

Changing Childhood in a Changing Europe

Standing Committee for the Social Sciences (SCSS)
Standing Committee for the Humanities (SCH)



Changing Childhood in a Changing Europe

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Produced by the ESF Social Sciences Unit:

Dr. Frank Kuhn, Science

Ms. Rhona Heywood, Administration

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Introduction



Scientific case

Even though significant advances in European research and social reporting on childhood and youth have been observed in the last two decades¹, there is still a great need for action due to the ongoing demographic and societal changes, which have a direct and far-reaching impact on the lives of children and adolescents and their families. There is indeed an increasing interest in and a demand for reliable data, especially from social and health policy makers, in order to better understand the development of children and the conditions of their physical, psychological, social and financial well-being. Issues like aggressive behaviour and bullying in schools, child neglect, child poverty, intergenerational equity, but also, increasingly, mental health and physical health problems such as obesity are among the topics of great interest in research and practice.

1. See, e.g., ESF-LiU Conference “The Transfer of Resources Across Generations”; COST Action A19 “Children’s Welfare”; OECD’s “Early Childhood Education and Care”; the EU activities (www.childoneurope.org and http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/children/forum/fsj_children_forum_en.htm); or the UNICEF report “An Overview of Child Well-Being in Rich Countries”.

Despite the efforts in this field, there are still considerable deficits and shortcomings. The reasons are not only to be sought in the rapidly changing demographical and social realities, but also in the fact that childhood is a topic at the intersection of different disciplines from social sciences and humanities and therefore requiring interdisciplinary approaches. In addition, in order to deal with the complexity of social problems such as outlined above, transdisciplinary approaches are needed, allowing a mutual exchange between agents from the scientific and the non-scientific world. Special efforts and instruments are therefore required not only from scientists, but also from research policy makers, community members, government representatives and other stakeholders to create synergies and facilitate inter- and transdisciplinary dialogue.

Against a backdrop of ongoing demographic and social change in Europe and the associated problems outlined above, the present interdisciplinary project aims to bring together a multidisciplinary team consisting of the leading scientists and stakeholders in the field of research and policy on childhood in Europe, in order to achieve the following *general objectives*:

1. To enhance the knowledge of factors contributing to children's well-being in both the private and public realm in terms of their access to and use of income, services, space, and time, by employing a generational and a comparative perspective;
 2. To develop a mainstreaming children's approach regarding children's rights in public policy in areas such as education, family policy, social security, health care, social assistance, and also regarding children's rights in private legislation;
 3. To stress the situation of children who are especially vulnerable due to neglect, poverty or handicaps in order to have a more precise overview of the needs in these specific situations;
 4. To obtain an overview of already-existing European data sets, put them into a comparative perspective and evaluate the best practice of the use of present studies;
 5. To make recommendations on potential European initiatives in the area through evidence-based studies;
 6. To build a European information infrastructure to support inter- and transdisciplinary collaborative research and policy-making in order to foster knowledge and expertise in the area of childhood and youth.
- b) *Child care.* Due to changing gender roles and increasing participation of women in the labour market, the question arises who principally cares for small children. Child care institutions like kindergarten, crèche, etc. may be one possibility to enhance reconcilability of family and career demands; grandparents as caregivers for small children are another possibility. The choice of one or another form of child care may also depend on different value orientations as well as on opportunity structures in the respective countries. Not only the identification of best practices in flexible child care models across Europe, but also the study of value orientations and family values that may differ between European countries and provide different developmental niches for children will be of great interest here. All the more so, since different value orientations may have an impact on intergenerational solidarity, support, and feelings of responsibility for each other.
- c) *New family forms.* As divorce rates have continually increased, new family forms (e.g., single parents, step families, patchwork families, etc.) have emerged. Furthermore, children in general have fewer siblings compared to past decades and, in the case of patchwork families, more non-biological siblings. The impact of these new family forms on child development and intergenerational family relations in general (e.g., contact with fathers, paternal grandparents, etc.) as well as on selected developmental criteria should be studied further.

Scientific background and rationale

Demographic and associated social changes have several direct and indirect impacts on the lives of children and adolescents and their families in Europe. Though there is pre-existing evidence about protective and vulnerability factors contributing to children's well-being, new situations will emerge that require steering knowledge and thus pose new research questions. Some of these emerging topics are highlighted below.

- a) *Children's health and well-being.* Behavioural disorders among the young have been on the rise in recent years (ADHD, emotional problems, conduct problems, violence, suicidal tendencies, eating disorders, substance abuse and borderline disorders). Many children and adolescents are increasingly exposed to physical and/or mental violence and sexual exploitation or abuse. Several longitudinal studies carried out in different European countries suggest worsening in various dimensions of health and well-being. Considering the increasing migration between European countries and the very different socio-cultural contexts within them, we identify a considerable gap of comparative research in this matter.
- d) *Intergenerational solidarity.* On the one hand, due to more flexibility and mobility in the labour market, members of the different generations more often live far away from each other. On the other hand, intergenerational solidarity is emphasised to alleviate the effects of the demographic changes. It is an open question what impact increased flexibility and mobility may have on family relations, especially on grandparent-grandchild contact and on intergenerational provision of support. Also, the intergenerational transmission of values between parents and children as well as between grandparents and grandchildren should be studied here. Linked to this is the question of how continuity of society may be ensured in modern societies with their pluralistic value systems.
- e) *Immigration and migration.* With regard to the increasing immigration in Europe, one essential topic will be the integration of immigrants and their children. Immigration affects children in multiple ways — including separation from parents who travel to work, even if the children stay “home”. A further point deserving attention is the impact of immigrant children on school systems unprepared to teach the local language to large numbers of foreign children. How can

the integration (and especially education) of immigrant children be guaranteed? Are there best practice models available?

- f) *Social inclusion and “resource fairness”*. In the aftermath of demographic change the sustainability of public expenditure and household budgets is threatened in most European countries; this will have direct consequences for public welfare and social security. Within this process the distribution of resources, the question of social inequality and especially the treatment of vulnerable children (e.g., disadvantaged, low SES and child poverty) will represent pressing questions.

Regardless of their specific content these topics should be approached with regard to the following cross-cutting issues:

- a) *Diachronic perspective*: Social phenomena can be comprehensively assessed only if the developments *over time* are taken into account. New findings should be related to earlier observations, and the current practice should profit from experiences made so far. Understanding the dynamics of social change is essential for an assessment of potential policy moves and their implementation.
- b) *Interdisciplinary perspective*: Since so many scientific disciplines and practical fields deal with children, adolescents, and intergenerational issues, the project will aim above all to promote an *inter- and multidisciplinary discourse and exchange*. This initiative is particularly appropriate for overcoming traditional boundaries between the different scientific disciplines and should promote the formulation of what has to become a shared problem and identify possible paths of resolution.
- c) *Transdisciplinary perspective*: Beyond the claim of interdisciplinary joint problem-solving, this workshop aims also at promoting a transdisciplinary perspective by facilitating and fostering mutual learning processes between agents from the scientific and the non-scientific world.
- d) *Diversity perspective*: Differential aspects, such as age- and gender groups, will have to be systematically accounted for, as well as social, ethnic, cultural, and regional differences. It will be particularly important to establish what causes the differences or — on the contrary — similarities. Equality is a major concern when dealing with differences and diversity in living situations, particularly with regard to unequal distribution of opportunities. This ties in with the question of what equality means for the distribution of resources between generations, and between children and adolescents from different social and/or ethnic backgrounds.

- e) *Pan-European relevance*: Over and above the intertemporal, inter- and transdisciplinary and diversity aspects, this interdisciplinary project will strive to provide a pan-European dimension. We are aware that interesting data sets and social reporting initiatives exist in different European countries. An important goal to emphasise with this project would be to evaluate and to prompt a concentrated inter- and transdisciplinary action in order (a) to get a better comparative use of existing data sets and social reports and (b) for planning new data gathering efforts with an eye to possible comparison in social reporting.

Strategic value for science in Europe

Demographic changes like higher life expectancy and lower fertility rates together with changing gender roles (and related to this, increased participation of women in the labour force) are factors that influence the family context in which children grow up. New challenges arise due to higher mobility demands of the labour market, which may complicate and reduce the possibility and the frequency of intergenerational familial contacts. Due to higher divorce rates, new family forms may arise, like single families, stepfamilies, and patchwork families. Also, more and more children are growing up in immigrant families in European countries. European countries differ not only with respect to prevalent family orientations, different norms of solidarity, and value orientations, but also regarding their scientific and political efforts in this field. Thus, an in-depth insight into how these different countries with their different backgrounds tackle these practical and scientific challenges is needed. The knowledge and comparison of existing studies and practices will generate new insights into how to promote well-being and health of children and their families in Europe, and will deliver tools to educate a new generation of scholars to be optimally prepared for future challenges.

Pasqualina Perrig-Chiello
Workshop Chair

Programme

Day 1: Thursday 26 February

- 09.00 **Introductory Session: Background, Aims, Perspectives**
Welcome from local host, **Kostas Gouliamos**
Introduction to workshop from Chair, **Pasqualina Perrig-Chiello**
Presentation of ESF and introduction to follow-up possibilities, **Frank Kuhn**
- 10.30 *Coffee break*
- 11.00 **Session 1: Children's Health and Well-Being**
Speaker: **Hans-Christoph Steinhausen**
Discussant: **Heather Joshi**
(comments presented by **Kathleen Kiernan**)
Experts: **Vanesa Carral Bielsa**, **Kostas Gouliamos**
- 12.30 Lunch
- 13.30 **Session 2: Child Care and New Family Forms**
Speaker: **Michael E. Lamb**
Discussant: **Claude Martin**
Experts: **Laura Alipranti**, **Jan-Erik Johansson**, **Kathleen Kiernan**, **Lea Pulkkinen**
- 15.00 *Coffee break*
- 15.30 **Session 3: Intergenerational Solidarity**
Speaker: **Jens Qvortrup**
Discussant: **Frank F. Furstenberg**
Experts: **Bernhard Nauck**, **Loizos Symeou**
- 17.00 End of day 1
- 19.00 *Dinner*

Day 2: Friday 27 February

- 09.00 **Session 4: Immigration and Migration**
Speaker: **Jacqueline Knörr**
Discussant: **Dagmar Kutsar**
Expert: **Silvia Carrasco**
- 10.30 *Coffee break*
- 11.00 **Session 5: Social Inclusion and Child Poverty**
Speaker: **Jonathan Bradshaw**
Discussant: **Mária Herczog**
Experts: **Spyros Spyrou**
- 12.30 *Lunch*
- 13.30 **Summary of Presentations and Discussions – Round Table**
Speakers and discussants from each session give a short résumé and make suggestions for next steps (ca. 10 min. per session presentation plus 5-8 min. discussion).
- 15.00 *Coffee break*
- 15.30 **Next steps and future activities**
Final summary and reflexions on joint future perspectives by **Michael E. Lamb**.
Frank Kuhn will provide information on the most suitable ESF instruments to continue work on this topic
- 16.30 End of day 2

At the workshop

Speakers were asked to write a summary (max. 5 pages) outlining the status quo of the specific research area in Europe for each session. Speakers were especially asked to address the cross-cutting perspectives raised above (Diachronic, Interdisciplinary, Transdisciplinary, Diversity, Pan-European Relevance), and present their paper at the workshop. Discussants then gave feedback to the speaker, based on a list of 5-10 timely key questions reflecting both the scientific and the practical perspective, and led the discussion during the remainder of the session. A number of experts were invited for each session, to give feedback to the speaker as well as prepare a brief statement on what they see as important aspects in the specific area.

A final session was held to summarise the workshop findings and explore how best to address the needs – these are reported on in the conclusions section of this report.

Mental Health of Children in European Countries: Findings from Epidemiological Studies

Hans-Christoph Steinhausen

Chair of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Aarhus University Hospital,

Aalborg Psychiatric Hospital, Denmark

Honorary Professor, University of Basel, Switzerland

Professor and Chairman emeritus, University of Zurich, Switzerland

Mental Health of Children in European Countries: Findings from Epidemiological Studies

International epidemiological studies in children's mental health (CMH) have been performed only for some 50 years. Most of these studies have been dealing with cross-sectional assessments resulting in prevalence rates of either mental disorders or frequency rates of behavioural abnormalities. Only a few studies have attempted to perform longitudinal observations or to study period effects, so a *diachronic perspective* has only been rarely taken. The *diversity perspective* has been considered in a large number of epidemiological studies by analysing effects due to age, gender, and, less strongly, also by socioeconomic and migrant status. Certainly, the other perspectives that have been emphasised for this meeting so far have not been sufficiently met in epidemiological studies of CMH.

Prevalence rates

Conclusions based on international studies on CMH are hampered by a large number of methodological differences including design, research criteria, assessment strategies, age groups, etc. Taking this diversity into consideration, the average prevalence rate in studies performed before 1970 was 15.4% whereas it was 14.1% in the 1970s and 13.8% in the 1980s. A recent review of 21 international studies performed between 1977 and 2000 and published between 1987 and 2004 found a mean period prevalence of 22% without considering global psychosocial functioning. This figure declined to 16% when global psychosocial functioning was taken into account (Eschmann et al., 2007). If one considers the eight European studies separately, one finds prevalence rates ranging between 9.5 and 25.4% with a mean around 17.4%. None of these figures may be used for any conclusions about time trends.

Diachronic perspective or period effects

The critical question whether or not there is a significant change in CMH problems can only be answered by a diachronic perspective based on longitudinal or repeated observations of one or more cohorts stratified for age. Prerequisites for the study of period effects would require representative samples which are recruited from identical areas with stable populations and which use identical assessments over longer time intervals. Clearly, these prerequisites are not met entirely by any study on period effects in mental disorders in children and adolescents. There are some international trends in questionnaire surveys of mental health problems in children and adolescents across time up to 25 years in the US, the United

Kingdom, the Netherlands and in Finland, showing very minor changes regarding total symptom score and only small increases in some domains. These studies do not provide prevalence rates because of relying on questionnaire scores only.

Studies performed in the UK found that the 25-year trend in three national cohorts assessed between 1974 and 1999 in 15-16-year-olds did show an increase of conduct disorders and emotional problems but no increase of ADHD (Collishaw et al., 2004). In the Netherlands, a study of the 10-year trend from 1983 to 1993 found no significant change in the total score of parent and teacher questionnaires and a further study after 20 years noticed only a slight increase of internalising problems in the parent questionnaire and minor changes in the teacher questionnaire. All these changes occurred predominantly in the 1993 to 2003 period rather than before (Verhulst et al., 1997; Tick et al., 2007). A more recent study from Finland in 8-year-olds did not find any significant changes at all over a 16-year period in scores of parent and teacher questionnaires (Sourander et al., 2008). Within the Zurich Psychology and Psychopathology Study (ZAPPS) changes from 1994 to 1997 in 14-17-year-olds were restricted to an increase in tobacco and cannabis consumption and stressful life events whereas there were no changes in internalising and externalising behaviours (Steinhausen, unpublished data).

In addition to these surveys, some attempts have been made to analyse time trends for various mental disorders in children. A recent meta-analysis of 26 studies on depression found no increase by analysing some 60 000 subjects born between 1965 and 1996. The prevalence rates in children up to 13 years was 2.8% and 5.6% in adolescents with a moderate excess of females over males (5.9 vs. 4.6%) (Costello et al., 2006).

In autism and pervasive developmental disorders (PDD), a significant increase in prevalence rates has been observed in recent studies since 2001. Whereas there had been 10/10 000 children affected by autism in 32 studies since 1966, the figures have increased to 15/10 000 in the recent studies. The figures are even more impressive for PDD with 20 vs. 60/10 000 affected children. However, it is unclear whether the increase is due to period or methodological effects (Fombonne, 2003).

In various European regions, incidence rates of anorexia nervosa across all ages have shown an increase but there is no evidence whether or not this finding is also matched by an increase in prevalence rates (Hoeck et al., 2002). Most of the so-called epidemics of eating disorders in school-aged populations seem to be a reflection of a large number of female adolescents engaging in dieting rather than developing full-blown clinical disorders (Steinhausen et al., 2005).

A recent analysis of worldwide prevalence rates of attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) found 5.2% of the children to be affected. There were no significant differences between studies performed in North America and Europe so that ADHD does not seem to be a cultural phenomenon as some critics have argued. However, data were stratified for age and gender so that the effect of these factors could not be analysed. Furthermore, various other factors like diagnostic criteria or source of information had an influence on prevalence rates. Unfortunately, no attempt to analyse for period effects was made by the authors (Polanczyk et al., 2007).

Diversity perspective

Age, gender and, less frequently, socioeconomic and migrant status have been addressed as factors of diversity in population studies. The findings of age are less conclusive than one would expect from clinical observations. In the above-mentioned analysis of 21 international studies (both European and non-European) that were published between 1987 and 2004, there were increasing vs. decreasing vs. nonlinear age effects on mental disorders from childhood to adolescence. Male gender was clearly a risk factor across childhood and adolescence with a female predominance starting only at the end of adolescence in a few studies that also included young adults. Most of the international studies found no effect of socioeconomic status whereas some reported higher prevalence rates of either all or selected diagnostic categories for lower class children compared to middle class children (Eschmann et al., 2007).

Various European studies have looked also at mental health in migrant children and adolescents. In a recent review, only 12 European among 20 international studies published since the 1990s have been identified that concentrated on internalising and externalising behaviour as an indicator of mental health in young migrants. The review did not unequivocally find an increased risk of mental health problems in migrant children. However, conclusions based on the review were hampered, since the impact of migration on mental health varied with the informants used and the characteristics of the migrant group and of the host country (Stevens and Volleberg, 2008).

Despite the above-mentioned shortcomings of research into mental health of young migrants, there are at least seven studies from continental Europe on the mental health of migrant children and adolescents including the ZAPPS which have found significant higher prevalence rates of disorders or more frequent indicators of behavioural abnormalities among migrants

as compared to native children and adolescents (for references see Steinhausen et al., in press). However, these differences were not apparent in younger children when the native control group was taken from similar inner city areas and low SES, whereas the differences remained significant in older children and adolescents. Furthermore, there may be a significant interaction of migrant status by gender with either boys or girls in the migrant population showing excesses of certain disorders and only some ethnic groups may be particularly vulnerable to the development of mental disorders. Findings were controversial in a number of European studies when different informants (i.e., parents, teachers, and the adolescent themselves) were used and/or differed also for the outcome scales of the studies



Mental Health of Children in European Countries: Findings from Epidemiological Studies

(internalising vs. externalising problems). Finally, a few European studies did not find any significant differences in mental health problems among migrants and natives or even some indication of better mental health in some ethnic groups than in the native population (Steinhausen et al., 2009).

Other perspectives

The *interdisciplinary perspective* has been adopted in epidemiological studies on CMH to some extent in that child and adolescent psychiatrists, child and adolescent clinical psychologists, and epidemiologists have been collaborating in some of these projects. The findings of these studies had a strong influence on research, particularly for the foundation of developmental psychopathology as a new theoretical approach in mental health research. However, the *transdisciplinary effect* on the non-scientific world is still limited due to an ongoing lack of consideration of mental health research findings in the public domain including planning of services for children in most European regions. Finally, the *pan-European relevance* has not yet been fully met because existing studies have been performed only in a few European countries and there is a lack of sufficient services providing help to children with mental health problems in a large part of Europe.

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Child Care and New Family Forms

Michael E. Lamb

University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

Child Care and New Family Forms

Child care is an emotion-arousing topic that can ignite passionate debates characterised by more heat than light, and I would like to avoid some of the needless controversy by keeping young children and their needs at the centre of the discussion. In this background paper, I briefly sketch what we know about young children's emotional needs, before talking about the extent to which and the ways in which those needs can be met when their care is provided by both parental and non-parental care-providers.

Attachment theory emphasises the need for infants to maintain close supportive relationships with adults, and describes the development of these relationships through repeated appropriate responses by adults to the signals (cries and smiles) emitted by young infants. Contrary to Bowlby's (1969) initial assertion that babies formed their first attachments to mothers, and only later formed relationships to "secondary figures" like fathers, there is compelling evidence that most babies form attachments to both of their parents at the same time, and that many form relationships to other carers too (Lamb, 1997, 2002). Attachment relationships are important not only because they shape children's orientation to the wider world and to other individuals, but also because attachment figures regulate the emotions and levels of arousal that young infants are unable to manage themselves. By the time children form their first attachments to parents around the middle of the first year of life, they are beginning to develop some primitive self-regulatory capacities, but still depend on adult guidance and co-regulation, especially when the psychological demands are unusually great and their capacities are commensurately stretched (Thompson, 2006). Self-regulatory capacities continue to develop for several years, and it is not until four or five years of age that most children can cope, on their own, with the psychological challenges and stresses that go along with navigating relationships with a number of less familiar and less predictable people in noisy situations like nurseries or elementary schools in which the specific child is not necessarily the centre of attention. In such contexts, young children need to rely on adults to help them regulate their levels of arousal, and in the absence of parents, the task falls to care-providers.

There is no doubt that regular, full-day placement in child care is emotionally and physiologically stressful for most infants and toddlers (Ahnert, Gunnar, Lamb and Barthel, 2004; Watamura, Donzella, Alwin and Gunnar, 2003). Other things being equal, the seriousness of the challenge increases as the length of time spent in care increases, and the nature and pace of adjustment is also in part dependent on the quality of child-parent attachment relationships (Ahnert et al., 2004). The importance of parental support in managing the toddlers' stress levels was also evident in the fact that child-mother attachments remained secure or shifted from insecure

to secure when mothers spent more days adapting their children to child care.

In theory, care-providers should be able to substitute for parents, but the evidence suggests that they are often unable to reduce children's levels of stress effectively, even though most children develop meaningful relationships with their care-providers (Lamb and Ahnert, 2006). Interestingly, secure relationships to care-providers are much less common than secure relationships to mothers or fathers, and this may be one reason why non-parental carers tend to be less effective in helping children manage their emotions and levels of perceived stress (Ahnert, Pinquart and Lamb, 2006).

Of course, relationships with non-parental carers are not necessarily insecure (according to Ahnert et al., about 40% were secure). As with parents, the security of infant-care-provider attachment is associated with the sensitivity, involvement, and quality of the care provided by care-providers. Ahnert et al. showed that children's relationships with care-providers, especially in centres, were predominantly shaped by behaviour toward the group as a whole. Only in small groups was the security of relationships with care-providers predicted by measures of dyadic responsiveness similar to those that predict the security of children's attachments to their parents (De Wolff and van IJzendoorn, 1997). Sensitive care-providers clearly need to monitor children's emotional needs, and in small groups (or those with low child-adult ratios) they may be able to respond in this way. They cannot do so in large groups, however, so the association between dyadic responsiveness and attachment security is attenuated, just as it is in large family units (Ahnert, Meischner and Schmidt, 2000).

Interestingly, secure relationships with care-providers are also more common in home-based than in centre-based facilities (Ahnert et al., 2006). Does this mean that home-based settings facilitate the development of emotionally supportive relationships with care-providers, whereas child care centres have difficulty providing the types of care that promote secure child-adult relationships? Because groups in home-based settings are very small and the providers are typically not professionals, children's relationships with providers in home-based settings (like attachments to mothers) are almost exclusively associated with dyadic sensitivity. In contrast, care-providers in centre-based settings have to deal sensitively with larger and more diverse groups of children and, as a result, the factors shaping the quality of child-care-provider relationships in these contexts differs from those known to shape child-mother and child-father attachments, with the group-oriented sensitivity of care-providers, rather than the sensitivity of their responses to individual children, affecting the quality of their relationships.



Clearly, then, there is substantial evidence both that toddlers and young children indeed form relationships to care-providers and that these relationships often differ in important respects from the types of relationships these children form to their parents. Relationships with care-providers do affect children's development, furthermore. For example, the security of both infant-mother and infant-care-provider attachment are correlated with the level of social competence evident when playing with both adults and peers (Howes and Hamilton, 1993; Howes, Matheson and Hamilton, 1994). More impressively, Israeli infants who were securely attached to their early care-providers ('metaplot') were less ego controlled (i.e., less mature) and more empathic, dominant, purposive, achievement-oriented, and independent four years later than those whose relationships with metaplot were insecure-resistant, regardless of the quality on infant-parent attachments (Oppenheim, Sagi and Lamb, 1988). Schoolchildren's perceptions of their relationships with teachers are also predicted by the quality of their

first attachments to care-providers, underscoring the long-lasting impact of these early relationships (Howes, Hamilton and Philipsen, 1998). For all of these reasons, it is important to ensure that the quality of child care is enhanced, so that the benefits of non-parental care are maximised and the disadvantages associated with some forms of care are minimised.

Modulating stress

In the context of these findings, it is somewhat sobering that care-providers often appear unable to modulate the increased levels of stressful arousal that infants and toddlers experience when in child care facilities. They not only fail to respond effectively to toddlers' patterns of distress on many occasions, but (perhaps as a result) are seldom sought out in that regard once children have adjusted to child care (Ahnert and Lamb, 2000). Perhaps this is because child-parent and child-care-provider

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attachments are functionally and ontogenetically different. Adopting a pedagogical perspective, care-providers focus on cognitive-stimulation and on minimising misbehaviour in order to promote group harmony. By contrast, parents are better attuned to their children's emotions and can thus anticipate and perceive their children's reactions to child care and take steps to minimise the associated distress. Children in child care thus typically need nurturant parental intervention to help them cope with the levels of distress that accumulate over the course of the long days spent in child care settings and are not adequately addressed by non-parental carers in many of those settings.

Unfortunately, our observations revealed that the German mothers of children in child care tended to respond less promptly to their toddlers' signals of distress than home-making mothers did (Ahnert et al., 2000). Their failures to respond promptly to distress may reflect (among other possibilities) the consequences of stress at work, competing demands of other chores, or misinterpretations of the distress signals. Interestingly, the NICHD Early Child Care Research Network (1999) also reported that mothers behaved less sensitively when their children spent many hours in child care, suggesting that our findings were not unique to our sample of German mothers. I suspect we might have found similar patterns in some other countries as well.

In sum, toddlers often need sensitive support from their parents in order to re-equilibrate emotionally, particularly at the end of extended periods in non-parental care settings. When parents do not deal effectively with manifestations of distress and requests for soothing and comforting, those toddlers may return to child care the next day inadequately reassured and characterised by elevated levels of cortisol (stress) even before their day in child care commences (Watamura et al., 2003). Repeated daily experiences of this sort may constrain the development and elaboration of coping capacities as well as other socially competent behaviours. Not surprisingly, therefore, angry-aggressive children (mostly boys) have higher levels of cortisol than children who engage in more appropriate social interactions and are well-liked by their peers (Tout, de Haan, Campbell and Gunnar, 1998). In addition, there is growing evidence that diurnal neuroendocrine rhythms are altered by child care experiences such that abnormally high cortisol levels are evident in the afternoons when children spend long hours in child care settings (Dettling, Gunnar and Donzella, 1999; Tout et al., 1998; Watamura et al., 2003). The maladaptive externalising behaviour that reportedly characterises some young children in child care settings (e.g., NICHD ECCRN, 2003) may thus reflect some parents' inability to buffer the enhanced levels of stress experienced by their infants and toddlers.

Clearly, toddlers and young children have an elevated need to spend sufficient amounts of time with parents who interact sensitively and respond appropriately to their emotional needs when care-providers do not do so adequately. Parents who use child care must recognise any emotional needs manifested by their children. Home remains the centre of children's lives even when children spend considerable amounts of time in child care and poor quality relationships at home magnify the adverse effects of the high stress levels associated with child care. It is desirable, therefore, both to limit the amount of time spent in child care (especially by very young children) and to ensure that children spend as much time as possible with supportive, sensitive parents.

The quality of care also makes an important contribution. Although much has been made of reports (e.g., NICHD ECCRN, 2003) that children who spend a lot of time in child care from infancy are more likely to have behaviour problems in nursery, Love et al. (2003) showed that similar associations between early non-parental care and behaviour problems were not evident in three other large multi-site studies. Love et al. attributed the differences to the fact that the NICHD researchers studied centres that tended to provide care of mediocre quality, whereas the centres he and his co-authors studied provided care of higher quality. Quality of care also proved to be important in a fourth multi-site study involving children from low income families in three cities. Specifically, Votruba-Drzal, Coley, and Chase-Lansdale (2004) reported that 2- to 4-year-old children had fewer behaviour problems the higher the quality of out-of-home care experienced, and for these children, increases in the amount of time spent in non-parental care facilities had a salutary effect, rather than the adverse effect reported by the NICHD Early Child Care Research Network (2003)! Boys, in particular, benefited from more care of higher quality.

In sum, whether or not it is mediated through the quality of attachments to care-providers, the quality of non-parental child care appears to modulate its effects on many aspects of child behaviour and adjustment, while family experiences also have an important impact. Thus, although children who have experienced non-parental care from infancy sometimes appear to be more aggressive, more assertive, and less compliant with adults than peers who have not had these experiences, the associations are weaker, if not non-existent, when the quality of care is better. As mentioned earlier, furthermore, the behaviour problems seem to be consequences of inadequate buffering of the children's levels of arousal by the adults responsible for their care, not the inevitable consequences of non-parental care.

The history of non-parental child care

Non-parental child care has been the focus of heated ideological debate for more than 30 years, at least in part because social commentators and social scientists tend to have a very myopic view of human history, and thus consider recent practices to be species-typical universals. Non-parental care in early childhood has aroused great concern, for example, even though non-parental care has deep historical roots. Decisions and arrangements about children's care and supervision are in fact amongst the oldest problems faced by human society. The fact that they were not discussed frequently in the past may reflect the failure of the men with political and intellectual power to discuss a "women's issue" as well as the fact that maternal care at home was the dominant mode of early child care in the cultures and eras most familiar to contemporary social and political scientists.

Our species is one in which decisions about child-care arrangements and the division of time and energy among child care, provisioning, and other survival-relevant activities have always been necessary (Lancaster, Rossi, Altmann and Sherrod, 1987). Humans are born at a much earlier stage of development than are the young of any other mammalian species and a larger proportion of development takes place outside of the womb in humans than in any other mammal (Altmann, 1987). The period of dependency, and thus the process of socialisation, is extremely prolonged among humans, with offspring dependent on con-specifics into adulthood whereas the young of most mammals become nutritionally independent at the time of weaning. As a result, parental investment in each human child is extremely high and recent scholarship makes clear that non-parents typically make invaluable contributions as well (Hrdy, 2002, 2005a, 2005b). Humans have long been forced to develop complex and extended alliances and arrangements with others in order to ensure the survival of both themselves and their offspring; studies in many contemporary cultures underscore the survival value of these contributions (Hewlett and Lamb, 2005; Hrdy, 2002, 2005a, 2005b). Pair-bonding represents one adaptation to the basic needs of human parents to cooperate in the provisioning, defence, and rearing of their offspring (Lancaster and Lancaster, 1987) and in many environments, multi-family units developed to maximise individual survival in circumstances where, for example, hunting or gathering required cooperative strategies. Hrdy (1999, 2002, 2005a, 2005b) has argued persuasively, furthermore, that humans evolved as cooperative breeders and thus that human child-rearing has always been characterised by extensive involvement

by multiple relatives and con-specifics. Non-parental care is thus a universal practice with a long history, not a dangerous innovation representing a major deviation from species-typical and species-appropriate patterns of child care (Hrdy, 2005a, 2005b; Lamb and Sternberg, 1992).

Studies of modern hunter-gatherers (such as those described in Hewlett and Lamb's 2005 anthology) provide insight into the social organisations that might have developed in circumstances like those in which humans are believed to have emerged as a species. In many such societies, within-family divisions of responsibility between men and women are paralleled by cooperative hunting and gathering strategies sometimes involving both men and women. Depending on the task, the season, the children's ages, the availability of alternatives, and the women's condition, children accompany one or other parent at work or are left under the supervision of allo-parents, often older children or adults. Prior to weaning, mothers assume the heaviest portion of child-care responsibilities in most societies, although fathers are frequently present and allo-parents are typically active long before weaning (Fouts, Hewlett and Lamb, 2005). Although the strategies of provisioning, protection, and child care are different in industrialised countries and in those societies where pastoral or agricultural traditions have replaced nomadic foraging, similar choices have always been and must always be made. Exclusive maternal care throughout the period of dependency was never an option in what Bowlby (1969) called "the environment of evolutionary adaptedness" and was seldom an option in any phase of human society even through early childhood; it emerged as a possibility for a small elite segment of humanity during one small recent portion of human history. Nor is it normative cross-culturally: in 40% of the cultures sampled by Weisner and Gallimore (1977), infants were cared for more than half the time by people other than their mothers, and rates are surely higher where toddlers, preschoolers, and young children are concerned. It is thus testimony to the power of recent mythology and ignorance of the dominant human condition throughout history that exclusive maternal care came to be labelled as the "traditional" or "natural" form of human child care, with all deviations from this portrayed as unnatural and potentially dangerous.

Conclusion

The onset of regular non-parental care for young children has complex psychobiological and behavioural effects on their functioning both at home and in child care centres. As a result, maladaptive behaviour on the part of children who spend many hours in child care may reflect, if and

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when it occurs, not the direct effects of non-parental care, but the inability of parents and care providers to buffer the enhanced levels of stress occasioned by the stresses associated with some child care settings. Governments can make these experiences better for children and parents by promoting parental leaves that delay the onset of non-parental care and demanding that child care is of high quality (characterised by small group, calm and quiet atmospheres, well-trained stable staffing, and opportunities for children to rest and retreat from high levels of stimulation).

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Intergenerational Solidarity

Jens Qvortrup

*Department of Sociology and Political Science, Norwegian University
for Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway*

Introduction

A financial crisis and an economic recession are haunting our world and have since Autumn 2008 at least only intensified, nationally and internationally. Improbable and gigantic amounts of rescue money are being channelled to the financial system and beyond – into the otherwise self-sufficient corporate and market system. Quite a few of us wonder where all that money comes from, where it is going and about alternative uses for it. It would not be unwarranted to ask for assessments of the impact on childhood of crisis and recession and – as far as I am concerned – on the intergenerational solidarity. Two things are certain about this melt-down of the financial market: firstly, its immense effect on childhood and the life of children – the expected set-back for the poorest children in the world is already being observed; secondly, its significance for children will hardly be seriously considered in the clandestine offices of stock markets and governments.

In relation to all-encompassing macro-economic events, their analyses and digestion in media and policy, childhood is the last in line. The main reason for this seems to be that we all expect parents – “naturally”, as a matter of course – to take care of them; children and childhood are, it is said, in the end a private, and not a public, matter. This ideological position – celebrated often enough by politicians, state and corporate society² – does not prevent the same agents from parading an active interest in children and their futurity in particular, while displaying indifference and disinterest when it comes to contributing to their upkeep. Whatever the motive, the experience is that when economic crises threaten, children are put on the back burner of the public budget. Yet, as I shall argue, children are and always were an indispensable ingredient of any generational connection – and not merely the kinship-related part of it.

Historical perspective

Given the demographic development towards an ageing society as an unmistakable trend in practically all European countries we are increasingly faced with a predicament that cannot be fully understood by means of conventional variables like class, gender and ethnicity; it in fact presents itself as precisely an intergenerational issue or, indeed, a question of solidarity between generations.

2. By corporate society I have in mind the private economy in its broadest sense: trades, business, firms and companies.



This question has not always had the same topicality – at least not in the sense of being part of a public discourse. Historically, there was indeed a *reality* of generational solidarity which mirrored an existential claim and a strategy of survival. The strategy, whether reflecting an outspoken awareness or not, had to do with preparing for a decent life from birth to death, i.e., not only through the whole life cycle but also in the here and now at any time. Adults cared for their children and for their elders in the expectation that their children would pay back in due time in terms of provision, security and care. There is no reason to romanticise or be nostalgic about the functioning of this system; often a harsh life was envisaged and elders neglected. Anyway, as responsible for both production and reproduction at the earlier stage in their life, old people hardly had any other choice but to trust in this system of long-term reciprocity. In the first instance it included a three-generational turnover in the family, but in fact it also involved persons who happened to be childless. As a principle, at least, it was a valuable system which nobody with impunity could ignore and *chances for free-riding were small*.

Continuity and change

Currently we still find, in principle, the same system of intergenerational reciprocity, but it is much less transparent. It is the same in the sense that generations were, are and remain interdependent. But while previously it was justified to talk about intergenerational solidarity as a shared destiny, the sense of commonality has faded away.

In most European countries this change began around the turn of the 20th century – and from the perspective of intergenerational solidarity, the two key words could be *schooling* and *pension*. Schooling came to be accepted as a mass phenomenon and the provision-nexus to the elderly was more and more diluted as incipient pension schemes gained ground. All this indicated a change from a situation where solidarity between family generations was taken for granted to one where this solidarity could no longer be guaranteed – and one of the first questions asked by young couples consequently was: why should we have that many children since both classical fertility incentives have disappeared? Children ceased to bring us any benefit, either as children in terms of their work, or as we got older. In the first instance, the state is *colonising* children's time and work (see Kaufmann, 2005); in the second, we accumulate funds for old age during our working life via various organised arrangements. There are many indications of these changes – most dramatically of course the century-long fertility decline in the wake of which followed the small nuclear family and the disappearance of old people as co-residents with children and grandchildren.

Reproduction and production: their fateful divorce

Textbooks often report about the change in the family from being a site for production and consumption to becoming a consumption unit. That is true enough, but I wonder if this is the most salient change. I would rather suggest that the most significant historical change in the family was one from being a site for production and reproduction to becoming a place for reproduction. This may be interpreted as just another step towards modernity and rationality; just another example of an increasing division of labour. Unfortunately, the severance also did something to the coherence of the social fabric and to our appreciation of it as a common concern. It implied, in other words, a threat to intergenerational solidarity.

Families were left with reproductive functions, the fruits of which were ostensibly none of the productive sphere's business; children were seen by all parties as

a private matter. On the other hand, the production sector was supposed to do nothing but produce, while the in this sense disinterested family was expected merely to purchase its products for the salaries obtained in exchange for the labour force of one, possibly two parents. It was not just that these so far inseparable spheres were in fact being divorced; the severance was accompanied by a strengthened family ideology emphasising children as parents' private property, which state and corporate society should not meddle with. Of course this ideology – its blessings untold – was in economic terms a gift to state and corporate society: not only were they not expected to compensate for the services done to them by parents and children; it was moreover, and astonishingly so, that a suggestion to this effect could be and often has been rejected as an improper interference in the family's internal affairs – absurdly enough most vehemently by parents themselves.

The severance of production and reproduction thus caused bewilderment and mystification as far as intergenerational solidarity was concerned. Who were possible contributors and who beneficiaries? Who were responsible for what and for whom? While earlier everybody was contributor and beneficiary and aware of it, several agents have currently and happily manoeuvred into a position as indifferent or free riders or both.

Notions of intergenerational connections

The participants in intergenerational exchange are at any historical moment members of a *kinship* relationship, typically a three-generational relationship, which, as already mentioned, previously were not necessarily bright and optimistic. As kinship relationships they were private but, as we have seen, they included in principle everybody in the locality, for instance childless people; in this sense one might argue that connections between generations were a public affair. The economy was private and public at one and the same time, because it encompassed everybody in the community. However, the *relationships* were rather informal – what in the German language (see Kaufmann, 2005) is called *Beziehungen* as distinct from *Verhältnisse*, which signifies *relations* between larger groups or categories, like class relations, for instance³.

Portraying the current situation, we can talk about generational connections both in terms of relationships and relations. Despite all changes, *kinship relationships* over generations continue and so does, in this sense,

3. As you gather, I use relationships for *Beziehungen* and relations for *Verhältnisse*.

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intergenerational solidarity. It is more or less intense, but I tend to say that there is this type of solidarity in most families. Yet, it differs from previous societies: it is for better or worse deprived of exchange with persons outside the family; and more and more often only two generations (parents and children in the young family) live together, whereas grandparents typically live apart – close by or, more and more often, far away from their children and grandchildren. The reality of residence obviously influences the nature of solidarity between generations in terms of goods, services, visits and babysitting that can be exchanged and the frequency of this exchange. Nothing is said about the feelings involved due to closeness or distance, and long spatial distance between generations is not necessarily compensated by gifts or money transfers – either way. We do know, though, that there is typically an intense traffic in terms of money, gifts and services between generations. In this sense all experience suggests that solidarity relationships between generations are frequent and very much alive.

They do though have their limits and we thereby come to the *Verhältnisse* or *relations between generations*, between adults and minors (rather than relationships between (grand)parents and children). The major difference to earlier in history is, as mentioned above, that adult children typically no longer share a residence with their elders and no longer provide for them in terms of money and food. This *change* does not prevent us from talking about *continued* and yet a *new* type of intergenerational relations and solidarity, even if relations are not always of the solidary type. To appreciate what it is we must go beyond the kinship relationships and think in terms of relations between generations – as cohorts or age groups, perhaps, but I prefer “generations”, however ill-defined.

Examples

How do we determine if there is an intergenerational solidarity in modern European countries?⁴ One way is to *compare current life conditions* between generations/age groups in terms of, for instance, income, poverty, distributive justice and the like. This is a very important approach.⁵ Are we permitted, then, to talk about improved solidarity relations between generations the more equal are incomes or wealth from age group to

age group? Yes, that would be one measure looked upon from the receiving end. However, full solidarity is obtained only if there is also a kind of equality among contributors, i.e., we must as far as possible seek to prevent free riding. In other words there must be a balance between beneficiaries and contributors; a fair and smooth distributive justice requires contributions from all groups and not least an awareness of it as equitable and reasonable.

Given the dramatic decrease in fertility and the concomitant increase in longevity, a significant change has come about between households with and households without children. While a hundred years ago three in four households in the USA were with children (Coleman, 1990), this is now (in Scandinavia) the case for merely one in four. This means, other things being equal, that currently adults in most households are hardly contributing to raising children, whereas adults in the remaining 25% of households are in principle shouldering all expenses to that purpose. To the extent that childless adults or adults with only one child will demand the same conditions as others in old age in terms of provision and services, we may suspect them to have been free- or partly free-riders; they have clearly been contributing disproportionately less than parents (unless the state by means of the fiscal or the social system is able to make the necessary correction; so far I have never seen this: in no countries have childless people – other things equal – less disposable income than couples with children, at least not on a life-time basis).

The same can be said about corporate society, which – as we saw – had been severed from the reproductive system. Its contribution to the generational turnover is scant, even if it quite obviously benefits decisively from a ready labour force invested in by parents, the taxpayers (parents, non-parents and perhaps corporate society) and children themselves. The understanding of corporate society as a major beneficiary of investments in childhood done by others is, I suggest, highly under-reported.

Under-reported is also the *minors' continued contributing role* in the relationships between generations – i.e., at the societal level. From the point of view of parents, children may be seen as an economic liability, which is of course one major reason for the low fertility. From the point of view of society, minors remain indispensable as always. Exactly as before, they are performing activities that are deemed necessary for the prevailing economy – then it was called manual labour, now it is called schooling (Qvortrup, 1995). Exactly as before, they are a long-term guarantee for old age provision and care – then personalised between adult children and their parents, now via an individualised pay-as-you-go-system for hoarding and paying pensions or other

4. I know that one answer to this question would be to make sure that there are sufficient resources for future generations. I will not discuss this approach, partly because it will typically envisage future adult generations rather than any future childhood.

5. See Bradshaw in this volume.

individualised pension insurance systems, which not only allows individuals to ignore childhood, but actually encourages them to do so.

At a societal level, therefore, fertility incentives have not disappeared – children are still working (we call them pupils) and, now as before, the subsequent generation provides and cares for the preceding one. The problem is, however, a change of appreciation of these connections; the solidary relationships between parents and children (kinship level) have been replaced by solidary relations between adults and minors (societal level). Maintaining solidarity between generations requires that each and every generation at any time makes the appropriate contribution in order to receive an appropriate benefit. This is not the case. We have arrived at a very awkward situation, where those who invest in children do not benefit from them while those who benefit do not invest.⁶

One of the architects of the German pension system, the economist Wilfried Schreiber, knew that children as well as the elderly were not able to provide for themselves and he therefore in the 1950s suggested a kind of pension also for children (Schreiber, 1964). The chancellor at the time, Konrad Adenauer, did not accept that proposal but responded with the now famous remark: “Kinder kriegen die Leute sowieso” – “parents have children in any case”. As we know now, Adenauer was wrong, and he was not alone. His gross miscalculation – and cynical instrumentalisation of parents – was the basis of much reasoning in Europe at the time and has led us into the blind alley in which we are now; it has led us into a lack of solidary relations between generations. This is for some a result of ill will and successful attempts to avoid contributing to their own benefits, for others a result of a lack of awareness of the changes in intergenerational co-existence.

A re-establishment of generational solidarity requires an acknowledgement of the contributions of both parents and children to the social fabric. We do not need a return to the old personalised kinship bonds with their risky contingencies. The positive part of them endures in any case. We do need to realise that accepting and authorising free-riding is ruinous in the long run and is of course the opposite of solidarity. To overcome this acceptance and this authorisation we need to understand that production and reproduction are complementary and not hostile agents of labour divisions. Throughout history this simple truth has been intuitively appreciated; we need to regain it.

I have concentrated on providing you with this wider framework while using solidarity in a broad economic

sense as an example. Space does not allow the illustration of changes in intergenerational solidarity with other examples. Let me though briefly mention two others: one about space; the other about children’s political representation.

First, space: urbanisation was one of the consequences of modernisation which has put children’s conditions under pressure. Again it is an area where the danger is great for romanticising the past and it is not difficult to find examples of new opportunities for children as a result of urbanisation – in particular because it is a part of the whole modernisation package. This is not, however, a good reason for failing to perceive the intergenerational power relations which in urban areas are embodied in their very infrastructure. Urban areas are the embodiment of adult power; it is built as an agglomeration for practical and economic convenience with the purpose to serve the exchange of goods, services and labour force. It is consequently an area where motorised traffic reigns and where as a result children should keep away. It is no wonder that in childhood studies we have been blessed with characteristic notions like *Verhäuslichung* of childhood (more or less = domestication of childhood, see Zinnecker, 1990) and *Verinselung* (“islandisation”) of childhood, meaning that children’s activities are scattered in different places in town forcing them (and their “escorting” parents) to move or jump from place to place (see Zeiher and Zeiher, 1994). I regard this as one example of lack of solidarity between generations and just another result of the divorce between production and reproduction: the parties that are primarily benefitting from the town have no responsibility for children.

The final example is political representation: not least as a result of the demographic development, the trend is towards a weaker and weaker representation of children’s interests – not only because children have no right to vote but also because, as mentioned before, ever fewer adults have a daily responsibility for children. It is true that there is no automatism in this development in the sense that middle-aged or elderly people are hostile towards children. It would on the other hand be no surprise if these age groups collectively favoured their own interests when they cast their ballot. This assumed trend is not, however, in contradiction with grandparents’ personal enthusiasm for their very own grandchildren – exactly as children’s general risk of poverty does not contradict with individual grandparents’ generosity towards their own grandchildren.

Rather we have – in all examples mentioned here – to do with what Kaufmann (2005) has called structural recklessness towards childhood (*strukturelle Rücksichtslosigkeit*). It is in other words rather an often unconscious or inconsiderate clash against childhood

6. I know that I generalise; but what I am saying is nevertheless the gist of it. Space does not allow all the nuances.

as a structural, generational form than hostility towards individual children. This remark goes well together, I believe, with the overall title of this workshop: Changing childhood in a changing Europe. We do not necessarily see a lack of parental concern for children – indeed, I believe one could easily argue for the opposite as a trend: just think of notions such as sentimentalisation and sacralisation (Zelizer, 1985), the child king (Ariès, 1980), etc. The point is that this lack of concern at the structural level joins together with or takes place simultaneously with an increasing lack of interest for childhood among adults in general and corporate society in particular.

The tragedy is that this trend is not only sanctioned but indeed celebrated in terms of the family ideology's insistence on perceiving children as a private matter.

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Towards a More Comprehensive and Comparative Approach in the Study of Migrant Children

Jacqueline Knörr

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

Towards a More Comprehensive and Comparative Approach in the Study of Migrant Children

In my presentation, I will deal with thematic and methodological concerns and demands that, from an anthropological point of view, are crucial to the study of migrant children. I will argue for a view from within and will focus on what ethnography can contribute to the study of childhood in migrant contexts.

At the heart of anthropology are questions of self and other, voice and representation, identity and difference – the very issues that play an important role in the processes of migration and integration and in their understanding and conceptualisation. Anthropologists are the most experienced in applying ethnographic methods, which are most likely to yield qualitative research results based on the actual experience of those who are explored. Allison James, among others, has pointed out (James, 2001) that ethnographic methods have proven critical to the social study of childhood in general. Ethnography has enabled researchers to view children as social actors and to engage with children's own views and ideas rather than focus on adults' perspectives on children. In fact, many studies, in anthropology and beyond, yielded substantial qualitative data on many different dimensions of childhood.

If we want to understand the processes involved in migration and integration, we need to know more about how children themselves experience, view, and manage migration and by means of which social practices and strategies of inclusion and exclusion as well as forms of interaction and conceptualisations of self and other they construct an identity for themselves. We have to keep in mind that both their experiences from their places of origin and their host societies play crucial roles in this respect. There is still little known about these processes. This is true despite the fact that children make up a large proportion of migrants and that they take on important roles in mediating between their world of origin and the host society. Children play this role for many reasons, one being that they acquire new cultural knowledge so “exceptionally well”, as Hirschfeld has pointed out (Hirschfeld, 2002). Children are often more involved in the social life of their host societies than their parents through school and other child-specific institutions and contact zones. Children's ways of socialising with other children and with the world around them is also less constrained by prejudice and bias than those of adults.

However, even most recent anthropological work on childhood, notwithstanding its comprehensiveness otherwise, largely neglects migrant children (see Levine and New, 2008; Montgomery, 2009), and anthropologists dealing with migration rarely deal with migrant children in Europe. Their research usually focuses on migration as a result of specific fostering practices in different parts of the world, on forced migration in contexts of conflict and war, and on modern practices of slavery whereby

children are sold or rented out as work force. Migrant children in Europe were, to date, studied mostly by pedagogues, psychologists, and educationalists who tended to ignore the cultural impact of the children's respective societies of origin on processes of integration.

As one result of the pedagogical and educationalist dominance – and bias – in the research on processes of integration among migrant children, the focus has been on the problematic dimensions of migrant childhood, taking for granted that it is primarily cultural differences that cause conflict in a migrant child, and between the latter and its respective host society. From anthropological research, however, we know that it is not cultural differences as such that cause conflict – but values and rights attached to them. Hence, it is not a migrant child's being different as such that causes conflict but the way it being different is valued – or devalued – by teachers, peers, and the host society. It has all too often been implicitly assumed that a lessening of cultural difference would lead to more and “better” integration and would, therefore, involve less conflict. We need to investigate and challenge such implicit assumptions underlying research on migrant children rather than take them as an epistemological point of departure. There is more to integration than culture and, in order to understand the processes involved in integration, we need to study the interaction of norms, values, and expectations – and in order to find out about these we need to engage with those whom we study. We need to find out how migrant children experience interaction among themselves, and between themselves and their host society. We need to explore whether integration policies and practices lead to integration, to what kind of integration, and whether they lead to integration that feels good to those involved.

Selective identifications play the most important role in the construction of a sense of home and belonging in any (host) society. In this process children create – and integrate – images of their respective culture of origin and their host society. It is this process of integration – of integrating images and perceptions of place of origin and host society – that is of critical importance for integration into society as a whole. Only if migrant children are allowed to interrelate and integrate their different identifications based on their respective experiences involving place of origin and host society will they be able to integrate into society at large as individuals and members of groups. More needs to be known about how such processes of identification and integration influence each other and how they are conditioned by the outside world – including families, schools, and peers. We need to investigate the dynamics of interaction of a particular cultural background of the society of origin, on the one hand, and the integration strategies and practices of a particular host society, on the other. In that, we need to



keep in mind that in today's globalised and highly interconnected world migrant children are often members of their host societies and of transnational networks and communities at the same time. How do these two dimensions of their social lives relate to one another and how do they impact the processes of integration into the host society? The roles of social milieus and peer groups and of socialisation at home and at school are important issues that need to be taken into consideration in this regard. Again, we need ethnographic and participatory approaches in order to come close enough to children's experiences and to decrease the distance between scientific investigation and policy implementation.

Migrant children's lagging behind as far as educational progress is concerned has been of much concern in research conducted by pedagogues and educationalists

in particular, and a lack of language competence has been made out as the major obstacle in their educational advancement. Inasmuch as it is true that language is a key to personal integration and professional advancement, it is wrong to assume that once a migrant child speaks the language of its host society, integration would automatically be achieved and professional careers ensured. The many problems remigrant or repatriate children experience upon their integration or re-integration into the society they supposedly belong to clearly show that language is not the decisive factor concerning integration or lack of it. There are many other obstacles to integration – a major one being the interaction between migrant children and teachers who experience diversity and difference as a threat to their own social and cultural values and convictions. Teachers usually consider the

Towards a More Comprehensive and Comparative Approach in the Study of Migrant Children

migrant children's social and cultural background as the root cause of the latter's lack of integration and educational success. However, listening to migrant children's accounts of their experiences with teachers brings to light that the latter cause them a lot of frustration and obstruct rather than support their integration. Children are far more likely to integrate – to make themselves feel at home – when they feel they are being accepted. However, teachers' reactions to migrant children often cause the latter to develop a negative attitude towards their host society because they feel they are being disregarded for what they are and for what they bring along in terms of values, beliefs, and experience (Knörr, 2005; Mannitz, 2005).

These discrepancies in the experiences and perceptions of teachers and migrant children call for a change in perspectives, both in research and educational policies and practices. As researchers, we need to differentiate more explicitly between teachers' views and experiences of migrant children's problems, on the one hand, and children's own views and experiences in that respect, on the other. There is a difference between having a problem and causing a problem, and there is a tendency to consider a teacher's problem with a migrant child a deficiency in the migrant child's integration. However, it might very well be a teacher's lack of intercultural experience and flexibility, his or her attitudes and reactions to difference, that cause both his or her own as well as a migrant child's frustrations. Let us therefore also look at teachers' social, cultural, and educational backgrounds as root causes of problems arising in the interaction between migrant children and teachers and in the process of integration in general. Let us not just talk to teachers about migrant children, let us also talk to migrant children about migrant children's teachers. We need to study both teachers' and migrant children's views about their mutual interaction and experiences. We need to investigate how teachers and children conceptualise and value diversity and difference in the classroom, how they communicate their views and how their attitudes and modes of interaction impact the processes of integration.

There can be no doubt that teachers need to learn how to deal with diversity and difference in more constructive ways than by demanding integration on the part of the migrant children and their parents. Teachers are often seriously undereducated in this respect. They need to be made aware that less difference as such does not lead to less conflict and that integration should therefore not be misunderstood as a process, in which cultural differences are to be leveled out in the direction of the majority culture (which the teachers mostly belong to). Integration is (at least) a two-dimensional process of interaction, involving those who come to stay and those

who are there already. Therefore, research on childhood and migration must deal with the dynamics involved in this interaction and take into consideration both sides' views and experiences. We should also stop looking at migrant children only in terms of their being migrants. Not everything migrant children do and not do, not every conflict and problem they experience is related to their migrant background. The latter is just one dimension of a migrant child's life which needs to be contextualised in view of social processes and relationships prevailing in modern society at large (Mannitz, 2006).

Children may not be as culturally fixed in their attitudes and practices as adults, but they are not devoid of cultural imprints either. Their cultural backgrounds may vary from one another as much as from their host society's. Thus, there are not merely two types of children – native ones and migrant ones. Rather than conceptualising Western views of the world – and of practices of integration and differentiation – as universal, we need to account for these specificities and differences in order to assess migrant children's social and emotional needs (in the process of integration). In order to obtain and theorise the empirical data, which is indispensable to account for these specificities, comparative anthropological research is needed, the results of which need to be shared with scientists from other disciplines and with educational practitioners. All this does not mean, however, that cultural differences should be overemphasised and cultivated in educational policies and in the classroom. However, problems can only be sorted out and overcome when there is enough willingness and knowledge to understand them and put them in context. They may be rooted in specific family constellations and social environments – and they may have to do with specific cultural backgrounds and with conflicts arising from a collision between contradictory demands put on a child or from ambivalent values and norms concerning adequate behaviour and forms of social interaction.

There are psychologists and social workers in most schools who can support children when they experience emotional or social distress. But neither psychologists nor social workers are adequately educated to understand and deal with problems that have to do with specific cultural backgrounds. We may not just need teachers more sensitive to culture-specific issues, but the involvement of non-teachers. We need comparative research to assess the impact of such involvement of non-teachers and non-educationalists as practiced in some European countries. The question is whether and how their involvement has changed educational policies, forms of social interaction and processes of integration in schools and beyond.

Cultural identity and social practices incorporated and learned in childhood have an important impact on the

course of integration in youth and adulthood. Therefore, the investigation of these processes is not only of scientific interest but can also give important impetus to the development of policies that appeal to children and serve their needs (Knörr and Nunes, 2005).

Before I come to an end, let me name a few specific research demands concerning migrant children:

- A lot of research that is subsumed under childhood research actually deals with youth rather than with childhood. If we want to know more about children, we need to study children, not youths. This is true also for the study of migrant children.
- An increasing number of children are involved in multiple processes of migration and many children return at some stage to a home, which in many cases has never really been home to them. Their experiences of repatriation differ from “regular” migration in many respects. More (comparative) research is needed concerning such processes of return migration and repatriation of children in order to assess and contextualise their particularities.
- In studies on migration and integration in general, it is often the respective major immigrant groups which get more or less all the attention – like Turks and repatriates of German origin in the case of Germany. More research is needed on minority migrant groups in order to be able to compare differences and similarities in their experiences and processes of integration.
- Research on migrants and integration usually focuses on failed integration and its causes. In order to assess which factors facilitate integration, we also need to study those children who integrate well. We need to know what works as much as we need to know what does not.
- And, last but not least – and with regard to both research and potential policies concerning integration: in order to know what might work in Europe, we had better look beyond Europe as well. There might be a lot to learn from practices of integration and diversity beyond the Old World.

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Social Inclusion and Child Poverty

Jonathan Bradshaw

Social Policy Research Unit, University of York, United Kingdom

Introduction

Until the Lisbon Summit in 2000 the child and the family were relatively absent from the European Union. The social inclusion strategy and the Open Method of Coordination allowed children to come in. Now tackling child poverty is high on the European Union's political agenda. It was a priority in the March 2006 European Council, a focus of many of the National Reports on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006-2008, the main work of the EU experts on the National Action Plans in 2007, and the subject of a report by the European Commission in 2008 (EC, 2008), which reflected much work by the Indicators Sub-Committee of the Social Protection Committee. The Commission has recently commissioned a new study on child poverty and child well-being (based at TARKI in Hungary).

In this brief note I shall review what we know about child poverty and social inclusion in Europe. Then I shall review what we know about the relationship between child poverty and child well-being. Finally, I shall describe how we seek to evaluate policy in Europe.

What we know about child poverty in Europe

The EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (SILC) is a very good resource for comparative analysis of child poverty. It is the source for the two Laeken indicators on child poverty: the relative child poverty rate – the proportion of children living in households with income less than the 60% of the national equivalent median before housing costs; and the proportion of children living in workless families. It enables us to analyse child poverty rates and child poverty gaps; the characteristics of children in poverty by: household structure (single or multi-unit), family type, employment of parents, age of the youngest child, number of children.

At the moment we only have SILC data for most countries in the EU for 2005 and 2006. The European Household Panel Survey which preceded it is not comparable. But the OECD published a report in 2008 (OECD, 2008) which showed that child poverty increased between the mid 1990s and the mid 2000s in most countries – the only exceptions were Australia, Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Mexico, UK and USA. SILC will provide a picture of change in child poverty over time and, because it is a quasi cohort study with a four-year panel element, we will be able to use it to explore the persistence of poverty comparatively.

In most European countries the child poverty rate is higher than the overall poverty rate (the only exceptions

in 2006 were Denmark, Germany, Cyprus and Finland). In a number of countries, including the Czech Republic, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Hungary, Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia and Sweden, the child poverty rate is higher than the pensioner poverty rate.

So even before the recession, child poverty in most European countries was getting worse and, if we consider generational equity is a test of the UN Charter on the Right of a Child not to live in poverty, then there are many countries in Europe that need to look to their laurels.

Some of us have been critical of the reliance on income poverty measures in the EU – the use of the modified OECD equivalence scale which has no basis in science (which even the OECD no longer uses), and particularly the relative poverty threshold, which is not only arbitrary, but also represents very different levels of living in different countries. For example the 60% of median poverty threshold in 2006 was 1 738 € per year in Romania and 27 397 € per year in Luxembourg. Using these thresholds we are hardly comparing like with like. However, both the OECD and EU have begun to recognise these problems. New (and overdue) research is just about to be commissioned by the EU which may result in the development of a more absolute indicator of child poverty, possibly based on a common basket of goods and services or minimum income standards.

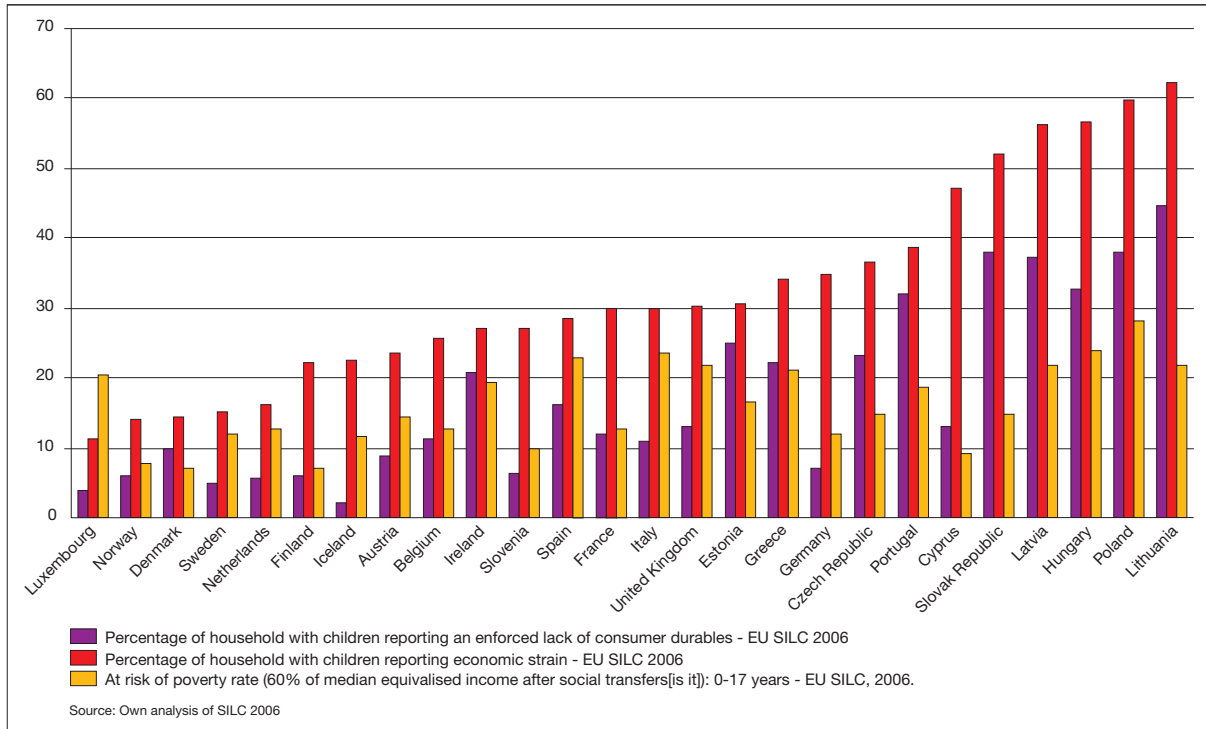
In addition, the EU has begun to publish data on enforced lack of durables (deprivation)⁷ and economic strain⁸ alongside the income poverty rate. In its 2008 report it published child poverty rates for 2005 using each of these indicators side by side. I have replicated that analysis in Figure 1 for 2006 and it shows that countries vary considerably according to which indicator is used. The richer countries (in terms of GDP) have lower deprivation rates than income poverty rates and the poorer countries have higher deprivation and economic strain than income poverty.

I have argued that we should go one stage further than merely putting countries side by side on these measures

7. An enforced lack of consumer durables refers to people who cannot afford to have a washing machine, Colour TV, telephone, a personal computer or a personal car (a similar indicator is used by European Commission, 2008: 51 – we include a personal computer). The indicator is one or more of these items missing. Households with children are households with any number of residents aged 0-17.

8. Economic strain refers to households who could not afford to: face unexpected expenses, one week's annual holiday away from home, to pay for arrears (mortgage or rent, utility bills or hire purchase instalments), a meal with meat or chicken, fish every second day, to keep their home adequately warm (European Commission, 2008: 51). The indicator is missing two or more of these items. Households with children are households with any number of residents aged 0-17.

Figure 1: Child poverty rates in EU-29 (deprivation, economic strain and relative income poverty) 2006. Ranked by economic strain.



and produce an “overlaps analysis” (Bradshaw and Finch, 2003). We get a much more reliable picture of real poverty if children are living in families with a relatively low income *and* deprived *and* under economic strain. Indeed it is approaching a more absolute measure. The league table in Figure 2 resonates more with a common understanding of countries’ relative living standards.

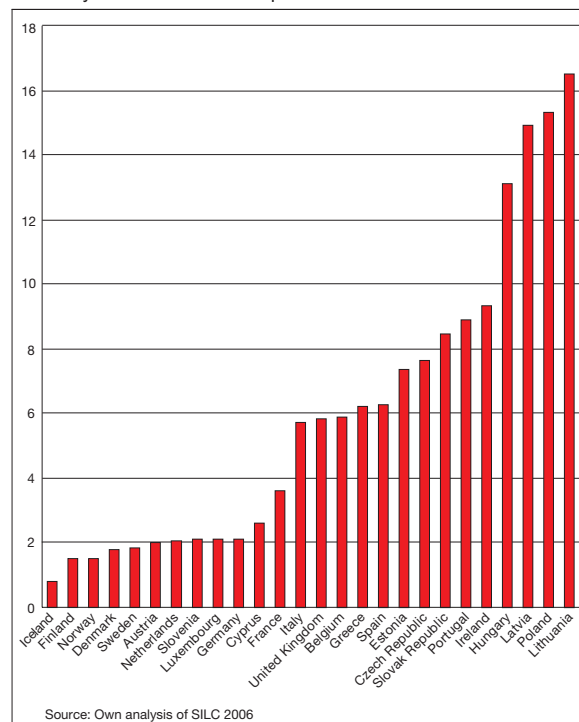
On social inclusion SILC is more limited in respect of children. There are questions that can be used to develop indicators of housing and the environment. So it is possible to measure:

- overcrowding using rooms per person in households with children;
- housing problems – households with children reporting more than one housing problem⁹;
- households with children reporting crime as a problem in the area;
- households with children reporting pollution or dirt as a problem in the area.

For a broader set of indicators of social inclusion we have to turn to other sources.

9. One or more of the following: leaking roof, damp walls/floors/foundations, or rot in the window frames. Accommodation too dark, no bath or shower, no indoor flushing toilet for sole use of the household (European Commission, 2008: 51). Households with children are households with any number of residents aged 0-17.

Figure 2: Proportion of children living in families with a relatively low income *and* deprived *and* under economic strain.



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What do we know about child well-being in Europe?

When the UK was President of the EU in 2006, and in response to the call during the Luxembourg Presidency of the Atkinson Committee to “mainstream” child well-being in EU social indicators (Marlier et al., 2005), we developed an index of child well-being for the EU-25 countries (Bradshaw et al., 2007). When UNICEF heard about this work we were commissioned to develop a similar index for OECD countries which was published as Innocenti Report Card 7 (UNICEF, 2007). We have subsequently produced a similar index for the CEE/CIS

countries (Richardson et al., 2008). We have now updated (Bradshaw and Richardson, 2009) the original EU index and extended it to the EU-29 using the latest administrative data and three surveys: SILC 2006, PISA 2006 and HBSC 2005/6 (Currie et al., 2008). These sources generated 43 indicators that were combined in an index with seven domains. Table 1 ranks the countries by the average of their dimension z scores (distributed around a mean of 100 using a standard deviation of 10) and the rank of each dimension is given. The countries have been divided into three groups using colour coding – top third, middle third and bottom third.

Table 1: Index of child well-being. EU-29.

Rank	Country	Child well-being in the EU-29	Health	Subjective	Relationships	Material	Risk	Education	Housing
1	Netherlands	117.2	2	1	1	7	4	4	9
2	Norway	114.8	6	8	6	2	2	10	1
3	Sweden	114.8	1	7	3	10	1	9	3
4	Iceland	114.1	4	9	4	1	3	14	2
5	Finland	110.9	12	6	9	4	7	7	4
6	Denmark	109.5	3	5	10	9	15	12	5
7	Slovenia	107.1	15	16	2	5	13	11	19
8	Germany	106.0	17	12	8	12	5	6	16
9	Luxembourg	104.7	5	17	19	3	11	16	8
10	Austria	104.2	26	2	7	8	19	19	7
11	Ireland	103.9	14	10	14	20	12	5	6
12	Cyprus	103.7	10			13			11
13	Spain	103.6	13	4	17	18	6	20	13
14	Belgium	103.0	18	13	18	15	21	1	12
15	France	100.9	20	14	28	11	10	13	10
16	Czech Republic	98.9	9	22	27	6	20	3	22
17	Slovakia	98.7	7	11	22	16	23	17	15
18	Estonia	96.9	11	20	12	14	25	2	25
19	Italy	96.1	19	18	20	17	8	23	20
20	Poland	94.6	8	26	16	26	17	8	23
21	Portugal	94.5	21	23	13	21	9	25	18
22	Hungary	94.3	23	25	11	23	16	15	21
23	Greece	94.0	29	3	23	19	22	21	14
24	United Kingdom	93.0	24	21	15	24	18	22	17
25	Romania	87.0	27	19	5		24	27	
26	Bulgaria	85.0	25	15	24		26	26	
27	Latvia	84.1	16	24	26	22	27	18	26
28	Lithuania	82.4	22	27	25	25	28	24	24
29	Malta	82.0	28	28	21		14		

One thing that the data in the index can be used for is to relate child poverty to other outcomes at the macro level. Three examples:

- Figure 3 shows the relationship between overall well-being and the income poverty rate. Income poverty explains 53% of the variation in overall child well-being. The enforced lack of consumer durables explains more (66%) of the variation.
- Another example is the relationship between material well-being and educational attainment. Basically there isn't one in Figure 4.
- One of the values of PISA and the HBSC is that they interview children about their lives. It is therefore possible to relate subjective well-being to poverty. Figure 5 shows that the economic strain indicators explains 56% of the variation in the proportion of 11, 13 and 15 year olds in HBSC with high life satisfaction.

Figure 3: Overall well-being by child income poverty rate.

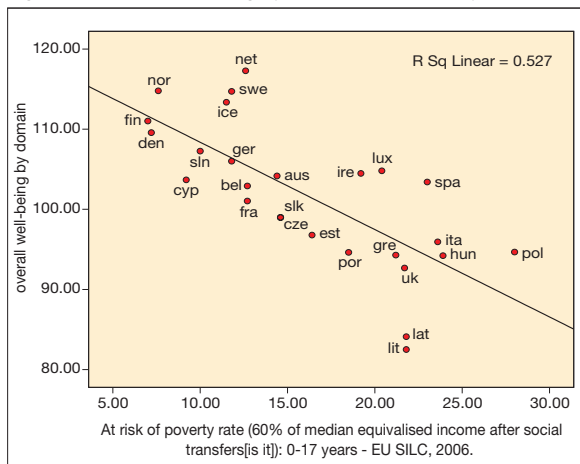


Figure 4: Material well-being by educational attainment (average of PISA scores for literature, science and maths).

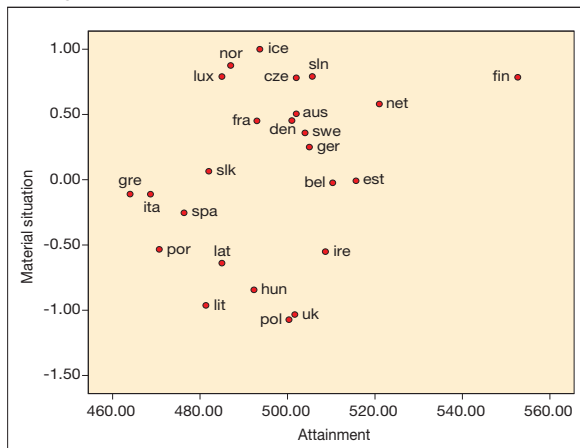
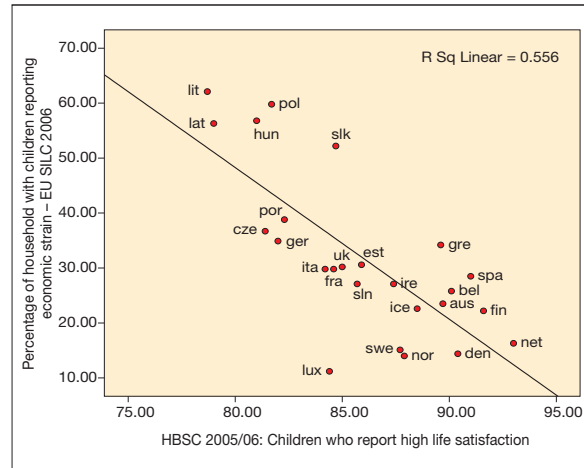


Figure 5: Economic strain by high life satisfaction.



What do we know about policy?

While we have made progress in describing child poverty and social exclusion in Europe and in relating it to outcomes, at least at the macro level (at the micro level neither HBSC nor PISA have very good data on poverty and social exclusion), we have been making less progress on finding out what works – on policy analysis. At present we study policy effectiveness in three main ways.

First, we compare poverty before and after transfers; this is possible using EU SILC data as in Figure 6 (next page). There is big variation in the extent to which countries reduce their market-driven child poverty by transfers.

Second, we compare effort using national account data. The ESSPROS series includes cash and kind benefits but does not take account of tax expenditures on behalf of children, which are becoming an increasingly important part of the child benefit package in some countries. The OECD has produced an analysis of spending on families with children which does take account of tax expenditures. The most recent data for 2005 is presented in Figure 7 (next page).

Third, we compare child benefit packages using model family methods using either the OECD *Taxing Wages* series or academic projects (Bradshaw and Mayhew, 2006). Unfortunately, the EU does not support such comparisons. However, there is light at the end of the tunnel – the EUROMOD micro-simulation project is being updated and extended and in three years' time it will be possible to compare family tax/benefit packages in a great deal more detail.

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Figure 6: Child poverty rates before and after transfers: Own analysis of EU SILC 2006.

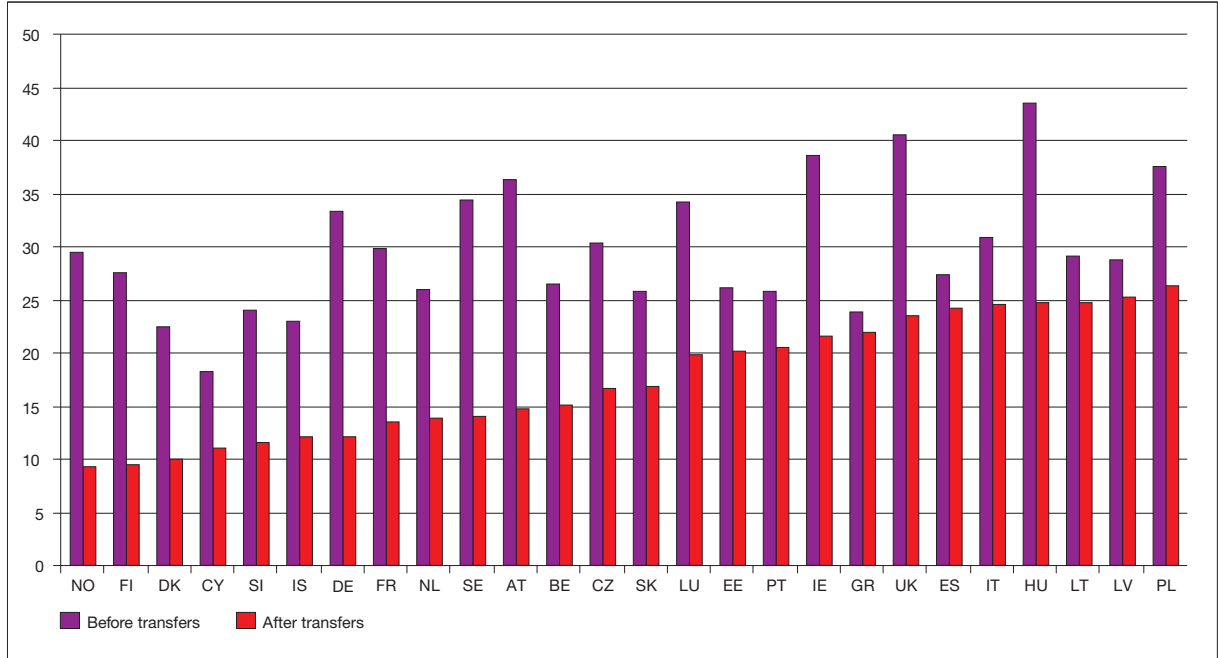
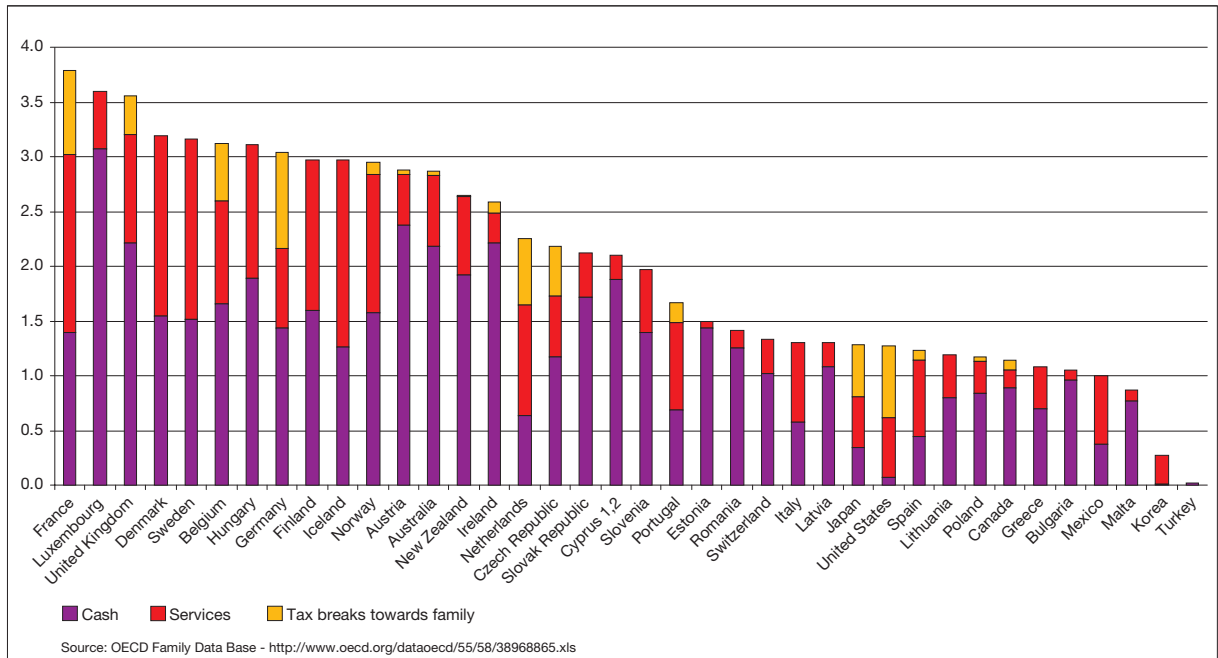


Figure 7: Family spending in cash, services and tax measures, in percentage of GDP, in 2005.



Conclusion

There is now a considerable body of good quality and comparable data on child well-being covering European countries, and the coverage and quality will be improved – when Bulgaria, Romania and Malta are covered by EU SILC, and also when the questions on children are improved in the EU SILC survey after 2009. However, we are still lacking indicators covering some domains important to child well-being. The coverage of subjective well-being does not include what children think about their housing and neighbourhoods, or their access to transport, play space, recreation and other services.

We could do with more data on dispersion within countries. This is probably too much to hope for with the administrative data. However, for data derived from surveys it is already available with EU SILC, and the PISA data is also available for secondary analysis by all users. The major problem here is the HBSC, which is a very important data source and only available to HBSC researchers. This is a major problem with the survey and may eventually undermine support for it internationally.

Finally, there are problems with these general indices in representing the circumstances of children in minority groups – ethnic, Roma, refugee/asylum seeker, disabled children – groups which are too small in numbers to be represented by general samples of the population. There is also a tendency for too many of the indicators to relate to the circumstances of older children because older children are the ones interviewed in the PISA and HBSC surveys.

In my view we need a new survey of children in Europe.

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Conclusions

Pasqualina Perrig-Chiello

Institute of Psychology, University of Bern, Switzerland

1. Gaps, unanswered questions and topics to address

The five papers presented here outline the status quo of research in a comprehensive way. It has been shown that there is a considerable body of high quality research on child health and well-being covering European countries, while the coverage and quality is constantly improving. Despite this progress there are still considerable gaps that have been identified. This fact is mainly due to the rapidly changing demographic and social realities of children and their families across Europe. The research gaps concern the topics as well as the methodological approaches. A fundamental critique addresses the fact that a lot of research that is subsumed under childhood research actually deals with youth rather than with childhood. Gaps and open questions were identified in four main topical areas:

a) Psychological well-being and mental health¹⁰:

- There is a pressing need for cross-cultural European child mental health indicators allowing comparison across Europe. To date, there are some general tools in the health field, including KIDSCREEN, PISA and HBSC, which provide multi-state data and can, to some extent, monitor the mental health of children and adolescents. However, there is a lack of specific mental health indicators that can be used comparably across Europe. Such a set of indicators should include the prevalence of mental disorders in children and adolescents (which is currently monitored, though not systematically at the country level using different tools and methodologies), indicators for positive mental health, and infrastructural/resource information such as children's per capita spending on mental health and service provision, quality of services and continuity.
 - It is important to evaluate symptoms or pre-clinical symptom clusters in epidemiological studies, and not only diagnosis.
 - There is a need to improve the culture of systematic evaluation of programmes and policies, and this would require the development and specially the dissemination of appropriate methodologies for evaluation and cost-effectiveness research.
 - One way to make research more relevant to policy makers is to include economic studies alongside research into epidemiology, prevention or care in the field of mental health. It is notable that the long-term costs of mental health problems are known to stimulate action in this area.
- There is a need to include the voice of children and adolescents in the development of policies that affect their health and well-being.
 - The implementation of mental health promotion and mental disorder prevention is poor. The greatest barrier is the lack of evidence-based knowledge. There is a mismatch between what is known about evidence-based programmes and what is implemented.

b) Social and financial well-being¹¹:

- We are still lacking indicators covering some domains important to child financial well-being. Debates on child poverty and social exclusion/inclusion in Europe focus primarily on the economy and its needs rather than children themselves (best interest of the child, see UN CRC www.unicef.org). In general, the current research does not include what children think about their housing and neighbourhoods, or their access to transport, play space, recreation and other services.
- There is also a tendency for too many of the indicators to relate to the circumstances of older children because older children are the ones interviewed in the PISA and HBSC surveys.
- Qualitative research, which would give us a glimpse into children's understanding of poverty from their own perspective as children, is perhaps even scarcer. We also lack comparative qualitative studies of children's experience of poverty and social exclusion, which would shed some light on the similarities and differences which characterise these processes across Europe. What would be very interesting is to have comparative qualitative data, to inform us about similarities and differences across Europe.
- Child rights' perspective is providing an opportunity to broaden the picture of well-being and its conditions rather than the need approach. The indicators gathered by WHO, UNICEF and many other bodies are useful and an excellent base for discussion, further exploration.
- Family is the primary source of socialisation but the role and extent of the state and community support is questioned in many ways and forms in the different countries in Europe. Another element is the often raised question about the "ownership" of poverty in case of children. Is it the family, the parent or the child? Are the indicators used for the adult members relevant for children?
- A further point concerns problems in family functioning and parenthood, increasing divorce rates, alcoholism

10. Based on the comments made by Vanesa Carral, Heather Joshi, Kathleen Kiernan, H.C. Steinhausen

11. Based on comments made by Jonathan Bradshaw, Spyros Spyrou, Kostas Gouliamos, Laura Alipranti, Michael Lamb

in parents, and children's custody. Research on young parents' support and preparation for family life and child upbringing would be needed.

- It is well known that quality early childhood care and education can also contribute to a greater social equality and well-being. There is, however, a lack of studies on the issue of consequences of new family forms in childcare arrangements and the effect of policy divergences in public care services and parental leave schemes across European countries.



c) Migration

- A child in migration is a mediator of positive and negative factors of life chances between two generations of adults. They form the basis of quality of life of the next generation of children thus impacting the European futures. Further research should clarify the terminology related to the phenomenon of a child in migration and strengthen efforts of comparative research in new integrated children's cultures as outcomes of migration.
- Research on migrants and integration usually focuses on failed integration and its causes. In order to assess which factors facilitate integration, we also need to study those children who integrate well. We need to know what works as much as we need to know what does not.
- In studies on migration and integration in general, it is often the respective major immigrant groups which get more or less all the attention. More research is needed on minority migrant groups in order to be able to compare differences and similarities in their experiences and processes of integration.
- It would be relevant to study in greater depth the role of the media in integration (e.g., access to new media technologies and representation of minorities in mainstream media).
- Since experiences of return migration and repatriation differ from "regular" migration in many respects, more (comparative) research is needed concerning such processes in order to assess and contextualise their particularities.

d) Intergenerational Solidarity¹²

There are different salient and open research questions on a micro- and macro-level:

On the macro-level:

- How can various existing data sources on intergenerational flows to children (G1 to G3) be integrated?
- How is intergenerational exchange affected by the level of state support for children? Do familistic-oriented societies offset the disparity in support levels for children?
- To what extent do such flows mitigate poverty or, paradoxically, increase inequality at the macro-level?
- At a societal level, how are patterns of state support distributed among age-groups in the population and how do these levels of support flow or not flow to children directly or indirectly?

12. Based on comments by Frank Furstenberg and Bernhard Nauck, Maria Herczog

Conclusions

- What is the relative share of resources given to families with and without children?
- How much of the cost of child care and parental investment in children is absorbed publicly and how much privately?

On the micro-level

- Trace the flow of resources across three-generations (not just two) and relate to how generational flows related to spatial proximity, emotional solidarity, and children's well-being? What proportion of G1 and G2 income flow to G3 (children)?
- How has the growth of communications technology affected the patterns of contact and exchange across the generations?
- Compare the patterns of immigration and assimilation to the organisation and distribution of three-generation households or proximity and examine its consequences for children's own assimilation processes.
- How do G3s' (i.e., children) active role in helping to interpret the host culture affect the processes of assimilation and accommodation among parents and grandparents?
- Looking longitudinally, how do flows change over the life course of the three generations?
- How does the process of partner dissolution and repartnering alter intergenerational flows over the life span?

Recommendations for necessary data structures in future research on intergenerational relations should consider: a life span perspective, panel design, multi-actor-design, multi-method-design, and enable cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons in order to consider cultural variability and diversification.

2. Recommendations

The final discussion of this expert group showed that there is a considerable need of action in childhood research. The main concerns are related to children's psychological, physical, social and financial well-being and on the contextual conditions (familial, intergenerational, societal)¹³. The identified gaps and open questions should be taken as a base for defining the priority lines for future research. The European Science Foundation would be ideally placed to demonstrate strategic needs and enable scientific coherence and integration in this field of research. ESF should thus support the in-depth assessment by leading international experts, of the following future priority lines and big questions with the aim of anticipating problems of young Europeans from a European perspective. With the Forward Looks, ESF has the appropriate tool to enable just that. The "Changing Childhood in a Changing Europe" workshop thus proposes a Forward Look which should evaluate the viability of realising the following two main long-term goals:

1) Creation of a "European Observatory of Children's Well-Being and Childhood in Europe"

Many surveys, research and data are available in different European countries without notification, partly due to the language barriers. On the other hand good sources of information and documents are available at international bodies like UN bodies – WHO, UNESCO, UNICEF, CRC Committee, Human Rights Committee – Council of Europe, EU and its institutions – which are not only gathering information but also analysing them in some forms. The Forward Look should thus investigate how this scattered information can be collected and integrated in a methodologically rigorous fashion. Furthermore it should suggest ways in which the data could be systematically analysed. Given the variety of existing data and methodology it will take a strong effort to suggest a scientifically sound concept.

A potential outcome of a "European Observatory of Children and Childhood in Europe" would be to initiate and institutionalise a "Report of Reports" of already-existing scientific knowledge in every country. This should be the task of the first phase of the Forward Look.

13. Based on suggestions by Lea Pulkkinen, Silvia Carrasco, Claude Martin, Michael Lamb, Dagmar Kutsar, Maria Herczog

Forward Looks enable Europe's scientific community, in interaction with policy makers, to develop medium to long-term views and analyses of future research developments with the aim of defining research agendas at national and European level. Forward Looks are driven by ESF's Member Organisations and, by extension, the European research community. Quality assurance mechanisms, based on peer review where appropriate, are applied at every stage of the development and delivery of a Forward Look to ensure its quality and impact.

For further information: www.esf.org/flooks

2) Creation of a European Childhood Survey

Through the conceptual design of a European observatory, as described above, the gaps in data provision will become quite obvious and initial assessment in the workshop already points towards these gaps. The second phase of the Forward Look should then devise a concept for a comparative panel study on childhood in Europe. This study would be needed in order to fill the gaps and try to balance differences between countries and issues, at two levels:

- Thematical (e.g., childrens' agency¹⁴, competence and context)
- Methodological (triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods, comparative, inter- and transdisciplinary, life-span, etc.)

An ESF Forward Look would be the suitable tool to assess future research needs and agenda in the field of childhood research and would be crucial to integrate research that is too often separated by disciplinary boundaries when collaboration is what is most needed. In order for a proposal to succeed, interested parties should use this workshop report to raise awareness about such a planned effort with as many relevant stakeholders as possible (e.g., funding agencies, childhood association and other international bodies). The interdisciplinary workshop between the Social Sciences and the Humanities made it very clear that there is a need for an inclusive, thorough assessment of the future research agenda in this field in order to arrive at a better understanding of changing childhood in a changing Europe.

14. Basic dimension of personality self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion; active social, economic, cultural, legal and political actors

List of Participants

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- **Dr. Laura Alipranti**

Publication and Scientific Information Department, National Centre for Social Research (EKKE), Athens, Greece

- **Professor Jonathan Bradshaw**

Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, United Kingdom

- **Dr. Vanessa Carral Bielsa**

Health Department, Government of Catalonia, Barcelona, Spain

- **Dr. Silvia Carrasco Pons**

Research Group EMIGRA, Centre of Research on International Migrations, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

- **Professor Frank Furstenberg**

Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, United States

- **Professor Kostas Gouliamos**

School of Business, European University Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus

- **Dr. Mária Herczog**

Eszterhazy Karoly Teacher's College, Eger, Hungary

- **Professor Jan-Erik Johansson**

Faculty of Education, Oslo University College, Norway

- **Professor Kathleen Kiernan**

Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, United Kingdom

- **Professor Jacqueline Knörr**

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

- **Dr. Frank Kuhn**

Social Sciences Unit, European Science Foundation, Strasbourg, France

- **Professor Dagmar Kutsar**

Department of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Tartu, Estonia

- **Professor Michael Lamb**

Department of Psychology (Social and Developmental), University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

- **Dr. Claude Martin**

EHESP — French School of Public Health, France & Senior Research Fellow CNRS University of Rennes 1, France

- **Professor Bernhard Nauck**

Department of Sociology, Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany

- **Professor Pasqualina Perrig-Chiello**

Institute of Psychology, University of Bern, Switzerland

- **Professor Lea Pulkkinen**

Department of Psychology, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

- **Professor Jens Qvortrup**

Department of Sociology and Political Science, NTNU – Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway

- **Dr. Spyros Spyrou**

Department of Social and Behavioural Sciences, European University Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus

- **Professor Hans-Christoph Steinhausen**

Aalborg Psychiatric Hospital, Aarhus University Hospital, Denmark

Institute of Psychology, University of Basel, Switzerland

Department for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, University of Zurich, Switzerland

- **Dr. Loizos Symeou**

Department of Education Sciences, European University Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus

We also gratefully acknowledge the input of **Professor Heather Joshi** (Centre for Longitudinal Studies, Institute of Education, University of London, United Kingdom), **Mr Leonardo Menchini** (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, Italy) and of Dr. Vanesa Carral Bielsa's colleagues of the Government of Catalonia: **Fleur Braddick**, **Andrea Gabilondo** and **Eva Jané-Llopis**.

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