

The Importance of Social Context in the Formation of the Value of Children for Adolescents: Social Class and Rural Urban Differences in Taiwan

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, fertility behavior, parenting and elderly support have received increasing attention in family studies. This is largely due to emergent changes in the population structure, especially the declining birth rates and the prolonged life expectancy. Extensive efforts from governments as well as from academic communities have been made on how to motivate couples to have children as the key to solving the problem. This article will deal with a fundamental aspect of childbearing issues—the value placed on having children, and will focus on a group whose fertility behavior will determine future population growth—the adolescents. It is presumed that to understand the formation of adolescents' value toward having children or not will shed light on the future trend of population growth as well as on the development of family systems.

The research locus is Taiwan, a typical Chinese society with rapid economic progress over the last few decades. The enhancement in average education and labor force participation for females has brought about modern gender role ideologies as well as different life expectations (Yi, 2002). However, the preference for sons (Goodkind, 1996), the expectation of elderly support from children (Lee, et al., 1994), along with other traditional family values pertaining to kin obligation (Tsai and Yi, 1997) remain relatively unchanged. Since most studies utilize adult samples, it will be interesting to explore family values revealed by adolescents as an indicator for future possible changes. Therefore, this study will examine how adolescents, as future parents-to-be, perceive the value of having children or not having children (VOC here after) at this stage, and to delineate possible factors accounted for the formation of these values.

In order to understand the process of value formation for adolescents, personal, familial and societal levels of relevant factors will be explored and compared. In addition, a special focus is to investigate adolescents' VOC from the difference in social class and in rural urban background. Reasons for this particular emphasis on social class and rural urban background as significant social context are twofold: one is to continue the original framework in the first wave Taiwan VOC studies in the 1970s; the other is to investigate outcomes from the

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fundamental structural variation three decades later. In other words, by using an identical sampling and research framework, findings will allow us to compare changes in the VOC after rapid societal transformation has taken place.

In the following, we will first briefly discuss the research background in order to show the linkage of the present study with both Taiwan studies in the 1970s as well as with recent VOC studies in other countries. The relevance of social class and rural urban background as significant social context for the VOC formation will also be documented. Significant findings as well as the discussion on possible future developments will be presented.

THE VALUE OF HAVING CHILDREN: SOCIAL CLASS AND RURAL URBAN DIFFERENCES

The VOC Study

Fawcett, Arnold and their colleagues initiated and coordinated the very first wave study named "Value of Children" (VOC) in the early 1970s, when overpopulation was a universal problem. This cross-national research design was carried out in six countries—Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Philippine, Thailand, and the United States (Hawaii only)—between 1971 and 1972. The main purpose was to explore individuals' perceptions on the advantages and costs of having children as well as their consequent impact on the actual fertility behavior. To propose effective policy for reducing the pace of population growth was the ultimate intention. Therefore, the 1970 VOC study can be characterized as population-control-oriented cross-national research.

With regard to VOC, Hoffman and Hoffman list nine different components (1973). The earlier findings support this comprehensive scheme and argue that economic, cultural, normative, and psychological factors should be taken into account in explaining fertility. The perceived value of having children was proposed to be the central mediator which tends to be subject to variation from changes in society and its respective culture. In other words, the first-wave VOC study in the '70s explored the functions children served or the needs they fulfilled for parents—i.e., the value of children for their parents (Arnold et al., 1975)—while the societal aspect as well as the cultural meaning of VOC was acknowledged but inadequately incorporated.

Perhaps due to the dominance of demographers in the VOC study, it has been characterized by a clear demographic focus with the application of an economic model during the first half of the 20th century (Nauck, 2004). The economic model, while explaining quite well the phenomenon of fertility decline in the modern developed countries, was unable to explain why children are still so highly desired in developing countries. Cultural factors are thus proposed to provide the answer (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973).

The Special Focus of Value of Children Study in the 2000s

The 2nd wave VOC study took place in the early 2000s. The external circumstance has changed from overpopulation to under-population for many countries in three decades. Headed by German social scientists, with Trommsdorff and Nauck as principle investigators, the new

VOC study has a new focus on the intergenerational transmission of the value placed upon children. Starting with six societies, it is hypothesized that value transmission across three generations functions as the key mechanism affecting teenagers' value toward having children or not. To date, nearly 20 countries have participated in this cross-cultural study. In addition to the main concern on fertility motives and behaviors embedded in the original VOC, the new study expands the sampling design from teenagers to mothers and grandmothers.

Furthermore, the 2nd wave of VOC study pays attention to cultural sensitivity and makes special efforts to examine relevant structural as well as relational factors. Positive and negative values are grouped into two basic dimensions: economic-utilitarian and psychological-emotional VOC, in line with theoretical distinctions made by Becker (1960) and Leibenstein (1957) (Trommsdorff and Nauck, 2005). Numerous reports have documented the significance of norms and values in having children, especially in developing areas (Trommsdorff and Nauck, 2005). But other dimensions besides normative aspects remain critical factors accounting for the variation. Therefore, the concept of the "value of children" is considered a fundamental key to the population question, relevant to both the population explosion in the 20th century and the under-population in recent years.

The Taiwan Research Setting

For the 2nd wave Taiwan VOC project, two major concerns determine the research design. One is the intention to compare findings of VOC between the early 1970s and mid-2000s; the other is to compare findings of Taiwanese patterns with those of other societies. For the latter, three corresponding datasets are collected: adolescents, their mothers and their grandmothers. This paper will present preliminary findings from the adolescent sample. Furthermore, in order to make meaningful comparison with the wave I Taiwan VOC study, a similar research design needs to be continued. Hence, purposive sampling with a goal of duplicating the original sampling areas and to encompass social class and rural urban differentiation is performed. As a result, the original classification of urban middle class, urban labor class and rural residents constitute three major components of Taiwan VOC samples in the 1970s as well as in the mid-2000s.

It should be pointed out that the new focus on the intergenerational transmission of VOC fits very well with the Taiwan context. Under the traditional norm of patrilocal residence, approximately one third of family structures are families with three generations (Weinstein et al., 1990; Yi and Chang, 1996). Among typical Taiwanese adolescents, almost half have co-residence experience with grandparents in early childhood (Yi, et al., 2006). This implies that along with an aging population, the frequency of intergenerational interaction in Taiwan may become more important. Consequently, family context may become more significant in shaping the individual value orientation. It will be interesting to investigate the outcome of generational interactions in the domestic field on the family values held by the younger generation.

This article will examine the value of children the adolescent sample reveals. Individual, familial and social contextual factors are presumed to account for the variation, and their relative importance in explaining different values held will be reported. A special emphasis is put on the social class and rural urban differences in order to capture possible social change effects. We assume that the VOC expressed by adolescents will have significant implication

toward the future fertility behavior in the society. Therefore, it is important to delineate the on-going social process that shapes the value formation of these parents-to-be.

Social Class Effect

The linkage between social class and familial process has been a focal issue in sociological research. Bronfenbrenner (1958) and Kohn (1959, 1963, 1969, 1986) proposed respectively that parents from various social classes differed in parental values and parenting behavior. Kohn, using occupation as a proxy of social class, argues that parents are socialized in their workplace with different values in accordance with their occupational positions. These values tend to replicate or be exercised at home often through the actual child-rearing practices. The close linkage between work and family is supported with empirical evidence gathered from different societies. In particular, self-direction emphasized by white-collar or professional occupation is shown to be associated with independence and autonomy emphasized by middle-class parents. In contrast, obedience and conformity associated with blue-collar jobs had a decided impact on working-class parents' values for conformity to external authority (Pearlin and Kohn, 1966; Peterson and Peters, 1985; Luster et al., 1989). Hence, Kohn argues that social class conditions shape one's general values, which in turn may be translated into family values as revealed in child-rearing practices.

Numerous studies have documented the significant effect of parent's occupation in children's lives. Menaghan and Parcel in their series of studies point out that the occupational complexity of parents' work, especially the mother's, has a determining effect on children's functioning (1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997). Within the family context, an important mechanism being emphasized is that parental values may be transmitted to children through the socialization process (*ibid.*). Parents with higher degrees of work complexity tend to create a more encouraging and supportive environment, which enables children to internalize parental values and results in less conduct problems (Grimm-Thomas and Perry-Jenkins, 1994; Greenberger, et al., 1994). Although most studies support the notion of the intergenerational transmission of childrearing values and behaviors (Perry-Jenkins, et al., 2000; Boehnke, 2001), not all reports confirm the utility of the work socialization hypothesis in the process (Yi, et al., 2004). While parental values may be a result of the work experience, they may be a general outcome of educational achievement as well. It will be interesting to examine how parents' social class background, indicated by educational and occupational traits, affects teenagers' VOC.

There have been other theses in the explanation of intergenerational transmission of family values. Take childrearing practices for example. In addition to the class effect, the influence of social change (Looker and Pineo, 1983; Wright and Wright, 1976), family structure (Cooksey, et al., 1997), social mobility (Blau, 1965) and ethnic and racial backgrounds (Blau, 1964; Borman et al., 1983; Aptekar, 1990) have all been documented. Nevertheless, social class as an important structural variable and as a specific social context facilitating or restraining the value formation of adolescents continues to receive wide attention.

Based on the longitudinal qualitative data, Lareau contends that social class has a more significant effect than parenting styles on children's everyday lives (Lareau, 2002, 2003). Using several typical cases in her award-winning book, Lareau explains how parents' social

status brings unequal outcomes for children. From the resemblance of educational attainment between parents and child to specific parenting styles and school involvement, children's achievement is attributed to the effect of parents' social positions, which result in different life chances. Lareau's work renewed a great interest in the relationships between class and parenting in academic circles. A significant class effect, whether incorporated in formal courses or extra curriculum activities or in the family practices, is shown to account for the future achievement of children. It is therefore hypothesized that children's value orientation may reveal significant class differences based on parents' social position.

A similar interest in the subject of class and parenting occurs in Taiwan as well. While cultural values such as continuing family names and a preference for sons remain dominant among Asians (Trommsdorff and Kornadt, 2003), this is much more so among the labor class and rural males as shown in the first wave of VOC study in Taiwan (Wu, 1997). In that study, class difference is clearly noted, in that the urban middle class cares the least about old age support from children, and cares the most about the emotional reward received as opposed to their rural counterparts (*ibid.*). In a recent study on the value transmission between teenagers and their parents, identical childrearing values are found between two generations, but family relations turn out to be more significant than parents' SES in explaining the difference found (Yi, et al., 2004). The hypothesized class effect is more evident among more highly educated parents who value curiosity over conformity, as well as among blue-collar parents who tend to devalue self-constraint (*ibid.*). Although several studies ascertain the importance of education rather than occupation in producing the class variation (Scheck and Emerick, 1976; Huang, 1999), the salient social class effect in the family domain is nevertheless recognized.

In brief, drawing from Kohn's and Lareau's proposition in the intergenerational transmission of parents' social class to children's value and life chances as well as based on the previous Taiwanese reports, class differences in VOC are presumed to continue and should resemble patterns found in the West as a consequence of social change. In other words, middle-class teenagers are likely to value the emotional reward of having children in contrast with their labor class counterparts, who are supposed to value their physical and economic value. However, due to the prevalent ideological shift, teenagers may share similar values pertaining to the social utility of having children.

The Effects of Rural-Urban Background

Rural-urban background has always been a basic demographic variable in most sociological research. It is usually presumed that growing up in rural areas or residing in urban cities, through the physical and social environment, will produce different values, attitudes and behaviors (Fischer, 1976). Family studies alike tend to include rural-urban background as a possible factor leading to differing family values and practices. However, a direct focus on the urban rural comparison in the family literature appears to be relatively underrepresented. A good example is from a U.S. study on the intergenerational relations among rural Midwest and urban California youth (King, et al., 2003). Rural farm adolescents report more contact with and receive more help from paternal grandparents than their urban counterparts; urban subjects instead report more conflict with maternal grandmothers (*ibid.*). However, the reasons accounting for the different observed patterns remain to be explored.

In Taiwan, rural-urban differences have been a major concern for social scientists in the agricultural department. A rural-urban background is not only regarded as a demographic variable, it usually represents the overall community context. Rural residents are generally regarded as holding more conservative values and preferring different practices due to the contextual effect. However, specific contextual indicators examined are often restricted to community attachment (Liao, 2004). In other words, rural-urban effects are mostly assumed, but less systematically investigated.

Among few related reports, a recent study shows there is no significant rural-urban difference in teenagers' subjective evaluation of the relationship with grandparents (Yi et al., 2004b). As to the overall sense of community, no differences between rural and urban teenagers are found either (Liao, 2004). However, a rural-urban difference does partially exist in the family decision, especially with regard to the resource allocation from parents to their teenage children as well as the parental expectation on children's independence (Huang, 2004; Hsieh et al., 2004). It appears the rural-urban distinction implies differences in resources, social positions, and life chances. It is thus important to delineate possible effects of a rural-urban background in the formation of adolescents' value orientation.

The first wave of Taiwan's VOC study in the '70s revealed important rural-urban differences. Comparing urban and rural samples, besides the emotional and psychological benefits of having children emphasized by the urban middle class, rural parents clearly cared more about the economic utility of children, such as the economic feedback and future elderly care, while urban working-class parents fell in between (Wu, 1977). On the other hand, to continue the family name was the shared priority of positive values among the urban working-class and rural parents (ibid.). With regards to negatives values of not wanting children, economic cost was a real concern for most rural parents, while urban parents tend to worry about the physical labor or constraints and the discipline problem involved (ibid.). It is evident that the rural-urban difference in terms of values of children was a meaningful comparison in the 1970s.

After three decades, Taiwan has entered the category of developed country. With the progress in transportation and in various media, the distinction between rural and urban areas has been argued to be less differentiable in many instances. On the other hand, while the rural population continues decreasing, possible differences from the rural urban background on individual values may still exist due to the contextual impact, although perhaps to a lesser degree. Therefore, to investigate how a rural-urban background may influence adolescents' value of children will not only provide important information on the contextual effect that shapes adolescents' value orientation, but also shed light on the possible future developments in terms of actual fertility behavior between urban and rural populations.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design

The 2nd wave Taiwan VOC study starts with the adolescent sample. For this particular article, related individual, familial and social factors affecting adolescents' value toward having or

not having children will be included in the model. From the discussion above, social class and rural-urban difference are two major focuses in the analyses. Since social class is likely to be transmitted from one generation to another and is strongly associated with individual values, social class is taken to represent an important aspect of the social context in which the family is embedded. Rural-urban background, on the other hand, points to the residential area that is situated in the larger social environment. Rural urban residence is therefore taken as another aspect of social context in the explanation. In other words, social class and rural urban background are selected as specific, important social contexts where teenagers' values are shaped.

In addition to the particular focus on class and rural-urban differences, other factors accounting for adolescents' value of children are grouped into individual psychological orientation, family-related variables and social contact sources. Specifically, at the personal level, the significance of changing trends in personal ideology has been documented (Yi, 2002; Lu, 2003) and one particular ideology—individualistic versus collectivistic values—will be considered. The family context, as the basic socialization agent, will be indicated and analyzed by structural as well as by relational factors. Family structure and relations with parents are thus incorporated. The larger social context represents the normative opportunity and constraint that imposes influence on an individual's values and behaviors. In this article, effects of major social contact sources will be explored. It is assumed that adolescents receive information and value inputs from family and from immediate social networks, such as friends, neighbors and from media. Consequently, the value of having children or not is formed and shaped in such a context. For our report, ANOVA and Multiple Regression will be applied in the data analysis.

Sampling Scheme

We will use representative samples from three pre-determined distinctive categories in order to specify possible class and rural-urban effects on adolescents' value formation pertaining to the value of children. In order to explore possible social change influence on individuals' value of children, the 2005 Taiwan VOC study incorporates the sampling area of the 1970s (Wu, 1977). Three sub-samples were stratified, with urban middle-class respondents drawn from a new district of Taipei city (Kuting precinct or Taan and Chungjeng precincts), urban working-class respondents drawn from an old district (Lungshan or roughly today's Wanhua area) and rural samples drawn from Yunlin and Chiayi prefectures in southern Taiwan). Class criteria were based on fathers' education and occupation. Urban middle class is defined by fathers having college education and white-collar jobs; urban working class is composed of those whose fathers are no more than high school graduates and hold blue collar (or non-managerial, non-professional) jobs; the rural sample is defined by the sample's residential area on the one hand, and with fathers' education being no more than junior high school graduates—a common educational distribution for rural populations.

The current study consists of 1074 first-year senior high students with an average age of 16 years old. Using definitions above, three categories of students are distinguished: urban middle class, urban working-class and rural samples. Also, in order to achieve better representative samples, sampling areas are expanded to include three major metropolitan areas in Taiwan—namely, Taipei, Taichung and Kaohsiung. The final sample is constituted

by the overlapping sampling areas as that of the 1970s, with neighboring precincts and rural townships included as well as by newly added rural and urban samples from the middle and southern metropolitan areas in Taiwan. As can be seen from Table 1, the final sample does reflect variation in both geographical location, and in class as well as in rural urban differences.

Table 1.

Taiwan VOC Adolescent Samples (2005)				
Urban	Taipei City	Taichung City	Kaohsiung City	Total (1074)
Middle-class	128	139	148	415
Working-class	122	72	128	322
Rural	Yunlin / Chiayi County	Taichung County	Kaohsiung County	
	126	104	107	337

A clearer picture may be gained from the map below. (The black area refers to overlapping sampling area of 1970 and is included in the 2005 Taiwan VOC study.)

Variables

Dependent Variable: Value of Children

This concept is distinguished by the advantages or benefits for having or wanting children and negative costs for not wanting children. A five-point Likert scale is used for each item, with 1 being the lowest score ("not important at all") and 5 being the highest score ("very important"). Among 16 advantages, factor analysis results in three factors: emotional, physical-economic and social value (see Table 2). This is similar to the social, economic-utilitarian and emotional values reported in the instrument construction (Schwarz, et al., 2001). The emotional factor includes 7 items such as "It's fun to have young children around the house," "It's a joy to have a small baby at home," "It's a pleasure to watch your children grow" and "Having children helps you grow." The physical-economic factor comprises 4 items concerning economic support and old-age care. The social factor reflects the dominant value of continuing the family name as well as improving one's social standing as a parent. Among 14 negative costs, three similar factors—emotional, physical-economic, and social—are extracted. Emotional strain, losing contact with friends as well as the worry involved in raising children constitute the emotional cost of having children. Discipline problems, physical labor and economic burden incurred are major physical-economic barriers leading to not wanting children. The declining value of large families and motherhood, conflict with neighbors and difficulty in balancing work and family are social costs for not wanting children. This result, although using different factor labels, is identical with most other VOC findings in recent years (Nauck and Klaus, 2007). Item scores of each factor are added and divided by the number of items in that factor. The mean score of each factor is used in the following analysis.

Sampling Areas of 2005 VOC



Black refers to both 1970 and 2005 VOC sampling areas.

Table 3 lists means and standard deviations for variables considered in the model. For the outcome variable, it is clear that emotional benefit scores the highest among positive values reported by Taiwanese teenagers ($M=3.72$), physical advantage follows ($M=3.07$) and social gains ($M=2.45$) is the least valued advantage of having children. Negative values generally

Table 2:

Factor Analysis of VOC among Taiwanese Teenagers

Positive VOC	Emotional	Physical- Economic	Social
Having children makes a family more like a family	0.740	0.182	0.221
Having children helps you grow	0.771	0.035	0.082
It is a joy to have a small baby at home	0.851	0.105	0.095
It is fun to have young children around the house	0.857	0.075	0.106
It is a pleasure to watch your children grow	0.817	-0.017	0.113
Raising children helps you to learn about life and yourself	0.713	0.204	0.124
To have someone to love and care for	0.656	0.166	0.143
People with children are less likely to be lonely in old age	0.374	0.666	0.188
To have one more person to help your family economically	0.006	0.668	0.451
Your children can take care of you when you are old	0.179	0.869	0.206
Your children support you economically when you're old	0.041	0.866	0.229
Parenthood improves your standing among your kin	0.050	0.220	0.651
Your life will be continued through your children	0.280	0.199	0.655
To carry on the family name	0.060	0.203	0.827
It is a duty to have children according to your belief or religion	0.262	0.159	0.640
Negative VOC	Emotional	Physical- Economic	Social
The worries that children cause when they are ill	0.699	-0.017	0.212
Concerns about what kind of future your children will have	0.761	0.435	0.006
Because you lose contact with your friends	0.447	0.303	0.441
A child needs constant attention and causes strains	0.750	0.433	0.043
A child causes a lot of extra work and is bothersome	0.106	0.839	0.107
Children are hard to discipline and control	0.214	0.812	0.025
Having children is a financial burden for the whole family	0.148	0.712	0.263
Because of fear of pregnancy and childbirth	0.145	0.495	0.180
It is hard to take proper care of both family and housework	0.423	0.643	0.143
You are not as free to do what you want	0.479	0.621	0.103
Children create problems with neighbors and in public	0.052	0.380	0.571
Large families are not well accepted in society	0.087	0.021	0.763
It is harder for you or your spouse to hold a job	0.329	0.355	0.509
Being a mother is not well recognized by people around you	0.050	0.039	0.721

reveal similar patterns in that emotional cost and physical-economic loss are weighted much higher ($M=3.18$ and 3.11) than the social disadvantage ($M=2.11$). The social concern regarding the value of children has received the least support in both positive and negative values.

Contextual Variables:

a. Social Class – This variable represents respondents' family SES background. It is based on fathers' education and occupation. Two urban groups are first distinguished: middle class and working class. From the original criteria, if fathers are college educated or above and

Table 3:

Variable Means and Standard Deviations

	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Positive VOC—Emotional	3.723	0.787	1	5
Positive VOC—Physical-Econ.	3.067	0.887	1	5
Positive VOC—Social	2.451	0.824	1	5
Negative VOC—Emotional	3.180	0.799	1	5
Negative VOC—Physical-Econ.	3.108	0.813	1	5
Negative VOC—Social	2.113	0.644	1	5
Social Class				
Urban-Middle	0.386	0.487	0	1
Urban-Working	0.300	0.458	0	1
Rural/Urban Difference	0.318	0.466	0	1
Gender				
Individualism	24.601	3.620	10	30
Collectivism	23.875	3.480	12	30
Nuclear Family	0.735	0.442	0	1
Relationship with Father	3.754	1.022	1	5
Relationship with Mother	4.247	0.807	1	5
Social Network	24.379	3.348	6	30
Community Attachment	13.513	2.762	5	20
Media Exposure	10.494	3.192	1	15

have white-collar jobs, adolescents are classified into middle-class families; if fathers' educational level is junior high school or below and they have blue-collar jobs, adolescents are categorized as belonging to working-class families. However, the rapid educational expansion in Taiwan over the last few decades results in difficulties for us in the construction of an urban working class. Even among vocational high schools, where more working-class adolescents are present, it became infeasible to restrict father's education to junior high. Therefore, the definition of working class in metropolitan areas is broadened to include fathers with senior high or senior vocational high school education and with non-white-collar jobs. According to the above definition, 38.6% falls into the urban middle class and 30% in the urban working class (see Table 3). In the following analysis, in order to incorporate the total sample, two categories of social class will be compared: middle class denotes urban middle class and will be coded 1, while working class is composed of both urban working-class and rural respondents.

b. Urban-Rural Difference – This variable is measured by respondents' current residence. Respondents who currently live in Taipei or Kaohsiung and Taichung cities are classified as urban residents. Respondents who reside in Yunlin and Chiayi prefectures as well as rural areas in Kaohsiung and Taichung prefectures are rural residents. In addition, in order to follow the sampling scheme discussed above, the rural sample is restricted to those with father's education of junior high graduates or below, and father's occupation of not-white-collar jobs such as owners or managers. Using these criteria, the rural sample includes 31.8% of respondents and will be coded 1.

Independent Variables:

- a. Gender – males constitute 47% and will be coded 1.
- b. Individualism/Collectivism – The individual psychological orientation is based on the instrument developed by Schwartz and Bilsky (1990). Among 12 items asked, half fall in the individualism category and the other half tap collectivism. Respondents are asked to rate how important the listed values are in their life. Examples for individualism include: “Pleasant life and desires fulfilled,” “A varied life filled with challenge, novelty, and change,” “Independence or choose own goals and interests”; Items for collectivism pertain to obedience, fulfilling duties, meeting obligations such as “Honor your parents and elders,” “Maintain social order and stability,” “Have a sense of responsibility and fulfill obligations assigned to you.” A five-point rating scale is applied. Item scores are cumulated, and the higher the score, the more important the respondents feel the specific orientation is to him or her. For teenagers, the average individualism score is 24.6, slightly higher than the collectivism score (23.878).
- c. Family Structures – Two basic types are categorized: nuclear family and non-nuclear or complex family, which includes stem, extended and joint family types. A nuclear family is composed of parents and non-adult children only (73.5%). The remaining types are defined as non-nuclear family.
- d. Relationship with Father/Mother – This variable is measure by “How close do you feel with your father/mother?” A five-point Likert Scaling is used, and the closer the relationship is, the higher the score. For relations with fathers and mothers respectively, the means are 3.75 and 4.25. Relations with mothers are perceived as closer than those with fathers.
- e. Social Network Support – A subjective evaluation regarding the support from friends is made. Deriving from the original “peer acceptance” scale, 6 items are selected. Sample questions are: “Friends will help me when I have trouble” “Friends care about me,” “Friends always criticize me,” etc.. After reversing to a consistent direction, scores are added from the standard five-point rating scale. The higher the scores are, the better the support from one’s social network. The average score is 24.38, clearly leaning toward the positive side.
- f. Community Attachment – This variable is another indicator of the social context and is defined by respondents’ relationships with the community they are living in. Four items asked are “Do you pay attention to what happens in your community?,” “What would you feel if you move out of the community where you are living now?” or “Overall, are you satisfied with your community?” Same as above, answers from the five-point rating are added and the higher the scores are, the more attached is the respondent to the community (M=13.51).
- g. Media Exposure – This variable considers the larger contextual effect and is measured by counting the frequency of the respondent’s exposure to the following media: television, internet, and cell phone. The frequency is coded from the lowest “never” (0 point) to the highest “almost everyday” (5 points), and scores from all three types of media are cumulated. Higher score means more frequent exposure (M=10.49).

Hypotheses

As stated above, the major research aim of this study is to examine the possible effects of social class as well as of rural-urban difference on the value adolescents place on children. Two hypotheses are generated:

- Ho.1: Middle-class teenagers tend to value the emotional aspect as the most important reason for having or not having children; while teenagers from the working class (and rural families) are more likely to emphasize the physical-economic and social values of children.
- Ho.2: Teenagers from rural areas are more likely to endorse the physical-economic value as the most important reason for having or not having children, while teenagers from urban areas hold more heterogeneous values of children. Among various heterogeneous reasons for urban samples, emotional and social aspects are valued more than the economic-physical component.

RESULTS

With regard to the outcome variable of this study, a previous report on three aspects of the value of children (as reported in Table 3) clearly indicates consistent ranking order from Taiwanese adolescents. Findings imply that the normative factor, indicated by social concerns, is perhaps no longer as dominant in shaping individuals' value of children, at least not to teenagers in Taiwan. In other words, when addressing the question of having children or not having children, the endorsement or the sanction of social norms is not considered the most significant component in the formation of the value placed on children. On the other hand, subjective emotional perception and realistic physical-economic consideration become important aspects in teenagers' value of children.

Social Class and Rural-Urban Differences

We will first address the question of possible social class and rural urban effects in teenagers' value of children. In order to ascertain the significance of these two specified contextual effects, T-Test is used. Results from Table 4a, where middle versus working classes are compared, point out that class effects are salient for social and physical-economic values on both positive and negative aspects. Emotional reason, although the most recognized value, does not have clear class variation. Taiwanese teenagers, whether from the middle class or working class, do not reveal significant differences in the emotional gain or the emotional loss of having children.

Closer scrutiny into pronounced effects shows that **working-class** teenagers are more likely to express agreement with the physical-economic advantage ($M = 3.14$) and with the social benefits ($M=2.54$) than middle-class teenagers ($M = 2.95$ and 2.31 respectively) for reasons for wanting children. Working-class respondents are also more likely to report social costs as reasons for not wanting children ($M=2.15$ vs. 2.05).

However, contrary to the expectation, working-class adolescents are less likely to name the physical-economic burden as important reasons for not wanting children ($M=3.06$ vs. 3.18).

Table 4a:

Value of Children among Taiwanese Teenagers: Social Class Differences

	Middle	Working	t-test
Positive VOC—Emotional	3.745	3.710	-0.71
Positive VOC—Physical-Econ.	2.953	3.138	3.35 ***
Positive VOC—Social	2.314	2.537	4.34 ***
Negative VOC—Emotional	3.192	3.172	-0.41
Negative VOC—Physical-Econ.	3.184	3.060	-2.44 *
Negative VOC—Social	2.049	2.153	2.56 *

*P<.05 ** P<.01 ***P<.001

It is the middle-class respondents who tend to rate the economic cost and the physical labor involved in raising children as significant concerns for not wanting children. Therefore, although the finding on the positive value for working class confirms our first hypothesis, results of the negative value do not produce full support. Furthermore, no significant difference is found between middle and working classes in that emotional values are reported as the most important consideration by both. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 is partially supported.

As to the rural urban differences, the preliminary findings point out that Hypothesis 2 is weakly supported. For *urban respondents*, heterogeneous responses are expected, with emotional and social values having higher importance. However, as to class differentiation, adolescents from rural and urban backgrounds both consider the emotional value of children being the most important, and do not differentiate in either the positive or the negative value of children. Once again, emotional VOC appear to have reached common consensus for teenagers from different social contexts. In terms of social VOC, the result is opposite to the hypothesis in that urban respondents report less concern on the social gains and losses, but the relationship is significant only for the positive value (M=2.39 vs. 2.58). As for *rural teenagers*, the presumed higher physical-economic concern is supported for the positive value (M=3.16 vs. 3.03); but for negative value, the relationship is actually opposite to the expectation (M=3.0 vs. 3.16). To be specific, rural teenagers are less likely than their urban counterparts to report not wanting children because of extra physical burden or economic costs anticipated.

Table 4b:

Value of Children among Taiwanese Teenagers: Rural/Urban Differences

	Rural	Urban	t-test
Positive VOC—Emotional	3.693	3.737	0.87
Positive VOC—Physical-Econ.	3.157	3.025	-2.28 *
Positive VOC—Social	2.583	2.389	-3.47 ***
Negative VOC—Emotional	3.130	3.203	1.40
Negative VOC—Physical-Econ.	2.998	3.160	3.06 **
Negative VOC—Social	2.158	2.091	-1.59

*P<.05 ** P<.01 ***P<.001

In short, Table 4b support Ho. 2 only in one respect—rural teenagers endorse the physical-economic advantage as being more important in having children. On the other hand, urban teenagers are more concerned with the physical-economic cost of childrearing and do not reveal higher concerns of social gains or social costs. Also, no difference regarding the emotional values can be ascertained between teenagers from rural and urban contexts.

The Importance of Social Context

After specifying patterns of VOC and its direct relationship with social class and rural urban background, other relevant individual, familial and social variables are entered in the model. Positive and negative values of children, each with three identical dimensions, will be analyzed separately with the same research framework.

From Table 5a it can be seen that for *positive values*, social class remains a salient factor accounting for the physical-economic and social values favored by working-class teenagers. In other words, when all variables are simultaneously examined, social class continues to be significant in explaining the positive physical-economic and social values, and thus partially supports Ho.1. But rural urban difference loses its importance in the model. Among three value dimensions, the *emotional* value receives higher explaining power in that stronger individualism and collectivism, good relationships with mothers and positive resources from social circles, community and media exposure contribute to the endorsement of positive emotional VOC. Being male, stronger collectivistic orientation and less perceived support from friends result in higher *physical and social* utilities of having children. Community attachment and media exposure are also positively related to the social values of having children. It is clear that in terms of positive VOC, in addition to the social class context, social contextual variables which pertain to one's various social contact sources have significant influence in the value formation of teenagers. Collectivistic orientation also produces significant influence as expected. In contrast, familial context becomes relatively less important in shaping the value orientation of Taiwanese youth.

The result on *negative values* shows that social class is not a significant factor explaining why teenagers do not want to have children. Rural background is important only for the physical-economic value in that rural teenagers are less likely to indicate physical-economic losses as important reasons for not wanting children ($b=-.13$). In other words, in the full model for negative VOC, only rural respondents reveal significant concern about the physical-economic costs of not wanting children. In other words, the only significant finding regarding rural urban background turns out to be contrary to Ho.2. Among other factors considered in the model, the explaining power seems to be less than that for the positive value. Take emotional costs for example; females, those with stronger individualism and those who perceive less support from friends are more likely to be affected. As to physical-economic losses being reasons for not wanting children, females, stronger individualistic orientation, having negative relations with fathers along with urban background lead to the higher likelihood. For social disadvantages, males, less collectivistic orientation, negative relations with mothers and less perceived support from friends tend to indicate this concern as a reason for not wanting children. It is evident that comparing with positive VOC, social context appears to be less significant as factors to be considered in teenagers' value of not wanting children.

Table 5a.
The Multiple Regression Analysis of Positive Value of Children among Taiwanese Teenagers

	Positive VOC—Emotional			Positive VOC—Physical-Economic			Positive VOC—Social					
	Model 1		Model 2	Model 1		Model 2	Model 1		Model 2			
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se		
Intercept	3.73 ***	0.044	0.56 *	0.252	3.12 ***	0.050	2.17 ***	0.303	2.49 ***	0.046	1.25 ***	0.271
Middle Class	0.02	0.059	-0.03	0.055	-0.16 *	0.066	-0.15 *	0.066	-0.17 **	0.061	-0.13 *	0.059
Rural urban (individual)	-0.04	0.061	-0.06	0.057	0.04	0.069	0.02	0.069	0.10	0.064	0.07	0.062
Gender			-0.02	0.046			0.15 **	0.055			0.33 ***	0.050
Individualism			0.03 ***	0.008			-0.01	0.010			-0.01	0.009
Collectivism (familial)			0.05 ***	0.009			0.04 ***	0.010			0.05 ***	0.009
Family type			0.06	0.051			0.08	0.062			0.08	0.055
Relation w/Dad			0.02	0.024			0.03	0.029			0.05	0.026
Relation /Mom (social)			0.08 **	0.031			0.04	0.038			0.01	0.034
Social Network			0.02 *	0.007			-0.02 **	0.008			-0.03 ***	0.008
Community												
Attachment			0.03 **	0.009			0.02	0.010			0.03 **	0.009
Media Exposure			0.01 *	0.007			0.00	0.009			0.02 *	0.008
R ²	0.0008		0.1668		0.0106		0.0542		0.0193		0.1211	

*P<.05 ** P<.01 ***P<.001

Table 5b.

Multiple Regression Analysis of Negative Value of Children among Taiwanese Teenagers

	Negative VOC—Emotional			Negative VOC—Physical-Economic			Negative VOC—Social					
	Model 1		Model 2	Model 1		Model 2	Model 1		Model 2			
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se		
Intercept	3.22 ***	0.045	3.21 ***	0.274	3.13 ***	0.045	3.79 ***	0.272	2.15 ***	0.036	3.23 ***	0.219
Middle Class	-0.02	0.060	-0.04	0.060	0.06	0.060	0.05	0.059	-0.10*	0.048	-0.07	0.048
Rural urban (individual)	-0.09	0.062	-0.10	0.062	-0.13*	0.063	-0.13*	0.062	0.01	0.050	0.01	0.050
Gender			-0.16**	0.050			-0.32***	0.049			0.11**	0.040
Individualism			0.04***	0.009			0.03***	0.009			0.00	0.007
Collectivism (familial)			-0.00	0.009			-0.01	0.009			-0.02*	0.008
Family type			-0.07	0.056			-0.10	0.055			-0.00	0.045
Relations w/Dad			-0.04	0.026			-0.09***	0.026			0.01	0.021
Relations w/Mom (social)			-0.05	0.034			-0.05	0.032			-0.10***	0.027
Social Network			-0.01*	0.008			-0.01	0.008			-0.02***	0.006
Community												
Attachment			0.01	0.009			-0.01	0.009			0.01	0.007
Media Exposure			-0.01	0.008			-0.01	0.008			0.00	0.006
R ²	0.0021		0.0484		0.0096		0.0915		0.0061		0.0636	

*P<.05 ** P<.01 ***P<.001

In brief, in response to hypotheses proposed, the multiple regression analysis of value of children reveals at least three important messages. Firstly, no class or rural urban difference is found for the emotional value of children, meaning teenagers overall tend to agree, endorsing the importance of emotional gains and costs in having children. But class difference is salient in teenagers' other positive value of children. Working-class teenagers are more likely to report physical-economic advantages as well as social benefits as significant considerations in having children. Lastly, rural urban background does not account for variations in the value of children by Taiwanese teenagers in general. The only significant difference is that urban respondents are more likely to report greater concern about physical-economic costs in not having children. Overall, the model explains the positive value of children better.

CONCLUSION

Taiwan has experienced a serious decline in birth rates in recent years. It is therefore important to investigate the value of having children or not for future parents-to-be. With this general context in the background, this study attempts to examine patterns of the value placed on children by Taiwanese adolescents. Due to the special research focus in the first-wave VOC study in Taiwan in the 1970s, the effect of social class and rural urban background is continued. Moreover, in order to highlight the importance of social context in shaping adolescents' value of children, direct contextual variables from one's network and community are included.

Consistent with cross-cultural reports, the analyses of *value of children* indicate that three factors, namely emotional, physical-economic and social, can be extracted from both the positive value of wanting children and negative value of not wanting children (Trommsdorff and Nauck, 2005). Emotional rewards and costs are reported as the most important reasons accounting for the childbearing intention, followed by physical-economic and social benefits or disadvantages. This basic pattern of VOC is comparable with other high-affluence and low-fertility countries as reported by Nauck and Klaus in their eleven societies' comparison (2007).

Although numerous reports have documented variations of VOC in different countries, most analyses are restricted to the positive value of having children. This study examines both the positive and negative value of children. Furthermore, the research design allows us to explore potential effects of the social context. Social class, rural urban background and other contextual factors are thus incorporated.

With regard to *social class effects*, no class difference can be ascertained for emotional values. Teenagers in general share the same emotional concerns in terms of their VOC. But the hypothesized difference is only found to be significant among working-class teens who tend to endorse the physical-economic benefits as well as the social rewards of having children. Hence, our analysis partially supports Ho.1 in that working-class teenagers are likely to reveal expected childbearing intentions, with physical-economic and social considerations being important in their reported value of having children.

As to the *rural urban difference*, the expected influence almost disappears. The only significant comparison found is actually opposite to the prediction in Ho.2. Urban teenagers,

not their rural counterparts, are more likely to report the physical-economic burden as a salient factor in the decision not to have children. In other words, urban teenagers tend to expect childrearing costs such as the economic burden, extra labor in childcare, and difficulty in child rearing as reasons for not wanting children, and thus inhibit their intention to have children.

In short, the results pertaining to social class and rural urban differences appear to support the utilitarian value of children. However, since the emotional value has become the shared consensus across class and rural urban boundaries, our findings echo the complementary model of fertility proposed by Nauck (2007). In addition, the pronounced effects found suggest that future parents-to-be react to fertility decisions with certain degrees of rationality. While working-class teenagers favor the physical-economic and social gains of having children, urban respondents are concerned about the physical-economic costs as reasons for not having children. It may be argued that more resourceful urban respondents consider the practical restrictions imposed on their life by having children, but less resourceful working-class respondents emphasize the economic utility as well as the social status received by becoming parents. Normative impact from the larger social context appears to produce variant effects among different groups.

For many teenagers in Taiwan, the child-bearing issue may seem a distant decision. Yet, the formation of their value systems is approaching stable maturity at this stage. This study argues that in addition to the social class and rural urban background, the immediate social context should be considered in order to delineate the ongoing life domains which affect teenagers' value formation. Our findings on the value of children lend support to this thesis in that social contact sources need to be considered in explaining teenagers' value systems. Influences from immediate social networks and from media exposure, along with community attachment are shown to affect the expressed value placed upon children. In fact, social contextual variables are more significant than familial variables in shaping the positive value of having children. In other words, peer influence at this stage appears to be more important than parental influence. Taking into account the class and rural urban variation discussed above and the significant findings regarding social contextual factors, the overall importance of social context in the formation of teenagers' value orientation is supported.

Lastly, this study documents the dominance of emotional gains as well as of emotional losses in the childbearing intentions as the shared value for Taiwanese teenagers. In accordance with recent cross-cultural reports, having children is perceived to involve strong emotional concerns by the future parents-to-be (Nauck and Klaus, 2007). However, in order to reveal specific mechanisms accounting for the particular values held by teenagers in different social context, further analyses are required. One plausible suggestion is to elaborate on the possible family influence beyond the present focus of family structure and family relations. Since values are formed in the socialization process, to investigate possible intergenerational transmission of value of children may produce important findings contributing to our understanding of adolescents' value on childbearing intentions.

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The present study examines sociocultural adjustment of Polish marriage immigrants in the Netherlands. By comparing 108 female marriage immigrants to a similar group of 68 women, who immigrated for reasons other than marriage, we study the role of marriage to the Dutch spouse in the process of sociocultural adaptation. Overall, marriage immigrants showed better sociocultural adaptation than their non-marital counterparts as reflected in higher fluency in the Dutch language, greater endorsement of Dutch identity, and better psychological adjustment. Yet, when marital status and current occupational status were used as predictors of sociocultural adaptation in a regression analysis, occupational status was a better predictor of the adaptation than marital status. Present results suggest that although marriage was involved in the process of post-emigrational adjustment, the occupational status played an even more important role in the adaptation process. In addition, 10 interviews were conducted to investigate how Polish brides experienced cultural differences within the marriage and the influence of perceived cultural differences on marital satisfaction. Excerpts from the respondents' stories revealed that oftentimes compromises are reached in that women are expected to give up their claims. Nonetheless, most respondents emphasized the positive aspect of marriage in their adaptation and did not disclose marital dissatisfaction.

Keywords: marriage immigrants, sociocultural adaptation

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The Importance of Social Context in the Formation of the Value of Children for Adolescents: Social Class and Rural Urban Differences in Taiwan

This paper examines how adolescents' values may be shaped by the immediate social context with special reference to social class and rural urban background. The locus of study is Taiwan, a society with drastically declining birth rates in recent years. It is hypothesized that the value adolescents place on having children (or the positive value) and not having children (or the negative value) are accounted for by individual, familial and social contextual factors. Data are taken from an island-wide sample of first-year senior high students. A field survey was administered from winter of 2005 to spring of 2006. The analysis shows that three dimensions can be extracted from both positive and negative values toward having children: with emotional value rated the most important, followed by physical and social value. Results indicate that expected effects from different social class and rural-urban background vary and are salient for explaining physical and social value. In addition, social contextual factors and individual factors are shown to contribute to the formation of positive value of children among Taiwanese adolescents. The importance of social context in adolescents' value formation with regard to the value of children is thus supported.

Keywords: positive value of children, negative value of children, social context, social class, rural urban background, social network

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Homemaker or Career Woman: Life Course Factors and Racial Influences among Middle Class Americans

This paper examines the effect of life course factors on the decision by American college educated women to stay at home or continue their careers after they have children. Data come from interviews with 48 white and African-American

Mots-clés: mariage mixte, fécondité des immigrées, nationalité, statut de minorité, préférence pour les fils.

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L'adaptation Socio-culturel des Epouses Polonaises aux Pays-Bas: Classe Sociale et Situation Maritale

Cette recherche étudie l'ajustement socio-culturel des immigrants polonais par le biais du mariage aux Pays-Bas. Une comparaison est effectuée entre 108 femmes ayant immigré pour se marier avec 68 femmes ayant immigré pour d'autres motifs. Nous étudions le rôle du mariage dans le processus d'intégration socio-culturelle. En général, les immigrantes pour des raisons de mariage s'intègrent mieux socio-culturellement que le groupe de femmes ayant immigré pour d'autres motifs. En particulier, ces femmes parlent mieux le hollandais, se sentent plus souvent appartenir au pays hôte et sont plus stables psychologiquement. Lorsque l'état-civil ainsi que le statut socio-professionnel sont introduits comme déterminants de l'intégration socio-culturelle, le statut socio-professionnel prédit plus fortement l'intégration socio-culturelle. Ce résultat souligne que, bien que le mariage est impliqué dans le processus d'ajustement post-migratoire, le statut socio-professionnel joue un rôle plus important. De plus, 10 interviews ont été réalisés pour étudier comment les femmes mariées polonaises vivent l'expérience de cultures différentes au sein de leur mariage et quel est l'influence de ces expériences de cultures variées sur leur satisfaction vis-à-vis de leur mariage. Des extraits de ces interviews sont proposés pour illustrer les différences culturelles et la manière d'y faire face (qui impliquent souvent un recul des femmes par rapport à leur position initiale). Mais dans l'ensemble, la plupart des immigrantes interviewées soulignent le rôle positif de leur mariage dans leur processus d'adaptation socio-culturel et n'expriment pas d'insatisfaction vis-à-vis de leur vie de couple.

Mots-clés: immigrantes mariées, l'ajustement social

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L'importance du contexte social dans la valorisation des enfants auprès des adolescents: Les différences de classes sociales et les différences urbain-rural à Taiwan

Cet article analyse la façon dont la valorisation attribuée par les adolescents est façonnée par le contexte social direct avec une référence particulière à la classe sociale et à un environnement urbain ou rural. Le champ d'étude est Taiwan, sachant que le taux de natalité de la société taiwanaise a dramatiquement chuté ces dernières années. On formule l'hypothèse que la valeur attribuée par les adolescents sur le fait d'avoir des enfants (valorisation) ou sur le fait de ne pas avoir d'enfants (dévalorisation) est justifiée par des facteurs issus de contextes sociaux, familiaux et individuels. Les données ont été recueillies auprès d'un large échantillon d'élèves de première année de lycée répartis sur toute l'île. Une enquête sur le terrain a été faite entre l'hiver 2005 et le printemps 2006. Les analyses montrent que trois dimensions peuvent être extraites des estimations positives et négatives sur les enfants : la valeur émotionnelles est la plus importantes, suivie par les valeurs physique et sociale. Les résultats indiquent que les effets attendus provenant des différentes classes sociales et de l'environnement rural-urbain varient et sont frappants. De plus, les facteurs sociaux et les facteurs individuels montrent que ceux-ci contribuent à la formation d'une valorisation positive des enfants parmi les adolescents taiwanais. L'importance du contexte social dans la constitution de la valorisation

attribuée par les adolescents en ce qui concerne la valorisation des enfants est ainsi démontrée.

Mots-clés: Valorisation des enfants, contexte social, classes sociales, environnement rural-urbain, réseau social

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Femme au foyer ou femme professionnelle: facteurs au cours de la vie et influences raciales parmi les Américaines de la classe moyenne

Cette étude analyse l'effet des facteurs au cours de la vie des femmes américaines possédant un diplôme d'université sur leur décision d'être femme au foyer ou d'exercer une activité professionnelle après l'arrivée de leurs enfants. Les données proviennent d'entretiens avec 48 femmes blanches et afro américaines ayant poursuivi leurs études à l'université et traité des événements principaux depuis l'enfance jusqu'à l'époque actuelle ainsi que de leurs idées quant à leur avenir. Les entretiens prennent en compte quatre thèmes majeurs: identité, mode relationnel, motivation, et adaptation. Les conclusions révèlent que l'identité en tant que mère est différente pour chacun des deux groupes: essentielle pour les femmes au foyer mais partagée avec le travail pour celles ayant une activité à l'extérieur. Dans le mode relationnel, les femmes au foyer comptent principalement sur leur mari comme soutien financier alors que les femmes ayant une vie professionnelle comptent davantage sur le partage des tâches ménagères et de l'éducation des enfants. Pour les femmes au foyer la motivation et les récompenses se concentrent sur leur rôle de mère tandis que pour les femmes exerçant une activité professionnelle, elles tournent autour de leur réussite et appréciation dans leur travail. Les comportements sont semblables pour les Blanches et les Noires, mais les femmes au foyer afro américaines sont pionnières dans leur décision de rester à la maison tandis que les femmes au foyer blanches ne font que suivre la tradition. Les femmes possédant une activité professionnelle dans chacune des deux races se servent de leur sentiment d'être extraordinaire pour surmonter leur désavantages—les femmes

noires pour défier la discrimination raciale, les femmes blanches pour s'élever d'origines plus humbles ou pour vaincre une infirmité. En conclusion, tenant compte de l'âge constant, de la race, du statut conjugal, et de la classe sociale, des différences frappantes se révèlent dans le cours de la vie des individus, et expliquent des variantes importantes entre les comportements conjugaux et le rôle des femmes.

Mots-clés: femme au foyer, femme professionnelle, rôle de la femme, mari soutien financier, cours de la vie, Afro-Américaines

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Le virus VIH: toutes les femmes s'exposent-elles au même risque? Les perceptions de femmes mariées de langue afrikaans face au risque du SIDA.

La préoccupation mondiale croissante suscitée par le SIDA a nécessité une compréhension plus en profondeur de la façon disproportionnée dont les femmes sont touchées par l'épidémie. Une alerte particulière a été sonnée par les nombreuses études récentes signalant, en Afrique au sud du Sahara, une augmentation dramatique dans le taux d'infection VIH parmi les femmes mariées relatif à celui des femmes célibataires. Cet article a pour objet les résultats d'une étude qualitative menée en Afrique du Sud dans les années 2005 – 2006, dont l'objectif était de mettre en relief les perceptions et expériences de femmes mariées de langue afrikaans devant la réalité de vivre dans une société à taux de prévalence VIH élevé. L'étude s'intéressait surtout aux perceptions des femmes concernant leur propre risque d'infection. La conclusion de l'étude montre que les femmes interrogées, tout en percevant un certain risque de contamination dû à des circonstances imprévues, notamment la transfusion de sang contaminé, ne s'estimaient aucunement susceptibles d'infection dans le cadre de leurs relations conjugales. Cette perception s'explique par le fait que les femmes considéraient leur mariage comme étant caractérisé par la confiance et la fidélité, le mettant à l'abri de toute relation risquée.

Mots-clés: HIV, risque, femmes mariées, fidélité

Palabras clave: matrimonios internacionales, fertilidad e inmigración, nacionalidad, estatus de minorías, preferencias de hijo

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Adaptación Sociocultural de Emigrantes Polacas Casadas en Holanda: Estado Civil y Estatus Profesional

El presente estudio examina la adaptación sociocultural de matrimonios con inmigrantes procedentes de Polonia en Holanda. En particular, se examinó cómo el estado civil de las inmigrantes polacas estaba relacionado con el proceso de adaptación sociocultural, para ello se compararon 108 esposas inmigrantes casadas con esposos holandeses respecto a 68 mujeres polacas que emigraron por razones no relacionadas con el matrimonio. En general, las inmigrantes casadas mostraron una mayor adaptación sociocultural que sus homólogas no casadas, esto se reflejó en una mayor fluidez del idioma holandés, mayor respaldo a la identidad holandesa, y una mayor adaptación psicológica. Sin embargo, cuando el estado civil y la actual situación profesional fueron utilizados como predictores de la adaptación sociocultural en un análisis de regresión, la situación profesional fue un mejor predictor de la adaptación sociocultural que el estado civil. Estos resultados sugieren que, aunque estar casado estaba relacionado con el proceso de adaptación post-migracional, la situación profesional de las inmigrantes aún era más importante en este proceso de adaptación. Adicionalmente, se realizaron 10 entrevistas para investigar las diferencias culturales percibidas por las esposas polacas en su matrimonio, y la influencia de la percepción de esas diferencias culturales en la satisfacción con su matrimonio. Extractos de las historias de las respondientes revelaron que los compromisos se alcanzaban a menudo por aquellas mujeres que cedían a sus propias exigencias. No obstante, la mayoría de las entrevistadas destacaron el rol positivo de su matrimonio en su proceso de adaptación y no revelaron insatisfacción matrimonial.

Palabras clave: emigrantes casadas, el ajuste social

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La importancia del contexto social en la formación de los Valores Relativos a los Niños entre los adolescentes: Diferencias entre clases sociales y entre campo y ciudad

El presente trabajo examina cómo los valores de los adolescentes pueden ser perfilados por la pertenencia a una clase social y al contexto en el que se vive, bien sea rural o urbano. El presente caso de estudio es Taiwan, una sociedad que ha experimentado un drástico declive de su tasa de natalidad. Se parte de la hipótesis de que el valor de fertilidad entre los adolescentes (positivo o negativo en función de estar a favor de su crecimiento o en su contra) dependen de factores individuales, familiares y sociales. La base de información para verificar esto está tomada de una encuesta hecha en toda la isla a estudiantes del primer año del ciclo superior de bachillerato. El trabajo de campo se realizó desde el invierno de 2005 hasta la primavera de 2006. El análisis señala que de las apreciaciones positivas de los Valores Relativos a los Niños, tres dimensiones que pueden extraerse: la más importante es la emocional, seguida de la física y finalmente de la social. Los resultados indican que los efectos esperados de las diferentes clases sociales y del ambiente rural/urbano son especialmente importantes para explicar los aspectos físicos y sociales. Adicionalmente, los factores de contexto social (como las redes de apoyo) así como los individuales muestran que contribuyen a la formación positiva de los Valores Relativos a los Niños entre los adolescentes taiwaneses. Por último la importancia del contexto social en la formación de los Valores Relativos a los Niños

entre los adolescentes es algo que también queda demostrado.

Palabras clave: valoración positiva de lo niños, valoración negativa de los niños, contexto social, clase social, transfondo rural y urbano, redes sociales de cooperación

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Ama de casa O mujer profesional: factores en el curso de la vida y influencias raciales entre Americanas de clase media

Este papel examina el efecto de los factores del curso de la vida en la decisión de las mujeres americanas con estudios universitarios de permanecer en casa o continuar sus carreras después de tener hijos. Los datos provienen de 48 entrevistas a mujeres blancas y afro-americanas con educación universitaria que abarcan los principales acontecimientos desde su niñez hasta el presente, al igual que ideas sobre el futuro. Las entrevistas fueron codificadas en términos de cuatro temas principales: identidad, estilo de relaciones, motivación y adaptación. Los resultados revelaron que la identidad como madre era diferente para los dos grupos –central para las amas de casa pero combinado con el trabajo para las mujeres profesionales. En el estilo de relaciones, las amas de casa confían en los esposos principalmente como mantenedores de la familia; las mujeres profesionales confían en ellos para ayuda en los trabajos domésticos y en la educación de los hijos. La motivación y la recompensa para las amas de casa giran en torno a su rol de madre, pero para las mujeres profesionales esta más enfocado en sus propios logros y reconocimiento en el trabajo. Los nuevos modelos de vida eran similares para mujeres blancas y negras, pero las amas de casa afro-americanas eran pioneras en quedarse en casa, mientras que las amas de casa blancas seguían la tradición. Las mujeres profesionales de ambas razas emplearon sus sentidos de ser excepcionales para superar las adversidades – las mujeres negras para desafiar la discriminación racial y las mujeres blancas para surgir de orígenes más humildes o para superar una invalidez. En resumen, manteniendo

constantes de edad, raza, estado marital y clase social, existen diferencias notables en el curso de la vida de los individuos que explican las principales variantes en los modelos matrimoniales y los roles de la mujer.

Palabras clave: mujer de casa, mujer profesional, rol de la mujer, esposo mantenedor, curso de la vida, Afro-Americanos

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VIH y SIDA: ¿Todas las mujeres corren el mismo riesgo? La percepción del propio riesgo según las mujeres casadas que hablan Afrikaans

La preocupación creciente a nivel internacional sobre el SIDA ha incrementado la importancia de la comprensión de la forma desproporcionada en la que la epidemia afecta las vidas de las mujeres. Un motivo de preocupación son los descubrimientos de una gran cantidad de estudios que indican que el nivel de infección de VIH entre las mujeres casadas del África Subsahariana ha aumentado drásticamente en comparación con la tasa de infección de las mujeres solteras. El artículo se concentra en los descubrimientos de un estudio cualitativo hecho en Sudáfrica durante los años 2005/2006, que intentaba develar las percepciones y experiencias de las mujeres casadas que hablan Afrikaans, con respecto a la vida en una sociedad caracterizada por una elevada tasa de predominio de VIH. El principal foco del estudio recayó sobre las percepciones de las mujeres en lo que respecta al propio riesgo de infección por VIH. Se descubrió que, a pesar de que las personas que respondieron en el estudio se consideraban a sí mismas en riesgo de contraer el virus a través de circunstancias imprevistas, como por ejemplo, recibir sangre contaminada a través de transfusiones, también consideraban que no eran susceptibles al VIH dentro del contexto de sus relaciones maritales. El fundamento de este punto de vista es el hecho que consideran sus matrimonios como caracterizados por la confianza y la fidelidad y, por consiguiente, libre de cualquier forma de práctica sexual que no sea segura.

Palabras clave: VIH, riesgo, mujeres casadas, fidelidad