

# **CHALLENGES FOR THE FAMILY IN EUROPE: What Africa Should Learn**

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## **Introduction**

After World War II there was an urgent need to reconstruct society on all levels: houses had to be rebuilt, healthcare had to be provided. Everybody worked together in building the new world.

In the golden sixties Europe believed strongly in prosperity and in progress. Tradition was no longer of any value. New materials like plastic were developed, and living together in huge buildings was no longer exceptional. The idea was that, by solving all materialistic problems like poverty, health, clothing and mobility, paradise would be constructed.

Europe went far beyond solving the normal needs for a decent living. Many families now have two cars, a television in each room, and can afford expensive holidays. Young people have not only a mobile phone, but it's the latest model with all the bells and whistles available. Several European countries belong to the top 10 of the richest in the world.

A high rate of overall satisfaction was expected. Unfortunately, it turned out quite differently. Instead, new and unexpected challenges have to be faced. The last three decades, the perception of the future has changed drastically, due to very profound changes in society. The expectations of a nearing victory faded, and nowadays, to a common European, words like 'sorrow' and 'distress' sound more familiar than 'progress'.

Our aim is to explain you four of the present European 'sorrows'. We believe them to be the most important ones, since the foundation of our society is involved: family life.

- Population decline and ageing
- Parental divorce and instability of families
- Difficulties in combining paid work and family life
- Increased individualization and loneliness, and the related high rate of suicide

## **I. Population decline and ageing**

Instead of overpopulation (expected in the seventies), we actually have an urgent problem of population decline in Europe. The latest UN report expects that Europe (counted from the

Atlantic to the Ural), where **fertility** falls to its lowest point in the world, will shrink from its current 728 million to 538 million by 2100 (-26%).<sup>1</sup>

Fig.1 (fertility rates from 1960 to 2002)

Starting in the sixties with a fertility rate of 2.6 for the 15 EU countries, the EU average stood at just 1.48 children per woman in 2003.

In comparison, the United States approaches a rate of 2, which is much higher than Europe and quite close to the replacement rate, which is, by convention, defined as 2.1.

Fig.2

Here we see the actual fertility rate of the 28 EU countries. That means: the former 15 EU countries, plus the new 10 acceded countries (AC10) since May 2004, together with the 3 candidate countries (CC3 – Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey).

Although almost every country is beneath the replacement rate, there is a great variety between the countries: France, Ireland and the Scandinavian countries do much better with a rate between 1,9 and 1,6. Germany for example has a birth rate of around 1,4 since more than 20 years. Several Eastern-European countries have already a negative population growth. Bulgaria for example had a population decline of 0,92% in 2004; Hungary had a population decline of 0,25%<sup>2</sup>.

Fig 3 Fertility rates for the world.

Not only the growth or decline, but also the **correlation between the different ages** is important for social and economic issues. The sustainability of current pension systems is a very prominent example. After the Second World War, there was the famous *baby boom*. The people born in this period are now approaching the age of 60. In other words, within 10 years we will have a very large number of people living from a pension system. In most countries there is a well-developed social system, where the working population contributes to funding the pensions of the older persons. Of course with a shrinking population there are too few people contributing to the system.

Within 20 years after, a large part of the *baby boom* group will attain the age of 80, with a corresponding higher dependency rate. By the way, in 2050 the largest group is expected to be the one of women of 80 years and older. Dependency means that these persons need help for daily care, such as hygiene, cooking, walking, cleaning and medical care. In a shrinking population there will be not sufficient hands available to do all the work.

Moreover, the **life expectancy rate** in Europe is increasing each year, due to better living conditions and improved medical care. In Europe, the average life expectancy for women is 80 years, and for men more than 75 years. This is about 10 years more compared to 1950. Furthermore, demographers don't know whether to expect a future life expectancy of 90, 100 or 110 years.

In the past, **migration** could compensate the insufficient birth rate. The actual difference in wealth between most developing countries and Western Europe will probably continue to

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<sup>1</sup> UN Population Division.

<sup>2</sup> Population growth rate(%) 2004 country rankings: photius rankings. Data Source CIA World Fact Book.

attract migrants for several decades. It is not easy, however, to integrate persons of very different cultural and religious backgrounds. In most cases, immigrants don't know the language of the country of destination, nor do they have the money to educate themselves and their children. So, by default, they are in need of social help. A second difficulty is the control of the quota of immigration. The number of immigrants a country can handle depends on the integration capacities and the total social help it can provide. Places with too many immigrants suffer the consequences of strong subcultures, closed for the existing culture and with an atmosphere of 'not feeling at home'.

On the other hand, we must consider that developing countries tend to follow the tendencies in the Western world with a delay of 20 to 30 years. And indeed, the world indices of fertility have already descended below the critical 2.1 children per woman in several countries. Fifty years ago, the world index was 5,4. In 2003, for example, the fertility rate in Brazil was 2.01, in Thailand 1.91 and in Tunisia 1.90. A substantial detail: Africa and Asia are ravaged by pandemic diseases. It is likely that within some decades there will no longer be a population surplus in the developing countries<sup>3</sup>.

Another factor that will restrain migration is the fast development of several countries.

So for Europe ageing is a great challenge to face because of the sustainability of the social system (for ex. pension funds are emptying) and also because of the dependency on help of a mostly older population. But there are many other consequences entailed if there is no longer a young population: the lack of innovative spirit, the lack of adaptability to new situations, entrepreneurship and taking risks. Other consequences are difficulties to raise children. After years of parents with one child, we now have the situation of grandparents with one grandchild. So 4 grandparents and 2 parents are watching closely the only child of the family: the child often suffers a strange kind of suffocation.

#### Main factors influencing fertility rates

For European policymakers, it is important to understand which elements really influence fertility rates. Looking across countries nowadays, several surveys indicate that fertility rates are mainly influenced by three elements of behaviour:

- The proportion of women remaining childless  
(*Due to a decline in fertility*)
- The average age at which women began their childbearing  
(*In many countries this is now delayed beyond the age of 28*)
- The proportion that remained single throughout their childbearing years  
(*Due to instability of partnership and work*)

**Fertility aspirations** are often significantly higher than the achieved fertility. Under-attainment varies strongly in relation to education. In many countries the ideal number of children is 2. But with the years passing, it seems that the same persons do not attain their ideals. As a matter of fact, actual fertility rate in Europe is only 1.48 as said before.

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<sup>3</sup> UN Population Division. « World Population to 2300 »

The gap between ideal and actual family size, seems to have widened somewhat over the past half century – particularly in the EU15. Out of several surveys, it could be suggested that women (or, indeed, men) have fewer children today because of the ever-widening array of alternative ways of using their time and resources. Options other than having children available to men and women are so rich and attractive that the loss entailed in sacrificing those options for the sake of family formation is greater than anything experienced in previous generations.

Reporting to the question ‘did you have too few children, just right or too many children?’, women with high education reported for more than 40% not to have attained the number of children they would have liked to have. This is much higher than the almost 20% of women with lower education. This could suggest that women with high education have to face important difficulties in finding appropriate childcare provisions to support a ‘normal’ career path, and later in combining career and family. A Japanese study pointed out that women with high education have an average fertility rate of 0,6 children. The high under-attainment would make highly qualified women a specific target for policy intervention.

Other reasons for under-attainment of fertility aspirations are probably:

- Low recognition in society of having children: career and having friends come first.
- The financial polarisation between family (with children) and non-family (partnership): those who have children are in the lowest range because the two-income norm is impossible to achieve with many children (Fig. 5)
- The overburdening of women: although there is in most of the families family-concertation, there still is much of gendered ideas about child rearing in Europe. In spite of all progress, there is a difference in caring for family responsibility. Difficulties in finding a good work-life balance both for men and women are widespread.
- Unemployment or insecure employment in general and insecurity of return to work for men and women, after they decide to dedicate some years to the family, is another element. The years dedicated to unpaid work (such as child raising or care for elderly people) is considered in most of the countries as ‘not working’, so that the social security systems are not applicable to these men or women.
- The instability of partnership is certainly an important reason for not having more children.

## **II. Parental divorce and instability of families**

This brings us to the second major challenge for the European family. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the **de-institutionalisation** of family life has become a widespread phenomenon in the European Union, involving high levels of divorce and growing rates of unmarried cohabitation as an alternative to marriage. This entails rising levels of extramarital births and above all lone parenthood. The last five years divorce has even increased in an accelerated

way. Not only young couples, but also couples married since many years, divorce. Belgium – unfortunately – is number one in the world with nearly 60 (59.8) divorces per 100 marriages in 2000. In Austria there were nearly 50 (49,8) divorces per 100 marriages in 2000, and in Portugal 30 (30.0). Spain was quite low with 18 divorces for 100 marriages.

#### The importance of family in European citizens view.

European citizens were asked what is important to them in their daily life. The question they had to answer was: ‘In your opinion, which three factors contribute most to your current quality of life?’

Fig. 6 (self-reported factors for ‘good living’)

In all of the European countries, three factors are important for having a good living: health, sufficient income and support from family. Much after these three elements come others like having a satisfactory job, nice home, support from friends, free time or information technology.

For the citizens of Europe, *good family relations* are key demands for their quality of life. This is rather related to the availability of family support and living in a partnership, than having children.

But within the European society the demands on individual persons regarding for example their career, income norm, study level and flexibility in the work place are very high. Many young couples have the very impression to run from one place to another and even their free time is planned and scheduled. There is almost no time left for making a home where tenderness, understanding, mutual respect abound.

Awareness should be risen that family relations have to be build up day after day, week after week. As said Mother Teresa of Calcutta ‘Everybody seems to be in a hurry. No one has any time to give to others: children to their parents, parents to their children, spouses to each other. World peace begins to break down in the homes.’<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, satisfaction on family relations helps counterbalance the larger dissatisfaction with income, employment and health care systems. Family is therefore an important stabilizer of overall life satisfaction.

### **III. Difficulties in combining paid work and family life.**

The third challenge for the European Family is to find a better work-life balance. Several countries who have stressed their family policy on providing a better reconciliation between work and family life seem to have higher fertility rates as well.

Parents with children under three years of age have most problems to fulfil their family responsibilities. They should be a target group of policy measures. There is a problem with work-life balance ranging on average between 10 and 20% of the working population.

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<sup>4</sup> Jean Maalouf: “Mother Teresa: Essential writings”, Orbis Books, New York, p.83.

Several European countries work on new measures to improve the work-life balance. Austria, for example has a system of auditing enterprises for their politics on family-work compatibility. There is a yearly reward for the best enterprise, with a lot of media attention.

The enterprises themselves report to benefit from this positive attention: they find more easily personnel and there is less rotation of personnel. Training and reintegration cost of new personnel is thus highly reduced.

But Prof. Nuria Chinchilla will give an extended conference on this subject these days.

#### **IV. Increased individualisation and loneliness, and the related high suicide rate**

This brings us to the forth challenge for the European family to resolve: the increased individualisation and loneliness. In contrast to Africa, the extended family support tend to disappear. Young families move into the cities, where they know very few people.

Due to traumatical experiences in their parents' family, such as domestic violence or divorce, many young persons don't want to engage in any relation. In times of difficulties, there is no longer neither family support, nor neighbourhood to rely upon.

Suicide has become in Belgium for example the first reason of death in the group of persons between 30 and 50 years old. And this curiously while at the same time Belgium belongs to the ten richest countries.

Nevertheless *intergenerational solidarity* is important in regard to the spread of the costs of care between the younger and the older generation. European societies depend largely on family support for the provision of care for the elderly. In the sixties 'homes for elderly people' were invented. They are certainly a solution in specific cases. But in general it is a very expensive invention. In such a home there is one employee (nurses, cooks, cleaning personnel, management, etc.) needed for each older resident. In the last decade there is renewed attention to care in the families. Even urbanism has been adapted: the so-called 'kangaroo-houses' are promoted, where grandparents can live next-doors to their children and grandchildren.

Decline in fertility and higher life expectancy will provoke even more financial constraints as said before. Until now between 21 and 25% of the persons are engaged in some form of regular help to someone who is ill or dependant. The level of support is almost as high among economically active persons as among pensioners or unemployed. In the future it is expected that grandparents will take care of the great-grandparents as long as they can.

Fortunately, survey reveals a much higher degree of intergenerational solidarity than reflected in the public debate on the 'war between the generations', together with a more realistic view on a fair sharing of the care burden for the future.

On the other hand, breaking the family structure by divorce will, in the long run, probably result in a significant decline of intergenerational solidarity and loneliness, as there has been less personal bonding.

**Social exclusion.** Economic hardship has less effect if social buffers, like a well-functioning family network, are available. Participation in a meaningful web of relationships, particularly relationships with one's own family, are crucial for social inclusion. Not only the lack of family support, but being a one-parent family, significantly increases the risk of objective and perceived social exclusion. Furthermore, families are often a means of financial support, particularly in countries where the welfare state is weak.

## **V. Possible Policy directions for families in Europe.**

### **1. How can Europe improve its fertility rate?**

As family reveals to be important for European citizens, which are their own demands on family policy and which could be possible directions?

In a European Survey directed by Linda Hantrais<sup>5</sup>, the respondents surprisingly gave by far the highest priority to the **fight against unemployment** as the most important measure to improve the situation of families. The reduction of unemployment and the increase of the employment rate are seen as the best social policies for all, including families with children. Secure income from employment, affordable housing and sufficient standard of living are widely seen as preconditions for raising children.

**Flexible working hours, distant working (with ICT)** and a system of part-time work possibility for both male and female employees are seen as a second priority. Curiously nowadays in Belgium two part-time workers cost more to the enterprise in social security than one full-time worker. Systems of 1/2, 3/4 or 5/7 work could be more widespread. Attention nowadays is more paid to the very young child, but school age children need equally personal attention of the parents after the school. The so-called 'children with the key' find nobody at home after school. Many of them 'dedicate' their time to watching TV or hanging around in the streets. A great effort could be made in order to match the hour of coming home of the children and at least one of the parents.

European parents see **child care provisions** as an important means of improving life for families and children. I don't believe that lengthening school days (as was suggested some time ago) is a good idea, but childcare provisions could be extended to school age children. In Belgium, since 5 years we have childcare for school age children next to the school from 7 in the morning to 7 in the afternoon. Parents pay on a day-to-day basis, according to what they need. Several educators provide playing, rest and help with homework for school.

**Duration and level of benefits during parental leave** is another key point. The first four months of parental leave are not only important for child caring, but also for bonding of mother and child. The newborn baby and the new mother need time to spend with each other, to watch and to learn to love each other.

Related to this is the **recognition of un-paid work**. A parent who gives up paid employment to care for a child or other dependent persons will lose professional income and personal

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<sup>5</sup> Linda Hantrais: 'Comparing family change and policy response in Europe'. Cross national research papers Sixth Series: Improving Policy Responses and Outcomes to Social-Economic Challenges: Loughborough University. Ed. 2003

social rights. In the case of the unemployment of the earning partner, a divorce or an illness, the situation of the caring parent further deteriorates from a situation of economic and social discrimination to a fall into real poverty.

Adequate **social protection** for the caring person should be studied. Childbearing, child caring or care for disabled or elderly persons could be taken into account for calculating the pension. This work should be considered as ‘unpaid work’, and not as ‘no work’. In Belgium nowadays, if a housewife or a houseman wants to return to the labour market, it looks as if he or she hasn’t done anything before. He or she has no right to dole.

The *Bastos Report* of the European Parliament<sup>6</sup> calls member states to avoid **tax measures** which penalise families and larger households. They add that family policy should make it possible for parents to spend more time with their children, and that better contact between parents and children would have a positive impact on family formation and family stability.

Maybe women could be convinced to have children before their university studies. A system of **scholarships** could encourage women to take up their studies after some years.

More deeply, I think we should consider whether we should replace motherhood by workers. As says prof. Mary Daly<sup>7</sup>: ‘It seems that by focussing on work-equity for women and not on family life, we are emptying family.’

**Positive media attention** for having babies reveals to be a great power. As a matter of fact several well-known stars such as Madonna and Claudia Schiffer, or the princesses Maxima and Mathilde have had babies. In Belgium we had several series on television about childbearing. It was a series in a clinic with midwives and young mothers. And last year we had almost 400 births more than in 2002, whereas in 2001 we still had a descent with nearly 700 births. At the same time the number of midwife students doubled.

## 2. What can be done to stabilize the families?

On one hand Europe needs desperately to improve birth rate, but even so important are measures to **stabilize the families and decrease divorce rates**. Premarital courses could be organised to help the future spouses realise what are the contents of their engagement, their obligations, which are the obstacles and how they can cope with them. Courses on communication and on education of children (for example, the ones my federation proposes) would be very helpful, as well as good mediation in crisis situations. ‘The art of living together’, as we all know, is a beautiful art, but it is as hard as it is beautiful. And it is first learned at home. Here, Europe could learn a lot from Africa, where the whole extended family is a very effective mediator in crisis situations. The father speaks with his son, the aunt with her niece and the grandmother with her grandchild to overcome the crisis.

**Special attention should be paid to the adolescent children and the young adults** – the spouses and parents of tomorrow. Premature sexuality and pregnancy, suicide, drug abuse and alcoholism are among the plagues of these ages. Shouldn’t we ‘re-think’ parts of the contents of our educational system? Wouldn’t it make sense to have programs to strengthen the characters of our grown-up children, and thus make them more capable of building a long life

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<sup>6</sup> Bastos Report, European Parliament. A5-0092/2004

<sup>7</sup> Prof. Mary Daly, Queen’s University, Belfast, Ireland. ‘Unmet needs and risks: the significance of Changing Family Life for social policy in Europe’, at Irish Presidency Conference, Dublin, Ireland 13-14 May 2004

community of love? In school programs, we could put more challenges to be met, so teenagers can experience the happiness of reaching the top of the mountain after climbing with much effort, endurance and sacrifice. In television series, many of the personages stress on expressing the sincerity of their feelings as the most important goal. Fidelity to their promises is more likely to help building an enjoyable family or community.

Young people should be given the opportunity to experience the happiness of being paid with only a smile of the old or sick person one has helped. Many opportunities to die to selfishness and to serve others could be integrated into the school program. Why not think for example on a regional or national reward for the most friendship-building initiative of scholars, or the best social initiative.

Teachings on household keeping both for boys and girls (like cooking and budget planning) might be as necessary as mathematics or languages.

### 3. The fight against individualisation and loneliness.

**Reconstructing neighbourhoods.** Difficulties are much more easy to solve when there is relevant social cohesion. In my language, a proverb says, 'Better a good neighbour, then a distant relative'. But nowadays in Europe we even don't know who is our neighbour. We tend to take a car to see our friends. More sensitive urban planning can be developed. In the ancient villages two things were important: the church and the village square. Creating spaces to meet, to talk and even to play 'petanque' like in the south of France, will be very helpful in reconstructing social networks. Play streets for children, where traffic is banned are another possibility to explore. Maybe we could think about a green space per inhabitant barometer in urban planning. Curitiba, a Brazilian city, tripled its inhabitants from 600.000 in 1970 to nearly 1,8 mln today. Green space per inhabitant nevertheless increased from one-half square meter to fifty square meters, thanks to good urban planning.

The perception of overpopulation is in a great deal influenced by the disturbing effect of too many cars. Noise, pollution and waste of time in traffic jam are some of the results. A study of Murdoch University in Australia shows that 'during the eighties there has been an acceleration in vehicle travel by urban populations such that, on average, every man, woman and child has been adding another 20 km each and every month to their total use of automobiles.'<sup>8</sup> Much more attention could be paid to public transports in order to bring more rest and quietness in the neighbourhoods.

Photo

Furthermore, Curitiba has no traffic jams thanks to a good network of rapid bus transport. With a 2000-bus system that moves 1.3 million riders daily, public transport handles 75 percent of all weekly trips into the city. In my own town all busses are free for everyone. Of course every case is different and should be carefully studied.

A very recent survey conducted by professor Paul Whiteley of the University of Essex (England) found a strong link between **voluntary activity** and overall life satisfaction.<sup>9</sup> Voluntary work ranged from helping an elderly neighbour to taking part in community

<sup>8</sup> Prof. Jeff Kenworthy and Prof. Peter Newman, Urban planning. Institute for Science and Technology Policy, Murdoch University, Australia.

<sup>9</sup> Prof. Paul Whiteley. Economic and Social Research Council. University of Essex (England). Published 2004/09/19

projects. Professor Whiteley said: ‘ It seems that when we focus on the needs of others, we may also reap benefits ourselves. It means that voluntary activity in the community is associated with better health, **lower crime**, improved educational performance and greater life satisfaction’. According to the study, volunteering was seen to have a positive influence regardless of the social class or the wealth of the community. English Government figures show that in 2003, 51% of people (around 20 million persons) participated in their community. The Home Secretary, David Blunkett said that his government want to increase cooperation and strengthen links with the voluntary sector. Voluntary work is probably also a strong remedy against loneliness.

**Inclusion of the ageing population.** 17% of the population of EU is over 65 years old and this percentage will probably increase to nearly 33% in 2050. We have not only many grandparents, but also great-grandparents. Policy should promote closer links between generations. Some examples are promoting partnerships between kindergartens and old people’s homes, offering social housing that enables several generations to live under the same roof or closely together. Investigate the possibility of providing for the progressive suspension of professional activity on a voluntary basis for grandparents who are willing to take care of young children (full-time or part-time ‘grandparental leave’) and recognising the growing role of grandparents in nuclear families where both parents work.<sup>10</sup> It is very important to improve the self-esteem of the elderly by integrating them in the community. Frequent contact with their grandchildren makes them feel alive, and is one of their most important ways to happiness. In fact, in most cases, grandchildren are the only remaining resort of which they can say ‘This is what I have been living for,’ since they quit their job, don’t have any career ahead, and are not capable of giving birth to new children.

**Exchanging good practices.** Several countries have already renewed some points of their social and family policies. Exchanging experiences of good practices is certainly very valuable, now that Europe should become just one big family. For example in Austria, where the birth rate was 1,32 in 2002, several measures were taken.

Tax advantages have been granted to families: 250-mln euro lower taxes for families; if only one parent is working, the family pays less taxes the more children they have. Since 2002 child allowance is 436 euro each month for the child-carer (the mother or the father) for maximum 3 years. Since 2002 it is possible to stay at home in order to take care at home of a dying relative. Training courses for parenthood are organised or subsidised. 360 offices for counselling of families are opened in Austria. Special attention is paid to make child care available not only for small children, but also for children up to 14 years.<sup>11</sup> And indeed, the birth rate has risen to 1,41 in 2003, which is an improvement of 0,09.

Recently, France proposed several new measures: to create a shorter time of parental leave (1 year in stead of 3 years) but better paid, the creation of a “child care ticket” on the same idea as a “restaurant-ticket”. So the entrepreneur can very easily collaborate in the financing of the expenses of child-care. And a third measure would be the modernisation and revalorisation of the card for big families, so that it would permit better and more advantages<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> COMECE. A Family Strategy for the European Union. An encouragement to make the family a EU priority. March 2004.

<sup>11</sup> Mrs Ursula Haubner, Minister of State for Family and Generations, Austria. Irish Presidency Conference, Dublin, Ireland, 13-14 May 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Rapport par Hubert Brin, president of UNAF, May 2005. To be found on [www.famille.gouv.fr](http://www.famille.gouv.fr)

To end: a Bigger Picture.

There is a very positive achievement in Europe the last decades: after so many centuries of wars, we live in peace since 60 years. Europe finances many projects that make European citizens work together in very different ways, but always on a basis of equality and exchange. Students can make part of their study time in another country, thanks to the Erasmus program. Little by little mentality is changing, and the citizens feel like participating to the big European family. The (political) conditions for a sorrowless(er) Europe are in reach. Now let's get back to the families.

### Conclusion.

Family can be recognised as society's most supporting entity. Especially in Europe we must rediscover the great value of the family. But all around the world we should be attentive to very destructive forces. As Aristotle said: 'If family is changed, society will be changed. If family is destroyed, society will be destroyed.'<sup>13</sup> Therefore, politics should guarantee legal, economic and social protection of the family, always in accordance to the principle of subsidiarity.

And, if I may quote another great character in human history: about 2600 years ago, Confucius already gave the council: 'If you want to govern a reign with wisdom, it is most necessary first to give the family the place it ought to have.'<sup>14</sup>

New ways should be found and exchanged to reinforce the family in its capacity of building the future society.

Family can be defined as 'the only place where a human being is unconditionally loved'. The fruit of love is a gift, not only to the persons constituting the family, but also to the whole society.

Family-oriented policies would thus contribute in shaping a civilization of love. I wish Africa a brilliant future by supporting the family, and make it a priority of politics.

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<sup>13</sup> Aristotle. *Politics*. 4<sup>th</sup> century a.c.

<sup>14</sup> Confucius. *The great Study*. 551-479 a.c.