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Values in Families with Young Children:
Insights from Two Cultural Milieus in Germany

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Anna Döring and Wolfgang Bilsky developed the study concept and led the project. All authors contributed to the study design. Anna Döring and Joscha Kärtner performed data analyses. Anna Döring drafted the manuscript, and Joscha Kärtner and Wolfgang Bilsky provided critical revisions. All authors approved the final version of the manuscript for submission.

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Abstract

Are children's value priorities different from their parents' generation? We present data from the youngest children's sample that has been included in a comprehensive family study of values so far: Our study is based on self-reported values of 127 six- to eleven-year-old German children ($M=7.89$, $SD=1.35$) and their mothers and fathers. We further took into account two potentially interacting developmental variables that have been suggested in the literature: (1) family members' gender and (2) cultural milieu (we looked specifically at families with Turkish immigration background and families without immigration background). While values of self-transcendence, self-enhancement, and openness to change did not differ significantly between the two generations, children found conservation significantly more important than their parents. This contrasts with findings from previous studies with older participants. We discuss to what extent this effect may be unique to this developmental stage of middle childhood that had not been covered by previous research. Females valued conservation more than males, and conservation was more important in families with as compared to families without Turkish immigration background. There was neither a gender x generation nor a cultural milieu x generation interaction.

Keywords: values, family, children's values, immigration

Values in Families with Young Children: Insights from Two Cultural Milieus in Germany

Values of the next generation have been discussed extensively in society and in science, where similarities and differences between the parents' and the children's generation have been of particular interest (e.g., Kroh, 2009; Welzel & Inglehart, 2010). This results from assuming experiences in childhood to determine the behavior of adult citizens (Van Deth, Abendschön, & Vollmar, 2011). Indeed, family studies with parents and their adult children (e.g., Boehnke, 2001) and their adolescent children (e.g., Barni, Knafo, Ben-Arieh, & Haj-Yahia, 2014; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001; Kandler, Gottschling, & Spinath, 2016) point to shared value priorities in the family.

In these studies, the term 'child' actually refers to adult or adolescent participants. This means, however, that the vast body of family studies does not capture values in childhood. Yet, childhood is the key developmental stage wherein values are shaped (see Döring, Daniel, & Knafo-Noam, in press, for an overview), i.e. the critical period for consolidating value preferences and structures. The question of how parent-child value transmission happens in childhood, however, remains unanswered. This gap in the literature may be due to the long-standing assumption that children cannot report reliably on complex constructs like values (Van Deth et al., 2011), thus resulting in a lack of self-report value measures. Such measures have been developed only recently (e.g., Döring, Blauensteiner, Aryus, Drögekamp, Bilsky, 2010). We could locate only two family studies, which include children's self-reported values: One is based on a sub-set of values as measured in a sample of older children (Kandler et al., 2016); the other (Boehnke & Welzel, 2006) collected data with a preliminary instrument in a sample of seven- to fourteen-year-old participants without

differentiating between the distinct developmental stages of middle childhood and early adolescence.

Building on recent advancements in measuring children's values, we aim to help fill this research gap: We present a study of families with six- to eleven-year old children, where we studied generational differences between children and their parents in *Germany*. Our research is conceptually rooted in Schwartz's cross-cultural theory of values (1992), and our hypotheses derive from latest findings within this theoretical framework.

Schwartz's Theory of Values

Following Schwartz (1992), we define values as desirable, transsituational goals, varying in importance and serving as guiding principles in people's lives. While all values subsumed in his model can give positive direction to a person's life, persons, families, and cultural groups may differ in the importance they give to specific values. Schwartz found that single values can be subsumed under ten basic values (value types) that are organized in a circular structure (Figure 1). These basic values can be further subsumed under four higher-order values (HOVs): self-transcendence versus self-enhancement, and conservation versus openness to change. Table 1 presents the four HOVs along with a definition of the basic values constituting them. The validity of Schwartz' theory has been confirmed in hundreds of studies from around the globe. Asking people about their values is the most direct way to capture and characterize differences in value priorities between cultures and individuals (see Schwartz, 2006). While established questionnaires for adults have been developed along with the theory, appropriate self-report instruments for children were missing. Only recently, Döring and colleagues (2010) developed the Picture-Based Value Survey for Children (PBVS-C), which was adapted to children's social-cognitive development. The PBVS-

C for the first time provides access to children's self-reported values and therefore served as an assessment tool in this study. First studies with the PBVS-C have shown that value structures at the age of six to eleven years already follow Schwartz's prototypical circular model, with the HOVs consistently found across cultures (Döring et al., in press). We are focusing on the HOVs for this reason.

Similarities and Differences between Children's and Parents' Generation

Thus, children and adults hold the same value structures, and both generations can be researched based on self-report data. Existing studies also point to considerable similarities of value priorities in the two generations. For example, on average, both children and adults consider values of self-transcendence most and values of self-enhancement least important (Döring et al., in press). However, these studies (e.g., Döring et al., 2010, in press; Schwartz, 1992) focus on either children *or* adults. Thus, data sets of children's and adults' self-reported values are not related in a meaningful way. This makes it impossible to systematically investigate similarities and differences between the two generations. A family study, looking at children and their parents simultaneously, as proposed in this manuscript, can address these issues.

The development of values in childhood is shaped by individual characteristics, such as the child's temperament or gender, but also by the child's lifeworld (see Döring et al., in press, for an overview). Most importantly, the development of children's values is significantly affected by the environment the child grows up in. In childhood, parents are the most important socializing agents that ensure the transmission of value priorities to their children (e.g., Barni et al., 2014). Children learn about themselves through repeated everyday practices and interactions within the family. For example, children who grew up in a religious family valued conservation more and openness to

change less than children from non-religious families (Döring et al., in press). Similarly, the experience of economic insecurity and scarcity of resources may increase family members' valuation of so called 'materialistic values' (e.g., maintaining order in society) and decrease their valuation of so called 'postmaterialistic values' (e.g., freedom of speech; Kroh, 2009). The family thus plays a key role in the development of children's value priorities, be it through shared genetics and shared life conditions, or through active parent-child value transmission.

Indeed, childhood is the key developmental stage wherein parental values are thought to be internalized. With the onset of adolescence, in contrast, processes of renegotiation of values and individualization come into play (see Boehnke & Welzel, 2006), which may make adolescents' values more different from their parents' than they used to be in childhood. In terms of value development, research has recently expanded its age scope and started to explore values in *middle childhood*, which covers the age of approximately six to eleven years. Middle childhood has been described as a homogeneous developmental stage wherein children's personality remains relatively consistent and stable (e.g., Harter, 1999). This appears also to be true for value priorities (see Döring et al., in press). For example, the first longitudinal study of value priorities in childhood and adolescence (Cieciuch Davidov, & Algesheimer, in press) found moderate stabilities of value priorities. Still, Cieciuch et al. also found mean value change: The importance children ascribe to the four HOVs remained constant until age nine and partly changed afterwards. Specifically, values of conservation became less and values of openness to change more important from age nine to age thirteen.

The two family studies we could locate that include self-report data from children do not yet take these developmental trends into account:

Boehnke and Welzel (2006) studied seven- to fourteen-year-old's values (reported median of age = 10 years), meaning that both children and adolescents participated in their study. Values were measured with a preliminary ten-item instrument (one item per basic value). They found that the youngsters considered openness to change values more and conservation values less important than their parents. This was the first piece of evidence we found in the literature. Unfortunately though, Boehnke and Welzel (2006) did not differentiate between their smaller sub-sample of children and their larger sub-sample of adolescents. Consequently, we do not know whether this difference reflects a stable difference between generations or whether it may be due to an increasing importance of openness and a decreasing importance of conservation values at the onset of adolescence (see Ciecuch et al., in press).

Kandler et al. (2016) measured values of older children (age 7 to 11 years, $M=9.08$) and their parents. They employed a version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire, a questionnaire for adults, and argue that they measured only eight of the ten Schwartz values, in order to avoid children's overload. These authors found small differences between children's and parents' value priorities of openness to change and conservation. However, their findings were complex: Children ascribed more importance to stimulation and hedonism, but less importance to self-direction than their parents, all of which are openness to change values. In addition, children found power, and security values less important than their parents. Kandler et al. did not report whether children's value priorities were related to their age in any way.

Potentially Moderating Variables

While generational differences were thus the main focus of our study, the literature suggests that these differences may be moderated by other variables.

Research within Schwartz's framework has focused on a few key variables that were found to substantially shape values¹, mainly (1) gender and (2) cultural milieu. Both were found to not only affect value priorities in childhood and adulthood, but also to potentially lead to differential development. As we will argue below, children may be more or less different from their parents, depending on the child's and parents' gender as well as the family's cultural milieu. Gender and cultural milieu may thus act as moderators.

Gender as Potential Moderator

All over the world, females value self-transcendence and (to a smaller extent) conservation more than males, whereas males value self-enhancement and (to a smaller extent) openness to change more than females (Schwartz & Rubel, 2005). These findings were explained in terms of universals in gender-roles and evolutionary antecedents. First studies with seven to eleven-year-old children from Germany, Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, and the USA yielded similar results (Döring et al., in press; Kandler, 2016). We thus expected that value priorities would differ between males and females in both generations.

More importantly, value transmission may work differently for males and females. Research suggests that mothers are the more successful value transmitters and daughters the more susceptible respondents in the value transmission process (Boehnke, 2001; Knafo & Schwartz, 2004). Consequently, female family members' value priorities (daughters' and mothers') may not differ between generations, while male family members' value priorities (sons' and fathers') do, meaning that gender would act as moderator.

Cultural Milieu as Potential Moderator

¹ <http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/2/>

The culture which an individual grows up in provides an initial starting point from which individual value priorities develop and change (Schwartz, 2014), and the importance of culture-specific developmental pathways is widely acknowledged (e.g., Keller & Kärtner, 2013). While traditionally, cultural differences in value priorities have been studied by comparing values between different countries (e.g., Schwartz, 2006; Welzel & Inglehart, 2010), with increasing migration worldwide², multiple cultural milieus within the borders of a single country have become more relevant (Keller & Kärtner, 2013). This is particularly relevant in countries like Germany – the country where we conducted the present study. Germany became the second largest immigration country in the OECD area in 2012, with flows per year reaching 400,000 persons³. Today, nearly one fifth of the German population has an immigration background with a much higher percentage (33%) among children (birth to age 10)⁴. Cultural milieu is thus a key variable of children's life in Germany. The largest group of immigrants (more than three million persons) is from *Turkey*². This is why we chose families with Turkish immigration background as one cultural milieu for our study, and we compared these with German families without immigration background. Because of significant differences between value priorities in Germany and Turkey (see supplementary material for additional analyses and references) and because there is evidence of successful transmission of values in these families (e.g., Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001), we expected value priorities to differ between the cultural milieus studied. Specifically, we expected families with Turkish immigration background to

² <http://www.oecd.org/berlin/Is-migration-really-increasing.pdf>

³ www.oecd.org/.../Is-migration-really-increasing.pdf

⁴ https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/CurrentPopulation/Tables/Census_SexAndCitizenship.html

value conservation and self-enhancement more and openness to change and self-transcendence values less than families without immigration background.

More importantly, value transmission may work differently in these two cultural milieus. Nationwide surveys as reviewed by Nauck (2005) show that Turkish parents give high importance to children, and intergenerational bonds were found to be strong and stronger than in German families without immigration background. This holds for both, emotional (e.g., 'Children give the feeling of being needed.')

and economic issues (e.g., 'Children help their aged parents.'). Additionally, a few studies looked at parents' socialization goals for their preschool children. They showed that Turkish immigrant mothers valued close family ties, obedience and good manners more and independence and autonomy less than German mothers (e.g., Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood, 2009). While value transmission in immigrant families may be more difficult (because of competing values of the majority), it may be considered more important in order to preserve the cultural heritage (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001) than in families without immigration background. Therefore, children's and parents' value priorities in families with Turkish immigration background may not differ significantly, while they do so in families without immigration background, meaning that cultural milieu may act as a moderator.

The Present Study

The present study investigates generational differences in value priorities and presents data from children in the developmental stage of middle childhood (i.e., six to eleven years), and from their parents. Because all of us were based in Germany at the time of data collection, we recruited German families. Beyond these practicalities, this also facilitated comparison of our findings with Boehnke and Welzel (2006) and Kandler et al. (2016), both of which presented data from Germany. Building on recent

methodological advances in the field, we employed a validated instrument that was designed to specifically assess children's values: the Picture-Based Value Survey for Children (PBVS-C; Döring et al., 2010). This allowed us to capture the whole of Schwartz's values circle in both generations. In line with existing research on differentiation of value structures at an early age, we focused on the HOVs and aimed to answer our *first research question*:

1. Does the importance children ascribe to self-transcendence, conservation, self-enhancement, and openness to change differ from the importance their parents ascribe to these values?

We thus investigated the main effect of generation (child vs. parent) on value priorities. Having identified potential gender- and cultural-milieu-specific pathways, we further formulated our *second research question*:

2. Do gender and cultural milieu moderate the effect of generation on value priorities?

Following the classic approach by Baron and Kenny (1986), moderator effects were represented as interactions between the focal independent variable generation and the moderators: We inspected gender x generation and cultural milieu x generation interactions.

Method

Sample

Our sample is composed of 127 German families that lived in the Ruhr area (West Germany) where migrants from Turkey form the largest ethnic minority group. We recruited families via German elementary schools. Together with each school's head teacher, we wrote a letter which included a detailed information sheet to all parents, inviting them to give consent for their children and to participate in our study

themselves. Additionally, children were free to withdraw from data collection at any point. To ensure anonymity, each child was only identified by a code and took home a questionnaire with the identical code for the parents. For the present study, we considered only complete data sets (child, mother, and father) of families that had either a Turkish ($n=62$) or no immigration background ($n=65$, neither Turkish nor any other) in the parents' or grandparents' generation. Throughout this article, we are referring to these as the two family groups.

Children were between six and eleven years old ($M=7.89$, $SD=1.35$), with 63 boys (30 with Turkish immigration background, 33 without immigration background) and 64 girls (32 with Turkish immigration background and 32 without immigration background) participating. The two family groups did not differ significantly in terms of children's age ($t[125]=1.42$, $p=.159$).

Parents with Turkish immigration background were significantly younger than parents without immigration background ($M=35.32$, $SD=6.36$ versus $M=39.62$, $SD=4.79$ for mothers, $t(124)=4.26$, $p < .001$; and $M=39.60$, $SD=5.95$ versus $M=42.32$, $SD=4.96$ for fathers, $t(122)=2.77$, $p=.006$). Parents' educational background significantly differed between the two family groups (see supplementary material for details), with both mothers and fathers holding a higher degree in the group without as compared to the group with Turkish immigration background ($\chi^2(8)=34.07$, $p < .001$ for mothers, $\chi^2(7)=24.82$, $p < .001$ for fathers). Seventeen mothers and 14 fathers with Turkish immigration background indicated that they do not hold any degree from school, whereas none of the parents without immigration background did so. In terms of employment, 40 mothers and 20 fathers in the sample with Turkish immigration background indicated that they are unemployed where this was true only for 24 mothers and six fathers in the sample without immigration background ($\chi^2(1)=9.84$,

$p=.002$ for mothers, and $\chi^2(1)= 9.05$, $p=.003$ for fathers). The two cultural milieus thus differed on more variables than the mere geographic origin.

Measures

Picture-Based Value Survey for Children. Children completed the Picture-Based Value Survey for Children (PBVS-C, Döring et al., 2010; see also Ciecuch, Döring & Harasimczuk, 2013 for findings on its validity), which assesses Schwartz's HOVs with pictorial items that the child ranks (from 5 – very important to 1 – not at all important) according to what is important to him/her for his/her life. The PBVS-C is an ipsative measure and follows a Q-sort format, with two of the 20 items being rated as 'very important', four as 'important', eight as 'medium important', four as 'not important' and two as 'not at all important'. The PBVS-C takes children's cognitive development into account and allows the researcher to assess values through children's self-report.

Portrait Values Questionnaire. Parents completed the German 21-item version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ, www.europeansocialsurvey.org). The PVQ presents portraits of fictitious persons, and respondents indicate how similar they are to this person on a six-point scale from very similar to not similar at all. The degree of similarity indicates how important this value is to the respondent. Studies where respondents completed both the PVQ and the PBVS-C (e.g., Ciecuch, Döring, & Harasimczuk, 2013; Döring et al., in press) showed convergence of findings across instruments. Please find additional analyses of measurement equivalence across generations in the supplementary material.

Procedure

Children completed the PBVS-C in the classroom. They then received a take-home package for their parents, which included detailed instructions on how to complete the survey, sociodemographic questions and the PVQ. Parents completed

the PVQ at home, and we collected the questionnaires from the children at school a week later.

Data analysis

Data Management. For the PBVS-C, there were no missing data. For the PVQ we checked whether all parents had completed the instrument according to Schwartz's recommendations⁵: We found that no parent missed to respond to more than five items or gave the same answer to more than sixteen of the items. Scores for each HOV were calculated as mean scores of the items belonging to it. For example, the child's score for conservation would be calculated as the mean of the PBVS-C items tradition 1, tradition 2, conformity 1, conformity 2, security 1, and security 2. As recommended for application of the PVQ⁶, the parents' scores were corrected for individual differences in scale use by subtracting the parents' mean response across items from each higher order value score. Because of the PBVS-C's response format which yields the same mean across items for each respondent, correction was not necessary for children's scores. In order to make value priorities as assessed with the two different instruments (PBVS-C versus PVQ) comparable, we calculated z-scores. For this purpose, we calculated the mean and standard deviation across all higher order value scores and all children. From each higher order value score we then subtracted the mean and divided the result by the standard deviation. We did the same for the HOV scores of mothers and fathers. This gave us a mean score of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 across all HOVs for children, mothers, and fathers.

⁵ <http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/>

⁶ <http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/4/>

Calculation of Value Priorities. Mean scores for the HOVs were computed as means of the items belonging to them. Based on the mean scores, we then inspected value priorities.

Investigation of Our Research Questions. A Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was calculated with the four HOVs self-transcendence, conservation, self-enhancement, and openness to change as dependent variables, and generation (child versus parent), sex (male versus female), and cultural milieu (with Turkish immigration background versus no immigration background) as independent variables. This design allowed us to study how the priority that is ascribed to the four HOVs varied between the two generations (first research question). That means, we investigated whether generation had a main effect on value priorities. Within this design we further investigate whether gender and cultural milieu moderate the effect of generation on value priorities (second research question). For this purpose, the categorical moderators gender and cultural milieu were entered into the MANOVA as additional independent variables, and we inspected gender x generation and cultural milieu x generation interactions. Significant interactions would indicate a moderation effect (see Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Results

Value Priorities. Value priorities are presented in Table 2. Self-transcendence was considered the most important value and self-enhancement the least important value by daughters, sons, mothers, and fathers in both cultural groups.

Using Pillai's trace, the composite dependent variate was significantly affected by generation ($F[4, 370]=3.43, p=.009, \text{partial } \eta^2=.036$), by gender ($F[4, 370]=12.20, p<.001, \text{partial } \eta^2=.177$), and by cultural group ($F[4, 370]=10.15, p<.001, \text{partial } \eta^2=.099$). The interaction of generation and gender was not significant ($F[4, 370]=0.67,$

$p=.614$, partial $\eta^2=.007$), neither was the interaction of generation and cultural group ($F[4, 370]=1.77$, $p=.134$, $\eta^2=.019$). Answering our research questions, children's and parents' value priorities differed, but the effect of generation on value priorities was not moderated by gender or cultural milieu.

To determine the locus of the statistically significant multivariate effect of generation, we conducted univariate ANOVAs on each dependent variable separately and found that the two generations differed significantly only on one HOV: Children ascribed more importance to conservation values than parents ($F[1,373]=5.14$, $p=.024$, partial $\eta^2=.014$). For this reason, generational differences were inspected more closely for conservation values only. A full table of the MANOVA results is included in the supplementary material. Further investigation into the generational difference in conservation values revealed that the generation x gender interaction was not significant ($F[1,373]=0.33$, $p=.568$), meaning that the effect of generation on conservation values was not moderated by gender. As Figure 2a shows, conservation was more important to children than to their parents among both males and females. A closer inspection of the parent-child dyads revealed that the son-mother dyad was the most similar in their conservation values, as indicated by the smallest difference (Cohen's $d=-.16$, 95% CI [-.51, .19]), followed by the son-father dyad ($d=.20$, 95% CI [-.15, .55]), the daughter-mother dyad ($d=.44$, 95% CI [.08, .79]) and finally the daughter-father dyad ($d=.57$, 95% CI [.22, .93]). For conservation values, the generation x cultural milieu interaction was also not significant ($F(1, 373)=0.28$, $p=.597$), meaning that the effect of generation on values was not moderated by cultural milieu. As Figure 2b shows, conservation was more important to children than to their parents across cultural groups.

Children's value priorities were neither correlated with their age for conservation nor for self-transcendence values ($r=-.10$, $p=.273$ and $r=.02$, $p=.833$ respectively), but they were correlated with their age for openness to change and self-enhancement values: The older the children, the more important they considered openness to change ($r=.29$, $p<.001$) and the less important self-enhancement ($r=-.23$, $p=.010$).

Confirming findings from previous studies, male and female family members differed significantly on all four HOVs, with females ascribing more importance to self-transcendence ($F[1,373]=30.17$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta^2=.075$) and conservation ($F[1,373]=10.71$, $p=.001$, partial $\eta^2=.028$) and less to self-enhancement ($F[1,373]=22.34$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta^2=.057$) and openness to change ($F[1,373]=7.39$, $p=.007$, partial $\eta^2=.019$) than males.

Also confirming our expectations, the two cultural groups differed significantly on all four HOVs, with families with Turkish immigration background ascribing more importance to conservation ($F[1, 373]=6.27$, $p=.013$, partial $\eta^2=.017$) and self-enhancement ($F[1,373] = 7.05$, $p = .008$, partial $\eta^2 = .019$) and less to openness to change ($F[1,373]=6.47$, $p=.011$, partial $\eta^2=.017$) and self-transcendence ($F[1,373]=22.02$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta^2=.056$) than families without immigration background.

Discussion

Summary of Findings

In this article, we presented findings from the first study of value priorities in the family that involves self-report data from children at a young age and systematically covers values of various contents (Schwarz, 1992).

Overall, the parents' and the children's generation thus showed similar value priorities: Parents and children did not differ in the importance they ascribed to values

of self-transcendence, self-enhancement, and openness to change. However, and to our surprise, children found conservation significantly *more* important than their parents (answer to the first research question). This was true for males and females, and in both cultural milieus. Neither gender nor cultural milieu acted as moderators (answer to the second research question). Daughters and mothers found conservation significantly more important than sons and father. Still, daughters were more conservative than mothers, and sons were more conservative than fathers. Similarly, conservation was significantly more important in families with Turkish immigration background than in families without immigration background. In both cultural milieus, children were more conservative than their parents.

Are Children More Conservative Than Their Parents?

Our findings are particularly revealing, as studies with adolescent children (e.g., Boehnke & Welzel, 2006) found the opposite: Conservation was less important and openness to change was more important in the younger generation as compared to their parents. Similarly, nation-wide surveys of adults' values⁷ consistently show that the young generation values conservation less and openness to change more than the old generation. Surveys with adolescents and young adults show similar patterns⁸. This has been explained with cohort effects (e.g., increasing prosperity and security), with physical ageing (and therefore requiring a safe, more predictable environment), and life stages (e.g., exciting challenges and opportunities in young adulthood versus settling down and establishing work and family at later stages). Is it possible that, because of this overwhelmingly consistent pattern in the literature, researchers

⁷ <http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/2/2.html>

⁸ <http://www.shell.de/aboutshell/our-commitment/shell-youth-study-2015/values.html>

(including ourselves) have overlooked the possibility that findings may change if younger children participate in the study?

Reconsidering generational differences in view of the literature on social-developmental stages might give some new insights. In his widely received theory of psychosocial development, Erikson (1950) described the preschool years as characterized by the conflict between initiative and guilt. While the child tries to explore its environment, parents will often impose restrictions, rules and punishments, in order to keep the child safe. Valuing conformity and security can therefore be a normal and healthy reaction of the child. Also, the emotion of guilt has been associated with conservation values (Silfver, Helkama, Lönnqvist, & Verkasalo, 2008). In the following developmental stage, which covers all of middle childhood (i.e., the age span investigated in this study), there is a conflict between industry and inferiority. The child enters primary school and becomes aware of significant caregivers' evaluation of his or her performance. Striving to become competent, the child may either succeed or fail. It is argued that the experience of success and failure are equally important, so that a balance between competence and modesty is reached. Being modest and humble, in turn, is a key component of conservation values, more specifically of tradition. Theories of the ontogeny of social norms (e.g., Rakoczy & Schmidt, 2013) further specify that children first acquire cultural knowledge through imitation: Young children's activities are governed by conventional norms, which the child not only follows, but actively reinforces towards third parties. Innovation becomes important only later (e.g., Legare & Nielsen, 2015). The classic developmental literature thereby suggests that children may be more conservative than their parents. There is thus a need to include data of young children's self-reported values in studies of generational differences. There is also a need to try and cover the whole values circle. Kandler et

al. (2016), for example, excluded tradition values, so that the key aspect of conservation aspect of modesty and humbleness was not covered.

The Impact of Gender and Cultural Milieu

As expected, values differed between the two genders and also between the two cultural milieus: Females ascribed more importance to self-transcendence and conservation and less importance to self-enhancement and openness to change than males. This nicely replicates findings from studies with either adult or child participants (Döring et al., in press; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005). Families with Turkish immigration background ascribed more importance to values of conservation and self-enhancement and less importance to values of openness to change and self-transcendence than families without immigration background. This is also in line with previous findings (Nauck, 2005; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001; Schwartz, 2006; Welzel & Inglehart, 2010; see also supplementary material). However, the generations differed consistently among the more or less conservative genders (i.e., females versus males) and also among the more or less conservative cultural milieus (i.e., in families with Turkish immigration background versus families without immigration background). Thereby, our study does not give any indication of gender- or culture-specific pathways. Rather, the generational difference in value priorities that occurs in families with young children may reflect a universal difference between different developmental stages and therefore unfold regardless of cultural milieu and gender. Future research is needed to substantiate these speculations.

Limitations and Future Directions

Our study gives a snapshot view of values in families with young children and thereby makes an empirical contribution to an underresearched field. Being cross-sectional, however, it does not cover developmental processes. For example, young

children may be more conservative than their parents, but this may change and even reverse in adolescence. Also, gender-differences in value priorities appear to be more pronounced in childhood than in adolescence (e.g., Döring et al., in press), so that the impact of gender on generational differences in value priorities may change throughout the life. Longitudinal studies can also help to systematically explore how parental values and behavior shape children's values and to what extent parents are socializing agents of the culture they live in. Value transmission in the family is of course determined by socialization, but recent studies have also emphasized the important role of shared genes (see Kandler, et al., 2016; Uzefovsky et al., in press). Finally, longitudinal cohort studies can help disentangle developmental processes from cohort effects, so that we can understand whether children differ from their parents because of requirements of the developmental stage they are in or because their cohort's value priorities are significantly different from their parents' cohort. This will have important implications for value priorities in future societies.

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Table 1

Schwartz's Higher Order and Basic Values

Higher-Order Values	Basic Values	Definition by Schwartz ⁹
Self-Transcendence	Universalism	"Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature"
	Benevolence	"Preserving and enhancing of the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact"
Conservation	Tradition	"Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide"
	Conformity	"Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms"
	Security	"Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self"
Self-Enhancement	Power	"Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources"
	Achievement	"Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards"
Openness to Change	Hedonism	"Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself"
	Stimulation	"Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life"
	Self-Direction	"Independent thought and action; choosing, creating, exploring"

⁹ <http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/1/1.html>

Table 2

Value Priorities: Means (and Standard Deviations)

Value	Generation	Sex	Cultural Milieu	
			With Turkish Immigration Background	Without Immigration Background
Self-Transcendence	Child	Male	0.42 (0.89)	0.69 (0.89)
		Female	0.92 (0.66)	1.03 (0.55)
	Parent	Male	0.38 (0.85)	0.94 (0.77)
		Female	0.84 (0.57)	1.38 (0.63)
Conservation	Child	Male	0.04 (0.60)	-0.08 (0.56)
		Female	0.43 (0.57)	0.10 (0.48)
	Parent	Male	-0.09 (0.70)	-0.20 (0.97)
		Female	0.15 (0.57)	-0.34 (0.65)
Self-Enhancement	Child	Male	-0.39 (1.14)	-0.74 (1.21)
		Female	-1.06 (0.98)	-1.26 (0.78)
	Parent	Male	-0.49 (1.00)	-0.65 (1.01)
		Female	-0.75 (0.76)	-1.13 (0.76)
Openness to Change	Child	Male	-0.03 (0.66)	0.14 (0.72)
		Female	-0.31 (0.70)	0.09 (0.75)
	Parent	Male	-0.09 (0.84)	0.19 (0.89)
		Female	-0.21 (0.59)	-0.24 (0.66)

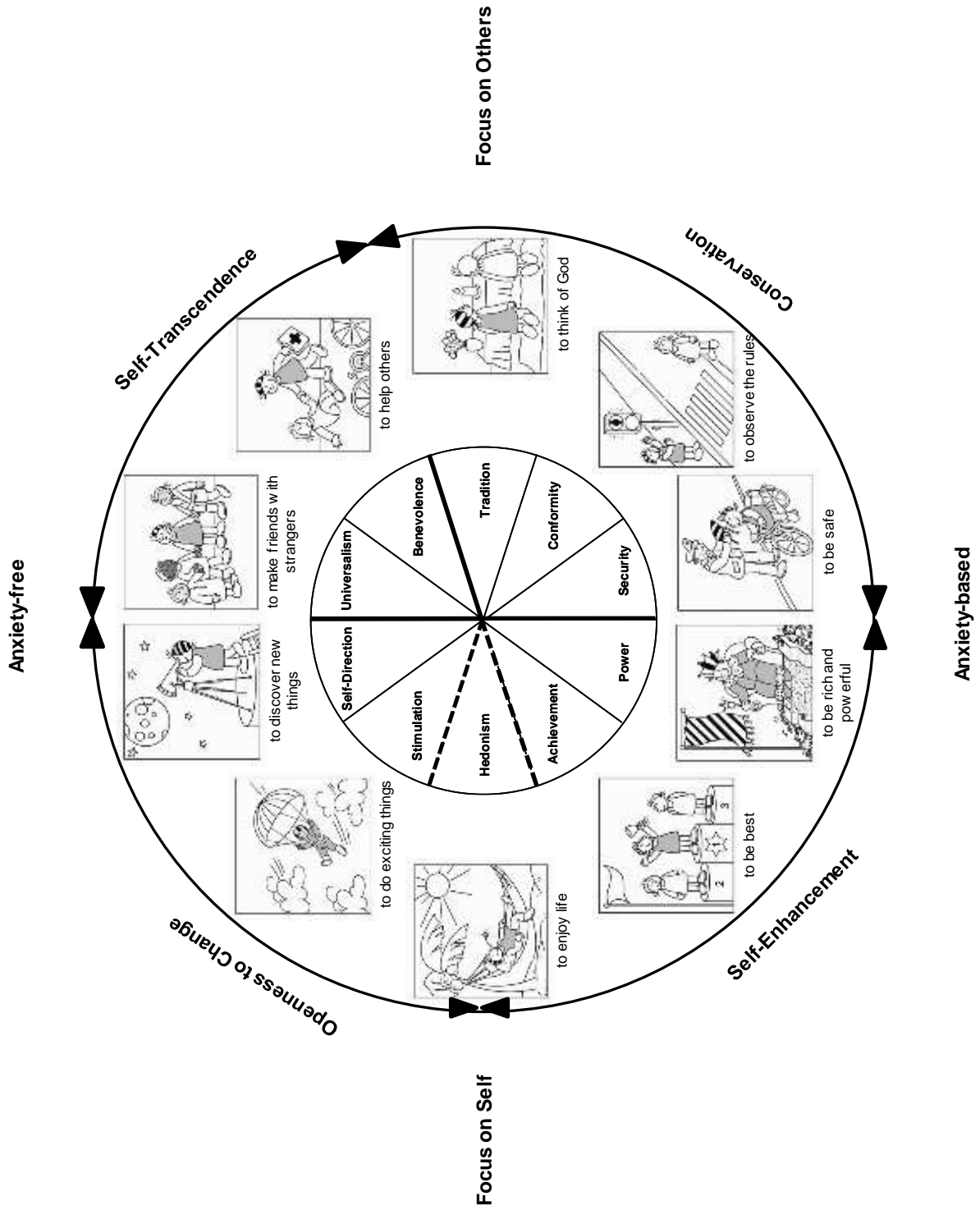


Figure 1. Schwartz's model of values and exemplary items from the PBVS-C.

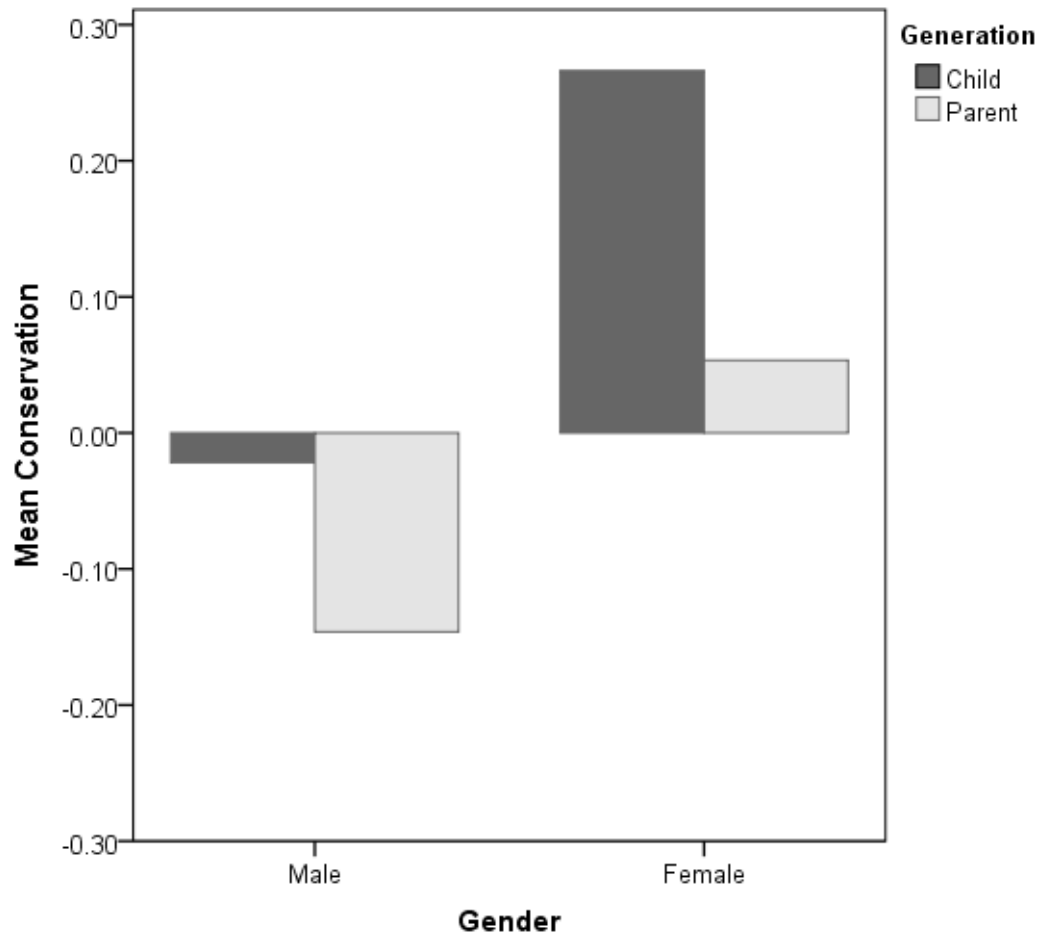


Figure 2a. Conservation values in the two generations: Differences by gender.

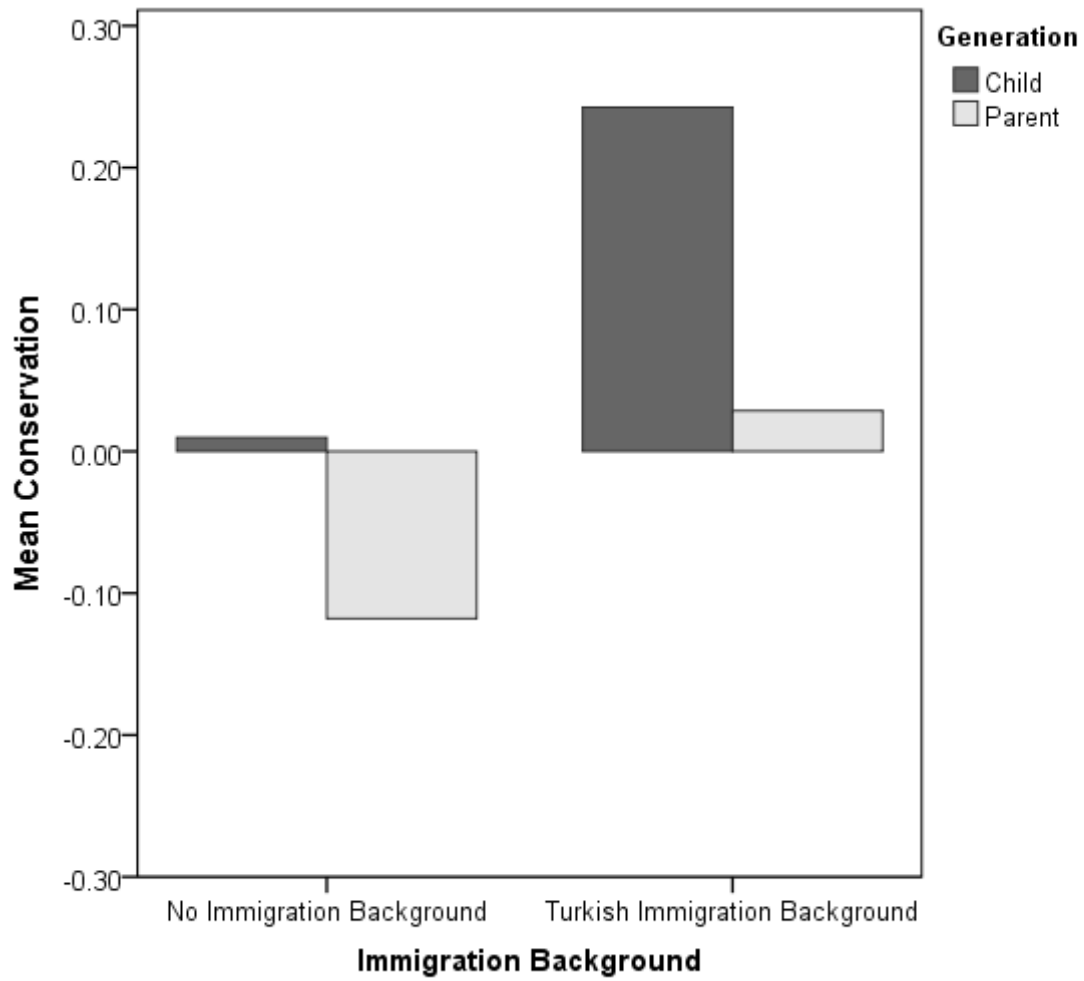


Figure 2b. Conservation values in the two generations: Differences by immigration background.