

THE PERCEIVED VALUE OF CHILDREN AMONG  
THE SUNDANESE AND JAVANESE

by

Elvira E.R.S. Pangemanan

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated,  
this thesis is my own work.

Elvira E.R.S. Pangemanan

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## ABSTRACT

The survey which forms the basis of this study was carried out amongst the two largest cultural groups in Indonesia, the Sundanese and the Javanese, in 1975. It was part of the second phase of the Cross-national Value of Children (VOC) Project.

This study specifically attempted to investigate the perceived value of children of the high and low socio-economic status groups within the two societies (Sundanese and Javanese). Classifications of socio-economic strata in the selection of sample areas were based on the data on agricultural density, road distance from an urban centre, proportion of the labour force in agriculture, proportion of the labour force in commerce and industry, and proportion of agricultural land under irrigation.

The differences between socio-economic groups within the two societies in their perceived values of children, and the correlations between the values and attitude towards family planning were examined in this study. Some factors that are considered to have influences on the relationships between the values of children and attitude towards family planning of the respective groups were also examined.

The psychological advantages of having children were more important for the high socio-economic than the low socio-economic groups, whereas the economic advantage of children were more important for the low socio-economic than the high socio-economic groups. The emotional costs were stressed more by the respondents of the high socio-economic than the low socio-economic groups, and more by female respondents. The low socio-economic groups had stronger awareness of the economic costs of children than the high socio-economic groups.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

As the third largest developing country in the world after China and India, Indonesia is facing a serious population problem. In 1961 the population of Indonesia was 97 million and it increased to 119.2 million in 1971. According to the latest population census in 1980, the population has reached 147.5 million (BPS, 1984). About two-thirds of the people live on the island of Java, which makes it the most populated island in the archipelago. The Government is aware that efforts should be made to solve the population problem, especially the rapid growth of population. Therefore a family planning programme has been underway officially since the late 1960s.

The success or failure of the family planning programme will be determined in part by funds and the availability of facilities, but more important (especially in the long run) is the "willingness" of people to plan their families or the "willingness" to have a small family size. This means that there should be a process of change of attitudes within the society, from an orientation towards large families to an orientation towards small families with fewer children. In other words, it is hoped that a change in attitudes towards lower fertility would occur among individuals and society as a whole.

Motives are some of the internal factors which initiate human behaviour and which are based on the basic psychological needs of human beings (Maslow, 1954). To understand the behaviour of a person, his or her motives and the goal for which he or she strives must be identified. Individual behaviour can also be controlled by providing motivation, and therefore motivation plays an important role in the process of change in attitudes. In relation to the family planning programme, when psychological motives to have a small family are strong, and when the individuals' basic human needs have already been gratified by having a few children, the programme can expect to have a positive result.

There has been much research into the determinants of fertility. The psychologically oriented study of the value of children is one of several lines of inquiry besides the biosocial measurement of fecundity or fertility, micro-level economic theory of fertility and community studies, all of which need to be undertaken in order to formulate the population policies of various countries (Berelson, 1976: 231). According to Hoffman and Hoffman (1973: 21), the practical purpose of the study of value of children is that knowledge of the values may suggest appropriate forms of satisfaction or other ways of compensation that might be considered to achieve a small family.

Various terminologies have been used in the studies of the value of children and according to Fawcett (1977: 92), those terminologies could be classified into two general orientations: (1) the positive values (advantages, satisfactions), (2) the negative values (costs, disvalues, disadvantages, dissatisfactions). Espenshade (1977) has differentiated between the concept of values, which consists of the non-economic values and economic values, and the concept of costs, which

consists of the economic costs and non-economic costs. Mueller (1972: 179) emphasized the value of children in two aspects of economic benefits (1) children as productive agents, and (2) children as a potential source of security, especially in old age, as well as two aspects of the costs of children (1) direct maintenance costs, and (2) opportunity costs.

Various approaches have been made in the study of the value of children, but the topic is more often used in psychological and economic research. The value of children in the psychological context refers to "the needs children fulfil and the satisfactions they provide for parents". Based on these psychological needs, a scheme of values has been organized by Hoffman and Hoffman (1972: 28). This scheme is discussed below (section 1.3.2) and is used in this study to categorize the values identified among Indonesian parents.

Hoffman (1972: 30) mentioned that, in the context of the value of children, different values may exist in different social structures and in different sub-groups within a structure. Therefore, it could be expected that differences in the way parents value their children may exist within different socio-economic statuses in the community. This is particularly marked between the high and low socio-economic statuses in Indonesian society, because of the differences in the lives of individuals within different social classes.

Java, as was mentioned previously, is the most populated island in Indonesia, and consequently has many problems which need to be solved. Some population policies aim, explicitly or implicitly, to change the balance of satisfactions and costs associated with children, and

Figure 1-1 : Indonesia, the archipelago

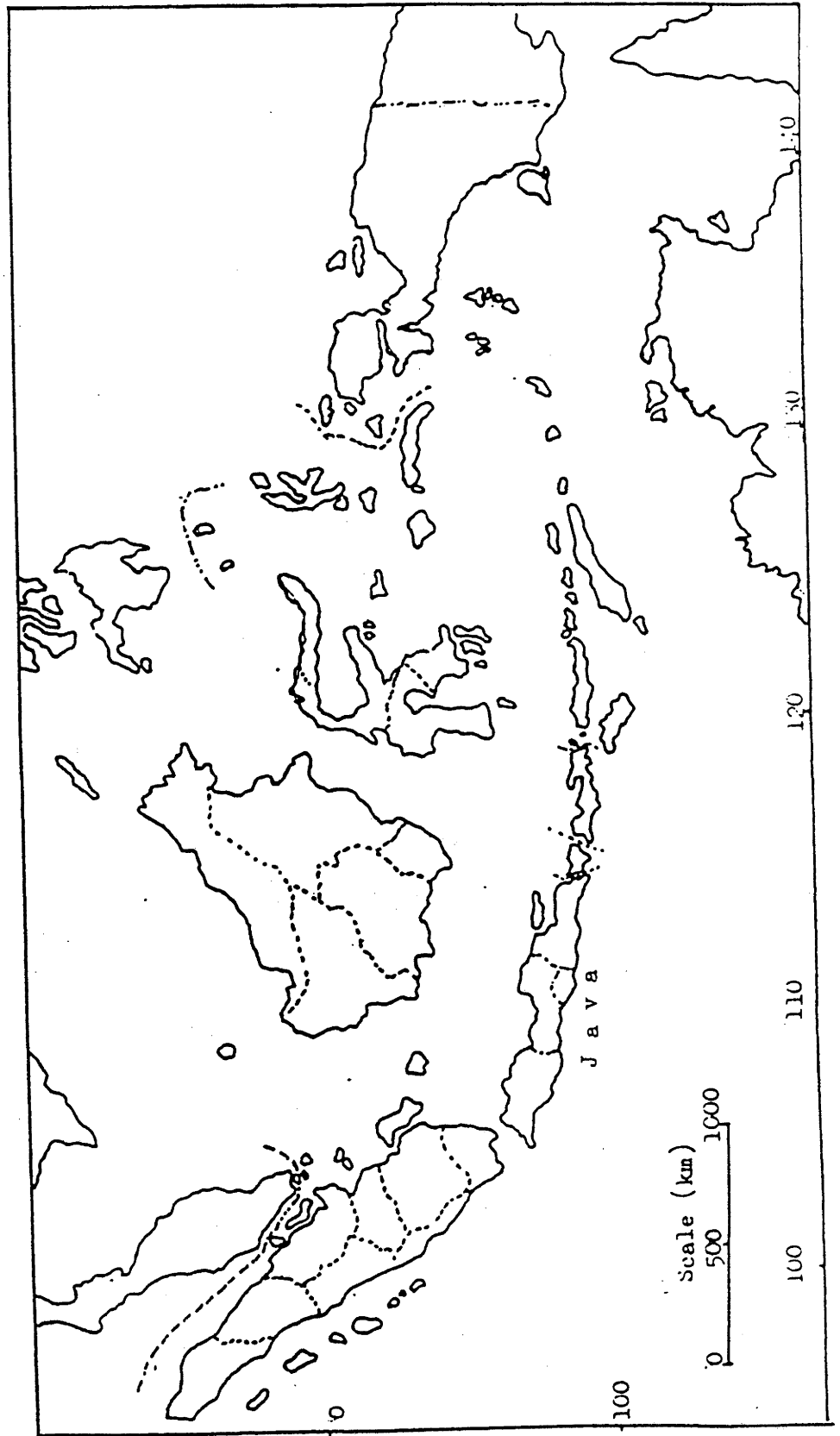
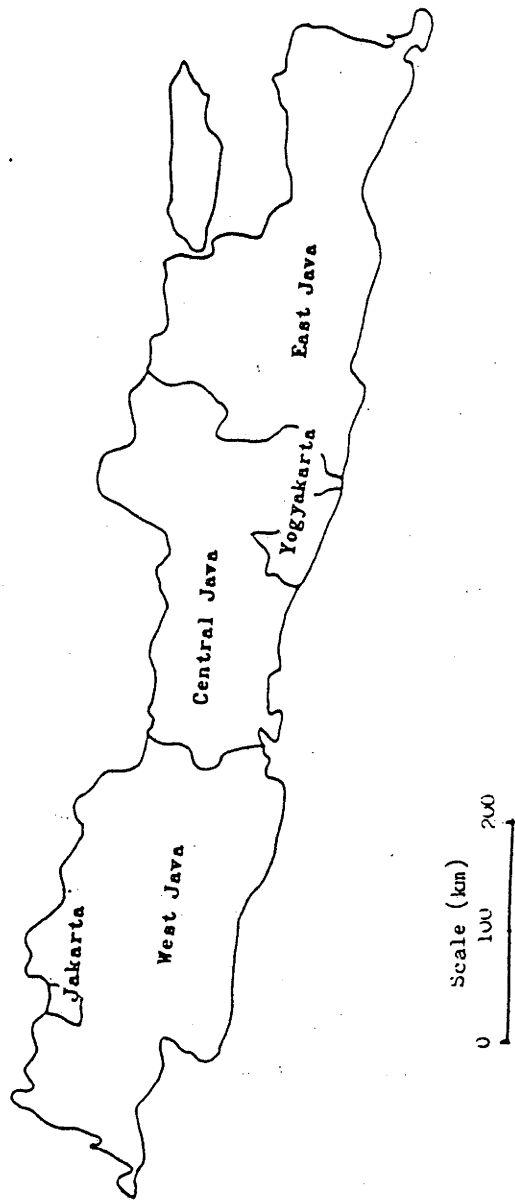


Figure 1-2 : Java showing Provinces



therefore a baseline knowledge about the value of children is needed to permit an assessment of policy alternatives and programmes. This study, which will basically utilize the psychological approach, will try to investigate the perceived value of children of the high and low economic status groups in the two major cultural groups in Java, the Sundanese and the Javanese.

## 1.2 THE COUNTRY BACKGROUND

Geographically Indonesia is an archipelago situated between the Indian and the Pacific oceans. The archipelago consists of five main islands, Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Irian Jaya, and thousands of other small islands. The population consists of various ethnic groups, each with their own language, customs and culture.

Since the earliest censuses and estimates of the Indonesian population, Java has always been the most populated island (McNicoll, 1976: 8). According to the 1930s census conducted by the Dutch colonial government, the population of Java was 41.7 million. This figure increased to 63.0 million in 1961 (the first census after the country gained independence, 76.1 million in 1971, and 91.3 million in the latest census in 1980.

Since the Second World War and the 1945 revolution, there have been many social changes throughout the country. New influences in the economy, politics, ideology, public administration, communication and education have changed the structure of social classes within the society, particularly in rural areas. The lower class is the majority group in Java, with most of its members working in the agricultural



sector either as labourers or owners of very small plots of land. The higher class consists of public servants, teachers, employees, students, armed forces personnel, landowners, and tradesmen, and those people have a much better life with higher economic standards, compared with the other classes. In general, some members of the lower class are economically dependent on the higher class (Harsoyo, 1971: 305).

The two largest ethnic groups in Indonesia, the Sundanese and the Javanese, have the island of Java as their homeland. The Sundanese, the second largest cultural group, occupy most of West Java province. The Sundanese language is commonly used in West Java and is also used as the first language in the rural areas. In the urban area the local language is used as the second language after the Indonesian language, but within the family circle the Sundanese language predominates. The major religion of the Sundanese is Islam and these people are considered to be very religious in the sense of performing the basic principles of Islam in their daily lives, such as the five daily prayers, fasting in the month of Ramadan, having a great desire to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and observing the taboo on eating pork (Palmer, 1967: 313; Harsoyo, 1967: 315). The Javanese occupy most of Central and East Java province. Javanese society is more stratified than the Sundanese in terms of social classes. This is reflected in the levels of gradation in the Javanese language, in the variation in the degree of participation in Islam, and in the traditional ranks which exists in the society. However the distinction between social classes based on these traditional criteria is not obvious, and thus it cannot be used as a basis to classify individuals for the purpose of research and social analysis (Meyer, 1981: 83).

### 1.3 SOURCES OF DATA

#### 1.3.1 The Indonesian Value of Children Survey

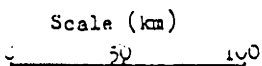
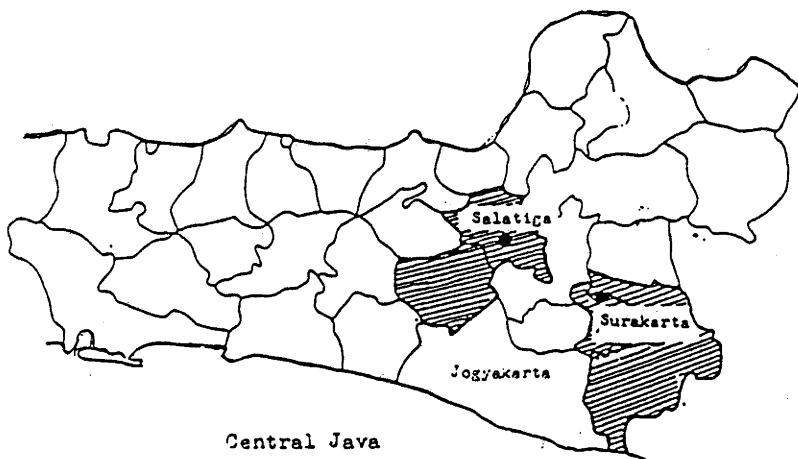
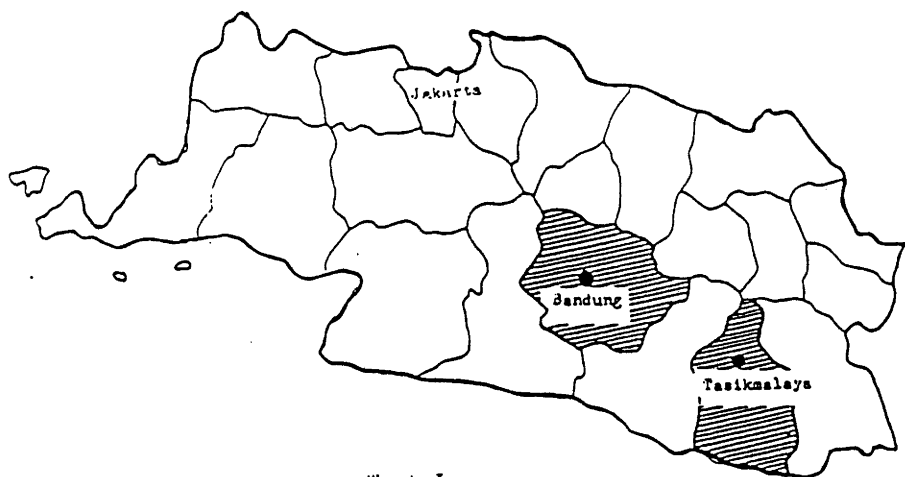
The data used in this study are taken from the Java Value of Children (VOC) survey conducted in 1975, which was part of a cross national project. The Java study has been reported in a number of publications (Singarimbun et al, 1977; Meyer and Singarimbun, 1978; Meyer, 1981; Darroch et al, 1981).

The sample for this study was selected from the two largest cultural groups: the Sundanese in West Java and Javanese in Central Java. The sample selection pattern was designed to reflect three socio-economic strata: high, medium and low. Areas chosen for the study were Bandung and Tasikmalaya in West Java (Sundanese culture), and Surakarta and Salatiga in Central Java (Javanese culture). In each main area a minimum of 1000 households were selected, and since each cultural area is divided into two geographical areas, each geographical area had about 500 households, 20 per cent from urban centres and 80 per cent from the rural hinterland of the four cities.

The method of selecting administrative units within each geographic area differed between the rural and urban locations, but both selection patterns were designed to reflect a cross-section of socio-economic statuses. In the rural areas, sub-districts (kecamatan) were classified into high, medium and low strata, using data on agricultural density, road distance from an urban centre, proportion of the labour force in agriculture, proportion of labour force in commerce and industry, and proportion of agricultural land under irrigation. Two

Figure 1-3: Areas of study

Figure 1-3 : Areas of study



sub-districts were randomly selected from each stratum, making a total of six sample sub-districts in each of the four rural areas. Then three villages (kelurahan) from each sub-district were randomly selected from each stratum, so that in each geographical area 18 villages were selected. In each village 23 households were randomly selected using the household list kept by the head of the village, and thus 414 households was the targeted number in each geographical area.

In the urban area, three sub-districts (one from each stratum) were selected and one ward (rukun wilayah) was selected from each subdistrict. The households were randomly selected using the list of households kept by the ward head and the number of households sampled in each ward was determined by the proportion of the population in the urban areas estimated to be in the respective socio-economic stratum. The total number of households to be sampled in each urban area was 100, so that about 200 urban households were selected in each cultural region. The lack of socio-economic data on administrative units within urban areas meant that the stratification and selection of sub-districts had to be based on the judgements of the city officials.

The eligible respondents in the survey were all married women below 40 years of age, currently living with their husbands in the sample households, and the husbands of every second eligible women were selected for the male sample. A total of 1,001 wives and 496 husbands in West Java and 1,031 wives and 495 husbands in Central java were included in the sample. The purpose of the present study is to investigate the perceived value of children of the high and low socio-economic status groups, so only data for the respondents of the high and low socio-economic areas in West and Central Java, as shown in Table 1.1, are used in this study.

Table 1.1: Number of respondents by sex and socio-economic groups

	Wives	Husbands
<u>West Java</u>		
high	293	143
low	347	171
<u>Central Java</u>		
high	314	151
low	333	163

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

The questionnaire used in this study was developed for the cross-national project and translated first into Indonesian and then into the local languages: Sundanese for the West Java respondents and Javanese for the Central Java respondents. The questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions and structured questions using quantitative scales. A coding system for the open-ended questions was also developed by the cross-national project, and was based in part on the values scheme developed by Hoffman and Hoffman (1973).

Some limitations of the data used in this study should be mentioned. (1) The socio-economic strata used in this study are based on community-level status using the information collected by the local governments; this way of grouping the respondent's socio-economic status may cause bias in some respects such as misclassification of areas and the possibility that some respondents may not belong to the socio-economic status defined for the area where they live. (2) The data were collected in 1975, but considering the efforts made by the

government in various development sectors, and the active programmes and campaign of family planning throughout the country since the late 1970s, the findings of the study might be different from the actual situation today.

### 1.3.2 Measurement of Values, Costs and Attitudes

Classifications of the positive values of children in this study are based on the Hoffman and Hoffman (1973) scheme of nine basic values: (1) adult status and social identity; (2) expansion of the self, tie to a larger entity, "immortality"; (3) morality, religion, altruism, "for the good of the group"; (4) primary group ties, affiliation, (5) stimulation, novelty and fun; (6) creativity, accomplishment, competence; (7) power, influence; (8) social comparison, competition; (9) economic utility. In this study, the measurement of values will only consist of seven categories, since two of the categories were rarely found in the value of children studies.

The values in the Hoffman and Hoffman scheme can be classified into two functions, psychological and economic. The psychological functions of children can be further divided into the emotional and psycho-social needs that are gratified by having children. The emotional functions of children are those that fulfil the emotional or affective needs of parents, specifically primary group ties and stimulation and fun values. Psycho-social functions are functions that can fulfil the demands and needs within the individual's psycho-social life, that is, the adult status, expansion of self, morality, and creativity and accomplishment values. The economic function of children is their role as economic assets for parents, their economic utility function is classified into this function.

Measurement of the positive values is based on indices that are constructed from responses to questions on the advantages of having children, reasons for having not less than the number of children one wishes to have, ratings of reasons for having another child, reasons for having a son, reasons for having a daughter, and ratings of the importance of certain satisfactions parents get after having children.

The costs or negative values of children were not directly measured in this study but were based on parental perceptions of these costs. Questions related to the costs of children are divided into three main categories: (1) financial costs, (2) emotional costs, and (3) opportunity costs. The financial costs are costs associated with the expenses of bearing and rearing children; the emotional costs are the general emotional strain and concern in raising children; and the opportunity costs are the lack of freedom and time for alternative works and personal needs while raising children. Measurement of the negative values of children are based on the indices constructed from responses to questions on the disadvantages of having children, reasons for having not more than the desired number of children, ratings of importance of reasons for not wanting another child, ranking of the important costs of children, and ratings of the specific inconveniences caused by children.

The dependent variable used in this analysis is attitude towards family planning. This was measured by an index constructed from responses to four structured questions: (1) opinion about family planning in general, (2) opinion on the delay of the birth after the first child, (3) opinion about the control of the birth interval after the first child, and (4) opinion about the use of birth control to prevent further pregnancies after having the desired number of children.

Other measurements utilized in this study are the indices of news media exposure, and "the locus of control", and these variables, together with the respondents' number of living children, are used as control variables. The news media exposure involves the varied information that a person acquired through radio and newspaper. The locus of control is a psychological measurement on an individuals' attitude towards events that happened in his or her life. Questions on the frequency of newspaper reading and radio news listening were asked to construct the respondents' index of exposure to news media. The index of the locus of control was obtained from four statements about life made by the respondents.

#### 1.4 HYPOTHESES

A number of questions rather than formal hypotheses are used in this study:

1. Are there any differences between the high and low socio-economic groups within the two cultures in their perceived value of children?
2. Are these differences also found between husbands and wives?
3. What are the relationships between the values attached to children and the attitude towards family planning of the high and low socio-economic status groups?
4. Are these relationships affected by other psycho-social factors such as attitude towards fate, exposure to information, and family size?

Different patterns of the value of children among different socio-economic groups may affect their attitude towards family



planning. A strong emphasis on the economic value of children is usually associated with the desire for a large family and consequently a less favourable attitude towards family planning, whereas emphasis on the psychological values is associated with a more favourable attitude towards family planning.

News media exposure, the locus of control or the attitude towards events that happen in one's life, and the number of living children are also believed to have some influence on family planning attitude as well as on the value of children. Those variables will therefore be taken into consideration in the analysis of the relationships between the values of children and family planning attitudes.

## CHAPTER 2

## POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE VALUE OF CHILDREN: A LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

As noted in the first chapter, the value of children can be thought of as the functions they serve, and the satisfactions they provide to parents (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 20), and as the collections of good things that parents receive from having children (Espenshade, 1977: 4). According to Jatman (1983: 10), the perceived value of children by parents is strongly influenced by the sociocultural factors which have been absorbed by the society and have become their way of life, so that it could be expected that different values will be important in different social structures and in different groups within a society.

A theoretical model that has been constructed by Fawcett (1975: 8) on the value of children involved both the satisfactions (or positive values) and costs (or negative values) perceived by parents in raising children and the influence of the socio-demographic background, and psychological and social orientation of parents. Based on a persons' basic psychological needs, as mentioned in the previous chapter, a theoretical model was developed by Hoffman and Hoffman (Hoffman, 1972) to study fertility behaviour and cultural differences in the motivation to have children. This model consists of five components: (1) the value of children. (2) alternative sources of the value, (3) costs, (4) barriers and (5) facilitators. Alternatives are other ways besides children that could satisfy a value. Costs refer to what must be

sacrificed or given up to obtain a value. Barriers and facilitators are factors that could make things more difficult or easier to obtain a certain value by having children (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 62,63). According to Hoffman (1975: 432), besides the values, alternatives and costs of children are also important concepts which may affect fertility motivations, and fertility motivations could be analyzed in terms of the above concepts.

The positive values in this study will be based on the values scheme developed by Hoffman and Hoffman which was organized on the basis of the "psychological unity" of the values. The scheme consists of nine categories that are intended to cover the various social and psychological needs that children provide to parents in different cultures (Hoffman, 1975: 431; Fawcett et al, 1974: 5). The negative values will be based on three general categories of the costs of children, namely the economic costs, the emotional costs and the opportunity costs (Hoffman, 1975: 432) as discussed above (Chapter 1.3.2).

In this chapter the discussion will focus on the categories in general terms, drawing on examples from many different countries, and in the next chapter those categories will be discussed in the context of Indonesian society, especially the VOC studies conducted in Java.

## 2.2 THE POSITIVE VALUES OF CHILDREN

### 2.2.1 Adult status and social identity

Having children or becoming a parent is expected by the community as a part of marriage, and thus people who become parents are accepted

as members of the adult community. Veevers (1980: 5) mentioned that parenthood is a "moral imperative" for married persons to be an acceptable member of the community. Veevers (1980: 4) also defines the social meaning of parenthood as "the meaning of marriage". Being a parent improves marital adjustment and prevents divorce.

Having children is the only way to become a parent, and parenthood is particularly important for women, because motherhood is also believed in many cultures to be their major role in life (Hoffman, 1975: 431). Childbearing is still socially defined as the "normal", "natural" and primary function of women (Flapan, 1969: 408). This is especially true for the lower class and uneducated women because not many acceptable alternative roles are provided for them compared with the more educated women of the higher class (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 47). The adult status and social identity need could also be related to the prestige, status and recognition needs which were part of the need for self respect or self esteem in Maslow's "hierarchy of need" theory (Maslow, 1954: 90). In the Yoruba society in Nigeria, the power and prestige of a man is in some degree determined by the number of adult supporters, and in the case of this society is dependent on the number of adult sons in the family (Caldwell, 1976: 214). This may also be a pattern of adult status and prestige in some of the Indonesian societies outside Java and among the "small rural elite" in Java (Hull and Hull, 1977: 862).

Children as incentives for parents to succeed in life or to help parent's personal development were part of the adult status value mentioned as most salient in the VOC study in Korea (Lee et al, 1979: 88) and was also considered to be important by respondents in

Hawaii (Arnold et al, 1975: 40) and Japan (Iritani, 1979: 79). Other aspects of the adult status value that were found to be most important among the Philippine respondents were learning about life through having children and having children as an expression of parental roles (Bulatao, 1975: 197).

### 2.2.2 Expansion of self

This value can be described as the need of many people to put themselves into other humans who will live longer, as a response to "the evanescent quality of life" (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 48). This need could be satisfied by having children with their specific characteristics as a reproduction of the parents themselves. Children are thus seen as physical and psychological extensions of parents and a means of achieving immortality.

Other functions of children implied in this value are "to pass on the family tradition", "to carry on the family name" and "to continue the family line". Passing on family traditions refers to the act of passing on such things as values, folklore and songs that are taught by the older generation to the younger. Therefore, this need can be explained as to establish a continuity of tradition between the past and the future (Hoffman, 1975: 431). In a larger context, children could also function as mediators to pass on the cultural values of the society from one generation to another (Gumilang, 1983: 2). Continuation of the family name is important for societies that use family names and, since sons usually continue the family name, the need for continuing the family name has been found in some studies to be an important reason to have a son. Carrying on the family line or the need to have descendants

refers to the need for continuing the family into the future which is closely related to the need of having physical and psychological extensions of the self, as mentioned above. Hull (1975: 319) said that the idea of membership in a larger identity, and the role of children in a "great chain of being", assures the parents' "serial immortality" and has particular appeal to the mystically oriented people of all classes in Javanese society.

Findings of some of the VOC studies showed that the continuity of family name was the most important value for rural parents in Korea (Lee et al, 1979: 88) and Thailand (Buripakdi, 1977: 102). The VOC study in Taiwan found that continuity of the family name was mentioned as the most important advantage of children for the total sample. Among the subgroups, urban lower-class, rural and male respondents placed greater emphasis on the continuity of family name and tradition than did women and the urban middle class group (Wu, 1977: 111).

### 2.2.3 Morality

Religion often defines parenthood as "a moral act" (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 49), and traditionalists tend to view the bearing of children as a "religious obligation" or a "duty to God" (Veevers, 1980: 3). A number of studies relating to fertility and motivation in Indian society found that children were believed to be God's gift and that it is not within man's power to regulate fertility (Sastry et al, 1977: 176). According to Hoffman (1975: 431), in some societies children were also valued for carrying out important religious rites after one is dead.

The morality value also implies the need for having children as a means to become "a better person" or to become "less selfish", because the responsibility of taking care of children is viewed as a controlling agent over the impulsiveness and egocentrism of parents (Hoffman et al, 1978: 101). It is also believed that being a parent, especially a good father, may compensate for other forms of personal shortcomings in attaining the feeling of self worth (Hoffman, 1975: 431). Motherhood tends to be viewed as a guarantee that a woman will continue to be a "good woman" (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 51). This expression of the morality value is closely related to the act of altruism of parents, since having children also means that parents have to sacrifice their time and efforts in order to care for their children. Rainwater (1965: 178) mentioned that in some cultures, people who want small families or who do not want any children were most often viewed, especially by those who want large families, as being "less responsible" and "selfish".

The need for having children for "the good of the group" may also be involved in this value. In a larger context children may also be viewed as benefits to society, such as a contribution to humanity and national development, and for future services they may provide to the country.

However, the morality value of children in general was very rarely mentioned by respondents of the VOC cross-national studies, and was only mentioned by a small percentage of respondents as a reason for wanting another child in Korea and Hawaii (Lee et al, 1979: 44); Arnold et al, 1975: 78). In the Philippines, where Roman Catholic influences could be expected to play a role, having children as a religious obligation was

rated as less important than other factors (Bulatao, 1975: 197). Furthermore, the desire to have large families for "the national good" also was rarely mentioned in the VOC studies, and was only mentioned by a very small percentage of respondents in a study in Ghana (Caldwell, 1968: 53).

#### 2.2.4 Primary-group ties

This value refers to the bond that exists within a nuclear family. Its importance is reportedly found in many different cultures (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 52). Children are valued for the companionship they provide to parents, so that parents will not be lonely. This "avoidance of loneliness" function of children is viewed as an important value, especially for parents in nuclear families living in large cities in order to protect the family against "the impersonalization" of modern society (Hoffman, 1978: 95); Arnold et al, 1975: 147). Parents also expect to have the love and companionship of their children in later life or in their old age.

Another function of children is to bring love and the "feeling of completeness" into family life, since most married couples do not feel that their marriage is complete before having children. Children are also valued for their function of "intensifying and strengthening marriage", or to be a bond between husband and wife (Veevers, 1980: 4). According to Arnold (1975: 147), the concept of children as a bond between spouses was commonly held by modern urban respondents in several countries, and in nearly all countries in the VOC survey the response "children to make marriage stronger" was positively related to the number of additional children wanted.



Having children "to have someone to love" or "to be loved by", a reflection of the need for affection, is another advantage of children implied by this value. Hoffman and Hoffman (1973: 53) stated that empirical data show that women have a greater need for affection than men. In his "needs hierarchy theory", Maslow (1954: 90) mentioned these functions of children to satisfy the need for affectionate relationships or the "belongingness needs" which may emerge after physiological and safety needs are gratified. Satisfaction of these needs requires both giving and receiving love.

Primary-group ties was the most commonly mentioned general value of children in the VOC studies in the United States and Turkey (Hoffman et al, 1978: 96,97). The function of children as a benefit to family life and for the completeness of the family was ranked as second in importance by the respondents of the VOC study in Hawaii, after happiness, love and companionship (Arnold et al, 1975: 44). The happiness, love and companionship value was considered to be important by the Japanese respondents (Iritani, 1979: 79), and the function of children for companionship and avoidance of loneliness was mentioned most often by the urban middle-class respondents of the VOC study in Thailand (Buripakdi, 1977: 102).

#### 2.2.5 Stimulation and fun

People need to have a change from the routine of life, and children always bring excitement and stimulation to the house. Having children and watching them grow up and develop through the years brings new experiences to parents and provides them novelty and variety in life, and for most parents each additional child may become a new

experience (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 53). Children are also valued for the stimulation and activity they bring into the household. They bring happiness to the family and they are often seen as fun and "a source of joy" by parents (Hoffman et al, 1978: 98). Watching the children's activities, sharing their fun and playing with them may also help to distract parents from thinking about their own troubles (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 54).

Parents often believe that additional children may bring joy, fun and give stimulation to each other, so that an only child is sometimes viewed as unhappy and lonely. In this respect, parents may consider additional children not only for their benefit but also for the pleasure, fun and excitement of the older children as well as for the family as a whole.

Findings of the VOC cross-national studies showed that the fun of playing with children, the pleasure derived from watching their growth and development, and the happiness they bring to the family were most salient to urban respondents. For the Philippine respondents, the happiness that children bring to parents was considered to be the most salient value (Bulatao, 1979: 197), and the pleasure from watching the growth and development of children was important for the Japanese respondents (Iritani, 1979: 79). The stimulation and fun value is also part of the happiness, love and companionship advantage of children and, as mentioned in the previous discussion, this value was ranked as the most important value by the respondents in Hawaii (Arnold et al, 1975: 44), and often mentioned by the urban middle-class respondents in Thailand (Buripakdi, 1977: 102).

### 2.2.6 Creativity, accomplishment and competence

Maslow (1954: 91) noted that when most of the members of a society have advanced beyond "subsistence level" and their basic needs have been satisfied other needs which are higher in the hierarchy will emerge. Those "high-order" needs include creativity, achievement and accomplishment, all of which could be satisfied by rearing children. Having children could be a way of proving one's fecundity to one self or proving that one is capable of having a child. This may give parents the feeling of pleasure and satisfaction in their ability to produce or create another human being. Parents may gain the sense of creativity, accomplishment and achievement, not only from the ability to physically produce a child, but also from meeting the challenges and crises that occur as part of the child-rearing process (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 54).

Children also provide a feeling of satisfaction to parents when they successfully rear their child or children to be good, healthy and happy people. Having successful children may give parents the feeling of pride, because children's accomplishment can be viewed as a substitute to satisfy the parent's frustrated efforts (Fawcett, 1978: 254). This function of children may motivate parents to have a large family, since many children may give them more chance of having at least one successful child.

The creativity, accomplishment and competence value was found among all social classes and ethnic groups in some studies in the United States (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 54), and the findings of the VOC study in Japan showed that having children to carry out the parent's

hopes and aspirations was considered to be important by the Japanese respondents (Iritani, 1979: 79).

#### 2.2.7 Power, influence

Parenthood, particularly motherhood, brings changes to the power of persons in some cultures. This is especially true in cultures where women have less power than men. In such cultures, having children could give a woman the courage to make more demands and give her the power to have more influence with her husband and his family as well as with her own family, partly by using the children's interests as a justification (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 55).

Children may also give another form of power to parents, that is, to guide, teach and control the material and emotional needs of children. This means that parents have the chance for a certain period to have a great influence on the life of their children (Hoffman 1975: 432).

Although this need is recognized by psychologists, parents generally are unlikely to verbalize or admit it, as it would make them appear to be having children for selfish reasons. This may explain why this value was only low in frequency in the value of children study in the United States (Hoffman et al, 1978: 92) and was rarely mentioned in the other VOC studies. According to Hoffman (Hoffman et al, 1978: 95), the investigation of this value may require less direct methods.

### 2.2.8 Social comparison and competition

This value was intended to describe the need for children in order to raise the status and prestige of parents and thus gain advantage in competition with others (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 56). In some cultures, women or mothers with many children gain more prestige and higher status than the less fertile women in the community. This kind of competition that particularly concentrates on the quantity of children is usually found in the less developed countries (Hoffman, 1978: 95).

Another form of competition or social comparison involves the quality of children, such as achievement in financial areas or the professional status of the child compared with other peoples' children. This need is a little different to the creativity and achievement need mentioned above, because the latter is directed towards personal satisfaction in the achievements of ones' children. However, those two needs may operate in a very similar way and empirically they are very difficult to distinguish. Since the social comparison and competition value were not often mentioned, Hoffman (Hoffman et al, 1975: 95) suggests to combine those two values together for purposes of analysis.

### 2.2.9 Economic Utility

The economic utility of children refers to a complex value that includes both economic and psychological dimensions, where children are valued for the material or economic and security benefits they provide to parents. This aspect is the most frequently studied and observed concept in value of children studies, and has often been related to high

fertility desires, especially in less developed countries. One explanation for this is because in such countries children are viewed mainly as an economic asset, and thus the more children one has, the more likely it is that at least one will provide economic or old age security for the parents.

The material or economic function of children is the economically valuable work that they perform. This refers to the domestic help they provide to parents, such as doing the general housework and the care of siblings, help in running the business or farm, and current economic contributions, including sharing of income (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 57) Fawcett, 1978:P 252). The old age security value of children refers to the financial support, physical care and psychological or emotional security provided by children for parents in their old age (Fawcett, 1978: 252).

The economic value of children has been investigated in many different countries and cultures, and the findings of studies on the VOC mentioned this value to be of major importance to rural parents and, to a lesser extent, to urban lower class parents (Fawcett, 1978: 252). According to Nag (1977: 133), this value is considered especially important in peasant societies, because of substantial current economic contributions and security in old age. The need for children to provide help in peasant societies is greater for poor farmers because they can hardly afford to pay labourers, and children can provide help with farm work even at very young ages (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973: 58).

According to Hoffman and Hoffman (1973: 58), the importance of the economic value of children is greatest when the economy is close to the

subsistence level where saving for ones' old age is impossible and government assistance has not reached a sufficient level to provide old age security. In highly industrialized countries like the United States, with a good social-security system provided by the government, children are less likely to have economic utility (Hoffman et al, 1978: 101).

Findings of the cross-national VOC studies show that old-age security was the major concern of respondents who stressed the importance of the economic benefits of children (Fawcett, 1978: 253). The respondents of the VOC study in Korea emphasized the companionship, comfort and care that children provide in old age (Lee et al, 1979: 88) and the respondents in Hawaii referred to the emotional and protective security in old age rather than purely economic security (Arnold et al, 1975: 40). Help in old age was most valued by rural respondents and women in the Taiwan VOC study (Wu, 1977: 112) and the study in Thailand found that economic help was most often mentioned by the rural group (Buripakdi, 1977: 102). The VOC study in Japan found that, although in general the economic benefits of children were less important compared to the emotional benefits, still over 70 per cent of the rural parents in the study expected to rely on their children for financial support to some extent (Fawcett, 1978: 253).

## 2.3 THE NEGATIVE VALUES OF CHILDREN

### 2.3.1 Economic costs

The economic costs refer to the direct financial burdens of raising children. According to many of the value of children studies

which have been conducted around the world, most people cite economic constraints as the major reason for limiting their family size (Fawcett, 1978: 257). The direct economic costs include the costs of maintenance: food, clothing, housing, education and medical care (Espenshade, 1976: 5). The direct economic costs can be measured in monetary terms and by the degree of parents' perception of these costs.

With regard to the costs of children, the VOC surveys in Asia and the United States found that rural parents tend to put greatest stress on the economic aspects of raising children (Fawcett, 1977: 100). The more detailed findings of those studies showed that costs associated with educational expenses were more often mentioned by the lower socio-economic status and rural respondents in Korea (Lee et al, 1979: 89). Economic costs were also mentioned as most important by respondents in Taiwan, and differences among groups showed that rural respondents put greater emphasis on these costs than did the urban middle class. Greater emphasis to those costs was given by male respondents than female respondents (Wu, 1977: 112). This cost was mentioned by 52 per cent of the respondents in Hawaii (Arnold et al, 1975: 40).

### 2.3.2 Emotional costs

The emotional costs refer to the costs of children that are non-economic in nature. These include the psychological and emotional burdens parents perceive in rearing children, such as worry about the children's health and their future welfare, concern about discipline and moral behaviour of children, noise and disorder in the household, and the general emotional strain caused by bearing and rearing children (Espenshade, 1977: 6; Fawcett, 1978: 256).



Findings of the VOC study in Asia and the United States determined that the emotional costs were very salient to respondents in all countries and all socio-economic groups (Arnold, 1975: 148). A different finding was mentioned by Mezue (1982: 83) in his study of children in the African society of Yoruba. Where help from relatives and kin are available, most of the expected emotional strains due to concern about childrens' general welfare become unimportant.

Emotional costs were mentioned as most important by the respondents of the VOC study in Korea with emphasis on discipline problems and the concern over children's future success (Lee et al, 1979: 89). The emotional costs, with emphasis on the health problems of children, was ranked as second after the economic costs in Taiwan (Wu, 1977: 112). The VOC study in Hawaii found that emotional costs were mentioned by 61 per cent of the respondents, and more women than men rated the emotional costs of children as important (Arnold, 1975: 40).

### 2.3.3 Opportunity costs

Opportunity costs reflect the opportunities parents forego when rearing children (Espenshare, 1977: 5). Fawcett (1978: 257) relates these costs to the restrictions or lack of flexibility of parents to do their own activities, lack of privacy, restrictions on career or occupational mobility, and restriction on general social life.

Three categories of opportunity cost were cited by Mueller (1972: 182): (1) parents may have to relinquish certain consumption expenditure which could lead to a lower standard of living, (2) children may reduce the opportunities to save and invest; in the less developed

countries more children mean less investments in their education, in the family business or farm operations, (3) the wife may have to give up an opportunity to earn income.

Regarding the view that children may lower the standard of living, Udry (1971: 391), writing about the USA, said that "... for individuals deciding on parenthood, the fact cannot be avoided that every decision to have a child means a decision to accept a lower standard of living in return for the satisfaction of parenthood ...". The opportunity costs, particularly the third category, do not appear to be so important as to prevent a mother from being in the labour force in less developed countries, because the extended family or relatives may help in rearing children when a mother works, especially in rural areas, where they can take their children with them into the fields (Espenshade, 1977: 6).

Findings of the VOC study in Korea (Lee et al, 1979: 89) showed that opportunity costs were mentioned as most important, and female respondents in particular, mentioned the restrictions on general flexibility and freedom, job careers, time for spouse interactions and recreation. The VOC study in Hawaii found that 65 per cent of respondents mentioned the restrictions on alternative activities (Arnold et al, 1975: 40); and respondents in Taiwan (Wu, 1979: 113) especially the middle-class and women, emphasized the lack of freedom for personal activities and restrictions on parents' time and careers.

## CHAPTER 3

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE VALUES OF CHILDREN: RESEARCH FINDINGS  
AMONG JAVANESE AND SUNDANESE FAMILIES

The positive values of children perceived by parents in this study consists of seven categories and the negative values of children consists of three categories. Each value will be related to the expectations, feelings and experiences of parents before and after having children. The values and costs of children in general have been discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter will discuss the findings of this study and other studies of the value of children in Java.

The analysis of positive and negative values will be based on the indices constructed from the answers to both open-ended and structured questions given by the respondents (as shown in Appendix B). The T statistic is utilized to test the differences between the mean scores on the indices of the values of different socio-economic status groups.

## 3.1 POSITIVE VALUE OF CHILDREN

## 3.1.1 Adult status

The index of this value is constructed on the basis of various reasons why children are considered to enhance their parents' status as fully matured adults having more responsibility in the community.

The importance of having children, particularly for wives, could be related to the high incidence of divorce in Java (Singarimbun,

Table 3.1: Mean scores on index of adult status and T-Test Values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-value
Sundanese			
high socio-economic	5.52	4.89	4.26*
low socio-economic	5.71	5.39	2.69*
t-value	1.98*	2.71*	
n	640	314	
Javanese			
high socio-economic	4.62	4.75	0.75
low socio-economic	4.88	4.68	1.17
t-value	1.97*	0.31	
n	647	314	

\*  $p < .05$

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

1978: 4; Table 3.2). One of the reasons for divorce or for a husband taking another wife without divorcing the first wife, which is approved by Islamic law, is the absence of children in a marriage. In such cases, without medical examination wives are usually considered to be responsible for the absence of children. Table 3.2 shows that the divorce rate for Java was higher than the divorce rate of the country as a whole in the 1971 and 1980 censuses. The rate for West Java was the highest among the provinces in Java in the 1971 census and was second after East Java in the 1980 census. Particularly for women in Java, the divorce rate has always been the highest compared with other provinces in Java and also with the country figure in both censuses.

Motherhood is very important for wives, because, in addition to its function to strengthen their status in the household or to make

their marriage more secure, to be a mother (as well as a father) is usually expected by the community as part of marriage. An old Javanese saying cited by Geertz (1961: 83) says that "A woman with many children is envied; a barren woman is pitied". This emphasizes how important it is, particularly for women, to have children in the Javanese community.

Having children to gain prestige, status and recognition in the adult community is important for men as well as women, especially in Java. This is shown in a series of traditional ceremonies called as hajat (Sundanese) or slametan (Javanese) surrounding the birth of the first child (Geertz, 1961: 85; Palmer, 1967: 311). The overall ceremony is a symbol of the wives and husbands entering into a new phase of life as parents.

However, the findings of Hull (1975: 324) showed that only the first child is considered to be most important by the Javanese community, and the interest seemed to decline with each birth after the first child. Fawcett (1977: 253) mentioned that the adult status need could be satisfied by the first child, as it only requires one child to establish a woman and man as parents to be regarded by the community as mature adults. Thus it may be assumed that, the adult status need does not necessarily relate to the desire to have many children.

Table 3.1 shows that wives tended to have higher mean scores on the index of the adult status value than their husbands, and the differences were significant among the Sundanese groups. The low socio-economic groups in both cultural groups also tended to have higher mean scores than the high socio-economic groups and the differences were significant except for Javanese husbands. The difference between

cultural groups are apparent in the higher mean scores of the Sundanese groups compared to the respective Javanese groups. These results might suggest that the lower socio-economic groups have a strong need to be accepted or recognized in the adult community, and believe that children can help them attain this, whereas the higher socio-economic groups may have felt more secure about their acceptance by the community. Another finding is that Sundanese wives have a strong need to have a secure marriage due to the high incidence of divorce in West Java, as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Levels of divorce in Java and rest of Indonesia (per cent of ever-married persons age 15-49 currently divorced), 1971 and 1980, by sex and province in Java.

Province	1971		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Jakarta	1.57	5.64	1.23	5.86
West Java	2.66	6.50	2.41	7.23
Central Java	2.39	5.68	2.20	6.15
Yogyakarta	1.66	5.12	1.62	5.38
East Java	2.60	6.56	2.67	7.30
Java	2.49	6.21	2.34	6.83
Rest of Indonesia	2.13	3.65	1.99	4.07

Source: 1971 Census, Series D, Table 8; Series E, No. 9-13, Table 7. 1980 Census, Series 5, No. 2, Table 3.3; Series 5, No. 11-15, Table 3.3.

### 3.1.2 Expansion of self

Since family names are not used in the Sundanese and Javanese societies, expansion of the self or immortality does not connote continuing the family name but rather is concerned with continuing the

family line or family tradition. The idea is that parents can put themselves into their children who will live longer.

Table 3.3 shows that, except for Sundanese husbands, the differences between the socio-economic groups were significant, with the high socio-economic groups having higher mean scores on the index of this value than the low socio-economic groups. Differences between wives and husbands only existed among the Sundanese groups, and wives tended to have higher mean scores than their husbands. Table 3.3 also shows that the Sundanese respondents had higher mean scores on the index of this value than the Javanese respondents.

Table 3.3: Mean scores on index of expansion of the self and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

Sundanese	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
high socio-economic	6.50	6.15	2.27*
low socio-economic	6.25	6.18	0.55
t-value	2.07*	0.20	
n	640	314	
Javanese			
high socio-economic	5.65	5.76	0.90
low socio-economic	5.42	5.41	0.12
t-value	2.18*	2.17*	
n	647	314	

\* p < .05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

A value of children study in Banyumas, Central Java (Sugito, 1976: 11) found that the need for continuing the family line was more important than the economic value of children. The Java VOC study (Darroch et al, 1981: 29) found that this value, in the sense of having

descendants, was most important of all the psycho-social advantages of children for a large proportion of respondents. But Meyer's study (1982: 151) found that the family continuity value was less important than the general economic benefits for both the Javanese and Sundanese culture groups. The differences between those studies were basically because Meyer's study used index values that combined open-ended and structured questions, while the conclusions in the other two studies were based only on open-ended questions.

The Sundanese and the Javanese perform many religious or traditional ceremonies or feasts throughout life (Palmer, 1967; Kodiran, 1971: 316), and these religious and traditional life cycle feasts play an equally important role in the life of all people within the community. Of all the feasts in the life cycle, ceremonies marking death seem to be considered most important. Some of the responses mentioned that, besides continuing the family line, the functions of children also included performing religious and traditional rites and customs after the death of parents. Some examples of these rites and customs are praying for the parents' soul when and after they die, holding ceremonial feasts (hajatan or selamatan) at the death of parents, and the custom of going every year to the graves to say a prayer for the deceased and bringing flowers (nyekar) before the fasting month begins.

Another function of children associated with continuing the family line in the Sundanese and Javanese context has a more "material" meaning, that is, children as heirs to the inheritance or wealth of the family. This function is reflected in the specific response such as "to have many children so that there will be heirs for the family inheritance". Such a response is, of course, expected to be given by those who belong to the higher socio-economic groups, who have more wealth to be passed on to their children. Therefore, the tendency for the high socio-economic groups to have higher mean scores on the index



of this value than the low socio-economic groups may perhaps be related to the function of children as heirs to the family inheritance. Sundanese wives tend to have higher scores on this index than their husbands, but the reasons for this are not clear.

### 3.1.3 Morality

This category involves the idea of doing good things for the sake of others by giving up ones' personal interests, which includes the concept of doing something for the good of the group. It was reflected in responses such as "children could be useful for the nation" or "children could be some kind of help for the community". Another function of having children that is considered to be important for both culture groups in this study is for religious reasons, and that also is included in this category. This function was reflected in responses such as "It's God's will", "Children are blessings of God", or "That's how many God has given us". Such religious values are mentioned by Simons (1980: 139) as factors that strongly affect Moslem fertility.

Table 3.4 indicates few differences within cultural groups, except that Javanese husbands in the high socio-economic groups had significantly higher mean scores on the index of this value than their wives. However, the Sundanese had higher mean scores than the Javanese. This difference in mean scores between the two cultural groups may possibly be due to the "religious" reasons for most of the responses of this category, and since the Sundanese are considered to be very religious people they may put greater emphasis on this value than the Javanese respondents.

Table 3.4: Mean scores on index of morality and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
<b>Sundanese</b>			
high socio-economic	3.82	3.68	1.48
low socio-economic	3.86	3.85	0.10
t-value	0.52	1.47	
n	640	314	
<b>Javanese</b>			
high socio-economic	3.08	3.47	3.56*
low socio-economic	3.20	3.35	1.28
t-value	1.34	1.00	
n	647	314	

\* p <.05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

#### 3.1.4 Primary Group Ties

It is believed that children have an important role in the improvement of husband and wife relationships. Children are therefore viewed as an essential part of marriage and for most people a major motivation for getting married is to have children.

Responses such as "to bind the marriage", "to bring the spouses closer" or "to make divorce more difficult" expressed the function of children as a benefit to the husband-wife relationship. Darroch et al (1981: 31) mentioned this function as "a positive effect of children upon the relations between husband and wife", in the sense of creating stability in married life. Therefore it may be related to the importance of the first child as proof that the married couple is fecund. This was explained in their study by the evidence that about

Table 3.5: Mean scores on index of primary group ties and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
Sundanese			
high socio-economic	16.06	14.49	5.27*
low socio-economic	16.01	14.54	6.01*
t-value	0.25	0.14	
n	640	314	
Javanese			
high socio-economic	14.47	14.28	0.64
low socio-economic	14.39	13.80	2.11*
t-value	0.32	1.43	
n	647	314	

\* p <.05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

70 per cent of all wives and more than 50 per cent of husbands disapproved of the use of contraception before the birth of the first child. A more detailed examination in this study shows that the percentage of high socio-economic status groups disapproving of the use of birth control before the birth of the first child was higher than for the low socio-economic groups (Table 3.6). Wives were more likely to disapprove than husbands and, except for husbands in the high socio-economic groups, the Javanese were more likely than the Sundanese to disapprove of family planning under those circumstances. However, Meyer (1982: 179) found that the "strengthened marriage" function of children was not so important compared to the other values measured in his study.

The function of children given in responses as for "love and companionship" or "avoidance of loneliness" also belongs in this category. This was the second most important psycho-social advantage of

Table 3.6: Percentage of respondents who did not agree with the use of birth control to delay the birth of first child

	wives	husbands
Sundanese		
high socio-economic	64.2	55.2
low socio-economic	53.3	39.2
Javanese		
high socio-economic	70.7	51.0
low socio-economic	67.0	50.9

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

children after family continuity in the Java VOC study (Darroch et al, 1981: 30), and daughters were perceived as more likely to provide this function to parents. Meyer's study (1982: 180) placed this value under "pleasurable interactions with children" together with stimulation and fun, and while the "strengthened marriage" value ranked low in his study, "pleasurable interaction with children" ranked first among all the values for the Sundanese group and second for the Javanese group. The feeling of "loneliness" before having a child was also mentioned by 27 per cent of female and 21 per cent of male respondents in Saefullan's study on the value of children among Sundanese tea-estate workers in Cibodas-Cikajang (1979: 35).

The function of children for "completeness of family" may reflect the common feeling of people, particularly of married couples, in Indonesian society that something is missing in a marriage until the birth of a child or a specific number of children. This function of children is reflected in responses such as "to have a complete family" or "they make a more family-like atmosphere".

Table 3.5 indicates that wives of both cultural groups had higher mean scores on the index of this value than their husbands, and the differences were significant for all of the Sundanese socio-economic groups and for Javanese respondents with low socio-economic status. Table 3.5 also indicates that the Sundanese had higher mean scores on the index of this value than the Javanese. The possible explanation for the difference in mean scores between husbands and wives is that since most of the women were not working (Table 3.7), they tended to spend more time at home than their husbands. This could make them feel lonely if they have no children. The need to care for an infant or children in general, as a "maternal instinct" (Pohlman, 1969: 50), may also be another explanation why wives express more affiliative and affective needs than husbands in this study.

Table 3.7 Percentage distribution of those currently working for income

	wives	husbands
Sundanese		
high socio-economic	37.2	96.5
low socio-economic	30.8	98.8
Javanese		
high socio-economic	51.9	99.3
low socio-economic	37.5	98.8

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

### 3.1.5 Stimulation and fun

Watching the growth and development of children and the pleasure they bring to the family can help parents forget their worries.

Table 3.8 shows that Sundanese wives of the high socio-economic group had a significantly higher mean score on the index of this value than wives of the low socio-economic group, and the mean scores of the wives tended to be higher than those of their husbands. Table 3.8 also indicates that the Sundanese had higher mean scores on the index of this value than the Javanese respondents and great differences were evident, particularly between the wives. The higher mean scores of wives may again be because they spent more time with children. Also because wives tended to have a narrower range of alternative social relationships than husbands, they generally had a stronger need to have children around the house to make their everyday life less boring. The great difference in mean scores between the two cultural groups, especially between the wives, may also be related to the data in Table 3.7. Sundanese wives spent more time at home than Javanese wives because the image of an "ideal wife" in the Sundanese culture is one who remains at home to do the housework and take care of the children (Darroch et al, 1981: 23).

Table 3.8: Mean scores on index of stimulation and fun and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
Sundanese			
high socio-economic	9.46	8.21	5.90*
low socio-economic	9.09	8.23	5.72*
t-value	3.09*	0.08	
n	640	314	
Javanese			
high socio-economic	7.56	7.28	1.37
low socio-economic	7.57	7.31	0.86*
t-value	0.06	0.16	
n	647	314	

\* p <.05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

Findings of the Java VOC study (Singarimbus et al, 1977: 33,34) on open ended questions about the advantages of having children compared with not having children, showed that the frequency of the stimulation and fun value for the Sundanese group was higher than for the Javanese group, and the frequency of this value for females was higher than for male respondents. Differences between urban and rural residents were also salient in the Java VOC study, where frequencies for urban residents were higher than those for rural residents. Meyer's study (1982: 183), which grouped this value under "pleasurable interactions with children" together with "love and companionship", found that this value of children was most important, particularly for the wealthier and more educated urban residents, while for the less well-off groups this value was second in importance after the economic benefits provided by children.

Hull and Hull (1977: 859), grouped together material security, feeling of safety, enjoyment, entertainment, and the feeling of completeness of a family. They called this grouping the security role of children and noted that Javanese parents could only obtain "real feeling of security" by having a bustling (ramai) household with many children. Therefore this function of children is often related to the desire for a large family (Poffenberger, 1973: 144).

### 3.1.6 Creativity and accomplishment

The creativity and accomplishment value in this study implies that parent's feel pride in the success obtained by their children and view their children's achievement as their own indirect achievement. Table 3.9 shows that for the Sundanese, the higher socio-economic groups

tended to have higher mean scores on the index of this value than did the low socio-economic groups and the difference was significant for Sundanese husbands. Javanese wives of the low socio-economic group had significantly higher mean scores than the wives of the high socio-economic group. Differences between husbands and wives indicate that Sundanese husbands of the high socio-economic group had a higher mean score than their wives, and wives of the Javanese low socio-economic group had a higher mean score than their husbands. In general the Sundanese had higher mean scores on the index of this value than the Javanese.

Table 3.9: Mean scores on index of creativity and accomplishment and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
<b>Sundanese</b>			
high socio-economic	3.97	4.15	2.55*
low socio-economic	3.93	3.81	1.42
t-value	0.59	3.33*	
n	640	314	
<b>Javanese</b>			
high socio-economic	3.54	3.55	0.12
low socio-economic	3.68	3.42	2.87*
t-value	1.96*	1.12	
n	647	314	

\*  $p < .05$

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

Findings of the Java VOC study (Singarimbun, 1977: 33,34) using open-ended questions about the advantages of having children compared with not having children, showed that Sundanese respondents mentioned



this value more frequently than Javanese respondents. Hoffman and Hoffman (1973: 54) said that the achievement value is generally expressed more often by men than by women, but this is not confirmed by the present study. Although data on the index of this value are difficult to analyse due to the inconsistency of results, Javanese wives of the low socio-economic group had significantly higher mean scores than wives of the higher socio-economic group, and also higher mean scores than their husbands. This probably reflects their dissatisfaction with their own fortune due to their poor conditions and their hopes for better prospects for their children.

Watching the children grow up and become successful in their general life, which includes success in their career and personal or married life, gives parents a feeling of accomplishment. This feeling can be partly considered as a natural human feeling or need but can also be viewed as caused by an existing social belief that they will only be regarded as successful parents when they give their children a good upbringing, because parents are also considered to be morally responsible for their unmarried adult children.

### 3.1.7 Economic utility

There are many economic benefits that parents can gain by having children. Singarimbun (1978: 9) mentioned that the benefits of childrens' help around the house, such as cooking, taking care of younger siblings and other kinds of housework, are traditionally expected more from daughters. The present study also showed that girls are expected to help around the house more than boys (Table 3.11). This was also found in another study in Java (White, 1973: 26). The role of

Table 3.10: Mean scores on index of economic utility and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
Sundanese			
high socio-economic	31.40	27.79	3.93*
low socio-economic	33.19	31.41	2.60
t-value	2.87*	3.67*	
n	640	314	
Javanese			
high socio-economic	35.30	33.32	2.55*
low socio-economic	35.46	33.66	2.45*
t-value	0.26	0.38	
n	647	314	

\* p < .05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

children in housework appeared to be more important for wives than for husbands in Saefullah's study (1979: 47), and Meyer (1982: 151) also found that wives had higher mean scores on this value ("domestic help") than their husbands. Since wives in Java are usually expected to do most of the housework, it is understandable that they would have a stronger need than men for children for this particular purpose.

Another type of help expected from children, particularly those who are working outside the home, is the sharing of their income. This type of help is usually expected to come more from sons than from daughters, since after marriage daughters will be economically more attached to their husbands. The findings of the Java VOC study (Singarimbun et al, 1977: 63,64) showed that, although only a few of the respondents in the survey had working children (due to the relatively

Table 3.11: Expected help around the house

	girls	boys
Sundanese		
Wives		
high socio-economic	86.0	78.5
low socio-economic	85.0	73.5
Husbands		
high socio-economic	87.4	79.7
low socio-economic	91.2	90.0
Javanese		
Wives		
high socio-economic	96.2	84.1
low socio-economic	94.0	87.8
Husbands		
high socio-economic	92.0	89.4
low socio-economic	90.8	88.3

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

low maximum age of 39 years), about 75 per cent of the working children contributed to the expenses of the household. In Saefullah's (1979: 75) study, "sharing economic responsibility of the parents" was found to be the more important of all types of economic support expected from children. Meyer (1982: 151) found that a category labelled "material benefits", which combined income sharing and labour in family farm work or family enterprise, was the most important of all the positive values for the Javanese group.

The function of children as a source of old age security is considered to be very important for Javanese parents. Children who stay to take care of their aged parents tend to have the privilege of

inheriting the parent's house (Kodiran, 1971: 340). Findings of the Java VOC study (Darroch et al, 1981: 27) showed that financial support in old age was perceived as the most important advantage of having children, particularly for Javanese respondents, and Meyer (1982: 151) found that "support in old age" (which included financial and other types of assistance) was second most important after the material benefits value.

White's study found that the old age security value of children was the same for both sons and daughters, although Nag et al (1977: 133) found that in everyday life it seemed to be more common for sons to be expected to provide financial security while daughters usually provided the physical care for older parents, especially when they are sick. Hull and Hull (1977: 859) mentioned that providing support for parents in their old age is viewed as a "cultural ideal" for people in Java.

The wives in this study had significantly higher mean scores on the index of children's economic utility than did their husbands (Table 3.10). The low socio-economic groups also had higher mean scores than the high socio-economic groups, and the difference is significant among the Sundanese. This may be a reflection of the stronger need for children to help them increase the family income due to their poorer situation. Table 3.10 also indicates that there were great differences in Javanese and Sundanese mean scores on the index of this value, with mean scores higher for the Javanese. This is the only value in this study that Javanese had higher mean scores than the Sundanese. Perhaps this may also reflect the poorer economic conditions in the Javanese areas of the study compared with the Sundanese areas, as mentioned by Meyer et al (1978: 34).

## 3.2 NEGATIVE VALUES OF CHILDREN

## 3.2.1 Economic costs of children

The economic costs of children include all the financial expenses which parents have in bearing and raising them. Fawcett (1977: 101) mentioned that the findings of the VOC project in Asia and the USA showed that there are differences among social classes regarding the perceived value of children, and that the lower income groups in urban areas have a higher level of concern about the economic costs of childbearing than do the higher groups.

Table 3.12: Percentage distribution of the most expensive things on raising children

	wives		husbands	
	high socio-economic	low socio-economic	high socio-economic	low socio-economic
<b>Sundanese</b>				
- school expenses	33.1	27.7	47.6	33.3
- food	23.3	21.0	20.3	26.3
- medical expenses	24.2	16.1	20.3	9.4
- clothing	3.4	6.3	2.8	5.3
- marriage ceremony	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
- others	16.1	28.3	8.9	25.7
total	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0
n	293	347	143	171
<b>Javanese</b>				
- school expenses	30.0	28.2	39.1	25.8
- food	30.0	18.3	24.2	19.0
- medical expenses	9.9	6.0	7.9	3.7
- clothing	3.8			3.7
- marriage ceremony	10.8	25.2	9.9	23.4
- others	15.5	19.2	17.6	24.5
total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1
n	314	333	151	163

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975).

Table 3.13: Percentage distribution of answers on sex of children that cost the most

	wives		husbands	
	high socio-economic	low socio-economic	high socio-economic	low socio-economic
Sundanese				
girls	11.6	9.5	13.3	14.6
boys	19.5	18.2	22.4	18.7
no difference	68.9	72.3	64.3	66.7
Javanese				
girls	5.1	7.5	6.6	9.2
boys	33.1	31.2	24.5	22.7
no difference	61.8	61.3	68.9	68.1

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

The Sundanese mentioned school expenses, food and medical expenses as the most expensive items in raising children, and the Javanese mentioned school expenses, food and marriage ceremonies as the most expensive items in raising children (Table 3.12). General expenses, which included childbearing costs and the more basic needs such as food, clothing and expenses on ceremonies, were mentioned by two-thirds of the Java VOC Study respondents who identified economic costs as a disadvantage of having children (Darroch et al, 1981: 34). The study by Saefullah (1979: 67) also found that general financial costs had the highest frequency of first responses among the general disadvantages of children for both female and male respondents. Labelling the economic costs of children as "financial burden" Meyer (1982: 151) found that mean scores on the index of this disvalue were higher for males than for females in both culture groups, and "financial burden" also had the highest mean score of all costs of children.

In the Java VOC study (Singarimum et al, 1977: 119,120), raising sons was usually viewed as more expensive than raising daughters, especially in rural areas. This study also found that the respondents of all socio-economic groups within the two cultural groups considered raising sons as more expensive than raising daughters (Table 3.13). This may be related to the traditional approach to education for children, where sons are more likely to get priority in higher levels of schooling especially when parents have only a very limited budget for educational expenses. Another reason why girls are considered less expensive is that girls are expected to be married much sooner than boys and thus parents will support them in a shorter duration.

Table 3.14: Mean scores on index of economic costs and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
<b>Sundanese</b>			
high socio-economic	6.15	5.97	0.83
low socio-economic	6.62	6.75	0.81
t-value	3.27*	3.30*	
n	640	314	
<b>Javanese</b>			
high socio-economic	6.44	6.88	2.09*
low socio-economic	6.73	6.85	0.58
t-value	2.73*	0.14	
n	647	314	

\* p .05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

Table 3.14 shows that wives and husbands and husbands of the low socio-economic groups tended to have higher mean scores on the index of

this cost than those of the high socio-economic groups, and the differences were significant except for the Javanese husbands. Although not very consistent, husbands tended to have higher mean scores than wives on this index. These results suggest that socio-economic status affects the way parents perceive the cost of bearing and raising children and thus the lower group, due to their poorer condition, tend to be more concerned with economic problems, and husbands, due to their major role of breadwinner, are more concerned with the economic burdens of children.

### 3.2.2 Emotional costs

The emotional costs of children reflect the general emotional strain caused by raising children, including the strain in husband-wife relations. Table 3.15 shows that wives of both cultural groups had higher mean scores on this index than their husbands, and wives of the high socio-economic groups in both cultures also had significantly higher mean scores on this index than wives of the low socio-economic groups. The higher scores of wives than husbands may be related to the general role of women in Indonesia and in the Javanese and Sundanese communities in particular. In these cultures emphasis is still placed on being a good housewife, a good mother who will take care of the children and a good wife for the husband (Singarimbun, 1978: 10). All those factors may explain why women are more concerned for the children's welfare than are men. Table 3.15 also indicates a great difference in mean scores on the index of this value between the two cultural groups, with the Sundanese having higher mean scores than the Javanese respondents.



Table 3.15: Mean scores on index of emotional costs and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
Sundanese			
high socio-economic	15.11	12.54	7.54*
low socio-economic	14.58	13.01	5.74*
t-value	2.46*	1.06	
n	640	314	
Javanese			
high socio-economic	10.64	9.94	2.13*
low socio-economic	9.85	9.61	0.71
t-value	2.96*	.83	
n	647	314	

\* p < .05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

This study found that worry over childrens' health had the highest frequency among all the different emotional concerns for children. The Sundanese emphasized their concern about accidents that may happen to children, with over one quarter of the wives and nearly one-fifth of the husbands mentioning this. The Javanese emphasized their concern about the general health of children, which was mentioned by about 30 per cent of wives and one quarter of husbands. Those concerns, which are generally related to the health of children, could be related to the high incidence of infant and child mortality in these societies (Quick, 1980), as in many other societies in developing countries. Saefullah (1979: 67) asked parents about the disadvantages of having many children, and found that concern when children get sick was the third most important for women after general financial costs and noise and

nuisance caused by many children, was second most important for men after general costs.

Concern about discipline and moral behaviour of children is another emotional strain for parents, and this involves the disobedience of children or when children argue with parents. In the Javanese culture children are taught and expected to be respectful in the sense of being "obedient" and "polite" to their elders, especially their parents, and they are also expected to follow the Javanese ideals of repressing one's own desires in order to avoid conflict with the desires of others (Geertz, 1961: 109). Therefore parents are very concerned when they have a disobedient child, and they usually view such a child as their failure in the sense of not being able to give the child a good upbringing. Noise, fighting and disorder in the household may cause other emotional strains for parents, especially those who have many children.

The results of the analysis of this category may reflect the concern of wives over emotional problems, since in most of the households in the Indonesian community the mother usually bears the major burdens of childrearing. The strong differences between the two cultural groups may reflect the more favourable economic conditions of the Sundanese in comparison to the Javanese. Since the Sundanese have fewer worries about their economic problems, they may be more concerned by the emotional burden of raising children. On the other hand the Javanese respondents, due to their poorer economic conditions, emphasized the economic burdens rather than the emotional burdens of children.

### 3.2.3 Opportunity Costs

Opportunity costs are restrictions on parents' freedom to do the things they usually could do before having children, and lack of privacy and time for personal needs. Most studies on opportunity costs by economists viewed this cost only in the sense of the income parents had foregone when rearing children. But the Java VOC study also mentioned other opportunity costs in having children.

In the Javanese family, young children usually occupy the greater part of the mothers's attention (Geertz, 1961: 105). Women may thus be very occupied in doing their housework when they have many children, especially young children. Results of the Java VOC study (Singarimbun et al, 1977: 123,124) showed that interferences from children while parents are doing their work were frequently mentioned. Children can also prevent parents, particularly women, from participating in the labour force, especially when they have to work outside the house. This study found that about half of the Javanese women who worked for income were working outside the house, whereas less than one-fifth of the Sundanese women were working for income outside the house.

The Java VOC study (Darroch et al, 1981: 37) found that this cost was much less important. Placing opportunity costs in a category called "restrictions on freedom", Meyer (1982: 151) found that the mean score of this category was lower than the other two costs categories (financial and emotional). Saefullah's study (1979: 79) found that the existence of extended family or older siblings could solve child care problems when the mother worked. According to Espenshade (1977: 6), this kind of help, which is usually found in rural areas, means that the

role of mother and worker are not incompatible and may thus lessen the importance of the opportunity costs for working mothers in those areas.

The data in Table 3.16 indicate that women had higher mean scores on the index of this category than men, suggesting that the opportunity costs for women in this study may reflect their greater responsibility for children in everyday affairs. Table 3.16 also indicates that the Sundanese had higher mean scores on the index of this value than the Javanese. Especially for women, the difference between the cultural groups may be associated with the negative aspects of child rearing -- the restrictions of time available for Sundanese mothers to do housework and personal activities -- rather than preventing them from pursuing a career or occupational mobility. As was shown in Table 3.7, only about 30 per cent of the Sundanese women were working for income by the time the survey was conducted and, as mentioned above, of those Sundanese

Table 3.16: Mean scores on index of opportunity costs and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
<b>Sundanese</b>			
high socio-economic	7.95	6.21	6.17*
low socio-economic	8.31	6.75	6.79*
t-value	1.80	1.67	
n	640	314	
<b>Javanese</b>			
high socio-economic	6.30	5.02	4.69*
low socio-economic	5.99	5.26	2.84
t-value	1.40	0.88	
n	647	314	

\* p < .05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

women who worked, most were working at home. Thus, children did not seem to prevent the Sundanese women from participating in the labour force.

## CHAPTER 4

## ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING

There are many factors that may affect an individual's attitude towards various aspects of life, including attitude towards family planning. According to Chilman (1973: 179), the attitude of an individual towards family planning is determined by his or her past history, present situation, and fears for the future. A theoretical framework of the value of children (Arnold et al, 1975: 8) shows that exposure to news media, attitude towards fate or "the locus of control" and the number of living children are some of the factors that are considered to influence one's attitude towards family planning, as well as his or her perceived value of children.

The first part of this chapter will discuss the attitude towards family planning of the different socio-economic and cultural groups, and news media exposure, locus of control and number of living children of people within those different groups. The second part will be a discussion of the relationship between family planning attitude and the values and costs of children, and the influence of news media, locus of control and number of living children on those relationships.

#### 4.1 ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING AND FACTORS THAT AFFECT THE ATTITUDE

The attitude towards family planning is measured by Likert scale questions where the respondents indicate their agreement or disagreement with a series of statements about the use of birth control. The index of family planning in this study, as mentioned in the introductory

chapter, is constructed from questions about general approval of family planning and approval under specific conditions. The latter involved the respondents' opinion on delaying the birth of the first child, controlling birth spacing after the first child and preventing further pregnancies after having the desired number of children.

Table 4.1: Mean scores on index of attitude towards family planning and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
<b>Sundanese</b>			
high socio-economic	3.82	3.77	0.41
low socio-economic	3.39	3.47	0.59
t-value	3.93*	1.84	
n	640	314	
<b>Javanese</b>			
high socio-economic	3.01	3.56	3.50*
low socio-economic	3.29	3.64	2.35*
t-value	2.23*	0.47	
n	647	314	

\*  $p < .05$

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

Table 4.1 shows that for the Sundanese, the high socio-economic groups had higher mean scores on this index than the lower groups, but the difference was significant only for wives. There was no significant difference in mean scores between husbands and wives of the Sundanese groups. A different result was found for the Javanese respondents; as the low socio-economic groups had higher mean scores than the high socio-economic groups and the difference was significant for the wives. The Javanese husbands of both socio-economic groups were also found to

have significantly higher mean scores on this index than their wives. These results suggest that the high socio-economic groups of the Sundanese respondents tended to have a more favourable attitude towards family planning than the low socio-economic groups. For the Javanese, on the other hand, the low socio-economic groups had a more favourable attitude towards family planning than the high socio-economic groups, and husbands tended to have a more positive attitude towards family planning than their wives. Since the maximum score for this index was five, in general, all groups had fairly high average scores for attitude towards family planning.

Table 4.2: Mean scores on index of mass media exposure and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
Sundanese			
high socio-economic	3.38	4.15	4.10*
low socio-economic	1.80	2.94	7.71*
t-value	11.22*	6.80*	
n	640	314	
Javanese			
high socio-economic	1.18	1.56	2.41*
low socio-economic	0.99	1.44	3.20*
t-value	1.73	0.60	
n	647	314	

\*  $p < .05$

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

A positive attitude towards family planning is a prerequisite for the willingness of individuals to participate in family planning programmes. This favourable attitude is expected to be achieved by



giving information about family planning to the community through Information, Education and Communication (IEC) programmes which also use the news media, such as radio and newspapers, to reach the community. Although the IEC activities had just started after family planning was established as a national programme in 1970, it is reasonable to assume that they had already reached all strata of the community in Java when the VOC survey was conducted, since Java and Bali were the very first target areas of the family planning programme.

The news media exposure indices were constructed from questions about the frequencies of newspaper reading and radio listening of the respondents. Table 4.2 shows that for the Sundanese, the high socio-economic groups (both husbands and wives) had significantly higher mean scores on this index than did the low socio-economic groups, and the husbands of both socio-economic groups had significantly higher mean scores than their wives. For the Javanese, the husbands of both socio-economic groups also had significantly higher mean scores than their wives, but there was no significant difference between the two socio-economic groups. The finding that husbands had much higher mean scores on this index than their wives may reflect the different level of education of male and female respondents in the survey data used in this study, with males having higher levels of schooling than females (Meyer et al, 1978: 34). The higher levels of education of the husbands made them more disposed to being aware of the world around them, which is only available through the news media. Table 4.2 also shows that there was a great difference in mean scores on the index of this value between the Sundanese and the Javanese groups, with the Sundanese having higher mean scores than the Javanese. This result may be related to the striking differences between the standards of living of the two cultural

groups with Sundanese respondents having higher standards of living compared with Javanese respondents (Meyer et al, 1978: 34). It can be assumed that the Sundanese, due to their relative affluence, have greater access to news media.

Table 4.3: Mean scores on index of locus of control and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
<b>Sundanese</b>			
high socio-economic	7.76	7.76	0.02
low socio-economic	8.04	7.20	3.72*
t-value	1.48	1.83	
n	640	314	
<b>Javanese</b>			
high socio-economic	10.25	9.65	1.87
low socio-economic	9.67	9.18	1.49
t-value	2.29*	1.16	
n	647	314	

\* p < .05

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

Another variable which is also considered to have influence on attitude towards family planning is the locus of control. The locus of control is a psychological scale which measures an individual's attitude towards events that happened in life (Anastasi, 1982: 555) and a modified form of this scale was included in the Java VOC survey. Internal control, which is indicated by a high score on the scale, refers to the person's perception of events as being dependent on one's own behaviour and therefore under one's personal control. A low score on this scale indicates external control which means that a person

perceives the situation in life as the result of fate and beyond one's personal control (Defcourt, 1966: 207). In relation to family planning attitude, those who believe that they have power over what happens to them are expected to have a more favourable attitude than those who believe that their lives are controlled by "fate" or other forces beyond their control. A study by Smith (1973: 14) found that the use of contraceptives was significantly greater among those with high internal control scores than among those with high external control scores.

Table 4.3 shows a significant difference in the mean scores of the index of locus of control between husbands and wives of the Sundanese low socio-economic groups, where the wives had higher mean scores than the husbands, and also between the two socio-economic groups of the Javanese wives, where the high socio-economic group had higher mean score than the low socio-economic group. These results indicate that compared with their husbands Sundanese wives of the low socio-economic group tend to have more perception of control of events in their life and the Javanese wives of the high socio-economic group tend to perceive control more than the low socio-economic status Javanese wives. The Javanese had higher mean scores on the index of locus of control than the Sundanese, which indicates that the Javanese had stronger perceptions that they have power to control the things that happen in their lives.

The next variable which is also considered to have influence on family planning attitude is the number of living children. Those with more children (in the Indonesian context) are more likely to have achieved their desired family size and thus more likely to approve of family planning. Table 4.4 shows that the high socio-economic groups of Sundanese respondents tended to have more children on average than the

Table 4.4: Mean numbers of living children and T-Test values of comparisons between groups

	Wives	Husbands	T-Value
Sundanese			
high socio-economic	1.85	2.03	1.19
low socio-economic	1.65	1.64	0.04*
t-value	1.75	2.30*	
n	640	314	
Javanese			
high socio-economic	1.62	1.73	0.83
low socio-economic	1.60	1.67	0.51
t-value	0.17	0.41	
n	647	314	

\*  $p < .05$

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

Table 4.5: Zero-order correlations between number of living children, news media exposure, locus of control and attitude towards family planning

	high socio-economic	low socio-economic	high socio-economic	low socio-economic
Sundanese				
- number of living children	-0.05	0.05	0.07	0.14*
- news media exposure	0.03	0.30*	-0.06	0.13*
- locus of control	0.21*	0.07	0.12	0.28*
Javanese				
- number of living children	0.10*	0.08	0.02	0.00
- news media exposure	0.27*	0.21*	0.16*	0.15*
- locus of control	0.03	0.14*	0.13*	0.05

\*  $p < .05$

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

low socio-economic groups. No difference was expected between husbands and wives in all groups, since half the wives were married to the men in the husband sample, so they should have had nearly the same number of children.

News media exposure, locus of control and number of living children are considered to influence an individual's attitude towards family planning. Table 4.5 shows that for the Sundanese respondents, correlations between attitude towards family planning and news media exposure were significant and positive for wives and husbands of the low socio-economic groups. For the Javanese respondents the correlations were significant and positive for all groups. These results indicate that, in general, news media exposure has a strong positive effect on family planning attitude. Correlations between attitude towards family planning and number of living children were significantly positive for Sundanese husbands of the low socio-economic group, and the high socio-economic Javanese wives. Family planning attitude also was positively correlated with the locus of control measure, but not significant for all groups.

A possible conclusion from the above results is that of all three variables (news media exposure, locus of control, number of children) which are considered to have some influence on family planning attitude in this study, news media exposure was the most important, especially for Javanese respondents. This means that the more the individual is exposed to news media, the more favourable his or her attitude can be expected to be towards family planning, which was the premise of having the IEC programmes work through news media. Locus of control was also found to have positive effects on family planning attitude, and was

important, especially for Sundanese respondents. This means that the more the individual perceived that he or she controlled events in his or her life, the more positive his or her attitude towards family planning. In part this may reflect levels of education, as it can be expected that those two variables will be highly correlated. As was mentioned before in this study the Sundanese group had higher levels of education than the Javanese. The number of children was found to have the least effect on family planning attitude. However, it should be mentioned that perhaps the use of desired number of children rather than number of living children might give different results in the correlation analysis, but this variable was not available in the data set used in this study.

#### 4.2 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN FAMILY PLANNING ATTITUDE AND THE VALUE AND COSTS OF CHILDREN

Since the value of children is considered to be one of the determinants of fertility, this study will try to investigate the ways in which family planning attitude is related to the values and costs of children of different socio-economic groups among the Sundanese and the Javanese. In the correlation analysis of those patterns, besides the zero-order correlations, partial correlations will be utilized to control the effects of news media exposure, locus of control and number of living children. This is because, as was mentioned before, those three variables are considered to affect a persons' attitude towards family planning as well as towards the value of children.

Table 4.6 shows the correlations between the value of children to Sundanese groups and their family planning attitude. The strongest

positive correlations were found between economic utility and family planning attitude, but were significant only for the low socio-economic groups, which means that the respondents (in those groups) who valued children for their economic advantages, tend to have a more positive attitude towards family planning. These results were not as expected because, especially for those who belonged to the lower socio-economic strata in the society where children are viewed mainly as economic assets, the economic value has often been related to high fertility. Thus, a negative correlation was thought more likely between the economic value of children and family planning, especially among the low socio-economic groups. Results shown in Table 4.6 and Table 4.7 on the economic value and costs of children may indicate that although on the one hand, the low socio-economic groups perceived children as economically advantageous, on the other hand their poor economic condition also led them to perceive children as economic burdens. Therefore, the expected economic help from children of those groups (low socio-economic) was also related to their favourable family planning attitude. Also, this would be due to the relation between their past fertility and their attitude towards family planning. As was mentioned before, those with more children were more likely to have achieved their desired family size and thus more likely to approve of family planning.

The adult status value was positive and significantly correlated with the family planning attitude of Sundanese wives of both socio-economic groups (high and low). This may perhaps be related to the function of children as giving those wives their "motherhood" role as a way to make their marriage or their status as wife more secure, considering the high incidence of divorce among the Sundanese population (Table 3.2). In such cases this value could already be satisfied by fewer children.

Table 4.6: Zero-order correlations and partial correlations between value of children and attitude towards family planning

	wives		husbands	
	high socio-economic	low socio-economic	high socio-economic	low socio-economic
Sundanese				
adult status	0.11*	0.10*	0.08	-0.04
	0.10((1)	0.10*(1)		
	0.11*(2)	0.09*(2)		
	0.13*(3)	0.10*(3)		
	0.13*(4)	0.09*(4)		
expansion of self	0.00	0.03	-0.12	0.00
morality	0.08	0.09*	-0.06	0.05
		0.09*(1)		
		0.11*(2)		
		0.10*(3)		
		0.12*(4)		
primary group ties	0.02	0.04	-0.01	-0.05
stimulation and fun	-0.10*	0.03	-0.01	-0.06
	-0.10*(1)			
	-0.09(2)			
	-0.10*(3)			
	-0.10*(4)			
creativity and accomplishment	0.02	0.12*	0.03	0.00
		0.12*(1)		
		0.11*(2)		
		0.12*(3)		
		0.12*(4)		
economic utility	0.05	0.10*	0.13	0.22*
		0.11*(1)		0.23*(1)
		0.11*(2)		0.25*(2)
		0.11*(3)		0.18*(3)
		0.12*(4)		0.23*(4)

\*  $p < .05$

(1) -partial correlation controlling for number of living children

(2) -partial correlation controlling for news media exposure

(3) -partial correlation controlling for locus of control

(4) - partial correlation controlling for variables 1,2,3

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)



The correlation between the morality value and family planning attitude was significant and positive for the low socio-economic group of Sundanese wives. This positive correlation indicates that within this group those who score high on the morality value tend to have a favourable family planning attitude. This is surprising, because the Sundanese are known as very religious people and Islam, as the major religion of the Sundanese, is also pronatalist. A possible explanation for this result may be due to the family planning programmes and efforts which were conducted using a religious approach by involving the religious leaders at the local and national level to convince the community that family planning is not against God's will. In Indonesian society religious leaders are regarded as key persons in the community. Information through the news media also plays a part as a supporting agent for the positive correlation between the morality value and family planning attitude by exposing the positive statements on family planning of those religious leaders as well as other persuasive information concerning family planning.

The creativity and accomplishment value of the low socio-economic group Sundanese wives was found to have a positive and significant correlation with the family planning attitude, which means that within this group, those with a high score on index of this value tend to have a more favourable attitude towards family planning. This result may be due to the fact that the desire for having children to satisfy the need for creativity and accomplishment does not necessarily mean many children, as few children may be able to satisfy the need.

The only negative and significant correlation is shown between stimulation and fun value and the family planning attitude for the high

socio-economic group Sundanese wives. This result indicates that within this group, those who perceived children as a source of stimulation and fun tended to have an unfavourable family planning attitude.

Table 4.7: Zero-order correlations and partial correlations between costs of children and attitude towards family planning

	wives		husbands	
	high socio-economic	low socio-economic	high socio-economic	low socio-economic
Sundanese				
- economic	0.05	0.15* 0.14*(1) 0.16*(2) 0.15*(3) 0.16*(4)	0.01	0.07
- emotional	-0.03	-0.02	-0.09	0.15* 0.14*(1) 0.14*(2) 0.14*(3) 0.11*(4)
- opportunity	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.09

\*  $p < .05$

(1) - partial correlation controlling for number of living children

(2) - partial correlation controlling for news media exposure

(3) - partial correlation controlling for locus of control

(4) - partial correlation controlling for variables 1,2,3

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

On the costs of children (Table 4.7), a significant and positive correlation was found between economic costs and family planning attitude of the Sundanese low socio-economic wives, which means that the respondents who perceived children as an economic burden tended to have a positive attitude towards family planning. Perhaps they expected that family planning could solve some of their economic problems. A positive and significant correlation is also evident between emotional costs and family planning attitude of the low socio-economic group Sundanese

husbands; that is, the husbands who perceived children as an emotional burden tended to have a more favourable attitude towards family planning.

Table 4.8: Zero-order correlations and partial correlations between values of children and attitude towards family planning

	wives		husbands	
	high socio-economic	low socio-economic	high socio-economic	low socio-economic
Javanese				
adult status	-0.08	-0.13* -0.13*(1) -0.09*(2) -0.13*(3) -0.09*(4)	0.02	0.09
expansion of self	0.03	0.08	0.09	0.09
morality	0.04	-0.02	0.08	0.17* 0.17*(1) 0.18*(2) 0.16*(3) 0.18*(4)
primary group ties	0.02	-0.01	-0.11	0.03
stimulation and fun	0.05	-0.03	-0.06	0.09
creativity and accomplishment	-0.02	0.04	0.04	0.13* 0.13*(1) 0.12*(2) 0.13*(3) 0.12*(4)
economic utility	-0.04	0.08	0.00	0.08

\*  $p < .05$

- (1) -partial correlation controlling for number of living children
- (2) -partial correlation controlling for news media exposure
- (3) -partial correlation controlling for locus of control
- (4) -partial correlation controlling for variables 1,2,3

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

Table 4.9: Zero-order correlations and partial correlations between costs of children and attitude towards family planning

	wives		husbands	
	high socio-economic	low socio-economic	high socio-economic	low socio-economic
Javanese				
- economic	0.01	0.18* 0.18*(1) 0.19*(2) 0.19*(3) 0.20*(4)	-0.04	-0.01
- emotional	0.11 0.10*(1) 0.07 (2) 0.10*(3) 0.06 (4)	0.21* 0.20*(1) 0.18*(2) 0.21*(3) 0.18*(4)	0.03	0.11
- opportunity	0.07	0.11* 0.10*(1) 0.11*(2) 0.09*(3) 0.09*(4)	0.05	0.19* 0.18*(1) 0.21*(2) 0.18*(3) 0.22*(4)

\*  $p < .05$

(1) - partial correlation controlling for number of living children

(2) - partial correlation controlling for news media exposure

(3) - partial correlation controlling for locus of control

(4) - partial correlation controlling for variables 1,2,3

Source: Java VOC survey data tape (1975)

Table 4.8 shows the correlations between values of children and family planning attitude of the Javanese respondents. An inverse relationship is apparent between adult status value and family planning attitude of the Javanese wives and it was significant for the low socio-economic group. Perhaps their poor condition did not provide them many alternatives to make them feel accepted by the adult community. Their desire to have children to satisfy this need could therefore be associated with their unfavourable attitude towards family planning. Fawcett (1978: 253) mentioned that the role related components of this value -- adulthood, parenthood -- tend to be associated with a desire for large families. In the results of this study, these role related

components may be associated with the negative attitude towards family planning of low socio-economic status Javanese wives.

Positive and significant correlations were found between morality, creativity and accomplishment values, and the family planning attitude of low socio-economic status Javanese husbands. These results indicate that, within this group, respondents who have a high score on those values tended to have a more positive attitude towards family planning.

Although not significant for all groups, most of the correlations between costs of children and family planning attitude of the Javanese respondents are positive (Table 4.9). A strong positive relationship has been found between family planning attitude and economic costs for low socio-economic groups. These strong positive relationships may again be explained as in the previous discussion. That is, that those who have a high score on the respective costs of children, tended to have a more favourable attitude towards family planning. The result that the low socio-economic groups of the Javanese respondents tended to show a positive relationship between costs of children and their favourable attitude towards family planning may suggest that due to their poor condition, they tended to perceive children more as a burden and expected that family planning may solve some of their problems.

The above tables (Table 4.6, Table 4.7, Table 4.8 and Table 4.9) also show the correlations between values and costs of children controlling for number of children, news media exposure and locus of control. In general, the effects of those controlling variables only make marginal differences or do not produce any changes on the correlations, and some of the differences tend to have an increasing

rather than decreasing effect on the correlation coefficients. This result is somewhat surprising since generally the controlling variables have positive correlations with family planning attitude (Table 4.5). These effects may be caused by the negative relationships between the controlling variables and the respective values and costs of children (Kleibaum, 1978: 166). The only substantial decreasing effects of the controlling variables are on the emotional costs of the high socio-economic groups of Javanese wives, where controlling for news media exposure produces the sharpest reduction and also effects the correlation when controlling for all the variables simultaneously.

## CHAPTER 5

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study, as stated in the introductory chapter, was to investigate and analyse the values attached to children by parents in two different socio-economic groups, high and low, of two major cultural groups in Java, Sundanese and Javanese. The perceived value of children was derived from two general functions of children for parents and the family, that is, the psychological function (which involved the emotional function and the psycho-social function) and the economic function. Differences among groups in their perceptions of the value of children and how these values influenced attitudes towards family planning were the main findings of this study.

The high socio-economic groups tended to put more stress on most of the psychological advantages of having children than did the low socio-economic groups. These advantages included the psycho-social advantages, which involved the expansion of self value that reflects the need for having descendants. The emotional advantages involved stimulation and fun, and the primary-group ties values, which reflect the parents' feeling of personal growth and development associated with child rearing, and the love, companionship and fun provided by children. Although not very consistent, these emotional advantages also appeared to be stressed more by high socio-economic groups than by low socio-economic groups. The low socio-economic groups tended to put more stress on the economic value of children compared with the high socio-economic groups. The only psychological advantage of children that appeared to be more important for the low rather than high socio-economic groups in this study is the expansion of self value.

The emotional costs and associated factors, such as worry about children's health and discipline, and the disorder caused by children in the household, tended to be stressed more by the respondents of the high socio-economic groups, especially by the wives of the high socio-economic groups in both cultures. The low socio-economic groups appeared to have a stronger awareness of the financial burden of children than the high socio-economic groups. Berelson (1964: 570) mentioned that membership in a given social stratum limits a person's view of the world, as a matter of experience. That is, if one is poor, economic issues are important to her or him. This may explain the greater concern of the low socio-economic groups for the economic values as well as the economic costs of children. The concern of the low socio-economic groups for the economic value as well as the economic costs of children may be a reflection of their poor economic condition, that on one hand they have a strong desire for having children to satisfy their economic needs, but on the other hand they also perceived the economic burden of raising children.

Husbands and wives also have differences in their perceived value of children. Wives tend to give more stress to emotional values, that is the primary group ties value and the stimulation and fun value which reflect the need for affectional relationships with children and the companionship they provide to parents. The expectation of economic help and security in old age was emphasized more by wives compared with their husbands in all socio-economic and cultural groups. This is perhaps a reflection of the greater degree of economic dependence of women. The adult status value also tended to be more stressed by wives than by their husbands, and this is particularly salient among the Sundanese respondents, which may be related to the high incidence of divorce in



that community. The Sundanese wives of the high socio-economic group appeared to have a stronger orientation towards the continuity of family and tradition as compared to their husbands. A feeling of pride in children's accomplishment was emphasized more by the Javanese wives of the low socio-economic group than by their husbands. Husbands tended to put more stress on the morality value than did their wives, and this is especially salient among the Javanese groups while the Sundanese husbands of the high socio-economic groups placed greater emphasis on the creativity and accomplishment value compared to their wives.

On the costs of children, the economic burden tended to be more emphasized by husbands than wives, and the difference was particularly salient among the Javanese high socio-economic groups. The emotional costs and opportunity costs were stressed more by wives than husbands in all socio-economic and cultural groups. Perhaps the husbands' major role as breadwinner made them feel more responsible and concerned for the economy of the household. Because of their role as mother, wives bore the major emotional burdens of childrearing and, since they generally considered that rearing children was mainly their responsibility, they also felt more restricted in many aspects of their life.

In general, the Sundanese put more stress on the psychological values of children, whereas the Javanese emphasized the economic value of children. On the costs of children, the Sundanese appeared to place greater emphasis on the emotional and opportunity costs, and the Javanese put more stress on the economic burden of raising children.

The high socio-economic groups of Sundanese tended to have a more favourable attitude towards family planning than the low socio-economic groups. The reverse results appeared among the Javanese respondents.

The high socio-economic groups appeared to be more exposed to news media than the low socio-economic groups, and the difference was strong, particularly between the high and low socio-economic groups of the Sundanese respondents. Husbands were more exposed to news media than their wives. The Sundanese were much more exposed to news media than the Javanese respondents. Less access to news media may reflect the poorer economic condition of the Javanese respondents.

Results of the locus of control in this study indicate that the high socio-economic groups tended to perceive that they had control of events that happened in their lives more than the low socio-economic groups. Wives more than husbands tended to perceive that they had power over events that happened in their lives. In general, the Javanese had stronger perceptions that the things that happened in their lives were within their control.

Positive and significant correlations were apparent between most of the positive values of children and attitudes towards family planning of some groups of Sundanese respondents. The strongest correlation was between economic utility and attitude towards family planning of the low socio-economic groups. A positive and significant correlation was evident between most of the costs of children and the attitude towards family planning of the Javanese groups. Strong negative correlations were found between the stimulation and fun value and attitude towards family planning of the Sundanese wives of the high socio-economic group,

and between the adult status value and family planning attitude of the Javanese wives of the low socio-economic group. These results suggest that the desire for having children to fulfil the needs attached to those values may cause constraints on the family planning attitude of the respective groups.

Since the purpose of population policies in Indonesia is to reduce fertility, and the value of children is considered to affect motivations to have children, then efforts to reduce the importance of satisfactions of children that are negatively related to family planning attitude should be made by the policy makers. Alternatives other than children that may provide the same satisfactions could be provided, although it is not a simple problem to find a substitute for a child, especially for the emotional values of children. Programmes to provide adequate old-age pensions, housing and physical care for elderly people should be implemented as those programmes appeared to be the closest substitutes for the old-age security function of children, although just in the sense of economic security. Programmes to connect emotional benefits with small rather than large families, such as the present Indonesian "Small, happy and prosperous family norm" (Norma keluarga kecil bahagia sejahtera) should be reinforced. More specific approaches could be made, such as emphasizing the gratification of closer parent-child emotional relationships in a small family which may have positive effects on the emotional security of parents in the later stages of life. On the other hand, efforts could be directed to strengthen the satisfactions that are positively related to a favourable family planning attitude.

Indonesia consists of many different cultures, and different socio-cultural conditions may give different profiles to the value of children. Therefore the study of the value of children in other cultures and societies may be useful for the development of population policies for the country as a whole and for the respective societies in particular.

APPENDIX A: The Value of Children Survey 1975, Selected Questions.

1. Sex
2. The study areas
3. Social-economic status
4. Are you still married ?
5. You were born (year)
6. Children who are still alive, first to 14 children: sex
7. Age
8. Status of children
9. According to your opinion, what is the advantage or goodness of having children, compared to having no children at all?  
The first advantage: ....
10. Second advantage
11. Third advantage
12. First disadvantage
13. Second disadvantage
14. Third disadvantage
15. If more children are wanted, what is the reason, why you want the number of your children not less than  
First reason
16. Second reason
17. Third reason
18. What is the reason, that you want the number of your children not more than  
First reason
19. Second reason
20. Third reason
21. If less or not clear, how many children do you prefer to have
22. What are the reasons that you don't wish to have children more than  
First reason
23. Second reason
24. Third reason
25. What are the reasons that you don't wish to have children less than, first reason
26. Second reason
27. Third reason

28. Which were sometimes expressed by people who still want to have children again (considering your economic condition nowadays reasons you find the most important, rather important or not important at all):

Reasons	Most	Important	
		Rather	Unimportant
(1) So that there is another child to be loved and cared for.	3	2	1
(2) So that there is another child who helps the family's economy.	3	2	1
(3) Because still wishing to have one more son.	3	2	1
(4) So that there someone who accompanies the child/children who is/are already born.	3	2	1
(5) Another child causes you success in your occupation (work).	3	2	1
(6) So that is can be assured that there is someone who can help in your old days.	3	2	1
(7) So that there is a child, who helps the business within the house	3	2	1
(8) Because there is a feeling of pleasure and happiness to be able to see the child from childhood to maturity.	3	2	1
(9) So that the marriage can be more in harmony.	3	2	1
(10) Because still wishing to have one/one more daughter,	3	2	1
(11) So that there is someone who will continue the name/glorify the custom of the family.	3	2	1
(12) Because it is pleasurable to have children around the house.	3	2	1

29. From all the reasons to have one more child, according to your opinion, which one is the most important and which reason is the second important?

30. On the contrary, there are reasons, which were sometimes said by people who don't want to have more children (considering your economic condition nowadays), which reason you consider the most important, rather important and not important at all.

Reasons	Most	Important	
		Rather	Unimportant
(1) Because another child means more expenses.	3	2	1
(2) Because there will be less time to be together with husband/wife.	3	2	1
(3) Because there will be less freedom if wishing to do other matters or activities.	3	2	1
(4) Because fearing that it will cause the "population" to become much more.	3	2	1
(5) Because it will disturb you in looking for a job or in maintaining the job.	3	2	1
(6) Because it will cause sadness or fear if the child is sick.	3	2	1
(7) Because more children will mean more work and disturbance.	3	2	1
(8) Because you feel too old to take care of children again.	3	2	1
(9) Because you will not be able to take care of and give enough attention to all the children.	3	2	1
(10) Because it is difficult to discipline the children.	3	2	1

31. From all the reasons for not wishing to have one more child which one is the most important and which one is the second important?
32. If the wish is at least one son, what is the most important reason for you, of wishing to have a son, first reason and second reason.
33. If the wish is at least one daughter, what is the most important reason for you, of wishing to have a daughter, please give first reason and second reason.

34. There are people who have the opinion that the problems, I'll herewith submit are important. I would like to ask, according to your opinion; whether being financially sufficient is very important for human beings, rather important, or unimportant.

Reasons	Most	Important	
		Rather	Unimportant
(1) Being financially sufficient	3	2	1
(2) Feeling liked by other people (friends).	3	2	1
(3) Enjoying and feeling the comfort of being a human being.	3	2	1
(4) Feeling in harmony with husband/wife.	3	2	1
(5) Having friends or not feeling alone (lonely).	3	2	1
(6) Feeling of having been able to reach one important matter (or having done a matter/job successfully.	3	2	1
(7) Being remembered (always being remembered) after death.	3	2	1
(8) Having a "happy" family (pleasant and peaceful).	3	2	1
(9) Inheriting a name/custom and manners of the family.	3	2	1

35. From the above mentioned items, which one is the most important, and which one is the second important (give the first and second important reasons).

36. I would like forward some feelings of satisfaction experienced by parents after having children. According to you, which one is very important, rather important or unimportant.



Reasons	Most	Important	
		Rather	Unimportant
(1) Causing you not to feel alone or lonely.	3	2	1
(2) Children are required so that the family will be complete.	3	2	1
(3) Children are enjoyable.	3	2	1
(4) Children can work and help the family.	3	2	1
(5) Because of the teaching/stipulation of your religion.	3	2	1
(6) Being able to see or give attention to children from childhood to adulthood.	3	2	1
(7) Having children and taking care of and educating them is important for people.	3	2	1
(8) Usually people have children and there is a strange feeling to be childless.	3	2	1
(9) One of the duties of a man/women is having descendants.	3	2	1
(10) So that there is someone who helps you in your old age.	3	2	1
(11) The children will remember you after death.	3	2	1
(12) The children will respect their parents.	3	2	1
(13) Satisfy your parents and other families.	3	2	1
(14) Children make the marriage of their parents more intimate and harmonious.	3	2	1
(15) Because children are the pride of their parents.	3	2	1
(16) Children arouse love within the family.	3	2	1
(17) Children continue the generation, so that it will not end.	3	2	1
(18) Feeling to be a better person	3	2	1
(19) So that there is someone who needs you.	3	2	1

37. What kind of help do you wish or hope to get from your children, when they are still in childhood, as well as when they are already grown-ups.

Form of help	To be expected from					
	The Son			The daughter		
	Yes	No	Depends on	Yes	No	Depends on
(1) To give part of their income to you, if he (she already works.	3	1	_____	3	1	_____
(2) To help to send the younger brothers (sisters) to school.	3	1	_____	3	1	_____
(3) To give financial support if the family happens to be in trouble.	3	1	_____	3	1	_____
(4) To help work at home.	3	1	_____	3	1	_____
(5) To give economic support if you are already old.	3	1	_____	3	1	_____

38. When you are already old (if Yes in Q.37(5) for the son), is financial/economic support from your son very much expected, or is it not so much expected?
39. When you are already old (if Yes in Q.37(5) for the daughter), is financial/economic support from your daughter very much expected, or is it not so much expected?
40. There are some people who carry out methods to arrange births. The methods can be used so that the pregnancy will not happen too quick, especially to limit the number of children if you don't want to have more children. Have you ever heard about the method to arrange births or family planning?
41. (If No in Q.40) do you know the methods to prevent pregnancy or that pregnancy will not happen too quick?
42. What is your opinion about family planning, that is if there are married couples who use methods to prevent pregnancy. Do you agree with it much, rather agree, less agree, or disagree?

43. What is your opinion, do you agree or not, if those methods to arrange births or family planning is done (agree, disagree or don't know):
- (1) to arrange the birth of the oldest child, so that it will not be too quick to have children,
  - (2) to arrange the intervals between births, to make the births seldom,
  - (3) to prevent so that there is no more pregnancy after succeeding to have the number of children wanted.
44. What is the most expensive item in your financing your children?
45. What is the second most expensive item?
46. Which needs more expenses, a son or a daughter?
47. According to you, do children arouse great worry, not so great, or do not even arouse worry at all?
48. In bringing up the children, what matter is the most worrying to you?
49. According to your opinion, is it son or daughter who cause more worry?
50. Do you feel that being busy in taking care of the children interrupts you in doing the work you want to do? Did this often happen, or only sometimes, or seldom?
51. In doing what, do you feel disturbed or troubled by the children?
52. According to your opinion, from the four items I'll forward here, which is the most important one for you, and which one is the least important? While between the other two items, which one is more important?
- (1) about financial needs,
  - (2) feeling of fear and worry,
  - (3) opportunities used to take care of the children,
  - (4) about the great increase of population ('problem of over-population').
53. From the four items, do you agree or not. If you agree, do you agree much or rather agree. If you don't agree, do you disagree much or rather disagree? This opinion is as follows:
- (1) a wish is realised, independent to fate,
  - (2) all is decided by fate, therefore it is not good to make plans so complicated,
  - (3) you often feel dependent on fate,
  - (4) you feel, that every time you have a wish or 'plan', it can almost be assured, that you can realize it.

54. How old is your husband/your wife?
55. Do you work now (have a job)?
- . What is your job?
  - . Do you work now (earn a living)?
  - . Except arranging the family, do you have a side job or work or another duty?
  - . What is your job/occupation (where)?
56. Do you work at home, or have to go out/outside the house?
57. Do you often read newspapers?
58. Do you often listen to the news or 'information' from the radio or television?

APPENDIX B: Contents of Ten Indices of Values and Costs of Children  
Based on the Java VOC Survey

1. Adult status - eighteen possible points.

A. Advantages of having children - three possible points:

- Parenthood is socially expected
- Parenthood is ones' purpose in life
- Become more mature and responsible
- An incentive to work hard
- To feel useful and productive

B. Reasons for having not less than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points.

- Social expectations
- It's a woman's/man's purpose
- Willingness to accept responsibility
- An incentive to work hard

C. Rating of reasons to have another child

- Another child causes success in work

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

D. Importance of reasons for having another child

- Another child causes success in work

Scoring: 2 points (mostly important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

E. Importance of reasons for having a son

- A status value of a son; to make family highly regarded
- To bring honour to the family

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

F. Importance of reasons for having a daughter  
 - To bring honour to the family  
 Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

G. Rating of importance of certain satisfactions parents get after having children  
 - It would be odd not to have children  
 - It's a part of being a woman/man  
 Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). four possible points.

2. Expansion of the self - eighteen possible points

A. Advantages of having children - three possible points:

- To carry on the family name; to have descendents
- To pass on the family tradition
- To have someone to inherit the family belongings
- To experience everything in life

B. Reasons for having not less than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points:

- To pass on family traditions
- To experience everything in life
- To inherit family belongings
- They give meaning to life
- To carry on the family name; to have descendants

C. Rating of reasons to have another child

- To pass on family name/traditions

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Two possible points.

D. Importance of reasons for having another child

- To pass on family name/traditions

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

- E. Importance of reasons for having a son  
 - To carry on the family name/family line  
 Scoring: 2 (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.
- F. Importance of reasons for having a daughter  
 - To continue the family  
 Scoring: 2 (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.
- G. Ratings of importance of certain satisfactions parents get after having children.  
 - The children will remember when/after parent died  
 - Will continue the family line  
 Scoring: 2 (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Four possible points.
3. Morality - fourteen possible points
- A. Advantages of having children - three possible points:  
 - For the good of others; for the good of the group  
 - To improve one's character; we learn to sacrifice  
 - For religious reasons; children are blessings of God; it's God's will
- B. Reasons for having not less than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points:  
 - For the good of others; for the good of the group  
 - Moral improvement; improve one's character  
 - For religious reasons; children are blessings of God  
 - To keep children from selfishness
- C. Importance of reasons for having a son  
 - Boys are more religious  
 - Boys could defend the country  
 Scoring: 2 (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second important). Two possible points.

- D. Importance of reasons for having a daughter
- Can do something good for the country
  - Girls are more religious
- Scoring: 2 (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.
- E. Rating of importance of certain satisfactions parents get after having children.
- Because of the teaching of one's religion
  - Feeling to be a better person
- Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Four possible points.
4. Primary-group ties - twenty eight possible points.
- A. Advantages of having children - three possible points:
- Love and companionship
  - Giving of love to child
  - To make a family
  - For the benefit of husband-wife relationship
  - Love and companionship in old age.
- B. Reasons for not having less than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points:
- Love and companionship for parents
  - Companionship for children
  - To make a family
  - To express husband-wife relationship
  - For the extended family
- C. Rating of reasons to have another child
- To have someone to love and care
  - For companionship of children
  - To strengthen the husband-wife relationship
- Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Six possible points.



D. Importance of reasons for having another child - two possible points:

- To have someone to love and care for
- For companionship of children
- To strengthen the husband-wife relationship

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

E. Importance of reasons for having a son

- Would maintain ties within the family
- More lovable

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

F. Importance of reasons for having a daughter

- More lovable
- Stay close to parents even after they married
- Can spoil them

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

G. Rating of importance of certain satisfactions parents get after having children.

- Avoiding loneliness
- To complete the family
- To satisfy parents and the extended family
- To strengthen marriage
- To maintain love within the family

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Ten possible points.

5. Stimulation and fun - twenty possible points.

A. Advantages of having children - three possible points:

- The stimulation, activity, joy and love that children bring to the family

- The pleasure from watching them grow up
  - A distraction from troubles
- B. Reasons for having not less than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points:
- The stimulation, activity, joy and love that children bring to the family
  - The pleasure from watching them grow up
  - A distraction from troubles
  - Fun and happiness for children
  - General happiness
- C. Rating of reasons to have another child.
- The feeling of pleasure and happiness to see the children grow up
  - It is pleasurable to have children around the house
- Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Four possible points.
- D. Importance of reasons for having another child.
- The feeling of pleasure and happiness to see the children grow up
  - It is pleasurable to have children around the house
- Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.
- E. Importance of reasons for having a son.
- Boys are more active with their mischievous ways
- Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.
- F. Importance of reasons for having a daughter.
- Girls are cute and sweet
  - To re-live mother's childhood
  - Girls are fun to dress up
- Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

G. Rating of importance of certain satisfactions parents get after having children.

- Children are enjoyable

- Being able to see them grow up from childhood to adulthood

Scoring: 2 points (very important), (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Four possible points.

6. Creativity and accomplishment - fourteen possible points.

A. Advantages of having children - three possible points:

- To create a human being

- To prove one's fecundity

- Proud of childrens' achievements

- Feeling of accomplishment from watching the children grow

B. Reasons for having not less than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points:

- The pleasure in producing or creating a human being

- To prove fecundity

- To enjoy their achievement

- Satisfaction from doing a good job

- Sense of accomplishment from watching them grow

C. Importance of reasons for having a son

- To attain some goal of parents

- Boys can be expected to attain a higher education or get a better job than parents

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

D. Importance of reasons for having a daughter.

- Girls are better at school

- Girls can be expected to attain a higher education or better job than parents

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

E. Rating of importance of certain satisfactions parents get after having children.

- To feel that you are doing something important

- Because children can make you proud of them

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Four possible points.

7. Economic utility - thirty six possible points.

A. Advantages of having children - three possible points:

- General help in old age

- Physical and financial help in old age

- Psychological help

- Help in doing household chores

- Help in business

B. Reasons for having not less than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points

- Security in old age

- Financial and emotional help in old age

- To have someone to rely on

- Help in household chores

- Help in business

C. Rating of reasons to have another child:

- There is another child who can help in the family's economy

- There is someone who can help in one's old days

- There is someone who helps the business and help around the house

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Six possible points.

D. Importance of reasons for having another child:

- There is another child who can help in the family's economy

- There is someone who can help in one's old days

- There is someone who helps the business and help around the house.

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

E. Importance of reasons for having a son

- To help with the male tasks in the house
- To help with the father's business
- To carry on the family business
- Would help parents in their old age
- To help parents/the family financially

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

F. First important reason for having a daughter.

- To help parents financially
- To help parents in and outside the house (fields, market etc)
- Less economic burden, because they marry quickly
- They do not require as much education

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

G. Rating of importance of certain satisfactions parents get after having children:

- Children can work and help the family
- There is someone who helps in one's old age

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Four possible points.

H. Help expected from children:

- To give part of their income
- To help the school expenses of their younger brothers/sisters
- To give financial support if family happens to be in trouble
- To help in the house
- To give economic support in old age

Scoring: 2 points (yes), 1 (depends on), 0 (no). Ten possible points.

I. Financial help from son/daughter:

- Financial support expected from son in old age
- Financial support expected from daughter in old age

Scoring: 2 points (rely a good deal), 1 (rely a little), 0 (not expecting). Four possible points.

8. Economic costs - thirteen possible points.

A. Disadvantages of having children - three possible points:

- General financial costs
- Educational costs
- Expenses on the child's needs
- Medical expenses
- Not enough space in the house
- Must be concerned with economic security

B. Reasons for having not more than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points:

- General financial costs
- Educational costs
- Expenses on the child's needs
- Not enough space in the house

C. Rating of reasons for not having another child:

- Because another child means more expenses

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Two possible points.

D. Importance of reasons for not having another child:

- Because another child means more expense

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

F. Rating of importance of the costs of children.

- Financial costs

Scoring: 3 points (first important), 2 (second important), 1 (third important), 0 (not important). Three possible points.

9. Emotional costs - twenty five possible points.

A. Disadvantages of having children - three possible points:

- General emotional strain
- Worry about illness, death
- Worry about moral behaviour
- Worry about the childrens' future
- Noise and disorder in the house

B. Reasons for having not more than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points:

- Worry and responsibility
- Worry about the childrens' physical health
- Large family will loosen the affectional ties
- Worry about the childrens' future
- Less time with spouse

C. Rating of reasons for not having another child:

- Less time to be together with spouse
- Fear if the child is sick
- Will not be able to give enough attention and care
- Worry about the discipline

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (not important). Eight possible points.

D. Importance of reasons for not having another child:

- Less time to be together with spouse
- Fear if the child is sick
- Will not be able to give enough attention and care
- Worry about the discipline

Scoring: 2 points (most important), 1 (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

E. Worry about raising children:

- Child caused stress and worry

Scoring: 3 points (first important), 2 (second important), 1 (third important), 0 (not important). Three possible points.

F. Things that caused worry about raising children:

- Worry about financial costs
- Worry about health problems
- Worry about child's behaviour
- Worry about child's future

Scoring: 3 points (a lot), 2 (moderate), 1 (a little), 0 (none). Three possible points.

G. Rating of importance of the costs of children:

- Emotional costs

Scoring: 3 points (first important), 2 (second important), 1 (third important), 0 (not important). Three possible points.

10. Opportunity costs - nineteen possible points.

A. Disadvantages of having children - three possible points:

- Parents feel to be tied down
- Children caused lots of work
- Take lots of time; require a lot of attention
- Causing inconvenience
- Mother can not get a job

B. Reasons for having not more than the number of children one wish to have - three possible points:

- Parents feel to be tied down
- Travel more difficult
- Will be too much work
- Take too much time and attention
- Mother can not get a job

C. Rating of reasons for not having another child:

- There will be less freedom to do other activities
- Disturb in looking for or in maintaining a job
- More children means more work and disturbance

Scoring: 2 points (very important), 1 (somewhat important), 0 (nor important). Six possible points.



D. Importance of reasons for not having another child:

- There will be less freedom to do other activities
- Disturb in looking for or maintaining a job
- More children means more work and disturbance

Scoring: 2 points (most important), (second most important), 0 (neither first nor second most important). Two possible points.

E. Child stopped parents from doing things:

Scoring: 2 points (often), 1 (sometimes), 0 (never). Two possible points.

F. Rating of importance of the costs of children:

- Financial costs

Scoring: 3 points (first important), 2 (second important), 1 (third important), 0 (not important). Three possible points.

APPENDIX C

1. Contents of index of family planning attitude based on Java VOC survey.

Family planning attitude - five possible points:

- A. Opinion about family planning in general:  
Scoring: 2 points (approve strongly), 1 (approve slightly), 0 (disapprove). Two possible points.
- B. Opinion on the delay of birth of first child:  
Scoring: 1 point (approve), 0 (do not approve). One possible point.
- C. Opinion about the control of spacing of birth after the first child:  
Scoring: 1 point (approve), 0 (do not approve). One possible point.
- D. Opinion about the use of birth control to prevent further pregnancies after having the desired number of children.  
Scoring: 1 point (approve), 0 (do not approve). One possible point.

2. Contents of index of news media exposure based on the Java VOC survey.

News media exposure - six possible points.

- A. Radio news listening habits:  
Scoring: 3 points (everyday), 2 (a few times per week), 1 (rarely), 0 (never). Three possible points.
- B. Newspaper reading habits:  
Scoring: 3 points (everyday), 2 (a few times per week), 1 (rarely), 0 (never). Three possible points.

3. Contents of index of Locus of control based on the Java VOC survey.

The locus of control - sixteen possible points.

- A. Statement that a wish is realised independent of fate:  
Scoring: 4 points (agree strongly), 3 (agree slightly), 2 (neutral), 1 (disagree slightly), 0 (disagree strongly). Four possible points.
- B. Statement that all is decided by fate, therefore it is not good to make plans so complicated:  
Scoring: 4 points (disagree strongly), 3 (disagree slightly), 2 (neutral), 1 (agree slightly), 0 (agree strongly). Four possible points.
- C. Statement that, one often feels dependant on fate:  
Scoring: 4 points (disagree strongly), 3 (disagree slightly), 2 (neutral), 1 (agree slightly), 0 (agree strongly). Four possible points.
- D. Statement that, one feels that every time he/she has a wish, it can almost be assured that he/she can realise it:  
Scoring: 4 points (agree strongly), 3 (agree slightly), 2 (neutral), 1 (disagree slightly), 0 (disagree strongly). Four possible points.

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