elderly Mothers		
	n	Age	No. Children	n	Age	No. Children
China	309	39.6	1.6	207	66.3	4.0
France	200	44.6	2.7	125	71.1	3.6
Germany	310	43.5	2.3	99	69.6	2.9
India	300	40.8	3.7	98	66.0	4.8
Indonesia	300	39.8	3.4	100	64.1	6.1
Israel	194	44.2	3.5	45	67.8	2.6
Palestine / Israeli Arabs	181	41.6	5.3	37	63.4	7.7
Russia	283	41.5	1.8	99	68.2	2.2
South Africa	316	40.7	4.2	133	66.8	5.7
Turkey	308	39.8	2.6	96	65.8	5.1



Macro-level Cultural Characteristics

	HDI	Power Distance (Hofstede)	Individualism (Hofstede)	Traditional/ Secular-rational	Survival/ Self-expression
Germany	.905	35	67	1.31	0.51
Israel	.888	13	54	0.26	0.36
France	.884	68	71	0.58	1.04
Russia	.755	93	39	0.79	-1.65
Turkey	.699	66	37	-0.88	-0.34
China	.687	80	20	1.00	-1.05
Palestine / Israeli Arabs	.641	na	na	na	na
South Africa	.619	49	65	-1.11	-0.10
Indonesia	.617	78	14	-0.77	-0.65
India	.547	77	48	-0.44	-0.42



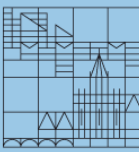
Instruments from the VOC-Study 1

- COLINDEX (Chan, 1994)
 - **Individualism** (7) "Freedom (freedom of action and thought)"
 - **Collectivism** (6) "Obedience (fulfilling duties, meeting obligations)"

Difference Collectivism – Individualism (→ „Collectivism“)
- Family Values (5) (Georgas, 1991)

"We should honor and protect our family's reputation"
- Value of Children (Arnold et al., 1975; Trommsdorff et al., 2002)
 - **Emotional VOC** (7) "Because it is a joy to have a small baby "
 - **Utilitarian-normative VOC** (8) "To have one more person to help your family economically"

Difference Emotional VOC – Utilitarian-normative VOC (→ „Emotional VOC“)



Instruments from the VOC-Study

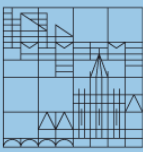
- **Relationship Quality** (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985)
 - **Intimacy** (3) "How often do you tell your mother/daughter everything that is on your mind?"
 - **Conflicts** (3) "How often do you and your mother/daughter disagree and quarrel?"
- **Intergenerational Support** (Schwarz, Chakkarath, Trommsdorff, Schwenk, & Nauck, 2001)
 - **Financial** (1) "How often you have given your parents/daughter financial support in the last 12 months"
 - **Instrumental** (3) "How often have you done chores like shopping for your parents/daughter in the last 12 months?"
 - **Emotional** (3) "How often have you tried to comfort your parents/daughter in the last 12 months?"



Results: Macro-level Cultural Characteristics & VOC-Study Values

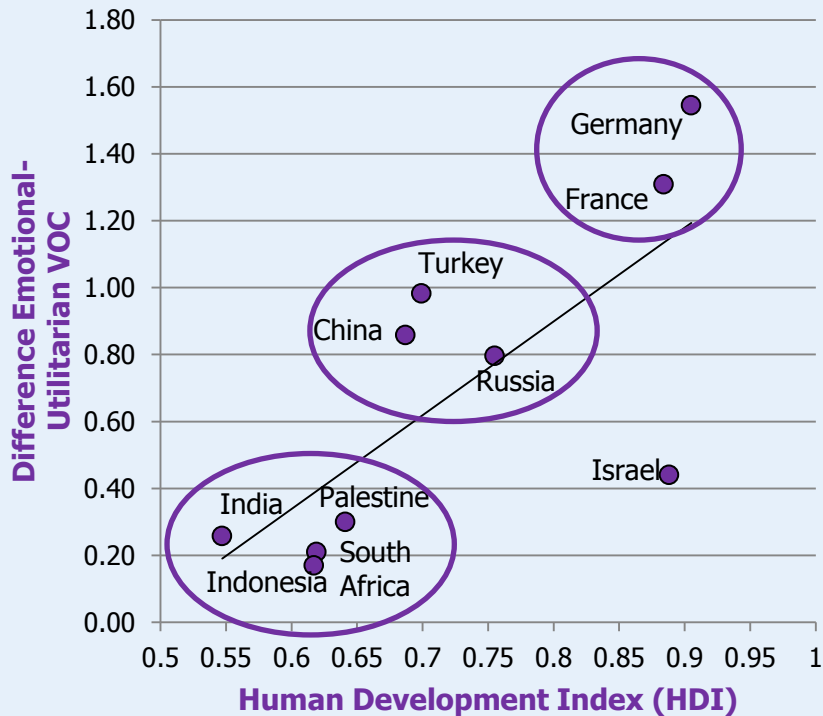
VOC-Study	Emotional VOC		Collectivism		Family Values	
Macro-level	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers
HDI	.81	.83			-.67	-.54
PDI (Hofstede)					.83	.80
IND (Hofstede)			-.72	-.62	-.70	-.73
Traditional/Secular-rational	.63	.62				
Survival/Self-expression			-.73	(-.57)	-.83	-.73

Note. Spearman's Rho, 1-tailed significance. Only significant correlations depicted (in parentheses: $p < .10$).



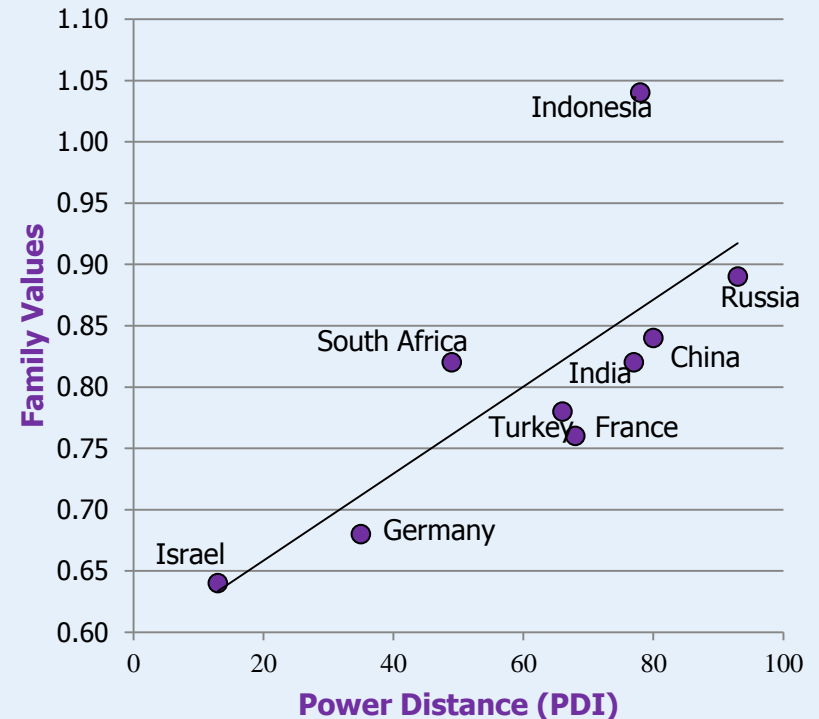
Exemplary Correlations: Scatterplots for Adult Daughters

HDI & Value of Children



Spearman's Rho = 0.81

PDI & Family Values



Spearman's Rho = 0.83



Results: Cultural Characteristics, VOC-Study Values & Relationship Quality

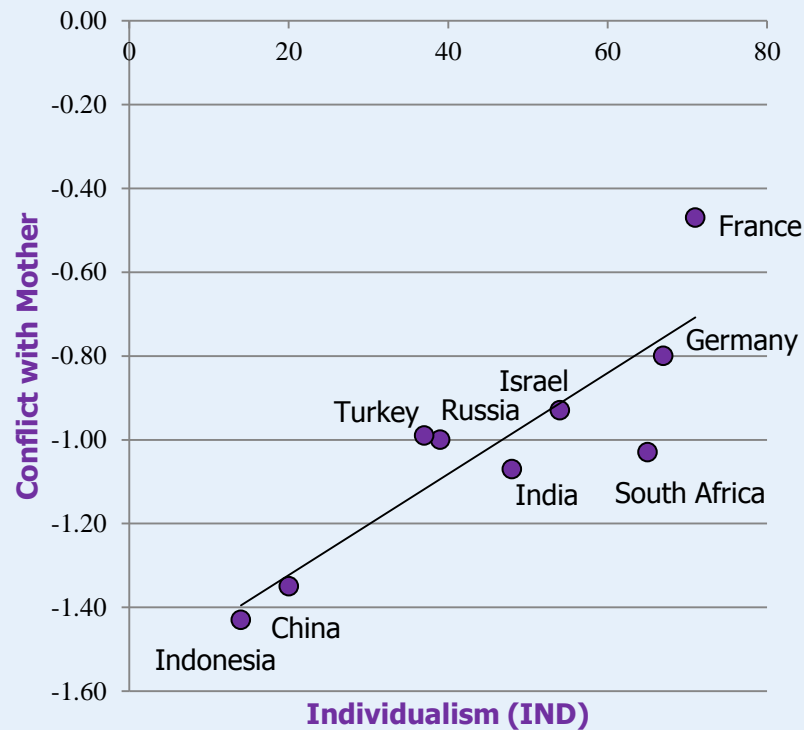
VOC-Study	Intimacy		Conflict	
Macro-level	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers
HDI			.81	(.47)
PDI (Hofstede)			-.58	
IND (Hofstede)			.80	(.52)
Traditional/Secular-rational				
Survival/Self-expression			.78	
VOC-Study	Intimacy		Conflict	
VOC-Study	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers
Emotional VOC			.71	
Collectivism				
Family Values			-.84	

Note. Spearman's Rho, 1-tailed significance. Only significant correlations depicted (in parentheses: $p < .10$).



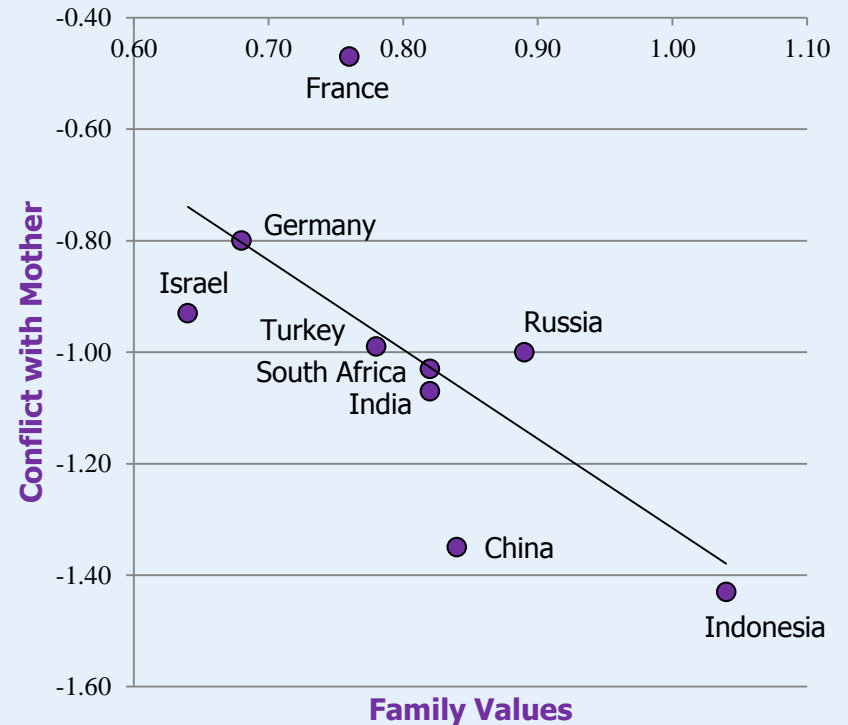
Exemplary Correlations: Scatterplots for Adult Daughters

Individualism & Conflict



Spearman's Rho = 0.80

Family Values & Conflict



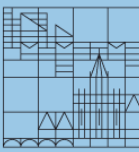
Spearman's Rho = -0.84



Results: Cultural Characteristics, VOC-Study Values & Intergenerat. Support

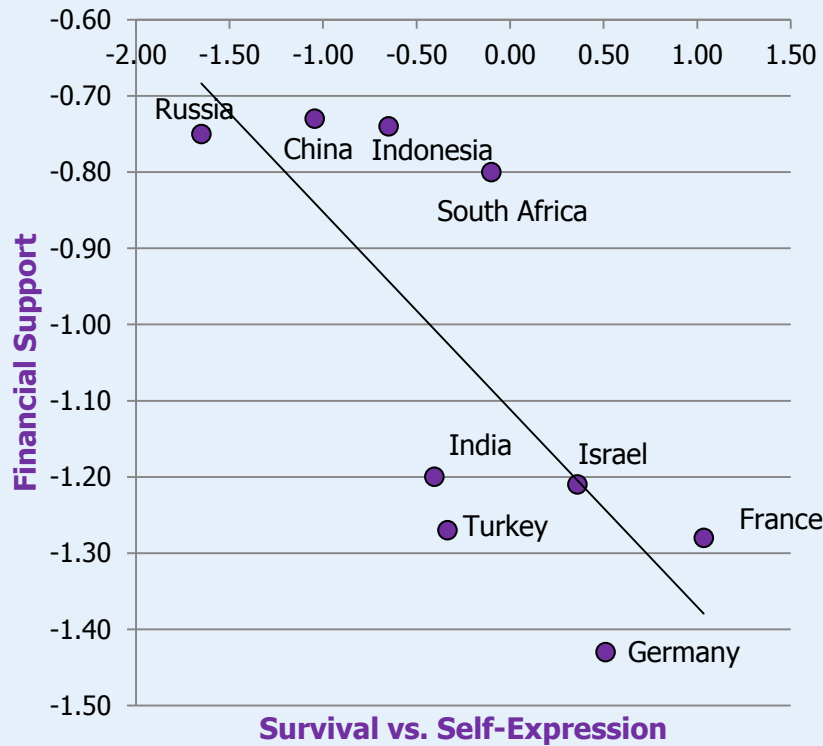
VOC-Study	Financial		Instrumental		Emotional	
Macro-level	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers
HDI	-.56		(.50)			
PDI (Hofstede)	.70					
IND (Hofstede)	-.75				(.52)	
Traditional/Secular-rational						-.73
Survival/Self-expression	-.85	-.58		(-.53)		
VOC-Study	Financial		Instrumental		Emotional	
VOC-Study	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers
Emotional VOC	-.61	(-.50)		(-.52)		
Collectivism	.58					
Family Values	.66					

Note. Spearman's Rho, 1-tailed significance. Only significant correlations depicted (in parentheses: $p < .10$).



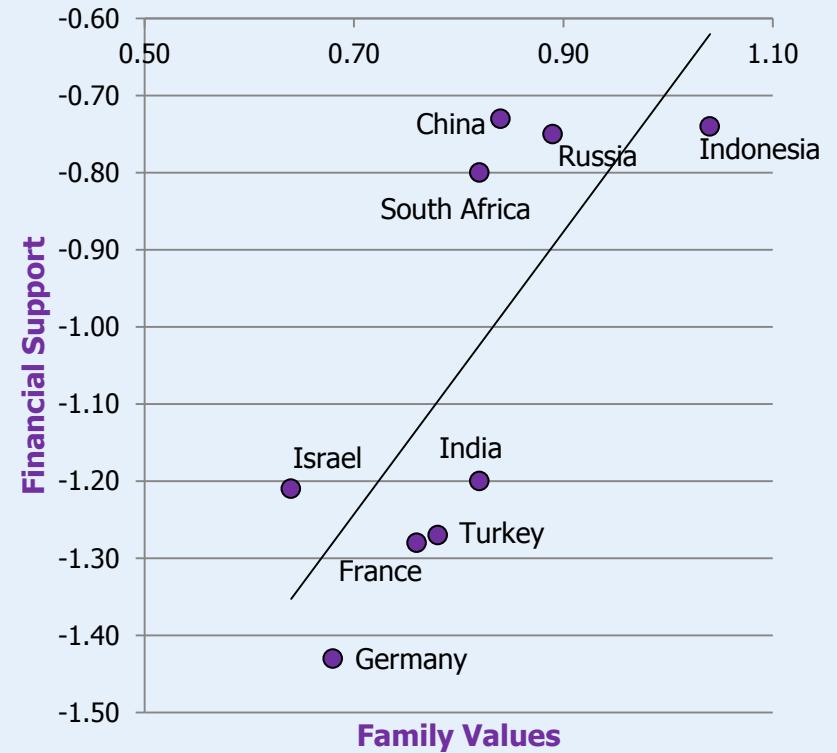
Exemplary Correlations: Scatterplots for Adult Daughters

Self-Expression & Financial Support



Spearman's Rho = -0.85

Family Values & Financial Support



Spearman's Rho = 0.66



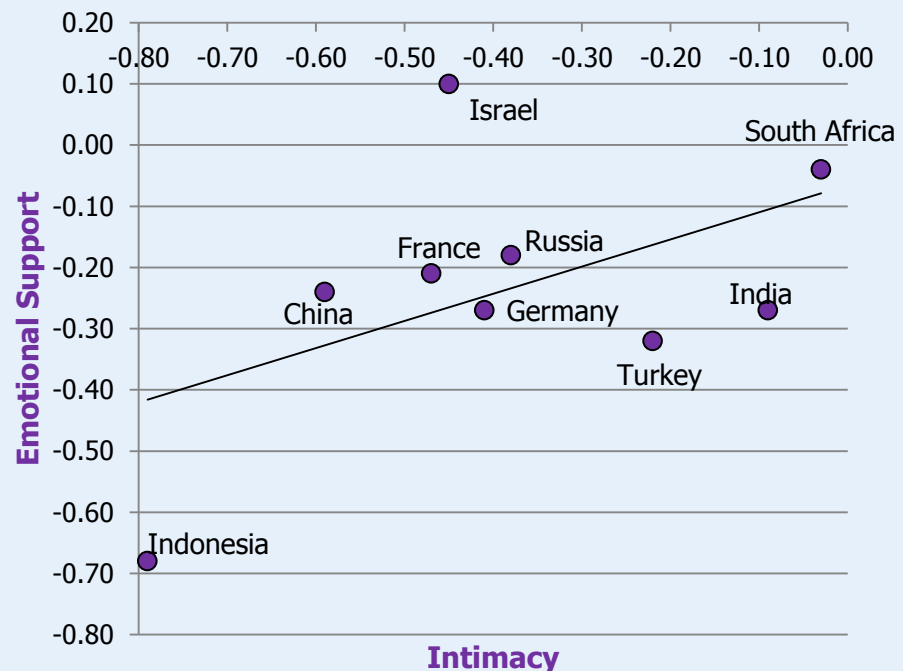
Results 1: Macro-level Cultural Characteristics & VOC-Study Values

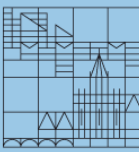
VOC-Study	Financial		Instrumental		Emotional	
VOC-Study	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers
Intimacy		.55				.66
Conflict	-.78					

Note. Spearman's Rho, 1-tailed significance. Only significant correlations depicted (in parentheses: $p < .10$).

Intimacy & Emotional Support: Elderly Mothers

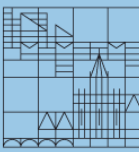
Spearman's Rho = 0.66





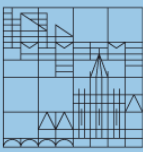
Summary of Results

- Cultural affluence related to lower hierarchical values and to lower material interdependence values (of the family, of children)
- Secular-rational values related to Emotional VOC
- Self-expressive values related to lower Family Values
- Cultural affluence and lower hierarchical family-related values related to more conflicts and to lower financial support (from the daughters' perspective)
 - **But not to lower Intimacy**
 - **But not to lower Instrumental or Emotional Support**
- Intimacy – although unrelated to economic development and cultural values – related to higher intergenerational support (from the mothers' perspective)
 - **But Conflict unrelated to Support**



Conclusions

- Cultural syndromes of independence and interdependence exist regarding **value orientations** (and are related to **cultural affluence**)
- No such syndromes observable with regard to **relationship quality (intimacy)** and **support (instrumental, emotional)**
- Intimate family relations different in collectivistic and individualistic cultures, but they may differ more in **type** rather than **amount** of relatedness
 - **Trust in independent cultures: negotiation, (fear of) termination** → more conflicts
 - **Assurance in interdependent cultures: enduring commitment as unquestionable basis of relationship** → more harmony
- Future studies: More direct measures of the **assurance-type of closeness?**
- Planned analyses: Multilevel models combining ind-level & cult-level relations



Thank you!

Danke für die Aufmerksamkeit 😊