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Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations*Convenor*

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The current research project “Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations in Cross-Cultural comparisons” aims to investigate the conditions and consequences of fertility decisions as well as of parent-child relationships throughout the life-span. The study is a revised and modified partial replication of the original VOC (Value-of-Children) study carried out in the 1970s. A model of interrelations among socioeconomic conditions, values, parent-child relations and individual decision-making serves as starting point.

The focus of Symposium I “Value of children and the family in times of social change” is on the dynamics of social and cultural change and its effects on the value of children and the family. Bilge Ataca and Cigdem Kagitecbasi compare data from 1975 and today on changing family roles and dynamics in rural and urban areas in Turkey. Colette Sabatier, Chiaki Yamada and Lyda Lannegrand discuss the ambivalence of family values in Japanese as compared to modern family values in French adolescents. Michaela Friedlmeier, Gisela Trommsdorff and Bernhard Nauck report about differences in family values of adolescents from two cultures undergoing significant social changes, Romania and East Germany. Gang Zheng and Shaohua Shi focus on the one-child policy in China and its effects on family values. Jana Suckow, Daniela Klaus, and Bernhard Nauck compare data from Palestine and Turkey in order to test whether contextual/cultural variables are associated with differences in the (emotional, comfort, social esteem) value of children.

The focus of Symposium II “Intergenerational relations in different cultures” is on intergenerational relations over the life-span, based on samples of three biologically related generations (adolescent, mother, grandmother) by taking into account uni- and bi-directional processes between the generations. David L. Sam, Benjamin Amponsah and Jorn Hetland present data on Ghana and demonstrate the importance of an emic approach in the study of family values. Boris Mayer, Gisela Trommsdorff and Ramesh Mishra compare the role of parenting and parent-child relationships for adolescents from Germany and India. Katarzyna Lubiewska, Anna Rokowska & Ludmila Zajac-Lamparska report on data on Polish families regarding the transmission of attachment from one generation to the next. Beate Schwarz and Gisela Trommsdorff report data on cultural differences and similarities with respect to the associations between attachment and exchange of support in German, Korean and Chinese families. Isabelle Albert, Gisela Trommsdorff and Lieke Wisnubrata discuss the differential effects of homogeneity and heterogeneity of values with respect to the intergenerational transmission of relevant values in Indonesian and German families.

PART I - Value of Children and the Family in Times of Social Change

Value of Children and Family Change in Turkey: Thirty Years Later

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The Turkish Value of Children Study provides important insights about various aspects of family and society, and changes in these over time. The study consisted of three generations of respondents from three socio-economic strata in a metropolitan center and from two rural areas. The findings showed that, compared to the original VOC Study in 1975, psychological values attributed to the children have increased, and the utilitarian/economic values have decreased. Son preference has been replaced by daughter preference, pointing to changing family dynamics and family roles. Corresponding modifications in expectations from (adult) children, qualities desired in children, and actual, desired, and ideal numbers of children are in line with expectations, providing support to Kağıtçıbaşı's Model of Family Change. Comparisons of values of children over three decades as well as across generations and social strata reflect the heterogeneity and the social change that is characteristic of contemporary Turkey and possibly of similar societies.

Family Perspectives, Family Values and Values of Children of Adolescents in Two Modern Societies. A Japan-French Comparison

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In modern societies, the family perspective is challenged. On one hand, values are more individualistic and the entering in full adulthood is postponed after a period of experimentation, on the other hand the low birth rate and a long life expectancy represent a demographic problem. For cultural and historic reasons, countries give different answers to these problems. In this presentation, we will address the question of values concerning family, children and future perspectives of adolescents between 15 to 18 years of age in two modern countries Japan (N=208) and France (N=169). Are family and children part of their projects, and in which time frame? What are the predictors? Is there a cultural pattern? The number of children desired by these adolescents reflects the demographic data of each country. Results indicate similar individualist values and similar expectancies concerning the age of marriage, age for the first child and economical independency. But they depict different patterns of relationships and future expectancies. Japanese appear divided between conformity to the collectivist way of life and a real individualistic one, while French are more attached to the family values but in a sense of modern social contract, not as an obligation.

Social Change and Future Family-Orientation in Adolescents

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This presentation aims to explore commonalities and differences of adolescents' future family-orientation in two former communist countries (Romania and East Germany) and one de-

mocratic country (West Germany). Two lines of argumentation are considered. The breakdown of communist system with its related policy for early marriage and childbearing opened new life-style options for the young generation. As a consequence, adolescents' future-family plans in the three samples may be rather similar. According to socialization theory, parents are the primary agents in the development of their offspring's values. Due to the high family orientation in the former communist countries, it is expected that adolescents in Romania and East Germany still show a higher future family-orientation than adolescents in West Germany. As part of Value of Children and Intergenerational Relationship Study, N = 410 adolescents (104 East Germans, 206 West Germans and 100 Romanians) between 14 and 17 years of age answered questions about future family planning. Similarities between the three samples occurred for more specific plans like number of children wanted. Differences primarily refer to values like perceived benefits and costs of children. Gender differences are very similar across the three groups. Results are discussed by referring to social change and socialization theory.

Exploring the Effects of the Family Control Policy on Value of Children in China

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The intergenerational study on value (VOC) of children aims at exploring parents' motives/needs of bearing and having children in different generations, demonstrating how cultural and/social factors should influence VOC and its changes, and predicting effects of the needs of having children on future development of human societies. In contemporary societies, fertility desires/behaviors can be strongly determined by social population policies, rather than by economic factors and/or motives/needs at the individual level. In China, the practice of the basic one child per family policy since the 1960's resulted in an increase of the only-child families. In the samples of this study, the percentages of the actual 1-child and 2-children families among Chinese mothers (aged about 40) were 53.2% and 35.3%. Comparatively, they were 12.8% and 57.8% among German mothers, and 8.6% and 71.2% among Korean mothers. The data demonstrated that, respectively, 80.1%, 62.6%, and 51.6% among the Chinese, German and Korean mothers believed it ideal to have 2 children in a family. The discrepancy between the majorities in actual and ideal numbers of children in Chinese samples and its interactive effects on VOC, parenting style and parent-child relations will be discussed on the bases of the analyses of the international data.

The Value of Children in Palestine and Turkey – Differences and its Consequences for Fertility

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Recent fertility rates indicate tremendous differences between Palestine and Turkey: Whereas the TFR has decreased remarkably over the last decades in Turkey, a rather stable high level fertility can be observed for Palestine. The aim of this paper is to contrast two theoretical arguments by testing their power of explanation. However, both are conceptualized according to the structural-individualistic tradition based on the assumption of a rational actor. The first focuses on the value children have for (potential) parents (VOC), which is assumed to be multidimensional. Children can contribute to parents' affect and stimulation, comfort or social esteem. VOC is conceptualized as a mediator between individual's situation formed by the

institutional framework, opportunity and social network structures and individual resources on the one hand and the fertility indicated by the number of children and their timing on the other hand. As an alternative fertile behaviour could also be assumed to be a consequence of acting according to habitualized routines available within the social context. Under certain circumstances, following such routines with respect to children might also be a rational strategy since they provide time-tested and therefore, rather efficient solutions. The presentation provides several analyses using data from the 2002 Value-of-Children study.

PART II – Intergenerational Relations in Different Cultures

The Structure of Fertility Attitudes among Sub-Sahara African Women: The Case of Three Generations of Ghanaian Women

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This paper extends the on-going cross-national studies on values of children and intergenerational relations in times of social change to Ghana, and examines some of the previously reported findings among three groups of Ghanaian women. Arguing from an emic position, the presentation questions the universality of economic, social and psychological values of children in sub-Sahara Africa and suggests that a fourth dimension – spiritual values of children be added to the previously reported three values. Information was gathered from 100 grandmothers (mean age = 68.41, SD = 6.5) 300 mothers with adolescent aged child (mean age = 42.14; SD = 6.4) and 300 mothers with an infant (mean age = 31.41, SD= 6.3) in towns and villages the Greater Accra, Eastern and Volta regions of Ghana. Using both exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses, we found support to the existence of 4 dimensions of values of children. The implications of these for theory formulation are discussed.

Role of Parenting and Parent-Child Relationship for Adolescents' Life Satisfaction: A German-Indian Comparison

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The current study compares Indian and German adolescents' perceptions of their mother's parenting behavior as well as their relationship quality with mothers and fathers in relation to adolescents' life satisfaction. The sample is part of the cross-cultural study "Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations" and included n = 150 German (50% female) and n = 150 Indian adolescents (52% female) between 14 and 18 years of age. Results showed that Indian as compared to German adolescents experienced more controlling parenting and that parental control was positively related to adolescents' life satisfaction in India while no such relation existed in Germany. In Germany, parental rejection was the strongest (negative) predictor of life satisfaction. Regarding the association of the parent-child relationship quality with life satisfaction similar relations occurred in both cultures: feeling emotionally close with and admired by parents were the strongest predictors for Indian and German adolescents' life satisfaction. The results are discussed in a theoretical framework of cultural pathways of adolescent development with a focus on culture-specificities in family models and parent-child relationships.

Intergenerational Transmission of Attachment in Three Generational Family System: Results of Pilot Study in Value-of-Children Project on Polish Sample

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The present study is based on the original “Value-of-Children Study” and attempts to contribute to a broader cross-cultural analysis (Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005).

The present paper introduces the results of the VOC study in Poland and focuses mainly on the quality of intergenerational relations underlining the role of attachment as a moderator of other individual and relational variables. Attachment is treated as a generalized concept of self and other reflecting and constructing relations in a family. In the present study attachment is described in each generation with respect to its transmission among three generations of adolescent child, his or her mother and maternal grandmother. The sample consists of 100 families interviewed in the Bydgoszcz region in Poland.

The results will be discussed with respect to the general model and the question of transmission of attachment relations. Along with the theoretical and the methodological conceptualization of the main study, some data from the correlation and factor analyzes will be presented. Moreover, descriptive and cross-cultural analyses on some socio-economic and cultural context variables and analyses related to current social change in Polish society will be included.

The Relation between Attachment and Intergenerational Support in Korea, China, and Germany

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The study investigated (a) the relation between adult daughters’ attachment representation and the intergenerational exchange of support and (b) culture specificities of this relation. The analyses were based on samples of middle-aged women from Korea (n = 398); China (n = 312), and Germany (n=313). The women reported on their avoidant and preoccupied attachment representations and the extent of emotional and instrumental support they provided to and received from their parents. Regression analyses testing the moderating effect of culture on the relation between attachment and support revealed more differences between the Chinese and German women than between the Korean and German women. While in Germany, but not in Korea and China, avoidance was negatively associated with the emotional support from parents, preoccupation was positively associated (also in Korea but not in China). Avoidance was negatively associated with the instrumental support to the parents in all three cultures (significant only in Germany and Korea) but the positive relation between preoccupation and instrumental support to parents was significant only for German, small for Korean, and close to zero for Chinese women. The results point to differences in the importance of personal factors such as attachment in cultures with different levels of modernization.

Intergenerational Transmission of Values in Different Cultural Contexts: A Study in Germany and Indonesia

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The aim of this study is to investigate cultural similarities and differences in the transmission of general and domain-specific value orientations (individualism/collectivism, family values and value of children) within German and Indonesian families. When cultural contexts are characterized by homogeneity as compared to heterogeneity of values, socialization agents hold rather similar values, thus making the importance of the family with respect to transmission of values to the children less significant. Supposing that the German society is more heterogeneous and the Indonesian society more homogeneous in terms of value orientations, we expected higher intergenerational transmission of relevant values within German compared to Indonesian families. The sample is part of the cross-cultural study “Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations” and included altogether 610 German and Indonesian mother-adolescent dyads as well as altogether 200 triads of maternal grandmothers, mothers, and adolescents. Results showed higher intergenerational transmission of traditional family values between adjacent generations in the German sample, but transmission of individualistic values was higher in the Indonesian sample. The results are discussed in a theoretical framework of culture-specificities of intergenerational transmission.