

Women's labor market participation across ethnic groups

The role of household conditions, gender role attitudes, and religiosity in different national contexts

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Women's labor market participation across ethnic groups
The role of household conditions, gender role attitudes, and religiosity in different
national contexts

Arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen uit verschillende etnische
groepen

De rol van huishoudelijke omstandigheden, houding tegenover gender rollen, en
religiositeit in verschillende nationale contexten
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Discussion

1.1 *Women's labor market participation and ethnic diversity*

One of the main transformations of Western societies in the last 50 years is the influx of women into the labor market (Blau and Kahn 2007; Goldin 2006; Rosenfeld 1996). Whereas employed women were still seen as an oddity in the 1950s, today, the majority is economically active and a traditional female homemaker life-course trajectory has become the exception (Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001; van Gils and Kraaykamp 2008). The development towards more gender equality in the labor market is also reflected in an increasing endorsement of egalitarian gender role attitudes in most Western countries (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Brooks and Bolzendahl 2004; Kraaykamp 2012; Scott, Alwin, and Braun 1996). One of the benefits of this increased labor market participation is that women gain greater economic autonomy. Women who are full-time homemakers depend financially on the income of their male partner (Merens, Hartgers, and Brakel 2012), which may not only be a risk for the woman, but for the entire family (Oppenheimer 1997). After divorce or separation, or a sudden job-loss or death of the partner, this dependency often leaves women, and the rest of the family, in economically precarious situations (DiPrete and McManus 2000; Özcan and Breen 2012; Poortman 2000; Uunk 2004). Participation in the labor market is therefore considered an important mechanism to decrease the likelihood of women entering poverty as a consequence of tragic life-course events. Partly due to these developments, which were accompanied by many other trends that are increasing women's autonomy, Western societies are often portrayed as relatively egalitarian in terms of gender relations compared to other societies in other regions of the world (Norris and Inglehart 2002).¹

Roughly at the same time, the booming Western economies and the dissolution of the former colonial empires in the decades following World War II started large migration movements into Western Europe from economically less developed regions (Castles, Haas, and Miller 2014). Many of these migrants had a different ethnicity and religion than the native populations in the receiving societies, which became significant markers of difference (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Woon 1999). As a result, the receiving countries transformed from more or less ethnically homogenous to multi-ethnic societies – with ethnicity being defined as belief in a shared ancestry and cultural heritage.²

¹ There are actually a number of objections of this portrayal of Western societies. Some recent accounts, for example, ask whether the development towards gender equality has 'stalled' in some Western countries in light of stagnating gender gaps in participation, occupational status, division of domestic tasks and also attitudes (Hochschild, [1989] 2012; England, 2010). Other accounts have questioned the linearity of the development towards gender equality and argued that different indicators can evaluate different countries as more developed towards gender equality. For example, a country such as Sweden, usually considered as highly progressive in the development towards gender equality, actually performs relatively poorly compared to other countries if the indicator is occupational gender segregation (Charles, 2011).

² Minority groups in Europe are not only structured along ethnic lines, but also racially (i.e. skin color) and religiously as well as by national origin. For instance, immigrants with national origin in Turkey can be of Turkish ethnicity, but also of Kurdish ethnicity. At the same time, religious beliefs are shared across different countries. Turkish and Moroccan minorities in the Netherlands are both predominantly Muslim even though these two groups do not share an ethnicity or nationality. I will mainly focus on ethnic distinctions between groups in this dissertation because they emphasize common socialization experiences within a given group and a perceived shared cultural heritage. In contrast, a religious group is mainly held together by a common holy scripture and/or abstract belief system. Furthermore, in most groups that are studied in this dissertation ethnicity largely overlaps with national origin while at the same time it is a less 'replaceable' identity than nationality (i.e. a people can more or less easily give up their nationality, but not their ethnicity). An exception is made for the UK, where minorities from different countries in Africa and the Caribbean are commonly grouped rather along racial than ethnic lines (Black African & Black Caribbean). Other markers of identity are, nonetheless, highly relevant in certain contexts. The native majority groups in Europe increasingly uses religion instead of ethnicity to classify Muslim immigrants and their descendants

Furthermore, many migrants that arrived during this time were less educated than the native population³, and mostly worked in low-skill positions (Alba and Foner 2015). Educational and labor market success still differs strongly by ethnic group across different Western European countries today, even among the children of these immigrants (Heath and Brinbaum 2014; Heath and Cheung 2007). The (ongoing) change in the ethnic composition of European nations led, therefore, to an increased attention to the integration of these ‘new’ ethnic groups into the host-societies (Alba and Nee 1997).

One area that is prominently discussed in the debate about immigrant integration is gender relations. A large part of the people that arrived in the European countries as part of the migration movements were coming from countries with predominantly Muslim populations. As a consequence, the largest ethnic minority groups⁴ in many Western European countries are now of Islamic belief. Public debates about Islam in Europe often emphasize cultural differences in gender relations to draw a difference between Muslim immigrants and the native majority group (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2009). These debates portray Muslim women as overly submissive, and Muslim men as dominant within the family - and contrast this image with the supposedly equal gender relations of native majority Western couples (e.g. Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007, see Razack 2004; Yurdakul and Korteweg 2013). Gender relations in other ethnic minorities who migrated to Europe roughly at the same time as the Muslim immigrants, for example Black Caribbean and Black African in the UK and Antillean and Surinamese in the Netherlands, are usually not perceived as fundamentally different from the native majority groups.

Differences between the ethnic and religious groups that are highlighted in the public discourses are to some degree reflected in actual differences in attitudes and behavior. For example, even though female labor force participation, which refers to women who are employed or unemployed, but willing to work, has increased steadily over the last decades, this did not result (yet) in similar participation rates between women from different ethnic groups. In fact, there are great ethnic variations in the participation rates. Moroccan and Turkish women in the Netherlands have a labor force participation rate between 51 and 53 percent whereas about 66 percent of native Dutch and Surinamese women and 63 percent of Antillean women in the Netherlands participate in the labor market (CBS 2015). In England and Wales, about 42 percent of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women participate in the labor market whereas more than 75 percent of White, Indian, Caribbean and African women do so (ONS 2011 census). A similar pattern can also be found in Germany where 83 percent of West German natives (and 89 % of East German natives) participate in the labor market whereas this applies only to 50 percent of first generation immigrant Turkish women (estimates from Fleischmann and Höhne 2013 based on German Microcensus data from 2009). Not participating in the labor market could just be considered the personal risk of a woman. But ethnic patterns in female labor market participation also have societal consequences. Dual-earner

(Casanova 2012), even though a comparable shift in salience from ethnic to religious identity has not been observed among second generation ethnic groups with Muslim background (instead ethnic and religious identification are often as positively related in the second generation as in the first generation) (Maliepaard, Lubbers, and Gijssberts 2010; Platt 2014).

³ With native majority population, I mean people who have ancestors in the host society that go back at least three-generations.

⁴ I use the term ethnic minority group and immigrant group interchangeably as most larger ethnic minorities in Western European countries arrived not earlier than two or three generations ago and often still have connections to their origin countries.

couples tend to have higher earning potentials than single-earner households and are, therefore, also more protected against unexpected life-course events such as unemployment (Harkness 2010). If household income strategies vary by ethnicity, then this can lead structurally to greater ethnic inequality between minority and majority households.⁵ In fact, ethnic minorities already tend to have higher unemployment rates, lower earnings and less prestigious occupational positions than the native majority group (Kogan 2006, 2007). Large ethnic inequalities in women's labor market participation rates may lead to even greater income disparities between ethnic minority and majority groups, which increases the risk of permanent assimilation into lower socio-economic classes (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Furthermore, for immigrant women, not participating in the labor market can also mean lost opportunities for socio-cultural integration. The workplace has the potential to help immigrants improve skills in the host-society's language and it can also foster interethnic ties with native majority members (Estlund 2003; Kokkonen, Esaiasson, and Gilljam 2014; Mcpherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001; Thuesen 2016). Both can be assets for immigrant women's own economic position as well as for the prospects of their children (Chiswick and Miller 2002; Lancee 2010, 2012).

Earlier research has tried to explain ethnic group differences in female labor market participation with compositional differences between these groups in human capital resources and household conditions (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012; Dale, Lindley, and Dex 2006). However, these studies often cannot fully explain differences in female labor market participation between ethnic groups. Bevelander and Groeneveld (2012), for example, find that Turkish and Moroccan women are less likely to be in part-time or full-time jobs than native Dutch women after accounting for educational level, marital status, number of children, and the years since migration. Furthermore, Surinamese and Antillean women are less likely to be in small part-time jobs and more likely than native Dutch women to be in full-time jobs, after accounting for the same factors. Dale et al. (2006) report similar findings in the UK. Accounting for education, partnership, and the presence of children, they find substantial differences in the labor market participation between ethnic groups. Their results show that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are substantially less likely and Black Caribbean women more likely to participate in the labor market than native majority women whereas Indian women show relatively similar participation patterns as the native majority. Moreover, they find that children and partnership seem to lower Black Caribbean women's labor market participation less than native majority women's. They also show that education seems to cause greater variation in the labor market participation among Pakistani and Bangladeshi women than among the other ethnic groups – which Dale et al. interpret as a sign for the stronger persistence of traditional gender role expectations in Pakistani and Bangladeshi families. According to earlier qualitative work by Dale et al. (2002), Pakistani and Bangladeshi women with high educational achievements are more successful in resisting the family's expectation not to participate in the labor market than their lower educated counterparts.

These accounts raise the question in how far cultural norms and values differ between ethnic groups, and whether they can explain the ethnic differences in female labor market participation that are not accounted for by compositional differences in human capital and household conditions. Furthermore, they suggest that family members play an important role for women's decision to participate in the labor market. Therefore, this dissertation aims to systematically

⁵ Though it is still debated whether women's employment (as part of a dual-earner households) contributes to income inequality between households (Harkness 2010; Schwartz 2010).

examine how cultural norms and values (related to gender equality in particular), as well as family members (more concretely: the partner and his resources) affect ethnic differences in women's labor force participation in three national contexts.

The role of cultural norms and values

Cultural explanations for social inequalities have gained increasing attention in recent years in economics (Antecol 2000) and sociology (Charles 2008), including in research on women's labor market participation (Boeckmann, Misra, and Budig 2015; Fernández and Fogli 2009; Pfau-Effinger 2005; Pfau-Effinger 1998; Polavieja 2015) and immigrant integration (Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008). I will first elaborate how cultural norms and values may affect individuals' behavior in general and then specify how this may play out for female labor market participation specifically. Subsequently, I will outline why norms and values are considered a potential explanatory factor for ethnic differences in the integration outcomes of immigrants and, finally, why this may also apply for ethnic differences in female labor market participation.

The idea of cultural norms and values as a potential explanation of individuals' behavior rests on the assumption that there are certain attitudes, beliefs, and preferences that are pre-dominant and idealized within a specific group, such as a nation, ethnicity or religion (Hofstede 1980; Inglehart 1977; Schwartz 2006). On the group level, these collective attitudes, beliefs, and preferences form shared cultural norms and values that are (to some degree) independent of an individual's own attitudes, beliefs, and preferences, and can, therefore, have a more or less exogenous impact on an individual.⁶ But the group's norms and values are not just an external force that is completely independent from individuals. Instead, norms and values are embedded in individuals and institutions (such as parents, schools, or churches). Hence, groups' cultural norms and values can be measured, for example, by aggregating the attitudes of its group members (for a more detailed account of how culture is experienced by individuals, see DiMaggio 1997). A crucial mechanism through which these norms and values influence individuals is through socialization (enculturation) processes (Bandura 1997; Hitlin and Piliavin 2004). The common understanding is that these socialization processes take place in early childhood when parents (but also other 'carriers' of norms and values) pass on their socially shared beliefs, norms, and values to their children (Platt and Polavieja 2016). Throughout the course of childhood, individuals internalize these norms and values and, then typically, only modestly change them once they reach adulthood (Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain 1997). To be sure, individuals' norms and beliefs are not simply determined by the culture they grow up in. Theoretical approaches that highlight individuals' agency emphasize the importance of situational circumstances and people's desire and ability to create personal meanings (Kaufman 2004; Swidler 1986; Vaisey 2009). This point of view allows for variation in norms and values among individuals of the same cultural community as well as for individual changes, for example, when people appropriate cultural beliefs to suit their own preferences and needs, or when they have to adjust to new circumstances. In line with this

⁶ For the purpose of this dissertation the differentiation between attitudes, beliefs, and preferences is not highly relevant. Some scholars distinguish, for example, between preferences and attitudes with the former being considered as stable and unaffected by the situational contexts or life-course events, while the latter being less concrete and variable based on context. Based on this distinction, the term 'attitudes' best captures the concept that I intend to study in this dissertation, and I will therefore use it consistently in the following to improve the readability of the text (though sometimes I will use the specific terminology of an author I'm referring to in the literature review and discussion), while acknowledging that beliefs and preferences are also influenced by cultural norms and values.

approach, recent research has established that life-course events, exposure to other groups' norms and values, and even personality can influence individual's norms and values throughout their life (Cunningham 2008a; Cunningham et al. 2005; Davis 2007; Polavieja and Platt 2014). Taking into account insights from both approaches may lead to the conclusion that a group's cultural norms and values influence the world view of the individuals that belong to it, but also that there is within-group variation in these world views, as individuals within that group have different life experiences and a variety of other group belongings that they don't necessarily share with other group members (Polavieja 2015). This conceptualization allows for cultural norms and values to have an effect on individuals' behavior via their preferences, beliefs, and attitudes without being overly deterministic. But norms do not only influence individuals' behavior via socialization, they also exercise power through social approval and disapproval by the social environment (Lippe and Siegers 1994). Norm violations can be sanctioned by significant others, such as members of the family or the community, and potentially lead to conflict. Hence, to avoid these negative consequences, individuals like to meet expectations of significant others, and therefore conform to cultural norms even if they have divergent attitudes.

Norms and values that are commonly discussed in the literature regarding women's labor market participation mostly concern the gendered division of paid and domestic work. In the sociological literature, there is a great variety in the terminology of individuals' attitudes towards the gendered division of paid and domestic work. Some speak of preferences (Hakim 2002), others of gender role beliefs (van de Vijver 2007), or gender ideology (Davis and Greenstein 2009). Moreover, egalitarian attitudes are sometimes labelled as progressive or liberal (e.g. Bolzendahl and Myers 2004). I will define gender role attitudes as the degree of support for a gendered division of paid and unpaid work, with unpaid work including household tasks, such as cleaning and cooking, but also childrearing. Individuals with traditional gender role attitudes consider unpaid household work and childrearing to be the primary tasks of women, while they consider men to be mainly responsible for providing an income for the household. In contrast, individuals with egalitarian gender role attitudes think that paid and unpaid work should both be equally divided between men and women.

In light of the societal development towards gender equality and increasing support for gender egalitarianism, sociological research has paid increasing attention to the role of individuals' attitudes and preferences as determinants of women's labor market behavior. Perhaps most well-known, Hakim (2000) has argued that structural and social constraints that historically inhibited women to act on the labor market in line with their own preferences dissipated in the second half of the 20th century due to a number of more or less independent societal developments, including the invention of effective contraception, legal changes that provided equal opportunities for men and women, and the increasing dominance of individualist beliefs that encourage individuals to follow their personal preferences. This had, according to Hakim (2000), a deep impact on women's decision-making process regarding their involvement in the labor market because they now could give greater weight to their own personal attitudes and preferences about work-family balances instead of being pressured into certain arrangements by economic necessities or legal restrictions. Since then, gender role attitudes have been related to a number of different social and economic outcomes related to family life, such as women's age at first birth (Thomson 1997), the division of domestic tasks (Nordenmark 2004) and marriage stability (Davis and Greenstein 2004; Kalmijn, De Graaf, and Poortman 2004). More importantly, a number of studies have shown with

longitudinal designs that women's early gender role attitudes are related to the labor market involvement⁷ later in life (Corrigan and Konrad 2007; Cunningham 2008b; Himmelweit and Sigala 2004).

The role of the partner

Despite of the increased attention to the role of women's gender role attitudes, relatively little research has looked at the influence of male partners' gender role attitudes on women's labor market participation. Research on partner effects has argued that couples follow somewhat different dynamics in their labor market behavior than singles as they can coordinate their efforts on the labor market and in domestic work (Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001). This line of research has mainly focused on the economic resources of both partners' as determining factor for women's labor market participation. The concrete effects of labor market resources and their mechanisms is somewhat contested in this research. Some argue that higher labor market resources are related to lower female labor market participation (Becker 1981) whereas others claim that they have a positive effect (Bernardi 1999; Bernasco, de Graaf, and Ultee 1998). Overall there seems to be consensus that these couple dynamics are gendered, but that there is a trend towards an individualization in the sense that men and women (who had a higher dependency in the first place) are increasingly less affected by their partners' labor market resources (Verbakel and de Graaf 2009).

Even though this body of literature addresses the various dynamics related to partner's labor market resources, it rarely takes into account direct measures of attitudes or preferences of both partners. Instead, some studies use rather rough proxies such as religious affiliation on the couple level (Verbakel 2010), or look for gendered patterns in the effect of labor market resources on labor market participation as an indication of the relevance of gender roles. For instance, a finding that is often highlighted as indicating cultural influence is that in couples in which both partners hold similar labor market resources, entrance into parenthood has generally a much more negative effect on women's than on men's labor market careers (Kaufman and Uhlenberg 2000; Verbakel 2010). Qualitative research, most notably Arlie Hochschild's *The second shift* [1989]2012, did, in fact, describe various ways in which couples negotiate the division of paid and domestic work, and how individual partners deal with incongruences between their beliefs and preferences, on the one hand, and the actual compromise with regard to domestic and paid work, on the other hand. But quantitative studies with direct measures of both partners' gender role attitudes still remain scarce leaving open questions about the influence of gender ideology on women's labor market participation.

Gender role attitudes and immigrant integration

To explain ethnic difference in female labor market participation, the study of cultural norms and values is relevant because norms and values of immigrant-origin groups may differ from the native population. Immigrants may bring attitudes and beliefs to the host societies that were shaped during socialization processes in their origin country (Gordon 1964; Norris and Inglehart 2012). Cross-national studies have shown that countries with a majority Muslim population tend to have more traditional attitudes than Western European countries (Alexander and Welzel 2011; Inglehart

⁷ With labor market involvement, I mean labor market participation as well as number of hours worked.

and Norris 2003; Norris and Inglehart 2002). This suggests that migrants from these countries in Western Europe also hold more traditional attitudes than the native population (Norris and Inglehart 2012). However, migrants' attitudes may not necessarily reflect the origin countries' cultural norms and values because they may be affected by either selection effects or experiences in the host-society. Selection may cause people with more egalitarian attitudes to disproportionately migrate to Western Europe or those with more traditional attitudes to disproportionately return to their origin country shortly after migration. Further, experiences in the host society may either accelerate cultural adaptation or make immigrants retain (or even reinforce) the attitude they brought from their origin-country (Alba 2005; Diehl and Schnell 2006; Idema and Phalet 2007; Schmitt and Branscombe 2002; Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007).

Wimmer and Soehl (2014) list a number of potential causes of cultural differences between immigrant-origin groups and native majority members. They argue that in addition to 'cultural import', closeness of the cultures, transnational ties, or perceived discrimination may affect acculturation processes. Their own research actually shows that first-generation immigrants indeed bring the cultural values from their origin country, but for the values of the second generation, influences of the host society are much stronger than of the origin country of their parents. This suggests that exclusion mechanisms in the host society block acculturation processes of those who show diverging attitudes and beliefs from the native majority group in the second generation (Alba and Foner 2003). It has to be noted, though, that Wimmer and Soehl (2014) measured relatively general value orientations and did not include attitudes that are related to specific forms of behavior, such as women's labor market participation, which are more relevant for this dissertation. But a number of recent studies have actually examined acculturation process in gender role attitudes of immigrants in Western Europe. Spierings (2015) also finds that parents contribute much less to the second generation's cultural assimilation than the host society. Furthermore, he finds some indication that return migration is more common among Turks (who have originally migrated to Germany and the Netherlands) with more traditional attitudes indicating to some degree a selection effect. Kavli (2015) finds for Pakistani immigrants in Norway that the first generation's gender role attitudes are strongly shaped by the country of origin and not much changed by years of residence, i.e. even after residing in Norway for a number of years, Pakistani immigrants still had substantially more traditional attitudes than the native majority group. However, the second generation showed a substantial adaptation to the native majority group in their gender role attitudes, which also suggests a strong influence of the host society on the attitudes of the children of immigrants. Similar findings are reported by Heath and Demireva (2014) who show that second-generation Pakistani in the UK adopt substantially more egalitarian gender role attitudes than their parents, but also that perceived discrimination decreases the adaptation to the host society. Röder and Mühlau (2014) could show that immigrants in European host countries have less egalitarian gender role attitudes if they come from an origin country that has less egalitarian gender relations (they use an index that measures how equally active women and men are in the political and economic life of a given country as proxy for gender role norms and values).

Overall, the picture that emerges is that the attitudes of first-generation immigrants are strongly shaped by the norms and values in their origin country, and that they are likely to retain these in the diaspora, whereas the second generation adapts to the receiving society unless they feel excluded by it. Moreover, immigrants from countries with predominantly Muslim populations tend to have more traditional gender role attitudes than other immigrant groups. Within-country comparisons of different ethnic or religious groups corroborate this picture, showing that first-

generation ethnic minorities with majority Muslim faith tend to be more traditional than the native majority group (Diehl, Koenig, and Ruckdeschel 2009) or other ethnic groups (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2009; van de Vijver 2007), while the second generation has still more traditional gender role attitudes but less so than their parents. Regardless of the reasons for these differences, they may contribute to ethnic variations in women's labor market participation either via women's own or their partners' gender role attitudes.

The national context

Women's participation rates do not only differ between ethnic groups, but also between countries (Fernandez and Fogli 2009; OECD 2017). For instance, Sweden has a female labor market participation rate of 81.7%, France has a rate of 71.5%, whereas in Italy, only 64% of the women participate in the labor market (OECD 2017). Furthermore, the prevalence of part-time work also tends to increase women's labor market participation even though it usually does not substantially decrease gender inequality in the labor market. For instance, in the Netherlands, where we see relatively low gender gaps in labor market participation rates and a relatively high level of part-time employment among men and women compared to other countries, the gender difference in the number of hours worked (among those who are employed) can still be substantial, and even higher than in countries with relatively lower female labor market participation (Portegijs and Keuzenkamp 2008).

Research on cross-national differences in women's labor market participation has established a number of important country-characteristics. For example, countries with individual based taxations systems like the UK and the Netherlands tend to have higher female labor force participation rates among married women than family based taxation systems in countries like Germany because the latter taxes dual earner households more highly than the former (Schwarz 2012; Smith et al. 2003; Vlasblom and Schippers 2006). A lack in the provision of formal childcare is another well-known obstacle for the labor market participation of women (Hipp and Leuze 2015). As women are still primarily responsible for children in the household, a lack of (affordable) formal childcare institutions makes it difficult to combine paid employment with taking care of children. Furthermore, dominant cultural norms and values towards gender roles have been proposed as explanation of cross-country differences in women's labor market participation (Kremer 2007; Pfau-Effinger 2005). Even though these researchers often avoid to make clear causal links between these norms and values, and women's labor market participation, they still claim that institutional arrangements, such as family policy, are to some degree shaped by the dominant cultural norms and values of a society. For instance, countries in which traditional family arrangements, with the husband as breadwinner and the wife as caretaker, are valued, are more likely to implement family policies that incentivize this kind of family arrangement (van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002; Pfau-Effinger 2005; Pfau-Effinger 1998). Moreover, it is also claimed that gender role norms and values can affect women more directly, via dominant expectations of the society. In a country that does not value women's employment, potential employers may be more reluctant to hire women (Budig and England 2001). Moreover, family members may discourage women from participating in the labor market as they fear social sanctions by the community (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2012). Finally, and as explained above, dominant cultural norms and values also shape women's own gender role attitudes via socialization processes (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004; Moen et al. 1997).

Empirical studies are consistent in their findings that tax and family policies, as well as countries' cultural context, are some of the most influential macro-level factors for women's labor market participation rates across Western countries, even though the specific mechanisms cannot well be disentangled due to the limited number of countries that are included in comparative analyses (Boeckmann et al. 2015; Dingeldey 2001; Jaumotte 2003; Kremer 2007; van der Lippe et al. 2011; Mandel and Semyonov 2006; Pfau-Effinger 2005; Pfau-Effinger 1998; Sainsbury 1996).

The desire to implement egalitarian gender norms in many Western societies has at times been challenged by conflicting norms about cultural group rights that have gained importance in the context of increasing cultural diversity. At the end of the 1990s, Susan Muller Okin (1999) asked provocatively "Is multiculturalism bad for women?", arguing that multicultural policies, supporting cultural group rights, legitimize practices and beliefs of ethnic minorities that are perceived as highly oppressive to women. Gender equality policies, which are designed to ameliorate the situation of oppressed minority women, meanwhile, at times neglect the specific needs and challenges of these ethnic minority women. Eggbø (2010) has shown this with the example of the Norwegian state's attempt to prevent forced marriage through regulation. These debates illustrate that ethnic minority women do not necessarily react to state policies in a way that could be expected based on the experience of native majority women. This may also be the case when it comes to ethnic minority women's labor market participation.

But, whereas cross-country differences in women's participation rates have been thoroughly studied, much less is known about the role of the national context for ethnic minority women. One report based on data from the European Labor Force Survey of 2005 shows that there is some variation in the differences between non-EU migrant women's, EU-migrant women's and native majority women's labor force participation (Rubin et al. 2008). In Southern European countries (i.e., Greece, Portugal, Spain), non-EU migrant women tend to have higher labor force participation rates than native majority women whereas in Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium non-EU migrants show substantially lower participation rates than native majority women. Furthermore, the report also stresses that difference between EU-migrant women and native majority women are smaller and vary less between countries.

Most of the research on ethnic minority women's participation in the labor market has used a framework that was developed to explain immigrants' labor market integration across countries in general (Fleischmann and Dronkers 2007; Kogan 2006; Koopmans 2010; van Tubergen, Maas, and Flap 2004). These studies have shown that this framework tends to miss inequalities that are only visible at the intersection of gender and minority status. Van Tubergen, Maas, and Flap (2004) propose a general theoretical framework for the economic integration of immigrants that distinguishes between three different macro-effects: country-of-origin, destination-country, and ethnic community effects. Even though they find support for a destination country effect - the presence of left-wing parties in government, which they interpret as an indicator for migrant-friendly integration policies - on men's employment and labor force participation, as well as on women's employment, the hypothesis was not confirmed for migrant women's labor force participation. As they note, the reason may be that they do not take into account features of family life that are particularly impactful on women's participation, such as the presence of young children and marital status. While this research suggests that immigrants face barriers in Western countries' labor markets that are not experienced by the native majority, it also matches the assessment of Rubin et al. (2008) who claim that many integration policies designed to improve migrants' position in the labor market do not account for the specific needs and challenges of minority women such

as their status as family migrants, their occupational skills, but most of all the constraints set by their family responsibilities. Hence, to better understand the impact that these family features can have on cross-national ethnic differences in women's labor market participation, it may be more fruitful to approach the topic from the perspective of feminist research that focuses on how national contexts affect women's labor market participation (Mandel and Semyonov 2006; Pfau-Effinger 1998; 2005; Dingeldey 2001; Sainsbury 1996), while also taking into account the specific needs and challenges of ethnic minority women (Browne and Misra 2003; Donato, Piya, and Jacobs 2014).

Research questions

It has become clear that women's labor market participation differs substantially between ethnic groups and across countries. Above, I have outlined that existing research has some limitations in explaining the ethnic differences in women's labor market participation, and how gender role attitudes and religiosity of women, and their partner, as well the national context, may contribute to an improved understanding of the issue.

In this dissertation, I will use and further develop a theoretical framework that was primarily designed to explain native majority women's labor market participation, and test its applicability to women from different ethnic groups and in different national contexts (the Netherlands, the UK, and Germany). Doing so will teach us whether theories developed to understand the labor market behavior of one specific group, native majority women in Western countries, can be generalized to women with different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Furthermore, it may enrich the immigrant integration literature by showing to what extent integration processes of immigrant women follow different developments than men's. I will ask three main research questions:

1. To what extent do gender role attitudes and religiosity contribute to the explanation of ethnic differences in women's labor market participation after accounting for human capital, household conditions, and other individual characteristics?
2. What role does the partner' play for the labor market participation of women from different ethnic groups?
3. To what extent does the national context shape ethnic differences in women' labor force participation?

Structure of the dissertation

I will proceed as follows. In the next section (section 1.2), I will introduce common explanations for women's labor market participation, starting with household conditions relating to the presence of a partner and children. This first set of factors mainly decreases women's labor market participation by negatively affecting their time-allocation. Both a partner and children require attention that cannot be invested in the labor market. However, as men are not equally affected by these factors (as I will elaborate), somewhat deeper explanations for why women withdraw from the labor market are required. These can be found in economic approaches, that highlight 'objective' economic rationales as a motive for labor market participation, and in cultural approaches that stress the role of gender role attitudes and religiosity as 'subjective' motives. I will subsequently elaborate on the main claims and arguments of these two approaches.

The main goal of this dissertation is to test in how far these individual-level explanations can account for ethnic differences in female labor market participation. Hence compositional differences between ethnic groups in household conditions, economic resources, gender role attitudes, and religiosity should explain ethnic differences if the conventional model of female labor market participation can be applied across different ethnic groups. Therefore, I do not provide any ethnic group specific arguments when discussing these individual-level explanations. After having discussed these explanations, however, I will present a short overview of the ethnic groups and national context that are examined in this dissertation. This overview should illustrate why I believe that ethnic differences in women's labor market participation can be explained by compositional difference between the various ethnic groups on the outlined individual factors. I will finish this section by providing some arguments why these individual level factors may be differently related to women from ethnic minority and majority groups depending on the national context.

After having outlined the theoretical framework, I will address the research designs of the different empirical studies and some methodological considerations in section 1.3. Then, I will provide a summary of the research questions and main findings of each empirical chapter (which will be presented in chapters 2-6) in section 1.4. I will then move on to discuss the overall contributions of the dissertation in section 1.5., mention some limitations and directions for future research in section 1.6., and end this chapter with an overall conclusion in section 1.7.

Before I move on, a final note about this dissertation. The empirical analyses that I will present in chapters 2-6 can also be read separately. They were written as stand-alone publications and separately submitted to peer-reviewed journals. Whereas this may be an advantage for a reader who is only interested in one of the specific sub-questions that I address, readers of the entire dissertation may experience some repetition, particularly in the introductions of the various chapters, and some slightly different use of terminology. In this Introductory chapter, I will therefore provide an overview of the main theoretical arguments, findings, contributions, and limitations to clarify the underlying connection of the different empirical chapters.

1.2 *Explaining women's labor market participation*

Household conditions: Partnership and the presence of children

When women exit the labor market or reduce their working hours, this mostly happens within the context of partnership or marriage (van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002). Cohabiting with a partner fundamentally changes the way individuals can organize their life as it opens up the option for a coordinated effort between partners to deal with different responsibilities. Whereas single individuals have to earn a living and deal with domestic tasks on their own, living with a partner provides the opportunity for men and women to divide these tasks, and potentially specialize in one of them.⁸ Until the late 20th century, the most dominant household strategy in Western countries was specialization, with women focusing primarily, or even exclusively, on unpaid, domestic work, and men on providing the financial income. This clear gendered division of the

⁸ I will only examine heterosexual couples as labor market dynamics within other kind of unions (e.g. same-sex couples) are likely to vary given that the traditional gendered division of paid and domestic work cannot be applied (Jaspers and Verbakel 2013).

work and family sphere eroded from the 1960s on when (married) women started to enter the labor market in large numbers (Charles 2011; Blau and Kahn 2007). One of the consequences of this development is that marriage became less of a reason for women not to participate in the labor market. Nonetheless, after marriage women are still substantially more likely than men to exit the labor market, reduce their working hours, or to commit to less ambitious careers (Blossfeld and Drobnič 2001; Breen and Cooke 2005; Schober 2013; Sorenson and Dahl 2016). Moreover, women entering the labor force and the related rise of the dual-earner household, has not meant that men got substantially more involved in the traditional ‘female’ sphere of family life: domestic tasks. In essence, gender equality increased substantially in labor market participation and some other aspects of the labor market, but only little when it comes to domestic labor (England 2010). Instead, women now often face a double burden with domestic tasks as well as wage labor (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Brines 1994; Greenstein 2000; Hochschild, [1989] 2012).

This burden tends to get amplified with the, traditionally, second step in family life after entering a partnership: having children. The presence of children, and their age composition, constitutes an additional major constraint on the time allocation of couples, especially if external childcare is not easily accessible. The daily household tasks and the care of children can, technically, be divided equally between partners (if outsourcing it to formal or informal childcare is not an option). But in practice, it is primarily the mother who gives up her career by reducing her labor market activity to invest time in childcare. In contrast, fathers continue their labor market career, largely without interruptions, and with comparatively little involvement in childcare and household labor – even though there is a small trend towards more involvement and some country variation (Hook 2006). Moreover, men tend to change their labor market behavior in a way that increases their earnings after both marrying and having children (Glauber 2008; Killewald and Gough 2013).

In sum, over the last decades, and in the context of women’s increased labor market participation in Western societies, the main life-course event with consequences for women’s labor market participation has somewhat shifted from entering marriage to having children (Blau and Kahn 2007), with having children nowadays being arguably the most detrimental factor for women’s labor market participation (Kühhirt 2012; Uunk, Kalmijn, and Muffels 2005). This does not mean that partnership has lost its relevance for women’s decision to participate in the labor market. Instead, researchers have increasingly shifted their attention towards complex partner dynamics involving both partners’ labor market resources to understand on what women base their decision to participate in the labor market (Hochschild, [1989] 2012; Kühhirt 2012).

The difference in the way men and women respond in their labor market participation to family life has motivated much economic and sociological research to explain this persisting gender inequality. In the following, I will present two micro-level theoretical approaches to women’s labor market participation - one that focuses on economic resources and one that focuses on the role of cultural norms and values- that provide an explanation for why women participate in the labor market and why gender inequality persists in the division of paid and domestic work.

Economic resources

Economists often advocate gender-neutral explanations of gender gaps in labor market participation that refer to human capital, or more generally earning potentials, as main cause for the gendered division of paid and domestic work (Becker 1965, 1981, 1985). Human capital theory’s building block is the assumption that individuals aim at maximizing their (economic) utility

and do so by weighing costs and benefits of different actions to arrive at the most ‘rational’ behavior.

It follows from this assumption that the decision to participate in the labor market increases with women’s educational attainment (or other labor market resources, such as work experience, and in the context of immigration, language skills, and years since migration) due to the increasing opportunity costs of not working. Hence, from this perspective, the historical rise in female labor market participation can partly be explained by educational expansion, which provided women with means to maximize their labor income. Education and other measures of women’s human capital remain an important cause of female labor market participation (Steiber, Berghammer, and Haas 2016).

The assumption of the economically rational actor also provides an explanation for the remaining gender gap in the division of paid and domestic work. The household specialization model argues that after marriage (or cohabitation), the main unit of analysis for the utility maximizing equation switches from the individual to the family, i.e. from that point on individuals are more concerned about maximizing the household income instead of their individual incomes. Importantly, it also claims that the most promising strategy to maximize household utility is if the partners specialize in the division of paid and domestic tasks, one of the partners focusing on household tasks (and childrearing) and the other one on wage labor. The decision which partner focuses on what depends, according to the theory, on their relative earning potential. Therefore, the main reason why we still see a gender gap in the division of paid and domestic work is that the earning potential of men still tends to be higher than women’s.

Exchange theory uses the same factors to explain the division of paid and domestic work, but proposes an alternative mechanism that keeps the individual as unit of analysis (Lundberg and Pollak 1996). It argues that taking over household tasks is not a ‘rational’ decision of the couple but rather the consequence of a power-based negotiation, in which the partner with the higher earning potential has a leverage to avoid dealing with unpleasant household tasks. Again, as this tends to be rather men than women, we see the gender gap in economic activity.

To sum up, household specialization and exchange theory both propose the hypothesis that male partners with higher labor market resources than women reduce women’s labor market participation.

An opposing view to these two theories based on the same economic factors is taken by social capital theory. The theory proposes that partners actually use each other’s labor market resources to advance their own labor market position (Bernardi 1999; Bernasco et al. 1998). They can, for example, give guidance about how to present themselves in job interviews or provide valuable information about job openings. Especially the partner with lower labor market resources might profit from the other partner’s skills and knowledge, so that opportunity costs for non-participation increase. Hence, this approach suggests that having a partner with more labor market resource increases women’s labor market participation.

A number of studies have tested these claims against each other but came to no conclusive results. Some have found a negative effect of partner’s labor market resources such as education, occupational status and earnings (Baker and Benjamin 1997; Henz and Sundström 2001; Long 1980; Verbakel and de Graaf 2009), some have found a positive effect (Brekke 2013; Van Tubergen 2008), and again others have found no effect at all (Verbakel 2010). This brings up the question how we can reconcile the opposing theoretical positions and empirical findings. One suggestion comes from the study of Verbakel and de Graaf (2009), in which they examine Dutch couples

using labor force surveys from 1977 until 2006. They find a strengthening negative effect of partners' labor market resources on men's working hours over time and a weakening negative effect of the male partner's resources on women's working hours. This suggests a potential sociocultural development guiding the changing couple dynamics. In the following section, I will argue that increasingly egalitarian gender role attitudes may be one of these developments.

Cultural norms and values

Gender role attitudes

Women's role in the division of paid and domestic work is not only discussed as a matter of economics, but is also explained by gender role norms. Over the last decade, several theories proposed various mechanisms through which these gender role norms can lead to the gendered division of paid and domestic work within couples (for a summary, see Blossfeld and Drobnič 2001). Approaches that highlight these norms as explanatory factors for women's labor market participation complement, and sometimes challenge, the economic rationales.

The approach that gained perhaps the greatest prominence stresses the role of gender role attitudes as determinant of women's labor market participation (Davis and Greenstein 2009; Fernandez, Fogli, and Olivetti 2004; Fortin 2005; Hakim 2000). It is argued that structural constraints for women to participate in the labor market have largely dissipated from the 1960s to 1990s due to societal transformations such as the invention and dissemination of effective contraception, the expansion of white collar work, and the increasing access to education. As a result, gender role attitudes have become more central in the explanation of women's labor market participation (Hakim 2000). In line with the basic idea of the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980), gender role attitudes underlie women's intention to participate in the labor market, and subsequently influence their behavior accordingly. Gender role attitudes can affect women's labor market participation directly and indirectly. Directly, women may decide to participate in the labor market based on their attitudes (Corrigall and Konrad 2007; Cunningham 2008b). Hence, women with traditional gender role attitudes can be expected to be less likely to participate in the labor market than women with egalitarian gender role attitudes.

Indirectly, the extent to which women endorse more traditional or more egalitarian gender role attitudes may affect family formation (e.g. the age of marriage and the number of children), and may also moderate the influence of life-course events and household characteristics on women's labor market participation (e.g. mothers may be more likely to stay at home while their children are young if they have traditional gender role attitudes). To what degree women's own attitudes actually influence their decisions in the labor market is fiercely debated. Critics of the planned behavior approach argue that reverse causality, i.e. women adapting their attitudes to the situation in which they find themselves to reduce 'cognitive dissonance' (Festinger 1954), may explain a large share of the cross-sectional association between women's gender role attitudes and employment. Longitudinal studies have shown that early gender role attitudes can predict later labor market outcomes, but that there is simultaneously a reverse effect of labor market activity on attitudes (Himmelweit and Sigala 2004).

Next to women's own attitudes, their partners' attitudes are affected by the same cultural norms and values, particularly in endogamous relationships, and may therefore be considered another cultural influence on women's labor market participation. As male partners' time-allocation is also

at stake when it comes to women's involvement in the labor market, they may have an interest in having their own gender role attitudes realized (McRae 2003; Davis and Greenstein 2009). Partners may explicitly or implicitly expect women to not participate in the labor market and to avoid conflict and secure the stability of their family, women may meet these expectations even if these do not match their personal attitudes. Partners with traditional attitudes may also contribute less to household tasks (Bianchi et al. 2000; Blair and Lichter 1991; Cunningham 2007, 2008b; Poortman and van der Lippe 2009), which leaves women with a greater share of the work, and less time and energy to invest in paid work. Hence, having a partner with traditional gender role attitudes may decrease women's labor market participation.

Furthermore, both partners' gender role attitudes may also moderate how labor market resources are utilized to decide about women's involvement in the labor market. We argued earlier that household specialization and exchange theory predict that the partner's labor market resources are negatively related to women's labor market participation whereas social capital theory predicts that these are positively related. Existing empirical tests of these competing claims have not resolved the issue, but couples' gender role attitudes may provide a solution. Women with traditional gender role attitudes are better able to focus on household tasks and childcare if the partner provides a high enough income, whereas women with egalitarian attitudes can use their partner's resources to find better employment. Similarly, male partners with traditional attitudes may use their resources to discourage women from participating in the labor market, whereas partners with egalitarian attitudes can use them to assist their partner's career ambition. While the impact of women's own gender role attitudes on their labor market participation has been intensely debated, the influence of the partner's attitudes, and how couples' attitudes interact with the couple's labor market resources, has received much less attention from scholars.

Religiosity

The role of religiosity is also often discussed in terms of cultural influence on women's labor market participation. Religion has been linked to various economic and demographic outcomes, including the gendered household division of paid and domestic work, particularly in the U.S. (Lehrer 1995, 2004, 2009). Even though this research often connects religious affiliation and religiosity with positive economic (and other) outcomes, when it comes to women's participation in the labor market, religion is rather seen as an inhibitor.

Most studies that examine the link between religion and women's labor market participation assume that religiosity fosters traditional gender role attitudes, and therefore decreases women's labor market participation. This relation is generally ascribed to the gender homogeneity of religious elites, the patriarchic beliefs embedded in religious norms, which tend to reduce women's position in societies to the private/family sphere, and common notions of the Abrahamic religions such as paternal God images (Shah, Bartkowski, and Xu 2016). Religiosity is therefore considered to be related to more traditional gender role attitudes, which is assumed to reduce female participation in the labor market (Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1985).

Among the various popular denominations in the U.S., Roman Catholics, Evangelical Protestants, and Mormons were usually considered to be the most traditional religious groups in the 20th century (Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1985; Chadwick and Garrett 1995). But since the 2000s, a new generation of researchers have shifted their attention towards the relation of Islam and gender equality. This research is partly inspired by Huntington's clash of civilization hypothesis

(Huntington 1993), and partly by the increased presence of ethnic minorities with a Muslim background in Western European countries, who tend to have a high level of religiosity and relatively low socio-economic status (Connor and Koenig 2013; Foner and Alba 2008; Platt 2007; for a review, see Voas and Fleischmann 2012). Especially studies on the country level have argued that Islam may be opposed to gender egalitarianism, and, importantly, more so than other religions (Alexander and Welzel 2011; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Norris and Inglehart 2002; but see Spierings, Smits, and Verloo 2009). From a theoretical perspective, mostly theologically based arguments that refer to the non-egalitarian gender role discourses and practices promoted by Qur'anic scripture, are used to paint the picture of an Islam that would inherently oppose gender equality (Mir-hosseini 2003).

This claim has not been left without objections (for a theological counter-narrative, see (Wadud 1999). For instance, qualitative research on Pakistani in the UK has observed that some young Muslim women use their religious identity to re-negotiate traditional gender roles with their parents by separating the traditional ethnic culture of their parents from the (in their eyes) actually more egalitarian religious scripture (Dwyer 2000). Hence, young Muslim women sometimes use their religious identity strategically to participate more in the public sphere, decide about their clothing practices, or have greater autonomy in the choice of their marriage partners (Bolognani and Mellor 2012; Brown 2006; for a U.S. study about veiling practices among Muslim women, see Read and Bartkowski 2000). In a broader sense, the argument implies that traditional gender role attitudes are not just imposed on women by Islam, but that women do have some agency in the interpretation and practice of it (Bartkowski and Read 2003).

Quantitative studies on Muslim immigrants in Western Europe also tend to be more equivocal about the relation of Islam and gender equality. Some showed a negative relation between religiosity and labor force participation among immigrants (van Tubergen 2007; Phaet, Gijsbert and Hagendoorn 2008), but others found no or a weak association (Fleischmann and Phaet 2012; Khattab, Johnston, and Manley 2017; Maliepaard, Gijsberts, and Lubbers 2012). Research that examined the relation between religiosity and traditional gender role attitudes found a negative relation for Muslim first-generation immigrants and Christian natives (Diehl, Koenig, and Ruckdeschel 2009). For second-generation Muslims, particularly women, studies point at a less negative, and sometimes non-existing, relation between religiosity and traditional gender role attitudes, corroborating indications of a transformation of Islam within the European diasporas (Scheible and Fleischmann 2012). Overall, the relation between Islamic belief and traditional gender role attitudes seems, in essence, not to differ from what has been said earlier about other religions' relation to traditional gender role attitudes even though there are some indications that among second-generation immigrant women, religiosity is less negatively related to traditional gender role attitudes.

Besides the negative connection of religiosity and women's labor market participation via gender role attitudes, research on immigrant integration has argued that religious networks may facilitate immigrants' entry into the labor market (Hirschman 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Religious networks, in the form of local religious organizations, are in this literature seen as a resource that immigrants can easily tap into. Attending services or religious meetings provides, for example, the opportunity to create ties with locals that are familiar with the labor market and can therefore provide valuable information about vacant positions (Lancee 2012). But even though this effect has been shown for various immigrant groups in the U.S., research in Europe has not found much

evidence for a positive link between religious participation and labor market participation (Foner and Alba 2008; Koenig, Maliepaard, and Güveli 2016).⁹

In sum, the theoretical arguments and limited empirical evidence suggests that religiosity (more than religious affiliation or participation) is negatively linked to women's labor market participation, and that this effect is explained by traditional gender role attitudes. Yet, even though many studies have implicitly assumed this mechanism, few have actually tested it in an ethnically and religiously diverse setting to explain ethnic differences in women's labor market participation.

Ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, the UK, and Germany

One of the aims of this dissertation is to test whether compositional differences in the explanatory factors I have outlined can account for the ethnic variation in female labor market participation rates within countries. In the following I will briefly describe the main compositional commonalities and differences of the ethnic minority groups that will be studied in the three countries I focus on in this dissertation: the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Germany. More detailed descriptions can be found in the empirical chapters. Chapter 2 and 5 both analyze ethnic minority groups and compare them to majority women in the Netherlands, whereas Chapter 3 focuses on minorities (compared to the native majority) in the UK. In chapter 6, I compare the main Muslim groups in the three countries, which will include a description of the Turkish minority group in Germany, and a more detailed account of the similarities of the Muslim groups in the different countries.

In 2014, the share of foreign born among the population was 11.8 percent in the Netherlands, 13.3 percent in the UK, and 13.2 percent in Germany (OECD 2016). The ethnic composition of this immigrant population differs between the three countries. In the Netherlands, the most significant non-European minority groups are of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean origin. Whereas Turks and Moroccans mainly arrived as labor migrants during the 1960s (with many women only joining in the following decades as family migrants), Surinamese and Antilleans came in the context of post-colonial migration. Non-European migration to the UK has been dominated by ethnic groups from former colonies in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Caribbean, and Africa, though most of the migrants also arrived with the prospect for labor, and were later joined by family members. The main ethnic minority group in Germany are people of Turkish origin, who were recruited within the context of formal guest-worker agreements with Turkey (similar to the Netherlands). Today, these migrant groups contain a sizable third generation, though most members of the working-age population still belong to the first or second generation, and they form the largest non-European ethnic minority groups in their respective receiving country (OECD 2016), which makes it highly relevant to understand their labor market behavior.

Women from the Antilleans and Suriname in the Netherlands, and Caribbean, African, and Indian women tend to show labor market participation rates comparable to the majority groups (though often slightly lower). In contrast, Turkish and Moroccan women in the Netherlands and Germany, and Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK show comparatively low levels of labor

⁹ It could be argued that the effect of religious participation is gendered in that men profit economically from ties they form in the religious organization whereas women may experience stronger normative pressure from the community to conform with traditional gender role beliefs (and hence reduce their labor market participation) –if these effects cancel each other out, it may explain why earlier studies have not found an effect yet. However, to my knowledge, no such study on Muslims in Europe has taken gender into account yet.

market participation with up to 40 percentage points lower rates than the native majority. Most of the minority groups arrived with the prospect to work in low-skilled jobs and therefore tend to have relatively low levels of education. Hence, all groups have a relatively low socio-economic standing in their respective receiving society even though the second generation (especially females) has shown some adjustment towards the native majority group in terms of educational achievement (Fleischmann and Kristen 2014; Heath and Brinbaum 2014).

But there are also important differences between immigrant-origin groups. Ethnic minorities with origins in former colonies are generally competent in the main language of the receiving country due to these historical ties. In contrast, first-generation labor migrants often arrived in the receiving countries as adults and therefore often have some deficits in the native majority group's language. There are also differences in the predominant household compositions of the different ethnic groups. Women with origins in the Caribbean, or Africa have a higher share of single mothers than women from other groups, and Turks, Moroccan, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi often have more children with very low occurrences of single parenthood (Georgiadis and Manning 2011; Gijssbert and Iedema 2011; Loozen et al. 2011; Nandi and Platt 2010).

Ethnicity and religion overlap in most of the minority groups. Turks, Moroccans, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi are almost exclusively Muslims, whereas Caribbean, Antilleans and Africans are mainly Christian. Indians and Surinamese have a somewhat more diverse religious composition including Hindus, Christians, and Muslims, but in both groups the share of Muslims is relatively small, and the dominant groups are Hindus among Indians, and Christians among Surinamese. Finally, ethnic groups from predominantly Muslim countries tend to have on average more traditional gender role attitudes than the other ethnic groups, and also show higher levels of religiosity (Georgiadis and Manning 2011; van Tubergen 2007).

So far, I have focused on individual level explanations of female labor market participation and argued that ethnic difference in participation rates should be explained by compositional differences between the ethnic groups on the main explanatory factors if the standard causes for women's labor market participation are the same across ethnic groups. However, there are some reasons to believe that compositional differences between minority and majority group are not the whole story, and that the national context may also contribute to ethnic differences in women's labor market participation. I will explore some of these context factors in the following.

The national context

A number of studies have shown that destination-country characteristics can influence the economic integration of immigrants (Fleischmann and Dronkers 2007; Kogan 2003; Koopmans 2010; van Tubergen et al. 2004). However, these studies applied a general explanatory framework of immigrant integration that did not distinguish between male and female labor market outcomes, which is also reflected in their lack of explanatory power for immigrant women's labor market participation. Women's labor market participation tends to be more complex than men's as it varies substantially in response to different life-course events, such as marriage and having children. This suggests that a theoretical framework designed to explain women's labor market participation (instead of immigrants') may be better suited for ethnic minority women's labor market participation.

Women's labor market participation rates also show great variation across countries (Antecol 2000). Research on the impact of national contexts on women's labor market participation has

emphasized that these different participation rates are partly due to taxation and family policies, as well as the sociocultural climate (Fortin 2005; Hipp and Leuze 2015; Kremer 2007; Mandel and Semyonov 2006; Pfau-Effinger 2005; Sainsbury 1996; Uunk et al. 2005). But given that these country characteristics are historically grown within the sociocultural context of the majority group, their effect on ethnic minority women may be different. In the following, I will outline some features of taxation and family policies that may cause different responses by ethnic minority than native majority women. Furthermore, I will also outline why the dominant cultural norms and values may have a different effect for minority than native majority women.

Countries with individual based taxations systems as the UK and the Netherlands tend to have higher female labor force participation rates than countries with family based taxation systems such as Germany because the latter taxes dual earner households higher than single earner households (Schwarz 2012; Smith et al. 2003; Vlasblom and Schippers 2006). The family-based taxation system (as implemented in Germany) may, hence, discourage particularly second-earners with low earning potentials to enter the labor market as the extra tax rate may ‘eat-up’ the additional income. As minority women tend to be less educated than native majority women, and thus have lower earning potentials, a family based taxation system may be more detrimental for minority women’s labor market participation than an individual based taxation system.

A lack in the provision of formal childcare is another well-known obstacle for the labor market participation of women (Hipp and Leuze 2015). But the presence of formal childcare is not a guarantee that it is equally used among different groups of women. German research has reported that first-generation immigrant women (particularly of Turkish origin) are less likely to send their children to formal childcare facilities than native majority women (Peter and Spieß 2015; SVR 2013). This differential use may in the end translate into ethnic differences in the relation between motherhood and labor market participation. Furthermore, cultural norms and values about gender roles on the country level have been proposed as explanation of cross-country differences in women’s labor market participation (Pfau-Effinger 1998, 2004, 2005). These dominant gender role norms may affect the expectations in the family, community, and larger society towards women’s balance of work and family life. In countries with dominant traditional gender norms, women may be more expected to focus on domestic tasks and childcare than on paid work. These expectations may also influence the possibilities that women have in shaping their labor market behavior according to their own individual attitudes. In countries with traditional gender norms, women’s own egalitarian gender role attitudes may play less of a role as they have to assert themselves against the expectations of the rest of society. As these cultural norms and values are often enforced by family or community members, they may also have a different potency depending on the dominant gender role norm in the family and community of women. An immigrant group with traditional norms may find it easier to ‘convince’ women with egalitarian gender role attitudes not to participate in the labor market if their host-society is supportive of their traditional gender role norms. In contrast, it may be more difficult for these immigrant groups to assert their traditional gender role norms on women with egalitarian gender role attitudes if the host-society also has egalitarian norms and encourages women to work.

To test these expectations, I will compare the impact of various explanatory factors on ethnic differences in women’s labor market participation across countries in Chapter 6. This raises a few methodological challenges. Data-sets are required that have large enough samples of ethnic minority women that allow analyses across ethnic groups. Furthermore, surveys need to include socio-economic information as well as information about household conditions, and attitudinal

data of respondents. Finally, it is also helpful if a large number of countries can be compared. Especially the latter turned out to be difficult to achieve, which is why the country comparison in Chapter 6 will be limited to the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands. Even though this is not an ideal design, I argue that this is still a worthwhile exploration. Given that very little is known about ethnic differences in women's labor market participation across countries, the chapter will make some first steps into this territory and potentially shine some light on patterns that are not yet known in the literature, and may, therefore, encourage further research on the issue.

1.3 Research Design

I used a variety of cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys from Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Germany to examine the research questions. The main requirement was that the data included large enough samples of ethnic minority and native majority members. Further, as gender role attitudes take a crucial place in my proposed explanatory model of female labor market participation, all surveys had to have at least one measure that covers these cultural attitudes next to conventional measures of economic behavior and socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. Another goal was to use a variety of surveys for the analyses in the Netherlands, which is a relevant context in four of the five studies, to avoid systematic bias through unrepresentative sample characteristics of the respective surveys and, hence, to get a more generalizable picture of women's labor market participation. I then decided which survey is best suited based on the particular research question that was posed.

In the empirical analyses that focuses on the Netherlands I used the *Survey Integration of Minorities* (SIM) (Chapter 2), the *Social Position and Use of Welfare Facilities by Immigrants Survey* (SPVA) (Chapter 4), the *Netherlands Kinship Panel Study* (NKPS) (Wave 1 in Chapter 4, Wave 1-3 in Chapter 5), and the *Netherlands Longitudinal Life-Course Study* (NELLS) (Chapter 6). For the UK, I made use of the *UK household longitudinal study* (UKHLS), commonly referred to as Understanding Society (Wave 1-6 in Chapter 3; Wave 2 in Chapter 6). Finally, the analysis for Germany was conducted with the *Gender and Generation Survey* (GGS), which includes an additional sample with first and second generation Turkish immigrants (Chapter 6). Descriptions of the sampling methods and references to more detailed technical information about the data collections can be found in the respective chapters.

Definitions and operationalizations

The dependent variable: female labor force participation

Labor force participation measures whether people are actively engaged in the labor market. According to the definition of the International Labor Organization (ILO), the population participating in the labor market includes people in employment and unemployed people, with unemployment being defined as a) not working but currently available for work and b) actively searching for work. Both of these last two conditions apply to a relatively short time-span, which is commonly having searched for work actively at least once in the past four week and willing to start working, if a job becomes available, within two weeks.

Unfortunately, not all surveys that are used in this dissertation allow for this operationalization. Instead, some ask respondents how they would describe their main activity and offer answers such

as employment, unemployment, or homemaker. This often makes it difficult to compare absolute levels of labor market participation between countries. However, I am mostly interested in comparing labor market participation between ethnic groups within a given country. I, therefore, expect the actual definition to have less of an effect in these comparisons, as labor market participation is measured identically for all compared individuals. Furthermore, the relative robustness of the results and consistency with findings from earlier research, makes me confident that the actual operationalization of the dependent variable does not heavily bias the findings.

Labor market participation is well-suited to study women's labor market behavior net of the influence of broader labor market conditions. Unemployment or earnings may be more affected by external factors such as the condition of the economy or discrimination by employers. Labor market participation can be considered more of an individual choice than other labor market outcomes, even though it can also be influenced by external factors such as anticipated discrimination, long-term illness, limited prospects of finding employment.

Ethnicity

In the Netherlands and Germany, we define ethnicity based on individuals' or their parents' country of birth. For the common definition, it is sufficient to have one parent that was born abroad to be categorized as part of the ethnic minority group. This is a reliable measure for ethnicity in the Netherlands and Germany as the immigrant groups that we investigate in these countries migrated mostly directly from their countries of origin.

In the UK, the situation is more complicated due to the colonial past of the country and the related complex migration histories of its inhabitants. Therefore, the country of origin is not always a reliable measure for ethnicity. For instance, many of the South-Asians living in the UK were actually born in East African countries, mainly Uganda, and only came to the UK after being prosecuted and even expelled from their country of birth in the 1970s. To measure ethnicity in the UK, we therefore take into account the self-categorization of respondents, the country of origin of the parents and grand-parents, and the ethnicity the respondents ascribed to their parents. Our definition of ethnicity may lead to conservative estimates of ethnic differences in women's labor market participation as children from mixed couples are likely to show less differences to the native majority population than children with two foreign-born parents. This effect may also be conditioned by ethnicity as some ethnic groups show lower endogamous marriage rates than others. Analogously, second generation immigrants are likely to show more similarities with the native majority than their foreign-born parents. While only the analyses in Chapter 6 explicitly examines first and second generation separately, generational status, and, if available, years since migration, constitute important control variables that are also taken into account in the other chapters. Where I considered it necessary, I also commented on potential biases that may arise from our measurements of ethnicity in the discussion sections of each chapter.

The problem of unobserved heterogeneity

In order to address some of my research questions, I need to compare coefficients between groups, models, and, at times, samples. As the main dependent variable is dichotomous, this raises a methodological problem caused by the role of unobserved heterogeneity in logistic (or probit) regression models. The core of the issue, as outlined for a sociological audience by Mood (2010),

is that coefficient estimates in logistic regressions are not only sensitive to omitted variables that are correlated with the specified independent variable (which also applies to linear regressions), but also to the omission of variables that are only correlated with the dependent variable. This is because the size of the scale on which logit-coefficients are based, depends on the amount of unobserved heterogeneity of the dependent variable. As a consequence, differences in unobserved heterogeneity between different models (in which independent variables are omitted or added), samples or groups, may reduce the comparability of logit coefficients (or odds ratios – which are just a mathematical transformation of these coefficients).

There are a number of different ways to deal with this methodological problem, all with their own advantages and disadvantages (see Mood 2010 for a discussion). In this dissertation, I will use heterogeneous choice models (in Chapter 2), and average marginal effects (in Chapter 3, 5 and 6), which have both been proposed as potential solutions, and repeatedly test the robustness of results using different estimation techniques to get a grasp of how much estimates of ethnic differences in women's labor market participation are affected by unobserved heterogeneity. At the end of section 1.5 of this Introductory chapter, I will briefly discuss the conclusions I take from the analyses regarding this issue.

1.4 Overview of research questions and findings of empirical chapters

In the following section, I will summarize the research question and main findings of the empirical analyses that will be fully presented in chapters 2-6 of this dissertation. In Chapter 2 and 3, I will provide two different perspectives on ethnic differences in women's labor market participation. Chapter 2 gives a cross-sectional account that illustrates how ethnicity structures women's labor market participation in the Netherlands, and how we can explain it, whereas chapter 3 uses longitudinal data from the UK to focus on ethnic differences in women's labor market entries and exits. I ask in how far ethnic differences in participation rates are reflected in women's labor market transitions, and whether we can explain ethnic differences in entries and exits with the same set of factors.

It will become clear in these two chapters that family life is one of the main obstacles for women's labor market participation in all ethnic groups. Therefore, I will take a closer look at what prevents women in partnerships from participating in the labor market in chapters 4 and 5. In chapter 4, I will introduce a model of couple dynamics that will show how both partners' gender role attitudes and labor market resources, and children in the household, influence women's labor market entries and exits, as well as changes in their number of hours worked. This model will be examined with rich longitudinal data from a survey of native Dutch women in the Netherlands. In Chapter 5, I will then test the applicability of the model across different ethnic groups using Dutch cross-sectional data (as longitudinal household panel data for ethnic minority groups is unfortunately very rare).

In chapter 6, I will focus on characteristics of the host-society rather than on compositional differences between women from different ethnic groups. Specifically, I will examine whether national contexts might amplify or reduce differences between ethnic minority and native majority women by comparing ethnic differences in women's labor market participation between the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands.

An overview of the content of the different empirical chapters is provided in Table 1.

Chapter 2: Ethnic differences in female labor force participation in the Netherlands: Adding gender role attitudes and religiosity to the explanation

Earlier research that explained ethnic differences in female labor force participation focused on compositional difference between ethnic groups in human capital and household conditions. Even though these studies could account for a substantial share of the ethnic variation, typically, unexplained difference in female labor market participation remained (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012; Dale et al. 2006). Chapter 2 therefore proposes traditional gender role attitudes and religiosity as additional explanations as these two factors have been related to women's labor market participation in earlier research. Moreover, ethnic groups show varying levels of support for traditional gender role attitudes and differ in religiosity, suggesting that these may explain the remaining ethnic difference in women's labor market participation.

Hence, the main research question in this chapter is *whether gender role attitudes and religiosity explain ethnic differences in female labor market participation after accounting for human capital and household conditions*. Furthermore, I ask whether the negative relation between religiosity and women's labor force participation can be explained by traditional gender role attitudes.

To address the research question, a cross-sectional analysis is conducted including native Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean women. Heterogeneous choice models are used to account for unobserved heterogeneity in women's labor market participation between ethnic groups. In addition, interval regressions on women's number of hours worked are used to check the robustness of the heterogeneous choice model results.

The findings of Chapter 2 show that women with traditional gender role attitudes are less likely to participate in the labor market and that these attitudes also explain ethnic differences in women's participation over and above human capital and household conditions. However, the relative contribution of traditional gender role attitudes is relatively small compared to the conventional explanations. The results also show that religiosity is weakly related to women's labor market participation, and that this relation is fully explained by gender role attitudes. Finally, additional analyses find evidence that the role of partnership and children for women's activity in the labor market differs by ethnic group. This is the first indication that explanatory models for female labor market participation may differ for the cultural background of immigrant women.

Chapter 3: Labor market entries and exits of women from different origin countries in the UK

Cross-sectional analyses are useful to get an overall impression of relevant factors in explanatory models. However, they have inherent limitations, for example in their ability to observe and explain transitions from one stage to another. Very few studies on ethnic difference in women's labor market participation have been conducted with longitudinal data, which leaves several questions unanswered about ethnic group differences in the sequence and causal relation of family formation and women's labor market behavior, and the role of gender role attitudes and religiosity for these processes.

Chapter 3 therefore changes the perspective on women's labor market participation by using the first six waves of the *UKHLS* data to take a dynamic perspective on women's participation in the labor market. The research questions are *whether ethnic differences in female LFP can be understood through differences in entry and exit rates, and whether these ethnic differences in transitions can be explained through variation not only in compositional factors but also gender role attitudes, religiosity, and life-course events*.

Chapter 3 uses a similar theoretical framework as the previous chapter, paying particular attention to childbirth, partnership changes, income changes of the partner, as well as gender role attitudes and religiosity while controlling for education, age, years since migration and general health. Furthermore, it includes interactions between gender role attitudes and life-course events and explores in how far the various explanatory factors apply differently to women with different origins.

The results show that the largest share of ethnic differences in women's labor market transitions are explained by household conditions and the control variables. Gender role attitudes also contribute to the explanation of the lower entry and higher exits rates of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, but only to a relatively small extent. There is no evidence for an effect of religiosity on either labor market entries or labor market exits.

After accounting for all factors, few remaining differences in labor market entries and exits remain between White majority women and Indian and Caribbean women. In contrast, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are still less likely to enter and more likely to exit the labor market than White majority women, and Black African women have higher entry rates.

The findings also reveal that the relations between life-course events and labor market transitions differ by ethnic group. Most notably, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women's labor market transitions are less sensitive to child-bearing and Caribbean women's transitions less sensitive to partnership changes than other women's.

Chapter 4: A couple perspective on women's labor market transition: accounting for partners' gender role attitudes

The remaining unexplained ethnic differences found in the analyses of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 suggests that there are additional explanations for ethnic differences. One such additional explanation may relate to partnerships. In contrast to single women, women in partnerships can coordinate their labor market behavior with their partner. Hence, to fully understand cohabiting or married women's behavior on the labor market, it is necessary to examine it from a couple perspective, taking into account women's and their partners' specific characteristics (Blossfeld and Drobníč 2001; Verbakel 2010). Most earlier research on partner effects has focused on partners' relative labor market resources, next to the presence of children, as a crucial component in couples' decision about women's (extent of) involvement in the labor market (Becker 1981; Bernasco 1994; Bernardi 1999). In contrast, less attention has been paid to the role of partners' gender role attitudes. Chapter 4, therefore, contributes to earlier research by examining the effect of both partners' labor market resources and the presence of children in the household on women's labor market transitions in conjunction with both partners' gender role attitudes. The proposed theoretical model suggests that both partners' gender role attitudes affect women's labor market transitions directly, but also moderate the effect of partners' labor market resources and the presence of young children. Because such a model has not been tested in earlier research, this chapter's aim is not to examine ethnic difference in women's labor market participation, but to elaborate on the details of the proposed model and to subject it to a rigorous empirical test.

Hence, Chapter 4 asks the research question *how both partners' gender role attitudes affect women's labor market entries, exits, and changes in the number of hours worked in conjunction with partners' labor market resources and changes in the presence of young children in the household*. The analysis uses the Netherlands Kinship Panel Survey (NKPS), a longitudinal household panel survey from the Netherlands, which entails data from three waves that were collected between 2002 and 2011. As such rich data was not

available for women from ethnic minority groups, the analysis only includes partnered native Dutch women.

Results show that women's gender role attitudes affect their labor market entries and exits, but not the changes in their number of hours worked, whereas their (male) partners' attitudes are related to women's labor market exits, but not to entries and number of hours worked. The study also examines whether couples' gender role attitudes moderate how labor market resources and having children affect women's labor market transitions. The findings reveal that giving birth leads to a stronger decrease in number of hours worked for women with more traditional gender role attitudes, and that the effect of the partners' labor market resources is not moderated by gender role attitudes.

Chapter 5: Immigrant women in the Netherlands: Do traditional partner hold them back?

Whereas many studies have examined native majority women's labor market participation from a couple perspective, research on ethnic minority groups is still rare (but see Brekke 2013, Van Tubergen 2008). This is surprising given that differences in family relations, particular between husbands and wives, are often portrayed as one of the important cultural differences between ethnic groups (Inglehart 2002). Given this gap in the literature, Chapter 5 uses the theoretical model developed in Chapter 4 and tests in how far it is applicable across ethnic groups.

The research question is *in how far the partner's labor market resources and gender role attitudes can explain ethnic differences in women's labor market participation after accounting for women's own resources and attitudes*. Furthermore, the analysis examines whether partners' gender role attitudes moderate the effects of partners' labor market resources on women's labor market participation, and explores in how far this moderation may differ between ethnic groups.

Chapter 5 uses the first wave of the NKPS from 2003 and the Social Position and Use of Welfare Facilities by Immigrants Survey (SPVA) from 2002 to conduct a cross-sectional analysis. To examine how partner characteristics are related to women's labor market participation the sample is restricted to women who had a partner at the time of the interview.

Results show that the lower participation rates of Turkish and Moroccan women compared to native Dutch women can almost fully be explained by compositional difference in these women's human capital and number of (young) children present in the household. But Surinamese and Antillean women show higher labor force participation rates than native Dutch women and these are partly explained by both partners' gender role attitudes. However, some unexplained differences remain.

Another finding is that the male partner's gender role attitudes matter for women's labor market participation over and above women's own attitudes in all ethnic groups. In contrast, there was no strong relation between the partners' labor market resources and women's labor force participation, with the exception of couples in which the women had more traditional and the partner more egalitarian attitudes. In this constellation, having a higher educated male partner reduced women's participation in the labor market.

Chapter 6: What about the national context? Comparing the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands

The empirical studies that are presented in chapters 2-5 are within-country investigations. They focus on the labor market behavior of women across various ethnic group within the Netherlands and the UK. These analyses demonstrated that partnership, children and gender role attitudes are

relevant for understanding women's labor market participation and ethnic differences therein. Yet, these studies provided little insight into how the country context might shape the labor market participation of women from different ethnic groups. Earlier research on cross-country variations in native majority women's labor market participation highlight taxation and family policy, as well as the sociocultural climate towards gender equality within a country as possible explanations for differing female LFP rates. But the welfare state institutions, as well as the sociocultural climate within a country, originated in culturally more homogenous societies. Ethnic minority women with a different cultural background may experience these institutions, and the general climate, differently than native majority women, and may, in turn, also show different reactions to it. Until now, few studies have investigated in how far country-level characteristics interact with family features and gender role attitudes to shape ethnic patterns in women's labor market participation.

Chapter 6 therefore poses the research question *whether partnership, children and gender role attitudes are differently related to the LFP of first and second generation immigrant and native majority women in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands?* It uses cross-sectional samples from the second wave of the UKHLS, the first wave of the German Gender and Generation Survey, and the first wave of the Netherlands Longitudinal Life-Course Study. Furthermore, to increase comparability, the focus lies on ethnic minority groups with a Muslim background, which are Pakistani and Bangladeshi in the UK, Turks in Germany, and Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands. First and second generation women from these groups are compared to women from the respective native majority group.

Results show that first generation women differ more strongly from native majority women than the second generation in how partnership, children, and gender role attitudes are related to their LFP. The analysis also finds that first and second generation immigrant women in the UK are overall more disadvantaged in terms of labor force participation than immigrant women in Germany and the Netherlands – before and after accounting for human capital, household conditions and gender role attitudes. Especially second generation women in Germany and the Netherlands behave relatively similar to the respective native majority women once compositional differences are accounted for.

1.5 Contribution and discussion

In the five empirical chapters of this dissertation, I have examined how gender role attitudes and religiosity in conjunction with household conditions shape women's labor market participation across ethnic groups and in different national contexts. In the following section, I will highlight the main contributions of these empirical studies and discuss some of their implications for society and research. Subsequently, I will discuss some limitations and suggest some potentially fruitful directions for future research. I will end this synthesis with the main conclusion from this dissertation

Gender role attitudes and religiosity as explanations of ethnic differences in women's LFP

One of the main goals of this dissertation was to test in how far gender role attitudes and religiosity contribute to the explanation of ethnic differences in women's labor market participation over and above human capital and household conditions. I examined the role of gender role attitudes in three different studies, encompassing analyses from three different countries (the Netherlands, the UK, and Germany) and five different datasets as well cross-sectional and longitudinal methods. Religiosity was examined as explanation in two of these studies, a cross-sectional one in the

Netherlands and a longitudinal one in the UK. The two main conclusions from these different analyses are consistent across the studies.

First, compositional differences in human capital and household conditions, as well as in other demographic control characteristics, explain the largest share of ethnic differences in women's labor force participation. In addition to these explanations, gender role attitudes contribute a small, yet noticeable, share to the explanation of ethnic differences, whereas religiosity appears not to be particularly important for the explanation of ethnic differences in women's labor force participation once gender role attitudes are taken into account. To be sure, it may be possible that a larger share of ethnic differences is attributable to these factors if indirect effects were also accounted for. Gender role attitudes and religiosity may influence women's labor market participation through educational choices, age at first marriage and pregnancy, or the number of children. However, the longitudinal analysis of Chapter 3 provides little evidence that the negative effect of traditional gender role attitudes or religiosity on labor market entries or exits is explained by childbirths or changes in partnerships or that the explained ethnic differences of these two set of factors largely overlap. Moreover, an additional analysis also tests whether the initial conditions contribute to the explanation of ethnic differences in the labor market entries and exits and finds little support for it. Therefore, I am confident that the explained difference of household conditions or human capital are not mainly indirect effects of early gender role attitudes or religiosity.

Second, even though the proposed explanatory model was successful in explaining a large share of the ethnic difference in women's labor force participation, unexplained ethnic variation typically remained. Especially for first generation immigrants, the studies consistently found remaining unexplained differences even after taking into account gender role attitudes and religiosity. This is an impressively robust finding considering that we compared single women and women in partnerships, as well as only partnered women, and that we used five different datasets in three different countries combining cross-sectional and dynamic analyses. I want to note at this point that these differences are not always in favor of the native majority women. In fact, the remaining differences point a number of times at higher participation rates among ethnic minority groups after accounting for all explanatory factors— for example Surinamese and Antillean women in the Netherlands show higher participation rates than native Dutch women (in a sample that includes single and cohabiting women, and in a sample, that focuses only on cohabiting women) and Black African women show higher entry rates than White majority women in the UK. These results bring up two difficult question, one which is perhaps relatively imminent, and one for future research on differences between ethnic groups: First, how can we explain the remaining ethnic difference in female labor force participation after accounting for a relatively broad range of explanatory factors? Perhaps the most intuitive answer would be to look at the role of the extended family, and argue that there is variation in the degree to which, for example, women's parents and parents-in-law, or even the larger community, exerts (implicit or explicit) pressure on women to follow traditional female life-trajectories that eventually reflects in ethnically varying participation rates. However, this answer would also imply that it is, in fact, not the native majority group that sets the societal standard in the progress to gender equality, but a minority group, that is otherwise often regarded as economically disadvantaged. This brings up the second question: If White-majority members are no longer normative 'trend-setters' among the various co-existing ethnic groups of a modern society, what does this imply for the meaning of immigrants' adjustment? Would, provocatively asked, calls for 'assimilation' in our case demand minority women to be less economically active to

fit into the mainstream? This question may become more urgent in the future as some researchers have already observed a stalling of the “gender revolution” among the majority population (England 2010; Hochschild, [1989] 2012). Perhaps in this particular case, the difference between the groups is not pronounced enough, and the minority group not large or socio-economically successful enough to really re-code women’s emancipation as a non-White norm. But research in other fields, for example academic achievement, has shown, that this is indeed a possibility (Jiménez and Horowitz 2013). What such a hypothetical, yet, in the future not unlikely, scenario would mean for the native majority groups’ collective self-understanding, and how that would affect ethnic relations is surely a question that is worth considering.

Furthermore, the findings corroborate earlier research that stressed the role of preferences and attitudes for women’s decision to participate in the labor market (Cunningham 2008b; Hakim 2000, 2002; Read 2004). In all presented studies, women’s gender attitudes showed a significant relation with labor market participation, labor market entries and labor market exits over and above human capital factors, household conditions, and other control variables. Moreover, we could also show that gender role attitudes impact women’s economic activity across all ethnic groups. The consistency of this finding recommends accounting for gender role attitudes in explanatory models of female labor market participation.

In contrast, even though some research suggests that religiosity should be studied in itself as a predictor for women’s labor market participation, the results of this dissertation provide little evidence for an independent, direct effect of religiosity in the European context. And even the weak relation we find is, as predicted, mediated by traditional gender role attitudes. This finding is striking considering that the studied samples of ethnic minorities contain more first-generation immigrants than women from the second generation. If the individual level of religiosity would make a difference, we would expect it to be stronger among the first generation given that they have probably been more exposed to a traditional reading of Islam during their socialization in the origin country. Hence, the attention individuals’ religiosity receives in public, and at times academic debates about the economic integration of Muslim immigrants seems, in the light of this finding, exaggerated.

Some of the analyses in the empirical chapters also explored to what degree the weight of certain explanatory factors of women’s labor market participation differ between ethnic groups. And indeed, there was some evidence in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 that partnership and having children do not have the same effect across ethnic groups. Specifically, results showed that the labor force participation of women from the Caribbean (in the Netherlands: the Antilles) is less affected by partnership than the labor force participation of women from other ethnic groups. This is in line with earlier research that suggests that Caribbean women do not rely on their partner as a breadwinner for the household (Dale et al. 2006; Duncan et al. 2003). Hence, explanatory models of female labor force participation cannot just generally be applied to women with different cultural backgrounds. Culture itself is highly interwoven with women’s weighting of different relevant factors to decide whether they should participate in the labor market or not.

The role of the partner for women’s LFP across ethnic groups

The literature on the division of paid and domestic work in the household has long pointed at gender roles as a key explanation for the reason why women have not caught up with men in their labor force participation rate (Blossfeld, and Drobnič 2001). But not much research has actually

examined how partners' gender role attitudes and labor market resources affect women's labor market participation in conjunction with women's own attitudes and resources, as well as the presence of children. Furthermore, in how far these couple dynamics differ between ethnic groups has rarely been researched. Addressing these research gaps was the second goal of this dissertation.

The analysis in chapter 5 suggests that male partners' traditional gender role attitudes decrease women's labor market participation regardless of women's own labor market resources, and this seems to be the case across ethnic groups. The dynamic perspective applied in chapter 4 further reveals that, at least for native Dutch women, this effect is mainly due to male partners with traditional attitudes pushing women to exit the labor market. Labor market entries and changes in the number of hours worked, on the other hand, appear to be less influenced by male partners' gender role attitudes.

In contrast, overall there is only modest support for the idea that couples use the male partners' labor market resources instrumentally to align women's labor market involvement with the couples' gender role attitudes. I tested interactions between gender role attitudes and the partner's labor market resources in two longitudinal and one cross-sectional study, with data from the Netherlands, as well as from the UK. In the two longitudinal studies, there was no evidence for an effect of the partners' labor market resources that is moderated by women's or their partners' gender role attitudes (though partners' attitudes were not measured in the UK). There was some indication in the cross-sectional study that household specialization is more likely to be used as a strategy in households in which women have traditional gender role attitudes and the male partner is relatively higher educated than they are. However, as this finding was not replicated in the data with larger samples and more sophisticated methodological techniques, I do not want to overemphasize it, and wait for future research to reach a firm conclusion on the matter. The bottom line is, in any case, that women's and partly their partners' attitudes seem to be more important for women's labor market participation than the partners' labor market resources, which can be considered as support for theories that highlight attitudes or preferences as determinants of women's labor market participation (Hakim 2000). It would be interesting to examine these effects of partner characteristics in a country such as Germany, where partnership seems to matter overall more for women's labor market participation than in the Netherlands and the UK.

Although attitudes matter, it is important to note that structural constraints set by the presence of (young) children in the household impact women's economic activity the most. This shows that, despite the increasing individualization of couples' labor market careers, women are not completely independent in their time allocation anymore once they enter motherhood. Even though I have not examined how men's labor market involvement is affected by having children, other research clearly suggests that there is not a strong (or even a positive) relation between the two (Glauber 2008; Hook 2006; Killewald and Gough 2013). If anything, having a family and a highly time-consuming job, rather go smoothly together in the life-course of men.

Hence, the findings for the Netherlands and the UK are largely in line with findings that show an increasing individualization of labor market careers, which suggest that couples lose their function as economic unit and that partners tend to focus on their professional career independently from each other (Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001), theories that highlight the structural constraints set, amongst other things, by a lack of childcare provisions that force mainly women (and not men) to restrain their labor market ambitions after entering parenthood (Abendroth, Huffman, and Treas 2014; Begall and Grunow 2015; Kühhirt 2012; Uunk et al. 2005), and, finally, theories that highlight the increasing importance of women's own preference and attitudes for their

decisions on the labor market (Hakim 2000; 2002). The latter development does not necessarily go hand in hand with increasing gender equality. Work-preferences can be highly gendered, and beliefs in gender essentialism – the notion that men and women are inherently different in their interests and skills – can co-exist with egalitarian gender role attitudes and guide women into career choices that are often disadvantageous for them over the life-course (England 2010; Charles 2011). This is illustrated by the findings in chapter 3 and 4 that women with traditional attitudes are more likely to exit the labor market than women with less traditional gender role attitudes after giving birth. Hence, policymakers should be aware that just giving men and women the ‘choice’ for different work-family arrangements will probably not be sufficient to reach a fully gender balanced task distribution within couples (Gangl and Ziefle 2015).

The role of the national context

Finally, I compared in how far cohabiting, having children, and gender role attitudes are differently related to minority and majority women’s labor force participation in the different national contexts of the UK, Germany, and the Netherlands. The results showed that ethnic differences in female labor force participation are more pronounced in the UK than in Germany and the Netherlands, and that this holds before and after accounting for the explanations at the individual level. In fact, the second generation in Germany and the Netherlands showed only small differences in labor force participation compared to the native majority. It is difficult to point to specific reasons for this pattern but integration policies and levels of ethnic segregation may be explanations. There was also some variation in the effects of having a partner, the presence of children, and gender role attitudes for the different ethnic groups in these three countries. Most notably perhaps, having children seemed to increase ethnic differences most in the country that had the highest childcare supply at the time of the data collection. Furthermore, the country with family taxation (Germany) showed a more negative relation between partnership and female labor force participation than the two countries with individual based taxation systems (UK and the Netherlands). However, there was no indication that minority women were more affected by this than majority women suggesting that this particular policy may not corroborate ethnic difference in female labor force participation. Finally, gender role attitudes were more negatively related with minority than majority women’s labor force participation in the UK but not in Germany and the Netherlands. This could indicate that the contrast between the relatively traditional norms and values of Muslim minority groups and the more liberal cultural climate in the UK (compared to the other two countries) may encourage minority women more to base their labor market participation on their attitudes.

The role of the national context for ethnic differences in women’s labor market participation was only investigated in the form of a three-country case study, and therefore has more of an exploratory than an explanatory, hypotheses-testing character. But overall, these result show that it is worth further exploring how national contexts shape minority women’s economic activity.

Comparing the results of the different empirical chapters also indicates that the proposed explanations for ethnic differences in women’s labor market participation are relatively successful in explaining lower participation rates of (especially second generation) Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands and Germany, whereas in the UK relatively large ethnic gaps between Pakistani and Bangladeshi women and native majority women remained. This is an important contribution considering that earlier research that did not distinguish between ethnicity (or gender), found more pronounced differences in the labor market participation between non-EU foreign born and

native-born in the Netherlands than in the UK, and attributed this to the combination of multicultural policies and a generous welfare-state in the Netherlands (the UK has also multicultural policies in place, but a much less generous welfare-state) (Koopmans 2010).

From my findings, it could either be concluded that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK share certain traits as group members (that my analyses did not account for) that are inhibiting their participation in the labor market, or that the state sets up certain barriers that make it particularly difficult for these women to participate in the labor market. In support of the latter are our findings in Chapter 3 that provide some evidence for a ‘poverty trap’ in the form of a mechanisms that makes it unprofitable for women with a low earning potential to participate in the labor market if their partner earns little or nothing due to state benefit regulations. Another explanation would be that there are higher levels of ethnic concentration among Pakistani and Bangladeshi in economically deprived neighborhoods in the UK than in other countries, which makes it harder for them to find employment. Indeed Musterd (2005) showed that ethnic segregation of these ethnic groups is particularly high in some UK cities, and also that level of socio-economic segregation is higher in cities of the UK than in other European cities. However, more research is needed on the relation of ethnic and economic segregation before firmer conclusion can be reached.

A theoretical framework that highlights the immigrant integration policies of the different countries could also be used to understand the lower labor market participation of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK (Koopmans 2013). Whereas Germany has a strong “assimilationist” tradition, which emphasizes the socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants to the mainstream society, the UK follows more a ‘multiculturalist’ approach in which ethnic minority groups receive relatively many group rights and get relatively little assistance or pressure to adapt. The Netherlands can be considered in-between these two countries in terms of integration policies as it has, rather uniquely, seen a regression of multicultural policies and an increase in assimilationist policies over the late 1990s and 2000s (Banting and Kymlicka 2013). To get a better assessment of this idea, it would be necessary to focus on changes between the first and second generation immigrant women and test whether Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK might have shown a slower increase in labor force participation across generations than the immigrant-origin groups in the Netherlands and Germany. But this was not the purpose of the analysis: the aim was rather to use the common theoretical framework for women’s labor market participation and examine how well it applies to women from different ethnic groups. We could show that there are many ways in which this framework will have to be adapted and widened to be useful for an increasingly heterogeneous population.

Unobserved heterogeneity

I have used different techniques in the various studies to deal with unobserved heterogeneity. In chapter 2, I have used heterogeneous choice models to account for unobserved heterogeneity between ethnic groups. These models have shown that ethnic minority women tend to have higher levels of variance in their labor force participation than native majority women. In Chapter 5, where the analytic sample consisted only of women in partnerships, we used average marginal effects instead of heterogeneous choice models, partly because according to Mood (2010), they are also well suited to deal with unobserved heterogeneity, and partly because they are more intuitive to read and highlight the substantive differences between groups. Furthermore, heterogeneous choice

models with ethnicity as predictor for the variance showed that the variance did not differ significantly across ethnic groups in this sample. Yet, the results were relatively similar as in Chapter 2 in that lower participation rates of Turkish, and Moroccan women compared to native Dutch women could be explained with compositional differences in human capital and household conditions, whereas some unexplained difference remained for Surinamese and Antillean women even after adding both partners' gender role attitudes to the model. Due to these advantages of average marginal effects, and due to possible biases, that arise when the variance equation in heterogeneous choice models is misspecified (Williams 2009), I decided to use average marginal effects to deal with unobserved heterogeneity in the other chapters that compare coefficients across models, groups, and samples (Chapter 3 and Chapter 6). Similar results between random-effect probit models and average marginal effects in robustness analyses of Chapter 3 (see Appendices 3), further increased my confidence in the use of average marginal effects.

In sum, my analyses did not reveal a great sensitivity (in the significance and direction) of regression coefficients to different modelling techniques. Average marginal effects seem optimal for the study of ethnic differences in women's labor market participation because they provide an impression of the substantive meaning of coefficients, while also reducing bias through unobserved heterogeneity. However, heterogeneous choice models may still be interesting to researcher who have substantive interest in differences in variances across groups.

1.6 Limitations and pathways for future research

In the last section of this synthesis, I want to discuss some limitations of my research that I consider relevant for the overall conclusion. I use this occasion to also suggest some potentially fruitful directions for future research that may overcome these limitations, and confirm my findings, or reach new insights into women's labor market experience, and how it differs across ethnic groups.

The endogeneity of attitudes and preferences

This dissertation has argued for a causal effect of women's (and, conditionally, their partners') gender role attitudes on female labor market participation. I have provided ample evidence that there is a relation between these attitudes and the corresponding behavior. And in two longitudinal studies, I have shown that women's decisions to enter and exit the labor market are influenced by their gender role attitudes at an earlier time-point. However, this will perhaps not fully convince sceptics of a causal effect of gender role attitudes on women's labor market participation, or those who are unsure about the size of the effect (e.g. Steiber and Haas 2012). The causality of the effect has also implications for the explanation of ethnic differences in women's labor market participation. Koopmans (2016), for instance, has argued that the effect of socio-cultural factors, which does not only include gender role attitudes for him, but also language skills and interethnic contacts, is by far more relevant for immigrants' integration, than the effects of having a job on their socio-cultural integration. This is, surprisingly, in opposition to common economic perspectives that tend to stress that gender role attitudes are more dependent on having a job than having a job depends on gender role attitudes (though among the majority population) (Steiber and Haas 2012). Questions about who is to 'blame' for poor economic outcomes of immigrant groups – the 'culture' of the immigrants or the 'non-acceptance' of the host-society - are fiercely debated, and future research should aim at taking the heat out of this debate by providing reliable accounts

of integration processes that stress how adaptable policy instruments may improve integration outcomes.

Ultimately, the questions about the causal effects can only be established by factors that are randomly assigned to individuals and, by nature, exogenous to the outcome. There are several ways to circumvent this methodological problem. Hakim, for example, argued along the lines that work-family preferences are more or less innate, and on average, different between men and women. While this assumption conveniently circumvents the discussion around endogeneity, many researchers have contested this conceptualization of innate preferences and referred to the large body of literature that shows how gender role attitudes change over the life-course, and in particular, in response to the labor market status or even policy incentives (e.g. Gangl and Ziefle 2015), and that there are also substantial differences in work-family preferences across countries (Kangas and Rostgaard 2007). Other approaches to examine the influence of culture on economic behavior have identified immigrant populations as a possible means to estimate effects of culture by using characteristics measured in the origin country of the immigrants as predictors for their behavior in the receiving society (Fernández and Fogli 2009; Frank and Hou 2016; Röder and Mühlau 2014). Even though these approaches do not go without criticism (e.g. Chou 2017), they may form a good start for even more sophisticated methodological approaches to distinguish the effect of culture from possible confounders (e.g. Finseraas and Kotsadam 2017; Polavieja 2015, 2017).

The role of part-time work

All of the presented studies in this dissertation were conducted in countries with a relatively high prevalence of part-time employment among women. Especially in the Netherlands, the large majority of women work part-time and there is a high variation in the extent of these part-time jobs. Some women have rather smaller jobs with less than 20 hours per week, whereas others work just 32-hour per week (i.e. a four-day working week). Hence, it cannot be concluded that female participation in the labor market automatically translates into avoiding the negative (economic) consequences of life as a homemaker, or even into gender equal dual-earner households. In fact, we know that the gender gap in the extent of employment among those who are employed can be even higher in countries with relatively low gender gaps in labor force participation (Portegijs and Keuzenkamp 2008). In the comparison of ethnic groups, I focused mostly on the decision to participate or not, and this may disguise more refined ethnic difference, e.g. in the extent of employment. Some research has, for example, shown that part-time employment is more prevalent among native majority women than ethnic minority women (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012; Lindley, Dale, and Dex 2004). It may be fruitful for future research to dissect the various employment patterns and work-trajectories of women from different ethnic groups.

1.7 Overall conclusion

There has been a clear progress towards greater gender equality in Western countries in the last 50 years. Women's labor market participation rose substantially and their educational achievements even surpassed those of men. Moreover, increasing portions of the population support egalitarian gender role attitudes and women's autonomy in decisions about their personal work-family balance. Even though recent accounts have questioned in how far we can expect this development to continue in fields where gender equality has not yet been achieved, such as occupational segregation

Table 1.1 Overview of empirical chapters

Chapter	Country	Data Source	Analysis type:	Dependent variables	Ethnic groups	Main research questions	Main Findings
2	Netherlands: SIM 2006	Cross-sectional: - Labor force participation - Number of hours worked			Native majority Dutch, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antillean	Do gender role attitudes and religiosity contribute to the explanation of ethnic difference in women's labor market participation after accounting for human capital and household conditions?	- Gender role attitudes, but not religiosity, explain some share of the ethnic differences - Religiosity is weakly linked to women's hours worked and this is fully mediated by gender role attitudes - Ethnic differences remain after accounting for all explanatory factors
3	United Kingdom: UKHLS 2009-2015	Longitudinal: - Labor market entries - Labor market exits			Native majority British, Indian, Sri Lankan, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, Black African	Can we understand ethnic differences in female LFP through differences in labor market entries and exits? Do gender role attitudes, religiosity and life-course events (i.e. changes in partnership, income, number of children) explain ethnic differences in women's labor market transitions over and above compositional differences in human capital?	- Labor market entry and exit patterns reflect ethnic differences in women's LFP for some groups, but not for others - Life-course events and gender role attitudes, but not religiosity, contribute to the explanation of ethnic differences in labor market entries and exits - Ethnic difference in labor market entries and exits remain after accounting for all explanatory factors - Relations between life-course events and women's labor market transitions differ by ethnic group
4	Netherlands: NKPS/SPVA, 2002/2003	Cross-sectional: - Labor force participation			Native majority Dutch, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antillean	In how far can male partners' labor market resources and gender role attitudes explain ethnic differences in women's labor market participation after we account for women's own resources and attitudes?	- Ethnic differences in female labor market participation remain after accounting for all explanatory factors. - The male partner's traditional gender role attitudes are negatively related to women's labor market participation over and above women's own attitudes in all ethnic groups
5	Netherlands: NKPS, 2002-2011	Longitudinal: - Labor market entries - Labor market exits - Changes in the number of hours worked			Native majority Dutch	How do couples' gender role attitudes, labor market resources and children influence women's labor market entries, exits, and changes in the number of hours worked?	- Women's gender role attitudes affect their labor market entries and exits, but not changes in their number of hours worked, whereas their (male) partners' attitudes are related to women's labor market exits, but not entries and number of hours worked. - Giving birth leads to a stronger decrease in number of hours worked for women with more traditional gender role attitudes, but the effect of

6	<p>United Kingdom: UKHLS, 2010/11; Germany: GGS, 2005 Netherlands: NELS, 2008-2010</p>	<p>Cross-sectional: - Labor force participation</p>	<p>Native majority British, Pakistani, Bangladeshi; native majority Germans, Turks; native majority Dutch, Turks, Moroccan</p>	<p>Are partnership, children and gender role attitudes are differently related to the LFP of first and second generation immigrant and native majority women in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands?</p>	<p>-</p>
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the partners' labor market resources is not moderated by gender role attitudes.

Findings show that first and second generation immigrant women in the UK are overall more disadvantaged in terms of LFP than immigrant women in Germany and the Netherlands – before and after accounting for human capital, household conditions and gender role attitudes.

Second generation women behave relatively similar to native majority women in Germany and the Netherlands once compositional differences are accounted for.

and men's lack of involvement in domestic and childcare work, the past developments can be considered an improvement.

Even though research that has observed and explained the increasing presence of women in the labor market has developed important and relevant ideas, it focused primarily on women from the native majority populations of Western countries. But it is unclear in how far the experience of this particular group can be generalized to women from ethnic minority groups who are influenced by other cultural norms and values. Taking into account ethnic diversity, also for understanding other outcomes than women's labor market behavior, will be of increasing importance in the future given the growing ethnic diversity of Western European nations. This dissertation has addressed this challenge by showing how ethnicity might structure women's labor market participation and that earlier explanations based on native majority women cannot always satisfyingly account for ethnic differences.

But the flip side of this argument is equally valid. Ethnic minorities in European countries have long been primarily viewed as immigrants, which led to a framing of their differences to the majority population in economic outcomes as a problem of immigrant integration. As a result, research on immigrant integration was strong in explaining economic outcomes of male immigrants, but rather weak in understanding the specific experience of ethnic minority women in the labor market- which often tend to be more complex than men's due to the gendered impact of partnership and children. I have contributed to this literature by showing how overarching theories about immigrant integration can be enriched by bringing more attention to gender dimensions. Women have different barriers and opportunities than men in Western societies and this is also reflected in different integration pathways of immigrant men and women.

Chapter 2

Ethnic differences in female labor force participation in the Netherlands: Adding gender role attitudes and religiosity to the explanation¹⁰

Abstract

Female labor force participation varies greatly between different ethnic groups, but previous research on human capital and household conditions has not been able to fully explain these differences. Using large-scale representative survey data of four ethnic minority groups and the Dutch majority in the Netherlands, we add gender role attitudes and religiosity to the explanatory model. The results of heterogeneous choice models and interval regressions show that the predicted negative effects of traditional gender role attitudes and of religiosity contribute to the explanation of ethnic differences in female labor force participation, in addition to human capital and household conditions. These factors moreover partly explain differences between Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean women.

¹⁰ A slightly different version of this chapter is published as: Khoudja, Y. and F. Fleischmann. 2015. Ethnic Differences in Female Labour Force Participation in the Netherlands: Adding Gender Role Attitudes and Religiosity to the Explanation. *European Sociological Review*. 31, 91–102. doi:10.1093/esr/jcu084. Khoudja wrote the main part of the manuscript and conducted the analysis. Fleischmann substantially contributed to the manuscript. The authors jointly developed the idea and design of the study.

2.1 Introduction

Despite increasing labor force participation (LFP) of women in the Netherlands over the last decades, female participation rates differ strongly across the largest ethnic groups. While 64–68% of the Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch women are participating in the labor market, only 43% of the Moroccan and 47% of Turkish women are economically active (CBS Statline 2013). For ethnic minority women, nonparticipation not only threatens their economic independence, it also jeopardises their social and cultural integration into the host society (e.g. Houston et al. 2005).

Female LFP has conventionally been explained at the micro-level by human capital factors and household conditions (Van der Lippe and Van Dijk 2002). Human capital theory argues for a positive relation between educational attainment and LFP (Becker 1975, 1981; Adsera and Chiswick 2007). Theories that focus on household conditions emphasize the negative effect of the presence of children and partnership for women, arguing that children and partnerships push women to shift their time allocation from their career to domestic responsibilities (Corrigan and Konrad 2007).

However, previous research in the Netherlands showed that Turkish and Moroccan women are less active in the labor market than Dutch, Surinamese or Antillean women, even after controlling for educational level, the number of children, and partnership (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2006, 2012).

Possible additional explanations for ethnic differences in female LFP relate to cultural values and norms and highlight gender role attitudes and religiosity (Reimers 1985). Immigrant religion, and particularly Islam since '9/11', has received increasing research attention (cf. Alba 2005), and while questions of gender equality figure prominently in debates about the integration of Muslim minorities (Voas and Fleischmann 2012), the role of religiosity for the LFP of ethnic minority women is not well understood. There is indeed some evidence indicating that Turkish Muslims are more religious and endorse traditional gender roles more often than native Germans (Diehl et al. 2009), but whether this contributes to explaining the ethnic gap in female LFP remains unclear.

Due to data limitations, previous research has not considered cultural factors together with human capital characteristics and household conditions to explain ethnic differences in female LFP. By bringing together conventional explanations of female LFP with gender role attitudes and religiosity, this study aims to increase the explanatory power of previous models, which were not able to account for all ethnic differences in female LFP. Furthermore, our integrative model allows testing hypotheses about the direct and indirect relations of religiosity and gender role attitudes with female LFP. With these advantages in mind, the current study addresses the question whether female LFP still differs across ethnic groups in the Netherlands once we have taken into account gender role attitudes and strength of religiosity in addition to human capital and household conditions.

2.2 Theoretical Background

We first formulate hypotheses about the role of human capital and household conditions as most researched predictors of female LFP on the micro level, and continue with traditional gender role attitudes and religiosity as additional predictors to explain ethnic differences in women's participation. Next, we provide background information about the four main ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands and the Dutch institutional context.

Conventional explanations of ethnic differences in female LFP: Human capital factors and household conditions

Human capital theory is the most common perspective to explain individual labor market behavior (Becker 1975, 1981). Its main assumption is that individuals make a rational cost-benefit analysis to decide whether they should participate in the labor market. A major factor in this individual analysis is education (Becker 1975). Individuals who invested in education expect to profit from this investment later in life. Higher educational attainment leads to more and better job opportunities and therefore also to higher opportunity costs for nonparticipation (Becker 1981). Hence, highly educated individuals are more likely to participate in the labor market than lower educated.

Human capital theory has also been applied to explain ethnic differences in female LFP by arguing that the average levels of human capital are lower in some ethnic minority groups than in others (Adsera and Chiswick 2007). Ample empirical evidence attests to the positive role of education, but also other human capital factors, such as work experience and host-country language proficiency, for immigrant women's LFP (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012). We therefore hypothesise that higher education and Dutch language skills are positively related to female LFP.

Another explanation for female LFP relates to household conditions (Van der Lippe and Van Dijk 2002). Two main factors have been identified as crucial in this field: partnership and the number of children in the household. Household specialization theory claims that after entering into a relationship and particularly after childbirth, women are more likely than men to focus on domestic rather than paid labor (Becker 1981). Childrearing is traditionally considered as a female responsibility and therefore, many women quit paid labor after giving birth to their first child (van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002). The impact of household conditions and human capital on female LFP are highly interrelated. Women with low ambitions on the labor market and high family commitment may invest less in their education and have, due to low opportunity costs, higher incentives to stay at home after childbirth (Corrigall and Konrad 2007).

Although it has been argued that partnership status and the presence of children have become less influential recently (Hakim 2000), Bevelander and Groeneveld (2012) found that having a partner increases women's probability of having a "small" job with one to eleven working hours per week, but decreases the likelihood of being employed full-time, indicating the prevalence of female responsibility for domestic work in the Netherlands. For children, findings indicate no significant relation in a few studies (e.g. Dale et al. 2006 for the UK), but a clear negative association between children in the household and female LFP in most other studies (e.g. Bevelander and Groeneveld 2006, 2012 in the Netherlands; Fleischmann and Höhne 2013 in Germany). We therefore hypothesise that women's LFP will be lower if they live in a partnership and when there are children in the household.

Adding cultural explanations: Gender role attitudes and religiosity

Hakim's (2000) preference theory claims that the individualisation of society in general and the emancipation of women in particular have led to a more important role of individual attitudes for the life-style choices of women. Attitudes towards gender roles thus should be an important predictor of female LFP, and they can have both direct and indirect influences (Reimers 1985). Directly, these attitudes influence the prioritization of time between domestic and paid work for women with equal human capital resources and family structures. Indirectly, they might affect female LFP by encouraging women to have more children or decreasing their educational attainment (Presser 1994), both negatively influencing labor market opportunities and ensuing

opportunity costs of nonparticipation. Empirical evidence, including a longitudinal study (Corrigan and Konrad 2007), suggests that egalitarian gender role attitudes positively influence women's employment (e.g. Cassidy and Warren 1996). Therefore, we hypothesise that a stronger endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes is negatively related to female LFP.

Moreover, religion figures prominently in discussions about the cultural determinants of labor market behavior (Lehrer 1995). Early research showed a negative association between the level of religiosity and LFP among immigrants in the Netherlands (Phalet, Gijsberts and Hagendoorn 2008; Van Tubergen 2007), but more recent work tends to find no or a weakening association (Fleischmann and Phalet 2012; Maliepaard et al. 2012). The homogeneous gender composition of religious elites and the gender hierarchy often embedded within the norms of all major world religions suggest that religiosity fosters a worldview promoting traditional gender role attitudes and a traditionally gendered division of domestic and paid work (Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1985). In recent years, Islam in particular has been portrayed as being a major hurdle for the development of egalitarian gender role attitudes (Inglehart and Norris 2003), but empirical evidence suggests that religiosity matters regardless of religious affiliation (Read 2002). A negative relation between religiosity and egalitarian gender role attitudes has been found among both Muslim Turks and Christian natives in Germany (Diehl et al. 2009). This relation seems to be more complex for second-generation immigrant Muslims, with less strong negative correlations among men and non-significant associations among women (Scheible and Fleischmann 2013). However, since our analysis is mainly concerned with the first generation, we still expect a stronger endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes among more religious people.

Hence, we hypothesise that religiosity is negatively associated with female LFP, and that this relationship is explained by more traditional gender role attitudes.

The Dutch context: Immigrant groups and the welfare state

Our empirical analyses are based on the four largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, namely the guest worker immigrants from Turkey and Moroccan and the post-colonial immigrants from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles.

Turkish and Moroccan immigrants arrived from the beginning of the 1960s onwards, in the context of the economic boom in the Netherlands. The peak of this immigration was reached in the early 1970s before the state stopped admitting labor immigrants in 1973. Since then, a large part of the immigration from Turkey and Morocco is due to family reunification and marriage migration (Loozen et al. 2011). In 2006, about 364,000 Turks and 323,000 Moroccans lived in the Netherlands, of whom 48% are women (CBS Statline 2006). Mass migration movements from the Antilles and Suriname to the Netherlands occurred in the same period as the guestworker migration and it continued throughout the 1980s until the Dutch government installed visa requirements restricting immigration from the former colonies. However, due to family reunification and marriage migration the Surinamese and Antillean population in the Netherlands continued to grow. In 2006, 332,000 Surinamese and 130,000 Antilleans lived in the Netherlands of whom 52% and 50%, respectively, are women (CBS Statline 2006).

Surinamese and Antillean women have higher LFP rates than Turkish or Moroccan women and similar rates compared to native Dutch women (CBS Statline 2013). We expect these differences to be partly explained by ethnic differences in human capital and household conditions. More than 40% of the Turkish and Moroccan women have primary school as highest level of education, while this is only the case for 7% of the Dutch majority women. Moreover, only 10% of the Turkish and

14% of the Moroccan women complete tertiary education while 27% of the native Dutch women do so. Surinamese and Antillean women score lower than majority Dutch women with 15% having completed maximally primary school (Gijssberts and Iedema 2011). Regarding household conditions, Turks and Moroccans have more children, particularly in the first generation (on average, 2.0 children and 2.8 children, respectively), than native Dutch, Surinamese and Antillean women (about 1.8 children). For Surinamese and Antillean women, partnership is most distinctive. Only about 40% of the Surinamese and 37% of the Antillean women, but 56% of the native Dutch and Moroccan women and 59% of Turkish women live together with a partner (Loozen et al. 2011). Finally, Turkish and Moroccan minorities are characterised by high levels of religiosity, unlike the less religious Surinamese and Antilleans and the largely secularised majority population (van Tubergen 2007).

The Dutch institutional context forms the backdrop of the current study. The Dutch welfare state is often characterized as a hybrid model consisting equally of conservative, social-democratic as well as recently introduced liberal elements (Van Hooren and Becker 2012). Because it encourages part-time and flexible employment of mothers, the 1.5 breadwinner model, with the husband in full-time and the wife in part-time employment, is the most favored arrangement in Dutch families (Lewis et al. 2008). In fact, the relatively high LFP rate of native Dutch women is mostly due to the high share of part-time employment. Childcare facilities have only become widespread in the last two decades. But costs for public childcare are relatively high and parents have to advance the payments before getting reimbursed by the state. In 2004, about 25% of all children under 3 years and 7% of children between 4 and 12 years were in formal day care (van der Kemp and Kloosterman 2005). Low-income and immigrant families may be particularly reluctant to make use of childcare because they may have less knowledge about the refund system and less trust in receiving the reimbursement (OECD 2008). Although we know from previous research that macro level factors such as the welfare state substantially influence women's LFP (Mandel and Semyonov 2006), we cannot test any hypothesis about its role for explaining ethnic differences given that our analysis focuses only on the Netherlands.

2.3 Data and Methods

Data

We use the Survey Integration of Minorities (SIM 2006; Dagevos et al. 2007) to test our theoretical expectations. Data collection for this survey was conducted by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) from March to December 2006. In addition to information about household conditions and labor market behavior, this survey contains measures of gender role attitudes and religiosity among large and representative samples of the four largest ethnic minority groups (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans) as well as a comparison group of native Dutch. The data were collected in a two-step sampling procedure, based on the population register of all municipalities in the Netherlands (see Dagevos et al. 2007, for a full technical report). In line with official Dutch statistics, ethnicity is assessed based on the country of birth of the respondent and his/her parents. A respondent is defined as ethnic minority, if he/she or at least one of his/her parents is born outside the Netherlands.

Response rates were 60% among the Turkish participants, 50% among the Moroccans, 46% among the Surinamese, 54% among the Antilleans and 55% among the native Dutch. Face-to-face interviews were conducted by bilingual interviewers. For our purpose, we limit the total sample to

women between the age of 16 and 64 years and we exclude respondents in full-time education or pre-retirement and disabled respondents. The remaining sample contains 1771 respondents (360 Turkish, 377 Moroccan, 375 Surinamese, 328 Antillean and 331 native Dutch women).

Measures

Dependent variables

We analyze two operationalisations of female LFP. First, a binary variable indicates whether the respondent is participating in the labor market (1) or not (0). Following the definition of the Dutch Statistical Office (CBS) applied in the scientific use file of the SIM 2006 dataset, LFP implies being employed for more than 12 hours a week at the time of the survey or unemployed, but available and actively looking for employment of more than 12 hours weekly. We use female LFP instead of employment as main labor market outcome because LFP is nearly completely subject to women's decision. Active women may be unemployed due to many factors outside of their control (e.g. economic crisis).

Second, for methodological robustness (cf. *infra*), we analyze the number of hours worked per week. This is a categorical variable with five values, ranging from no work (0), via 11h (1), 12-19h (2), 20-34h (3), to ≥ 35 h (4). Inactive and unemployed respondents are mostly assigned to the category "no work", but some of them have a small job of up to 11 hours per week ($n=50$).¹¹

Independent variables

The highest educational degree attained by the respondents is measured on the basis of the Dutch education system. We distinguish between primary education (the reference group), lower secondary vocational, upper secondary and tertiary.¹²

The survey asks respondents about their difficulties in a) having a conversation, b) reading newspapers, letters or flyers and c) writing in the Dutch language. Answers were given on a three-point scale with 1 "Yes, great difficulties", 2 "Yes, some" and 3 "No difficulties". A principal component analysis shows loadings higher or equal to .91 for all three items and the latent factor explains 86% of the items' variance; therefore, a scale is constructed with the mean of the three items to measure Dutch language skills. Since native Dutch respondents did not answer these questions, they were recoded to 3 (no difficulties).

A dichotomous variable is constructed that indicates whether the respondent lives together with her partner/husband (1) or not (0).

The count variable number of children living at home has a range from zero to eight or more. In order to reduce potential bias through outliers (about 2% of the sample indicated having five or more children at home), we group respondents with four or more children into one category.

¹¹ Table 1 shows that 35% of the sample is inactive and 8% is unemployed.

¹² The exact Dutch categories used in the dataset are 1 "max. BAO(=basisonderwijs)", 2 "VBO(=voorbereidend beroepsonderwijs)/MAVO(=middelbaar algemeen voortgezet onderwijs)", 3 "MBO(=middelbaar beroepsonderwijs)/HAVO(=hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs)/VWO(=voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs)" and 4 "HBO(=hoger beroepsonderwijs)/WO(=wetenschappelijk onderwijs)". BAO refers to primary education and entails 6 years of schooling; VBO/MAVO is comparable to lower secondary education and goes usually from age 12 to 16. Upper secondary education is conducted in MBO/HAVO/VWO, which students leave around the age of 18. Finally, HBO/WO is tertiary education and usually completed around the age of 22.

Five items in the dataset cover gender roles attitudes: “Women should have the responsibility for the household”, “Men should have the responsibility for finances”, “For men it is more important than for women to earn their own income”, “Decisions about large investments should be made by men”, “A woman should stop working when she has children”. Respondents expressed their agreement on a scale from 1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”. The items were recoded so that higher values represent more traditional attitudes. A factor analysis of these five items with maximum likelihood extraction and oblimin rotation suggests a one-factor solution, with factor loadings from .51 to .76 and a Cronbach’s alpha of .75. The mean is used to assess traditional gender role attitudes.

Religiosity is assessed with the mean of three items indicating importance of religion: “My belief is an important part of myself”; “It hurts if someone talks badly about my belief” and “No one should doubt my belief”. Respondents indicated on a five-point scale whether they strongly agree (1) or strongly disagree (5). The items were recoded so that higher values imply stronger religiosity. Principal component analysis reveals factor loadings from .60 to .84 and a reliability test yields a Cronbach’s alpha of .73. Respondents who indicated to be non-religious did not answer these questions and were recoded as 0. A dummy variable indicating non-religious respondents was included.¹³

Controls

We control for perceived ethnic discrimination as immigrant women might withdraw from the labor market if they expect to be discriminated against by Dutch employers. Perceived discrimination in the Netherlands was measured on a scale from 1 “never” to 5 “very often”. Native Dutch respondents, who did not answer this question, are coded as 1.

We also include self-reported health status. Respondent were asked to evaluate their overall health on a scale ranging, after recoding, from 1 “very bad” to 5 “very good”. To control assimilation into Dutch culture, we include years since migration. Because the Dutch majority and second-generation immigrants have missing values on this variable, we constructed a categorical variable based on the continuous measure grouping the years since migrations into “<5 years”, “6-10 years”, “11-20 years” and “>20 years”, using the Dutch majority and second-generation immigrants as reference category. Finally, we include age in years.

Method

Due to the dichotomous character of the dependent variable LFP and the interest of this research in a comparison of coefficients across groups and models, our analysis has to account for the scaling problem (cf. Mood 2010). It is likely that more and different factors influence LFP of ethnic minorities compared to native Dutch women. Therefore, differences in the residual variance across ethnic groups are potential sources of scaling bias in our analysis. For instance, the expectations of family or group norms might be more relevant for labor market decisions of immigrants, especially Turkish and Moroccan women, than for native Dutch. Furthermore, including mediating variables possibly changes the relative unobserved heterogeneity of the analysed ethnic groups to different extents (Karlson et al. 2012), for instance, if individual attitudes are more relevant in the LFP decision making process for some ethnic groups.

¹³ Dummies for religious affiliation (Islam, Christianity) could not be included due to overlap with ethnicity.

Instead of more conventionally used logistic or probit regression, we therefore use heterogeneous choice models to estimate the regression coefficients for LFP, while testing and controlling for unobserved heterogeneity across groups. Heterogeneous choice models specify next to the regression equation the (potential) determinants of unobserved heterogeneity.¹⁴ This additional equation allows the scaling factor to vary systematically across cases and adjusts the scaling of the regression coefficients accordingly, thus allowing the comparison of coefficients across groups in the sample (Williams 2009). We use ethnicity as predictor in the variance equation and thus control for ethnic variation in unobserved heterogeneity.

In order to model 'hours worked per week', we use interval-censored regression (with the `intreg`-command in `stata`, Stata Corp 2011) as we know only the interval in which the observations fall and not the exact numbers of hours worked. Two outcome variables are required for the `intreg` command: one defining the lower limit of the interval and one defining the upper limit. The estimated coefficients of an interval regression can be interpreted in the same way as in linear regression models with a continuous variable (Stata Corp 2011). Like heterogeneous choice models, the `intreg`-command allows to model the residual variance. The main purpose of this second analysis is to test the robustness of our conclusions that will be based on two theoretically similar concepts, yet estimated with two different analytical techniques. We use hours worked per week, because coefficients in regressions with a continuous dependent variable are less affected by the scaling problem (Mood 2010).

We first describe ethnic differences in the dependent and independent variables as well as correlations. Our modelling strategy is the same for heterogeneous choice models of LFP and interval regressions to analyze number of hours worked per week. The first model includes only ethnicity, the control variables, human capital factors and household conditions. Religiosity is added in the second model. The third and final model adds gender role attitudes. In order to make coefficients comparable across groups within the same model, we estimate the variance separately for each ethnic group in each model, thus taking into account that unobserved heterogeneity might differ across groups.

2.4 Results

Descriptive findings

Z-tests and t-tests are conducted to compare ethnic differences in the variables' proportions and means. Furthermore, we calculate Pearson's r between educational level, the number of children at home, gender role attitudes and religiosity. Differences and correlations are only specified in the text if $p(\text{two-sided}) < .01$. A full correlation table that also presents results separately by ethnicity is included in the appendix.

In line with population statistics, Table 1 shows that LFP differs strongly between the ethnic groups in our sample. Turkish and Moroccan women are less active on the labor market than native Dutch women, while Surinamese and Antillean women show higher LFP. The latter is mainly due to the higher share of full-time employment among Surinamese and Antillean women compared to native Dutch since part-time employment rates are similar among women from the former colonies and native Dutch women.

¹⁴ Heterogeneous choice models can be estimated in `Stata` with the `hetprob`-command, or in `SPSS` with the `PLUM`-command.

Table 2.1 Range, mean/proportion (M), standard deviation (SD) and missing values (MV) of the variables (n=1722)^a

	Range	All groups			Native Dutch (n=323)		Turkish (n=359)		Moroccan (n=359)		Surinamese (n=368)		Antilleans (n=313)	
		M	SD	MV (%)	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
<i>Labor force participation</i>	0/1	.65			.74		.49		.40		.83		.81	
<i>Hours worked/week</i>	0-4													
No work	0	.40			.25		.55		.65		.23		.31	
<12h/week	1	.03			.05		.04		.01		.02		.02	
12-19h/week	2	.08			.13		.07		.04		.07		.08	
20-34h/week	3	.27			.38		.16		.18		.35		.32	
>=35h/week	4	.22			.18		.18		.12		.33		.27	
<i>Human capital</i>														
Education	1-4			.79										
Primary	1	.31			.08		.52		.51		.20		.21	
Secondary vocational	2	.25			.33		.23		.20		.25		.27	
Upper secondary	3	.29			.29		.20		.21		.37		.36	
Tertiary	4	.15			.30		.05		.08		.18		.16	
Dutch language skills	1-3	2.49	.71		3.0	0.00	2.02	.76	2.2	.34	2.91		2.85	.37
<i>Household condition</i>														
Number of children at home	0-4	1.40	1.22		.98	1.11	1.63	1.15	1.8	1.38	1.22	1.06	1.31	1.19
Living with a partner/spouse	0/1	.67		1.24	.78		.81		.79		.56		.41	
<i>Traditional gender role attitudes</i>														
Religiosity	0-5	2.95	1.75	.34	1.54	1.70	4.00	1.19	4.03	1.08	2.40	1.65	2.61	1.61
Non-religions	0/1	.21			.51		.05		.03		.27		.23	
<i>Control variables</i>														
Years since migration	0-5													
Native-born/second generation	0	.32					.18		.14		.20		.16	
0-5 years	1	.05					.06		.07		.04		.07	
6-10 years	2	.07					.09		.08		.04		.15	
11-20 years	3	.20					.29		.28		.16		.29	
20-30 years	4	.22					.25		.36		.23		.21	
>30 years	5	.14					.13		.07		.33		.12	
Age	16-64	39.52	11.27		43.37	11.72	37.14	10.77	36.69	11.00	40.51	10.43	40.36	11.21
Ethnic discrimination	1-5	1.81	1.03	.51	1.00	0.00	2.17	1.03	1.91	1.08	1.87	.99	2.04	1.11
Overall health	1-5	3.80	.81		4.01	.59	3.55	.88	3.70	.90	3.90	.78	3.89	.73

Source: Survey Integratie of Minderheden 2006, descriptives based on unweighted data

^a In total 49 respondents are excluded from the analyses due to missing data.

Table 2.2 Heterogeneous choice models (DV: Labor force participation) and Interval regressions (DV: Number of hours worked per week)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	LFP	h/week	LFP	h/week	LFP	h/week
<i>Ethnicity</i>						
Native Dutch (Ref.)						
Turkish	.61 (.50)	-4.65 (4.43)	.84 (.49)	-3.31 (4.51)	.73 (.43)	-2.53 (4.41)
Moroccan	-.31 (.38)	-16.40*** (4.31)	-.07 (.38)	-15.00*** (4.40)	-.19 (.36)	-15.4*** (4.35)
Surinamese	1.60* (.77)	2.14 (3.51)	1.86* (.82)	2.51 (3.52)	1.51* (.66)	2.00 (3.48)
Antillean	1.35* (.61)	-1.44 (3.74)	1.5* (.59)	-1.13 (3.74)	1.26* (.52)	-1.14 (3.68)
<i>Human capital</i>						
Education						
Primary (Ref.)						
Secondary vocational	.65** (.24)	8.10*** (2.42)	.66** (.24)	8.04*** (2.42)	.53* (.21)	7.17** (2.39)
Upper secondary	1.11*** (.25)	16.50*** (2.46)	1.11*** (.25)	16.40*** (2.45)	.80*** (.21)	13.10*** (2.46)
Tertiary	1.56*** (.27)	25.80*** (2.72)	1.57*** (.27)	25.6*** (2.72)	1.1*** (.24)	20.30*** (2.77)
Dutch language skills	1.05*** (.31)	15.40*** (2.34)	1.03*** (.31)	15.4*** (2.34)	.88*** (.25)	14.40*** (2.31)
<i>Household condition</i>						
Number of children at home	-.20*** (.06)	-4.60*** (.69)	-.19*** (.06)	-4.52*** (.69)	-.18** (.06)	-4.45*** (.68)
Living with a partner/spouse	-.36* (.17)	-1.13 (1.73)	-.36* (.17)	-1.17 (1.72)	-.33* (.16)	-.64 (1.70)
<i>Religiosity</i>						
<i>Non-religions (dummy)</i>						
			-.14 (.08)	-2.04* (.99)	-.03 (.08)	-.82 (.10)
			-.17 (.31)	-5.42 (3.60)	.10 (.30)	-2.41 (3.58)
<i>Traditional gender role attitudes</i>						
					-.59*** (.11)	-7.15*** (1.14)
<i>Control variables</i>						
Years since migration						
Native-born/second generation (Ref.)						
0-5 years	-.70 (.47)	-5.75 (5.04)	-.69 (.47)	-5.31 (5.04)	-.46 (.42)	-4.04 (4.98)
6-10 years	-.53 (.41)	1.23 (4.29)	-.51 (.41)	1.87 (4.3)	-.32 (.36)	3.84 (4.24)
11-20 years	.20 (.31)	9.63** (3.31)	.23 (.32)	10.1** (3.3)	.37 (.29)	11.81*** (3.29)
20-30 years	.71* (.32)		.71* (.32)	12.90*** (3.31)	.75* (.30)	13.90*** (3.27)
>30 years	.52 (.36)	10.90** (3.59)	.49 (.36)	10.90** (3.59)	.57 (.34)	11.31** (3.55)
Age	.04*** (.008)	-.46*** (.08)	-.04*** (.008)	-.44*** (- (.44)	-.03*** (.008)	-.44*** (.08)
Ethnic discrimination	-.02 (.08)	.28 (.93)	-.02 (.08)	.36 (.94)	-.02 (.08)	.32 (.92)
Overall health	.46*** (.113)	4.19*** (1.1)	.47*** (.11)	4.17*** (4.17)	.40*** (.10)	3.65*** (1.09)
Constant	-3.01** (1.16)	-34.7*** (8.95)	-2.9* (1.18)	-33.9*** (8.95)	-.99 (.87)	-11.25 (9.77)

Residual variance (ln(σ))						
Native Dutch (Ref.)						
Turkish	.86*** (.24)	.76*** (.09)	.85*** (.23)	.76*** (.10)	.72*** (.21)	.74*** (.10)
Moroccan	.63** (.22)	.62*** (.10)	.61** (.21)	.62*** (.10)	.55** (.19)	.63*** (.10)
Surinamese	.93*** (.27)	.43*** (.09)	1.01*** (.27)	.44*** (.08)	.89*** (.24)	.45*** (.09)
Antillean	.71** (.24)	.48*** (.09)	.73** (.24)	.48*** (.09)	.62** (.22)	.47*** (.09)
Constant		2.89*** (.06)		2.89*** (.06)		2.87*** (.06)

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001 (2-sided), Standard errors are in parentheses. The coefficients in the upper panel are regression coefficients and the coefficients in the lower panel present the variance estimates, i.e. the estimate of the differences in heterogeneity between ethnic groups and the native Dutch reference group

The independent variables also differ across ethnic groups. About half of the Turkish and Moroccan women in the sample have completed maximally primary education and less than 10% attained a tertiary degree. Of the native Dutch women, one third has tertiary education and only 8% have maximally primary education.

Furthermore, native Dutch women have on average the lowest number of children at home. Moroccan women live in households with about twice as many children, but also Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean women have more children at home than native Dutch. Antillean and Surinamese are less often living together with a partner or spouse than women from the other ethnic groups. As expected, Turkish and Moroccan women hold more traditional gender role attitudes than native Dutch. Also, the latter are less religious than women from all four minority groups.

Religiosity and traditional gender role attitudes are positively correlated ($r=.36$). Education is negatively correlated with religiosity ($r=-.31$) as well as traditional gender role attitudes ($r=-.47$). The number of children at home is positively correlated with traditional gender role attitudes ($r=.17$) and religiosity ($r=.20$). Correlations differ between the ethnic groups but do never substantially surpass the mentioned correlations in the full sample, indicating that these variables share some variance without raising concerns about collinearity.

Explanatory analysis

Table 2 presents the results of the heterogeneous choice models of LFP and the interval regression of hours worked per week. The upper panel presents the regression coefficients for LFP and the hours worked per week and the lower panel shows the variance estimates. The results are similar for both outcomes. A model including only the control variables, not depicted in Table 2, finds that Moroccan women are participating significantly less and Antillean women significantly more than native Dutch women. Furthermore, Turkish women work about 20 hours and Moroccan women about 30 hours less per week than native Dutch women after accounting for the control variables. Model 1 shows that education and Dutch language skills are positively associated with LFP and hours worked per week.

This confirms the crucial role of human capital for the explanation of female LFP. The number of children at home is negatively associated with LFP and hours worked per week and living with a partner is negatively related with LFP, but not with the hours worked. This suggests that the presence of a partner is more relevant for the decision whether or not to work than for the amount of work. Hence, our household conditions hypotheses find partial support.

Moreover, in Model 1 differences in LFP between Turks, Moroccans and native Dutch are fully explained just as differences in the number of hours worked between Turkish, Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch women. What remains unexplained is the higher LFP of Surinamese and Antillean and the lower numbers of hours worked of Moroccan women compared to native Dutch.

Model 2 additionally considers the respondent's religiosity. We find a marginally significant relation between religiosity and LFP ($p < .01$) and a positive though relatively weak association with the number of hours worked. The ethnicity coefficients for LFP of Surinamese and Antillean and number of hours worked of Moroccan women remain significant. After adding gender role attitudes in Model 3, the relation between religiosity and hours worked per week becomes insignificant and the religiosity coefficient for LFP decreases substantially. Applying the Sobel test, a commonly used t-test specialized on mediations, confirms that the mediation is significant for LFP ($\hat{\alpha} = -10.74$; $p < .000$) and for hours worked per week ($\hat{\alpha} = -4.22$, $p < .000$). We can therefore confirm our expectations that more religious women work less because they hold more traditional gender role attitudes.

Traditional gender role attitudes are negatively associated with LFP and hours worked per week and these relations are highly significant, even after including human capital, household composition and religiosity. Hence, we can confirm our hypothesis that women with more traditional gender role attitudes are participating less in the labor market. However, ethnic differences in LFP and hours worked per week do not decrease substantially from Models 1 to 3 and the ethnicity coefficients remain significant. Surinamese and Antillean women participate more often in the labor market than native Dutch women even after accounting for human capital, household conditions, religiosity and gender role attitudes. Ethnic differences in the hours worked per week are fully explained in the final model except for Moroccan women, who still work 15 hours less than native Dutch. One reason for this finding might be that the dependent variable does not distinguish between inactive and unemployed women. An additional model, which excludes inactive respondents from the analysis, showed no ethnic differences (not even for Moroccan women) in the hours worked per week, suggesting that the low Moroccan participation rate is indeed mainly responsible for the gap between Moroccans and native Dutch women in model 3.¹⁵ However, the question remains why only Moroccans have a substantially lower LFP.¹⁶

Finally, the residual variance of all models is higher for the immigrant groups than for the native Dutch women. A likelihood ratio test, which compares Model 5 against the same model without

¹⁵ This additional analysis is included in the appendix.

¹⁶ To further scrutinise the remaining ethnic differences in LFP, we tested interactions between household conditions and ethnicity. We find that the relations between living with a partner and children at home and LFP vary across ethnic groups. Antillean and Turkish women are positively affected in their LFP by living with a partner, while native Dutch and Moroccan women are negatively affected and Surinamese are unaffected. Furthermore, the negative effect of children at home is much larger for Moroccan than for women from the other ethnic groups (results available upon request).

the variance equation shows that specifying ethnicity as determinant for the residual variance significantly improves the model fit (LFP: $\text{Chi}^2(4)=16.35$; $p=.003$; hours worked: $\text{Chi}^2(4)=65.77$; $p<.000$). This suggests that more than for native Dutch women, the LFP of the immigrant groups is influenced by factors not included in the estimated model.¹⁷

2.5 Conclusion and Discussion

The main objective of this study was to test whether female LFP in the Netherlands still differs between ethnic groups after taking into account gender role attitudes and religiosity, in addition to human capital and household conditions as more commonly studied explanations. We focused on compositional differences between the ethnic groups in these explanatory variables and tested our hypotheses with two dependent variables: labor force participation and the number of hours worked per week. Despite different analytical approaches due to the coding of the variables, both analyses came to similar results, indicating that our substantive findings are robust to the precise definition and estimation of female LFP.

Our findings confirm previous results about the role of human capital and household conditions (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012; Read 2004). Additional analyses show that the associations of living with a partner and having children at home with female LFP differ across ethnicities. The negative relation of children in the household with LFP is stronger for Moroccan women than for women from other ethnic groups. Moreover, living with a partner decreases the LFP of native Dutch and Moroccan women, while it increases the participation of Turkish and Antillean women. One explanation for this finding could be differential gender role expectations in women's social networks. For instance, Read (2004) showed that Arab-American women in intra-ethnic marriages are less likely to participate in the labor market compared to women in inter-ethnic marriages. Research on the role of social norms in women's social network for the labor market integration of immigrant women is scarce. Future research should study the influence of the partner's gender role attitudes to fill this gap in the literature.

The key finding of the study is that gender role attitudes matter for female LFP, in addition to human capital and household conditions. Thus, women with more traditional gender role attitudes are less active in the labor market even after taking human capital and household conditions into account. These attitudes, moreover, seem to be equally relevant for female LFP in different ethnic groups. Researchers examining female labor market behavior would therefore do well to incorporate preferences of women in their models instead of assuming values from ethnic background or religious affiliation. We found a weak relation of religiosity and the hours worked per week that can be explained by the more traditional gender role attitudes of more religious women. Previous studies that found a direct link between religiosity and labor market outcomes of women implicitly assumed a mediation through gender role attitudes, but, to our knowledge, never tested it. Our study provides empirical evidence for the mediating role of gender role attitudes in the relation between religiosity and female LFP.

¹⁷ To check whether the theoretical variables have differing impacts on the dependent variables across ethnic groups, we also calculated models with an interaction effect between traditional gender role attitudes and ethnicity (results available upon request). However, the interaction coefficients were not significant, suggesting that the added variables affect the different ethnic groups in the same way. This increases the comparability of coefficients between models.

However, our present analyses are dominated by the foreign-born, and results may differ for the second-generation. Previous studies showed that Islamic religiosity is unrelated to LFP and its association with gender role attitudes is also weaker, particularly among local-born women (Fleischmann and Phalet 2012; Scheible and Fleischmann 2013). In fact, our models consistently show higher LFP even for first-generation immigrant women that live in the Netherlands for more than ten years compared to native Dutch women. As data-sets including larger numbers of second-generation immigrants become available, future research should more closely examine the relation between religiosity, gender role attitudes and LFP for the second and higher generations.

It also needs to be emphasised that our analysis only finds weak evidence for a direct association between religiosity and female LFP, despite a sample consisting mainly of first-generation immigrants. This suggests that claims about a central role of religion for women's participation in the labor market are probably exaggerated (Inglehard and Norris 2003), at least with respect to immigrants in the Netherlands.

Finally, and importantly, we aimed to explain ethnic differences in female LFP. Our analysis was more complete than previous studies because we added gender role attitudes and religiosity to conventional models. While the results show that ethnic differences in human capital explain the largest part of the ethnic differences in female LFP, we could also observe a lowering of the ethnicity coefficients after adding religiosity and gender role attitudes. Yet, even with our extended model, some ethnic differences remained – we find Moroccan women to work less hours and Surinamese and Antillean women to participate more often in the labor market than native Dutch after including these measures. How can we explain these results?

Some of the remaining ethnic differences may be due to the lack of work experience in our tested model, an indicator of human capital unfortunately not included in our dataset. Especially Surinamese and Antillean women may have already gained more experience in the labor market than women from other groups before migrating to the Netherlands and may therefore be more likely to participate after migration as well.

The additional analyses suggest other explanations for the remaining ethnic differences. Moroccan women seem to be more constrained in their LFP by children in the household than women from the other ethnic groups, suggesting that the external social pressure to focus on childrearing, e.g. through expectations of family members, is relatively high for Moroccan women. Moreover, living with a partner seems to be negatively associated with LFP for native Dutch women but not for Antillean women. In the Caribbean countries, women often take the decisions in the household and the responsibility for providing income, as men are often absent or not contributing to the household income (De Valk 2008). Therefore, Antillean women might be active in the labor market regardless of household conditions.

In any case, it seems that household conditions, and living with a partner in particular, have ethnically differential effects on women and deserve greater attention in future studies. More generally, these results should provoke researchers to question whether explanations for the LFP of majority women in Western countries have the same validity for women with different cultural backgrounds. Our finding that the residual variance in the full model, in which we account for most of the commonly used explanations for female LFP, is still higher for ethnic minority women than for native Dutch women is in line with this suspicion.

One of the limitations of our study is that the overlap of ethnicity and religion in our data inhibits an examination of the role of religious affiliation. Since this is a major discussion point in

public and academic debate, more studies with a cross-religious cross-ethnic research design (e.g. Heath and Martin 2013) would be highly interesting.

Finally, given our cross-sectional data, we cannot be certain about the causal relation between gender role attitudes and labor market outcomes. A longitudinal study by Corrigan and Konrad (2007), though, has shown that gender role attitudes of women at an early age influence future career paths, which supports the direction of causality implied in our models. Nevertheless, more longitudinal research is needed to examine whether this holds true for women from different ethnic groups over the life course. To conclude, this study has shown that gender role attitudes and religiosity are important for female LFP, and contribute to explaining why female LFP differs across ethnic groups. These findings call for a systematic incorporation of gender role attitudes in future research on female LFP. Since we could not explain ethnic differences entirely despite our extension of previous models, future research should focus on differential effects of household conditions on women from different ethnic groups.

Chapter 3

Labor market entries and exits of women from different origin countries in the UK¹⁸

Abstract

Labor force participation rates of women differ strongly by ethnic origin. Even though existing research using cross-sectional studies has demonstrated that part of these differences can be attributed to compositional differences in human capital, household conditions and gender role attitudes, residual ‘ethnic effects’ typically remain. To further our understanding of women’s labor market behavior across ethnic groups, we use a large-scale longitudinal study and apply a dynamic perspective to examine how far relevant life-course events in addition to individual characteristics, gender role attitudes and religiosity contribute to the explanation of ethnic differences in women’s labor force entries and exits in the UK. Our findings show that, adjusting for all these factors, Indian and Caribbean women do not differ from White majority women in their labor force entry and exit probabilities but that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are less likely to enter and more likely to exit the labor market, whereas Black African women have higher entry rates. We also find that relations between life-course events and labor market transitions differ by ethnic group. Most notably, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women’s labor market transitions are less sensitive to child-bearing and Caribbean women’s transitions less sensitive to partnership changes than other women’s.

¹⁸ A slightly different version of this chapter has been accepted for publication at *Social Science Research* as: Khoudja, Y. and L. Platt. Labour market entries and exits of women from different origin countries in the UK. 2017. *Social Science Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2017.10.003>. Khoudja wrote the main part of the manuscript and conducted the analysis. Platt substantially contributed to the manuscript. The authors jointly developed the idea and design of the study.

3.1 Introduction

In the context of a secular increase in women's labor force participation (LFP) across the last few decades in Western nations (Charles 2011), persistent ethnic differentials in the rates of women being either employed or actively searching for a job are perceived as problematic with regard to female emancipation and the socio-cultural integration of immigrant women (Kokkonen, Esaiasson, and Gilljam 2014). While much existing literature has focused on the lower LFP rates of (certain) minority women, patterns of LFP differ in complex ways across immigrant origin groups. In the UK, for instance, Black African and Indian women have similar LFP rates to White majority women, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have much lower rates, while Black Caribbean women have slightly higher rates (See Appendix, Figure A3.1). A number of studies have tried to explain ethnic differences in LFP rates by compositional differences in human capital, household conditions, and, more recently, gender role attitudes and religiosity (Dale, Lindley, and Dex 2006; Berthoud and Blekesaune 2007; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). Even though these factors account for a substantial share of the differences between groups, a residual ethnic group effect remained in all cases, leaving outstanding questions about how it could best be explained. In light of the relative stagnation in equalization of labor market opportunities among women relative to men (Charles 2011), addressing these questions provides an opportunity for a more complete understanding of the factors linked to women's LFP. Furthermore, it informs the debate about how cultural influences shape immigrants' adaption to the host-society (Polavieja 2015; Read 2004),

Previous studies that examined ethnic differences in women's LFP have mostly focused on the stock of women in the labor force at one or multiple time points (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2006; Dale, Lindley, and Dex 2006). This tends to assume that labor market status is constant over time, and across different cohorts that have different labor market exposure and experience of economic cycles. Analyzing ethnic differences in women's labor force transitions makes it possible instead to examine several key issues that are implicit in much of the discussion of ethnic differences in LFP, but which have rarely been evaluated (but see Taniguchi and Rosenfeld 2002). We therefore exploit a recent panel survey to analyze labor force transitions, focusing on three main contributions.

First, we examine how labor force transitions are linked to net differences in female LFP. Earlier cross-sectional studies necessarily left open the question as to whether ethnic differences in female LFP rates were due to variation in entrance or exit rates (or both). The extent to which patterns of entry or exit drive variation in LFP across groups is potentially informative about the particular processes implied (Bane and Ellwood 1986; Taniguchi and Rosenfeld 2002). For example, higher rates of exit suggest issues around retention, rather than reluctance to participate, while lower rates of entry are more likely to indicate structural or more deep-seated cultural obstacles.

Second, we examine how far ethnic differences in cultural factors, such as religiosity and gender role attitudes, contribute to the explanation of divergent labor force entry and exit rates of ethnic minority women (Reimers 1985). Given the influence of prevailing norms from countries of origin (Norris and Inglehart 2012) and the strong intergenerational persistence of gender role attitudes (Bisin and Verdier 2000; Farré and Vella 2013; Polavieja and Platt 2016), women from certain ethnic groups may have more (and others less) traditional attitudes regarding the gendered division of labor, influencing their preferences for domestic and childrearing specialization. Going beyond previous research, we test whether women with more traditional attitudes are not only less likely to enter but also more likely to exit the labor market compared to women with egalitarian gender

role attitudes but otherwise similar characteristics, thereby aligning their behavior with their preferences (cf. Hakim 2000). Religion, and especially Islam, is often critically discussed in public debates about gender equality and immigrant integration (Voas and Fleischmann 2012), and religiosity clearly differs markedly across ethnic groups (Platt 2014). But while studies show that more religious women also tend to have more traditional attitudes and therefore participate less in the labor market (Khouidja and Fleischmann 2015), it is uncertain whether labor market entries, exits or both are affected by women's religious beliefs independently of the traditional gender role attitudes that tend to accompany religiosity.

Third, we address the role of life-course events in triggering labor market entries and exits (c.f. Bane and Ellwood 1986; Jenkins 2011). We focus on childbirth, partnership change, and household income changes net of women's income, and evaluate their influence on women's labor force transitions. Children and partnership breakdown are well-known causes of change in female LFP (Manning and Swaffield 2008; Brewer and Nandi 2014); and loss of (partner's) income may drive women into the labor force regardless of preferences, while an increase in household income may facilitate exit from the labor force. Studying labor force transitions allows us to connect life-course events such as starting cohabitation with a partner and childbirth more directly with women's decisions about their LFP. It also enables us to estimate the specific contribution of life-course events to ethnic differences in transitions. We would also expect that transitions would be particularly sensitive to the influence of events in the presence of conservative (or liberal) gender role attitudes.

Female LFP is particularly well suited to study women's labor market behavior net of the influence of broader labor market conditions. Unemployment or earning levels may be a direct consequence of external factors such as discrimination or a lack of sufficient employment opportunities; LFP is arguably to a larger extent an individual choice, even if non-participation can be influenced by anticipated discrimination, long-term unemployment and limited earnings opportunities. However, even though LFP is in principle an individual choice, it is still possible that external factors such as normative expectations in a woman's family or ethnic group, or ethnic inequality in access to formal childcare might not only shape such preferences but also affect the degree to which women can realize them. This is best captured by studying responsiveness to potential influences through comparing moves into and out of labor force participation. A further aim of this study is therefore also to explore how far the relationship between attitudes, life-course events and women's labor market transitions varies between ethnic groups. This informs us about the degree to which commonly used explanations of female labor market participation can be generalized to women with varying cultural background.

The UK provides a particularly rich context for the study of differences in women's LFP across ethnic groups. The minority population comprises a number of sizeable groups, with differentiated migration histories, and patterns of settlement, participation and occupation. As noted, LFP rates differ across ethnic groups and we encompass this diversity in our analysis. Ethnic minority women's participation in the UK takes place in a context of a gendered labor market, with a substantial degree of occupational segregation, and high rates of part-time work and changes in occupational trajectories following motherhood (Manning and Petrongolo 2008; Olsen and Walby 2004).

We use the first six waves of Understanding Society: the UK Household Longitudinal Study from 2009/10 to 2014/15 (University of Essex 2016) to analyze both labor force entries and exits across a sample of women comprising the five largest (non-European) minority groups in the UK,

namely Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African, and white British majority women. Our main research questions are whether we can understand ethnic differences in LFP through differences in entry and exit and whether we can explain these ethnic differences in transitions through variation not only in compositional factors but also gender role attitudes, religiosity and life-course events. In an additional exploratory analysis, we also test how far these factors have the same impact on women's labor market transitions across the particular ethnic groups under study, examining the often implicit assumption that economic behavior can be understood similarly across all cultural contexts. The study is, to our knowledge, one of the first to use dynamic models to analyze ethnic differences in labor market transitions of women in a European country and is therefore of value in its descriptive as well as in its explanatory contribution.

3.2 Theoretical Background

The influence of cultural factors: Gender role attitudes and religiosity

Gender role attitudes, or gender ideology, refer, broadly speaking, to perceptions and normative beliefs about gender tasks and positions in society (van de Vijver 2007). In this study, we define gender role attitudes as the degree of support for a gendered division of paid and unpaid work, with unpaid work including household tasks, such as cleaning and cooking, but also childrearing. Individuals with traditional gender role attitudes consider unpaid household work and childrearing to be the primary tasks of women, while they consider men to be mainly responsible for providing an income for the household. In contrast, individuals with egalitarian gender role attitudes think that paid and unpaid work should both be equally divided between men and women. Hakim's (2000) preference theory argues that individual attitudes of women have become more important for life-course decisions due to increasing individualisation and female emancipation in Western society. Gender role attitudes might therefore be expected to have a substantial effect on a woman's decision to enter or exit the labor force; and this might either happen directly or indirectly.

Directly, gender role attitudes can influence the prioritisation of time between domestic work and paid work. Women with traditional gender attitudes might simply choose to focus on domestic work rather than on paid work (Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). But women with traditional gender role attitudes might also choose to have more children or have higher incentives to live with a partner who wants to be the sole breadwinner of the family, both of which might indirectly lead to lower participation in the labor market (Reimers 1985).

The causal relation between gender role attitudes and female LFP is theoretically and empirically contested. Empirical studies that have examined the causal relationships between gender role attitudes and later labor market behavior found evidence for an effect of early gender role attitudes on later labor market outcomes (Cunningham 2008) but also of labor market behavior on later gender role attitudes (Corrigall and Konrad 2007; Kroska and Elman 2009). Following the psychological theory of cognitive dissonance, one would argue that labor market behavior shapes attitudes by making individuals value what they are doing (Kroska 1997). A woman not active in the labor market would therefore tend to maintain or develop more traditional attitudes to decrease discrepancies between her behavior and her values (Gangl and Ziefle 2015). In contrast, planned

rational choice theory proponents would argue that individuals have certain preferences that they strive to fulfil in their behavior (Hakim 2000; Hakim 2002), implying that more traditional women would be slower to enter and faster to exit the labor market to align their behavior with their preferences. This will particularly be the case when they experience a life transition (partnership or parenting) that brings their preferences into relief. We hypothesize that women with more traditional gender role attitudes are less likely to enter and more likely to exit the labor market. It is acknowledged that differences in rates of women's LFP cross-nationally are linked not only to policy regimes but also to local, country-specific gender norms (Charles 2011). Since gender norms and values are subject to early socialisation processes (Bandura 1997; Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain 1997; Burt and Scott 2002), we expect gender role attitudes to vary across ethnic groups (Kane 2000; van de Vijver 2007), and therefore contribute to explaining ethnic differences in women's labor force transitions.

Religion is often related to female LFP (Lehrer 1995). Religiosity, rather than simply religious affiliation, is deemed to foster traditional gender role attitudes since nearly all world religions can be characterised by a homogeneously male religious elite and a strict gender hierarchy embedded within their promoted norms (Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1985). Religious beliefs might therefore impact later life-course decisions about LFP, or more indirectly, about giving birth, and in turn indirectly affect labor market attachment. Religiosity varies substantially across ethnic and religious groups, with Muslims often showing much higher religiosity than other groups, and might therefore provide some explanation for differences in labor force transitions. However, whereas older research among immigrants has found a strong relationship between religiosity and female LFP (van Tubergen 2007) more recent studies find no or rather low associations in immigrant groups (Fleischmann and Phalet 2012; Maliepaard, Gijsberts, and Lubbers 2012). These divergent findings might reflect that the relation between religiosity and gender role attitudes seems to be more complex for second-generation immigrants with evidence pointing to the decoupling of religious beliefs from gender ideology, and consequently labor force participation, among Muslim women (Ahmad 2001; Scheible and Fleischmann 2012; Georgiadis and Manning 2011). As our analysis includes first as well as second-generation immigrants, we hypothesize that religiosity is negatively related to labor market entry and positively related to labor market exit only insofar as it is mediated by gender role attitudes. We expect no independent effect of religiosity over and above such attitudes.

Changes in household conditions: Partnership, income and children

The effect of partnership on women's LFP is contested. Due to female emancipation in Western countries in the last 50 years and an increasing societal acceptance of dual-earner families, entering a partnership *per se* is not expected to affect women's labor force status. Instead, many scholars now raise the question which specific partner characteristics (labor market resources, gender role attitudes, involvement in domestic work) influence women's labor market behavior and in what way (Verbakel and de Graaf 2009).

A major limitation of existing studies on ethnic differences in the effects of partnership (and household conditions more generally) on women's LFP is that they are based on static models, which only address the association of partnership status with concurrent female LFP. Inherent to this approach is the tendency to assume symmetric effects, meaning, for instance, that starting a

partnership increases the probability of exiting the labor market as much as it decreases the probability of entering it. Some studies have shown that this might not be the case (Jeon 2008; Paull 2007) even though there is little consistent evidence. Overall, we expect partnership changes to prompt rates at which women both enter and exit the labor market compared to no change. This will be due to both changes in financial incentives and pressures and in normative expectations and practices relating to women's participation held by both women and their partners.

Domestic work in couples continues to be primarily conducted by the female partner, leaving partnered women with less time to focus on their career (Breen and Cooke 2005; Gershuny and Sullivan 2003). Moreover, entering a partnership might promote deep-seated notions about the traditional gendered division of domestic work, which could trigger women's labor market exit either on their own behalf or by wanting to meet the expectation of a partner (or a family) with traditional views (Cunningham 2008). In addition, partners are likely to increase family income reducing the necessity for women to participate economically. Conversely, separating from a partner might decrease the normative pressure to focus on domestic work and, in turn, increase the likelihood of women re-entering the labor force. The end of a partnership typically reduces women's household income (Brewer and Nandi 2014), increasing the incentive to (re-)enter the labor market. In the context of low state benefits, strong labor market activation policies and no statutory alimony for separated women, as in the UK, it is challenging for single women to sustain life as a homemaker.

Even when women remain in partnerships their participation is likely to be influenced by their partner's financial resources. Conditional on the partner providing sufficient income to maintain the couple, women can choose to focus on domestic work. However, a decrease in the partner's income might be expected to increase the need for women to become active in the labor market in order to maintain the living standard of the household. Conversely, an increase in household (partner's) earnings might facilitate women's exit from the labor market. The exception may be where the 'poverty trap' in the form of the interaction of earnings and state benefits renders low paid women's LFP not viable in the context of reduced or non-existent partner's earnings. This is supported by the mixed evidence on women's labor supply response to partner's job loss (e.g. Harkenss and Evans 2011). In contrast, continuously single women who are not in education are less likely to face the domestic constraint of women in partnerships and the economic necessity to enter the labor market will be highest for them.

In sum, therefore, we hypothesise that women leaving partnerships will tend to enter the labor market, whereas women who form partnerships will be more likely to exit. We expect single women to be the least likely to exit the labor market and the most likely to enter. While, we expect these responses to partnership to be primarily economically driven, we expect that women who are continuously partnered will be the least likely to enter and the most likely to exit even when incomes are stable. But we also expect them to be influenced by fluctuations in household income. We therefore hypothesise that additionally to the effect of partnership changes, an income decrease of other household members (primarily the partner) will increase the chances of women entering the labor market while an increase in household income will increase the probability of women exiting the labor market. However, due to the poverty trap, we expect this effect will be weaker, or even reversed, in low income households.

Children in the household, regardless of partnership status, are among the most recognized factors in decreasing women's LFP (van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002). Children of pre-school age tend to have the strongest negative effect on women's LFP. In countries in which public childcare

is not easily accessible, such as the UK, mothers are especially likely to be primarily responsible for raising the child while the father is in paid work. Lone parents in receipt of state benefits are also not expected to seek work until their youngest child is five years old. Even those with strongly egalitarian views may adapt to more traditional behaviors following the birth of a child, with research illustrating how mothers subsequently adapt attitudes to fit these behaviors (Baxter et al. 2015). Once children reach school age (5 years in the UK), the mother's need to stay at home decreases. Moreover, the cost of children increases with age (Banks and Johnson 1993) and hence can increase the need for mothers to work, regardless of their partnership status. Besides the trigger event of childbirth, the number of children already in the household is also relevant for women's decision whether to participate in the labor force (Jeon 2008). An additional new-born might make little difference if there are already young children in the household but if it is the first or second child, women might feel more pressure to reduce their economic activity.

Studies in the UK and the Netherlands (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2006) have highlighted that the effect of partnership and children might be related to women's cultural and family context. Holdsworth and Dale (1997) found that partnership was a key factor associated with lower LFP among Bangladeshi and Pakistani women, though for White majority women having a child was the key trigger. Dale et al. (2006) found a positive effect of having a partner on White and Black women's economic activity, no effect on Indian women and a negative effect for Bangladeshi and Pakistani women. Black Caribbean lone mothers also tend to have a substantially higher LFP rate than single mothers from other groups. This suggests that family structure and the cultural context might affect how partnership and children impact women's LFP. We therefore expect life-course events to reduce ethnic differences in labor force transitions, but that there will be some difference in their impact across ethnic groups.

Ethnic differences in women's LFP in the UK

Non-European migration to the UK has been dominated by a range of ethnic groups primarily from former colonies in the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa. These have occurred along different timescales and have involved different patterns of women's migration, with primary migration among women from the Caribbean in the earlier migration period (1950s-1960s) and more family re-unification among women from South Asia joining labor migrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in the 1970s-80s. African migrants are more recent and have included highly educated student migrants alongside refugees and family reunification (ONS 2013). Differences in timing of migration as well as in characteristics of migrants have resulted in differentiated patterns of settlement, family structure and LFP across these main ethnic minority groups.

Women from different ethnic groups tend to concentrate in different occupations, linking them to different patterns of pay, conditions, and labor market flexibility, and demonstrate different labor market attachment (Blackwell and Guinea-Martin 2005; Platt 2006). For example, rates of part-time work are lower across minority compared to majority group women; and there are higher rates of public sector work among Caribbean women (Platt 2006). Minority group women additionally face substantially higher unemployment than majority group women (ONS 2013). Existing research has tended to identify unexplained ethnic differences in LFP, even after taking account of individual characteristics and household conditions. Qualitative and quantitative accounts have emphasised the potential role of life-course events as well as different orientations to family and gender roles and religiosity (Brah 1993; Dale et al. 2006; Holdsworth and Dale 1997),

at the same time as some convergence across generations (Ahmad 2001; Georgiadis and Manning 2011).

More specifically, Pakistani and Bangladeshi (and to a smaller extent Indian) women marry earlier and more often (while divorcing less frequently) than White majority women, whereas Caribbean and Black African women are relatively more often single (Georgiadis and Manning 2011). Moreover, Pakistani and Bangladeshi as well as Black African women tend to have more children than women from the other ethnic groups, while lone parenthood is particularly high among Black African and Black Caribbean women (Nandi and Platt 2010). Originating in countries in which traditional forms of family organization are the norm, we expect Pakistani and Bangladeshi women to have rather traditional gender role attitudes. White majority and Caribbean women are likely to have less traditional attitudes due to their socialization in countries with a stronger acceptance of non-traditional family forms, while Indian and Black African women might be expected to lie somewhere in between. Based on previous research we can also expect Muslim, i.e. Pakistani and Bangladeshi, women to be more religious than women from other religious groups, with consequences for their endorsement of traditional divisions of labor. Second generation Muslims more or less retain the level of religiosity of their parents (Platt 2014), though, as noted, the behavioral implications of such religiosity may be changing; while ethnic minority women with a non-Muslim religious background tend to adapt to the low levels of religiosity of the White majority population across generations (Georgiadis and Manning 2011).

Hence, we hypothesize that we can explain ethnic difference in women's labor market entry and exit rates by adding to relevant individual characteristics compositional differences between ethnic groups in gender role attitudes and specified life-course events.

3.3 Data and Methods

We use the first six waves of *Understanding Society*: the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS). An annual panel study that started in 2009, UKHLS has a number of features that make it particularly suitable for addressing our research aims. First, it is a nationally representative household panel survey with a large sample size of over 28,000 households in the general population sample (GPS) at wave 1 (2009/10). Second, it has a substantial ethnic minority boost (EMB), of an additional 4,000 households, which allows for more fine-grained analysis of individual ethnic groups than a strictly proportional sample would allow. Third, it collects annual information from respondents on their current state and on events that have happened between waves. Information is collected by both interviewer-administered questionnaire and a self-completion questionnaire for measures more likely to be subject to social desirability bias (De Maio 1984). Fourth, it collects information from all adult household members of the original sample. Hence it provides information on existing and on new partners. Fifth, it contains measures essential for our research questions: gender role attitudes, religiosity, ethnic self-categorization, country of origin and ethnic identity of the parents, family status and household context, as well as standard measures of socio-demographics, economic status, health etc. For further information on the study, see www.understandingsociety.ac.uk.

UKHLS has a rich array of questions enabling the construction of ethnic group (McFall, Nandi, and Platt 2016). We use the self-reported ethnic group of the respondent and their parents and information on own/parental/grandparental country of birth to allocate respondents to an ethnic group category. Ethnic self-categorization is the basis for our ethnicity measure: we distinguish

between (1) White British/White Irish/other White background, (2) Indian and Sri Lankan, (3) Pakistani and Bangladeshi, (4) Caribbean and mixed Caribbean, (5) Black African and mixed African. We supplement this information with that on parents' ethnic identity and country of birth and grandparents' country of birth to allocate additional respondents with relevant origins to these groups.¹⁹

Our sample comprises all women who responded in at least two of the six waves; and excludes those who were continuously students. However, those who changed their student status, were considered as leaving or entering the labor market (we provide more detail on this below). The sample was restricted to women aged between 16 and 65 years. Our analytical sample comprises 54,668 person-waves, covering 16,062 women (12,748 White majority, 886 Indian and Sri Lankan, 1110 Pakistani and Bangladeshi, 625 Caribbean and mixed Caribbean, and 693 African and mixed African).

Measures

Entering the labor market and exiting the labor market

Respondents are considered as participating, or active, in the labor force if they are either employed or actively looking for a job and willing to start paid work at short-notice. We measure entry and exit from the labor force with two dummy variables. Women who were inactive at t_1 and active at t_2 are considered to have entered the labor market (with those continuously inactive as reference group) and women who were active at t_1 and inactive at t_2 are considered to have left the labor market (with those continuously active as reference group). Hence, we have two separate samples for estimating entry and exit probabilities (compare the approach used by Jeon 2008).

Those respondents who were students in one wave but had a different economic status in a preceding or subsequent wave were treated with special care. Being a student does not inherently mean being active or inactive in the labor market, but what it means rather depends on how higher education is framed in the life-course, and, in our case, particularly how it can be constructed in relation to the economic status of the respondents in the preceding or succeeding year. We therefore distinguished between becoming a student after already having been active or inactive and becoming active or inactive after having been a student. While the latter tends to depict the regular life-course stage of young people deciding to become inactive or active after finishing education, the former does not necessarily stand for a change in one's orientation in the labor market. We therefore considered respondents who became active after being a student as entering the labor market and those who became inactive after being a student as leaving the labor market. In contrast, we did not consider women who became a student after being already active or inactive as changing their economic status. Becoming a student after having been active is most likely to mean either reorienting oneself on the labor market or improving ones qualifications. Starting

¹⁹ More precisely, we proceed in the following way: We use the ethnic self-categorization (on the above named predetermined ethnic categories) of the respondents as basis for our classification. In a second step, we also assign respondents to one of the ethnic groups if at least one of their ancestors was born in the/a country of origin of the minority group. If respondents had ancestors from more than one of the minority groups (mostly the case for Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshi), we used the self-categorization of the respondent or the ethnic categorization of their parents (by the respondent) in the case that the respondent identified as White. We also used the ethnic categorization of the parents to identify White British born in Africa or India and Indians/Pakistanis with (grand)parents in Africa in order to allocate them appropriately.

education after having been a homemaker (which is the smallest group in the sample), however, is not necessarily indicative of entering the labor market.

Gender role attitudes

The UKHLS offers a small number of items to measure gender role attitudes. We chose “A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works” and “A husband’s job is to earn money; a wife’s job is to look after the home and family” as our measures. Whereas the former emphasizes potential (perceived) negative consequences of women’s employment for their children’s well-being, the latter one is purely ideological as it refers without any pretext to a preference for separated life spheres between men and women. These two items therefore cover important dimensions of gender role attitudes.²⁰ Respondents answered on a five-point scale ranging from “strongly agree” through “neither agree nor disagree” to “strongly disagree” with the statements. We reversed the coding so that a higher value represents more traditional gender role attitudes. Having measures of this variable in wave 2 and wave 4, we decided to use measurement at wave 2 for predicting transitions that occur during the first three waves and the measurement at wave 4 for transitions in the last three waves. The two items had a Pearson’s correlation of only .46 and were therefore both included in the analysis.

Religiosity

Our measure for religiosity is based on the question “How much difference would you say religious beliefs make to your life? Would you say they make... (1) a great difference, (2) some difference, (3) a little difference, (4) or no difference?”. We recoded the variable so that a higher value means that religious belief makes more difference to the respondent’s life. This item on religiosity was asked in Wave 1 and Wave 4, and, as for gender role attitudes, we use the first measurement for predicting transitions during the first three waves and the second measurement for transitions in the last three waves.

Household Changes

To measure partnership status and change we use a four level categorical variable with (1) women who remained in partnerships over two consecutive waves as the reference group, (2) women who remained single/divorced/widowed, (3) single/divorced/widowed women who started a partnership and (4) women who become single/divorcee/widow between two waves.

To evaluate income changes, we use a measure of household income net of the woman’s own income. We test for the impact of increases or decreases of more than 20 per cent in this net household income. Moreover, given that we might expect income effects to vary for poorer compared to more affluent households, as low-income households face higher marginal tax rates, that is the rate at which benefits are withdrawn as earnings rise, we also control for low income, measured as less than 60 per cent of the overall equivalent household median.

We constructed a measure of change in the number of children in the household younger than five years old. This variable can be thought of as the number of new-borns minus the number of

²⁰ Of the three other items available, two lacked conceptual clarity (“Both the husband and wife should contribute to the household income” and “Employers should help mothers combine jobs and childcare”) and did not load on the same latent factor as the other items in a confirmatory factor analysis. The final one was too similar to the one on children’s suffering if his/her mother works to be included (“All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job”).

children reaching UK school age (5 years) between waves. We created two dummies: one indicates whether the number of children below the age of 5 increased, and one whether it decreased in order to capture changes in the required amount of childcare as precisely as possible. An additional variable is used to account for the overall number of children in the household below the age of 16.

Control variables

To control for educational level, we use years of education instead of highest educational degree to have a measure that is comparable across ethnic groups, some of whom may have obtained their highest qualification in a different country. For those educated in the UK, we transformed the highest educational degree achieved into years of education based on the age at school start in the UK (5 years) and the predicted age at receiving the respective qualification. The UK education system is relatively rigid in terms of years spent acquiring specific qualifications, with few repeat years and with the majority of university students completing their degree directly after secondary school within the prescribed three years. For those respondents who did not follow their education in the UK, we used the regular school age in their respective country of birth to calculate their years of schooling (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2017).

We additionally control for English language skills with a dummy variable that is coded 1 if the respondent indicated having difficulties in (a) speaking day-to-day English, (b) speaking English on the phone, (c) reading English, or (d) completing forms in English and coded 0 if the respondent did not claim to have difficulties with English in any of these situations, or if English was their first language.

We control for time-varying general health using a 5-point scale ranging from (1) excellent to (5) poor, which was measured at every wave. We would expect those with poorer general health to be more likely to be or move out of the labor market and less likely to enter it. Years since migration is controlled for by a four-value variable that indicates whether the respondent was born in the UK (0), or whether she has lived in the UK for (1) at most five years, (2) between 6 and 10 years and (3) more than 10 years. We also control additionally for age (centred) age squared, and wave in which the transition was observed.

Dealing with missing values

Partly as a result of lower response on the self-completion element of the questionnaire, the share of respondents with missing values on the items for gender role attitudes, religiosity, education and general health cumulatively accounted for about 10 per cent of the sample and were therefore too high, particularly within the ethnic minority groups, to be dealt with by listwise deletion (Acock 2005). We assume that the data are missing at random and therefore multiply impute complete sets of responses for 10 imputed data sets, following the rule of thumb that the number of imputed datasets should correspond to the percentage of missing cases (White, Royston, and Wood 2011). We used chained equations as the imputation method with labor market status and change, ethnicity, marital status, children in the household, age, age squared, wave, household income (excluding women's income) and years since migration as predictors in the imputation model.

Method of Analysis

Given the relatively small number of events of interest that occur between any two sweeps, we follow standard practice in pooling pairs of waves from across the first four waves of the study. We then model the transitions between t_1 and t_2 (e.g. moves into or out of the labor force for those at risk) with time-invariant and time-variant characteristics.²¹ Using a base transition specification (see the discussion in Cappellari and Jenkins 2008), we estimate average marginal effects based on logit models for the transitions. This allows us straightforwardly to explore and quantify the extent to which there are a) ethnic differences in rates of entry and or exit which contribute to overall differences in LFP and b) the extent to which such differences in labor force transitions can be accounted for by the relevant variables outlined in our hypotheses above. In a first model, we examine how far ethnic differences in women's labor force transitions are explained by various control variables. In a second step, we test the contribution of religiosity and gender role attitudes to labor force transitions. We then evaluate the explanatory power of inter-wave events (such as partnership separation, the birth of a child, or a substantial change in the household income) for ethnic differences in women's labor force transitions; and subsequently, we test how far women's gender role attitudes at an early stage of the survey condition the relation between life-course events and labor market transitions. In a final analysis, we explore whether the contribution of the trigger events and the cultural factors to labor market transitions differs by ethnic group.

Analysis was conducted in Stata 13.1. All analyses adjust for the complex survey design of the UKHLS by incorporating adjustments for clustering and stratification and employing the design weight to adjust for sampling probabilities and initial non-response (see Knies 2016), and using Stata's `svy` command. Standard errors are adjusted for repeat observations on individuals.

Robustness of results

The econometric literature on labor market and income/ poverty transitions has highlighted the potential sensitivity of results to issues of unobserved heterogeneity and the impact of initial conditions. That is, it is argued that differences in exit and entry rates, particularly over extended periods of time, may reflect underlying unobserved differences in the propensity to engage in the labor market (Allison 2014). At the same time, for investigating transitions, the starting point, or initial measurement status may lead to an over-estimate of state dependence, if those 'initial conditions' represent a greater underlying propensity to be in a given state (Stewart and Swaffield 1999; Cappellari and Jenkins 2008). In order to test the robustness of our results to the potential influence of unobserved heterogeneity and initial conditions, we estimate random effects models, both probit and linear probability models; and, following Orme (2001), and as applied by Jeon (2008), incorporate generalized residuals to adjust for initial conditions by estimating the generalised residuals as given in Gourieroux et al. (1987). Since our results were consistent across these specifications, when compared with an unweighted AME specification (see Appendices 3) and since the literature has not yet clarified how to take account of complex sample designs and weights in particular in mixed (random effects) models, we preferred the original specification outlined above, and focus on the results from these models.

²¹ If the respondent did not participate in t_2 , we used t_3 as the consecutive wave. Similarly, if respondents were only part of the sample at t_2 and t_4 , we used these waves as the basis to measure transitions or trigger events. Respondents with a two-wave gap, meaning those that were, for instance, only present in wave 1 and wave 4, were excluded from the analysis.

3.4 Results

Descriptive Results

Table 3.1 illustrates how patterns of labor market transitions vary between ethnic groups. Most striking is the particularly low LFP rate of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. While this finding is not new, we can now see that it is driven not only by low rates of labor market entry but also by particularly high rates of labor market exit compared to the other ethnic groups. If the LFP of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women was primarily driven by overall cultural norms of women's participation, rather than the intersection with life-course events, we might expect lower entry rates, but not necessarily different rates of exit for those in work. Higher exit rates might also imply greater discouragement to participate stemming from more limited opportunities or higher unemployment rates.

While Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have an entry rate of 14 per cent (this is the share of women entering the labor market between t_k and $t_{k+1(\text{or}2)}$ divided by the share of women that remain inactive in the same time frame), White majority women have an entry rate of .31 per cent, Indian and Sri Lankan women an entry of 24 per cent and Caribbean and African women of almost 40 per cent. The exit rate of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women is 16 per cent (the share of women exiting the labor market between t_k and $t_{k+1(\text{or}2)}$ divided by the share of women that remain active in the same time frame), which is four times higher than the exit rate of White majority women (four per cent).

Indian/Sri Lankan and Caribbean women have an exit rate of five to six per cent while the rate of Black African women is slightly higher at about 8 per cent. It is worth noting that even though Caribbean women have a similar LFP rate as White majority women, the former have a substantially higher entry rate (by about eight percentage points) as well as a somewhat higher exit rate. Similarly, African women have a similar LFP rate as Indian/Sri Lankan women but a much higher entry rate and a somewhat higher exit rate. This could suggest that Caribbean and African women are more flexible in their decisions to participate in the labor market over the life-course than White majority and Indian/Sri Lankan women and may indicate that different explanatory approaches are required for the different groups' LFP. While White majority women make extensive use of part-time work to combine LFP with family commitments, the greater dependence on full-time work among Caribbean and Black African women may present starker choice.

This can be linked to the fact that Caribbean women, in particular, have very distinct partnership patterns. Whereas over 65 per cent of White majority, Indian/Sri Lankan and Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are partnered over two waves, this is only the case for 32 percent of the Caribbean women. The majority of them are, and remain, single from one year to the next. Black African women fall in-between with about 45 per cent continuously partnered and 48 per cent continuously single. Turning to cultural factors, White majority women are by far the least religious, whereas Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are the most religious. The latter also show the most traditional gender role attitudes whereas White majority women, together with Caribbean women, have the least traditional attitudes. Interestingly, across ethnic groups, the Pearson's correlation between religiosity and "a pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works" is .18 while the correlation between religiosity and "A husband's job is to earn money; a wife's job is to look

after the home and family” is .15, indicating a rather weak aggregate relationship between being highly religious and having traditional gender role attitudes.

Multivariate analysis of labor market transitions

Entering the labor force

Table 3.2 shows the estimates from a series of models of labor market entry. Model 1 shows that considerable ethnic differences in labor market entry rates persist even after accounting for number of children in the household, years of education and other variables conventionally considered of relevance for women’s LFP. More specifically, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have lower entry rates whereas African women have higher entry rates than White majority women.

In Model 2, we include gender role attitudes and religiosity. As expected, both items on gender role attitudes show that women who support more traditional gender roles are less likely to enter the labor market than women who reject them. Also in line with our expectations, religiosity has no effect on women’s labor market entries net of gender role attitudes. In an additional model (available upon request), we included religiosity without gender role attitudes, and it still had no significant effect, nor did it reduce the ethnic group coefficients. This indicates that, contrary to common assumptions, religiosity plays no substantial role in explaining ethnic differences in women’s labor market entries.

Model 3 shows that, net of the control variables, remaining single increases the likelihood of entering the labor market, relative to remaining partnered, as we expected. Moreover, results show a marginally significant five percentage points increase in labor market entries after partnerships started and a nine percentage points increase after partnerships ended. In line with our hypothesis, we find that a 20 per cent decrease in the household’s income (net of the woman’s income) increases women’s probability of entering the labor market by about 6 percentage points.

We also find strong evidence that a new child substantially decreases the likelihood of entering the labor market, but women with a child that has reached school age are no more likely to enter the labor market than inactive women without any change in young children in the household. The overall number of children in the household decreases the probability of entering the labor market in a given year, in line with our expectations.

Model 4 combines religiosity and gender role attitudes with life-course events but shows no substantial change in coefficients when these set of factors are accounted for simultaneously.

In Model 5 we estimate interaction effects between the events and gender role attitudes on women’s probability of entering the labor market. Surprisingly, the interaction between the two gender role attitudes and remaining single go in opposite directions. We find a significant positive interaction between the item “a pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works” and being single suggesting that single women are more likely to enter the labor market if they have high values on this item. However, as the negative partial effect of “a pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works” is of similar size as the interaction term, and therefore cancels it out, the dominant effect is the positive one of remaining single on labor market entries. There is a significant negative interaction between the other gender role attitudes item “A husband’s job is to earn money; a wife’s job is to look after the home and family” and remaining single, suggesting that single women who endorse this claim are less likely to enter the labor market than single women who don’t. Somewhat more difficult to understand is the positive interaction term of “a pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works” and starting a partnership. This

Table 3.1 Range, mean/proportion (M), standard deviation (SD) and number of person-year observations (N)

Variable	Range	N	All groups		White majority		Indian/ Sri Lankan		Pakistani/ Bangladeshi		Caribbean/ mixed Caribbean		Black African/ mixed African	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Labor force entry (Ref. remain inactive)	0/1	11556	.28		.31		.24		.14		.39		.38	
Labor force exit (Ref. remain active)	0/1	43112	.05		.04		.06		.16		.05		.08	
Economic activity	0-2	54668												
Active in Labor Force	0		.80		.84		.74		.38		.82		.74	
Homemaker	1		.19		.15		.25		.61		.16		.23	
Full-time student	2		.01		.01		.01		.01		.02		.03	
Ethnic origin group	0-4	54668												
White majority	0		.81											
India/Sri Lankan	1		.05											
Pakistan/Bangladeshi	2		.06											
Caribbean/mixed Caribbean	3		.04											
Black African/mixed African	4		.04											
Partnership status	0-3	54668												
Remains in partnership	0		.65		.66		.76		.70		.32		.45	
Remains single	1		.31		.30		.22		.26		.64		.48	
Partnership started	2		.02		.02		.01		.02		.02		.03	
Partnership ended	3		.02		.02		.01		.02		.02		.04	
Change in no. of children <5 years	-3 to 4	54668	-.01	.34	-.01	.32	-.02	.38	-.04	.51	-.02	.33	-.03	.40
Number of children <16	0-9	54668	.83	1.08	.75	1.01	.97	1.06	1.49	1.42	.77	1.00	1.27	1.34
Household (HH) income changes	0-2													
HH income stable	0	54668	.53		.54		.48		.35		.55		.49	
HH income decrease 20%	1	54668	.20		.20		.21		.27		.19		.22	
HH income increase 20%	2	54668	.27		.26		.31		.38		.26		.29	
HH below 60% median income	0/1	54668	.34		.32		.25		.32		.58		.51	
Religiosity	1-4	54126	2.20	1.18	1.93	1.06	3.17	1.01	3.70	.66	2.86	1.16	3.49	.94
Children suffer if mother works	1-5	51695	2.80	1.09	2.70	1.05	3.31	1.19	3.59	1.10	2.68	1.04	3.22	1.18
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home	1-5	51705	2.21	1.07	2.13	1.02	2.55	1.20	3.07	1.20	2.17	1.08	2.49	1.18
Years of education	4-18	54587	13.32	2.79	13.36	2.70	13.61	2.97	12.12	3.33	13.64	2.61	13.56	3.14
English problems	0/1	54668	.03		.01		.14	.35	.29		0		.12	
Age	16-66	54668	41.10	11.83	41.75	11.98	40.01	10.53	35.35	9.95	40.58	11.71	38.55	1.11
Years since migration	0-3	54629												
White majority/Second generation	0		.84		.94		.37		.38		.73		.18	
<=5 years	1		.01		.01		.07		.04		.01		.07	
>5 years & <=10 years	2		.03		.01		.15		.10		.02		.22	
>10 years	3		.12		.04		.41		.48		.24		.53	
General Health	1-5	54365	2.41	1.01	2.36	.99	2.56	1.02	2.78	1.08	2.67	1.00	2.32	1.02
Wave	2-6	54668	3.81	1.41	3.81	1.41	3.82	1.41	3.88	1.41	3.83	1.41	3.76	1.41
Generalized residual	-.97 to .96	51377	.00	.38	.03	.36	-.04	.44	-.31	.44	.05	.36	-.03	.44

Notes: Descriptives based on unweighted sample.

implies that more traditional women are more likely to enter the labor market than egalitarian women when they move in with their partner or spouse. However, the result was sensitive to the number of waves we included, and we do not want to over-interpret this unexpected effect.

We also find a marginally significant negative interaction between the view that a child is likely to suffer if the mother works and an increase in young children in the household, supporting our expectation that women with more traditional attitudes are less likely to enter the labor market after giving birth compared to women with more egalitarian attitudes.

As already briefly mentioned, while the substantial differences in labor force entry between Caribbean and majority group women are accounted for by their different circumstances and characteristics, difference in labor market entry rates for other ethnic groups remain substantial. Even after accounting for the control variables with Pakistani and Bangladeshi women having nine percentage points lower and Black African/mixed African women having 14 percentage points higher entry rates. Including the items on gender role attitudes in Model 2 lowers the average marginal effects of having Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin on entry rates by about two percentage points to a difference of seven percentage points from White majority women. This indicates that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women's lower entry rates are partly explained by their more traditional gender role attitudes. In contrast, the higher entry rates of Black African/ mixed African women compared to White majority women are not explained by adding gender role attitudes to the model, which is not surprising considering that the former have on average somewhat more traditional attitudes than the latter. Changes in family context and household income seem not to explain the lower entry rate of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women as it remains about nine percentage points lower than the labor force entry rate of White majority women in Model 3. In contrast, for Black African/mixed African women the differences decrease from 14 percentage points to an entry rate that is 11 percentage points higher than White majority women's after accounting for life-course events. Model 4 shows that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women still have a seven percentage points lower entry rate than White majority women whereas Black African/mixed African women have a twelve percentage points higher entry rate. This is an important point as it indicates that those factors that are most discussed in the literature on women's labor market participation are insufficient to explain contrasting ethnic difference in women's labor market entries.

Exiting the labor force

Table 3.3 gives the results for women's labor market exits. Model 1 shows that after including control variables only Pakistani and Bangladeshi women show significantly higher labor market exit rates than White majority women. In Model 2, we include religiosity and the two items on gender role attitudes. As expected, the two items on gender role attitudes show a significant positive effect on the likelihood of exiting the labor market, and religiosity is not independently positively related to women's labor market exit.

In Model 3, we find little evidence for a relationship between partnership dynamics and women's likelihood of exiting the labor market except for a marginally significant and weak negative effect of remaining single. However, we find strong evidence that an increase in children under 5 in the household triggers higher rates of labor market exit, supporting our expectation. We also find that a substantial increase in the household's income is associated with a greater likelihood of women exiting the labor market. Results also show a positive relationship between a decrease in the household's income and women exiting the labor market. Model 4 includes all the factors of the earlier models but does not show much difference in the coefficients.

Table 3.2 Average marginal effects for entering the labor market

Predictors	(1) LM entry	(2) LM entry	(3) LM entry	(4) LM entry	(5) LM entry
Ethnic group (Ref.=White)					
Indian/Sri Lankan	-.03 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.01 (.02)
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	-.09*** (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.07*** (.02)
Black Caribbean/mixed Caribbean	.04 (.03)	.03 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.01 (.03)	.01 (.03)
Black African/mixed African	.14*** (.03)	.14*** (.03)	.11*** (.03)	.12*** (.03)	.12*** (.03)
Partnership (Ref.=Remains in partnership)					
Remained single			.15*** (.02)	.14*** (.02)	.14*** (.02)
Partn. started			.05 (.03)	.05 (.03)	.06* (.03)
Partn. ended			.09** (.03)	.08** (.03)	.08** (.03)
Changes in young children in HH (Ref.=no changes)					
Child <5 year old increase			-.22*** (.02)	-.22*** (.02)	-.24*** (.03)
Child < 5 year old decrease			-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)
Household (HH) income (Ref.=stable)					
Household income decrease 20%			.06*** (.01)	.06*** (.01)	.06*** (.01)
Household income increase 20%			.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.00 (.01)
HH below 60% median income			-.09*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)
Religiosity		.01 (.00)		.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Children suffer if mother works (centred)		-.02*** (.00)		-.02*** (.00)	-.03*** (.01)
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home (centred)		-.04*** (.00)		-.04*** (.00)	-.03*** (.01)
Childsuffermotherwork X Single					.03** (.01)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.start					.07* (.03)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.end					.03 (.03)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Single					-.02** (.01)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Partn.start					-.03 (.02)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Partn.end					-.00 (.02)
Childsuffermotherwork X increase in young children					-.04 (.02)
Childsuffermotherwork X decrease in young children					-.00 (.01)
Husbandearn,wifehome X increase in young children					-.04 (.02)
Husbandearn,wifehome X decrease in young children					.02 (.01)
Childsuffermotherwork X income increase					.00 (.01)
Childsuffermotherwork X income decrease					-.00 (.01)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income increase					-.01 (.01)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income decrease					.01 (.01)
No of children aged under 16	-.10*** (.01)	-.10*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)
Years of Education	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)
English language problems	-.07** (.03)	-.05 (.03)	-.07** (.03)	-.05 (.03)	-.05* (.03)
Age (centred)	-.01*** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)
Age^2	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Years since migration (Ref.=native-born/Second generation)					
<=5 years	-.05 (.03)	-.05 (.03)	-.02 (.03)	-.02 (.03)	-.01 (.03)
>5 & <=10 years	-.02 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.00 (.02)	.01 (.02)	.01 (.02)
>10 years	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)
General health	-.04*** (.00)	-.04*** (.00)	-.04*** (.00)	-.04*** (.00)	-.04*** (.00)
Wave	.01*** (.00)	.01*** (.00)	.01*** (.00)	.01*** (.00)	.01*** (.00)
N	11484	11484	11484	11484	11484

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test)

Notes: The overall number of observations for labor market entries in the descriptive table is slightly higher than the number of observations here because 72 missing values were not imputed for unknown reasons.

Table 3.3 Average marginal effects for exiting the labor market

Predictors	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)	
	LM exit		LM exit		LM exit		LM exit		LM exit	
Ethnic group (Ref.=White)										
Indian/Sri Lankan	-.00	(.00)	-.01	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.01	(.00)	-.01	(.00)
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	.06***	(.01)	.04***	(.01)	.05***	(.01)	.04***	(.01)	.04***	(.01)
Black Caribbean/mixed Caribbean	.00	(.01)	.01	(.01)	.00	(.01)	.00	(.01)	.01	(.01)
Black African/mixed African	.01	(.01)	.01	(.01)	.01	(.01)	-.00	(.01)	.01	(.01)
Partnership (Ref.=Remains in partnership)										
Remained single					-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)
Partn. started					.00	(.01)	.00	(.01)	-.00	(.01)
Partn. ended					.00	(.01)	.00	(.01)	.00	(.01)
Changes in young children in HH (Ref.=no changes)										
Child <5 year old increase					.04***	(.00)	.04***	(.00)	.04***	(.00)
Child < 5 year old decrease					-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)
Household (HH) income (Ref.=stable)										
Household income decrease 20%					.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)
Household income increase 20%					.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)
HH below 60% median income					.01*	(.00)	.01**	(.00)	.01*	(.00)
Religiosity			-.00	(.00)			-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)
Children suffer if mother works (centred)			.01***	(.00)			.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home (centred)			.01***	(.00)			.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)
Childsuffermotherwork X Single									-.00	(.00)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.start									-.00	(.01)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.end									.00	(.01)
Husbandearn, wifehome X Single									.00	(.00)
Husbandearn, wifehome X Partn.start									-.00	(.01)
Husbandearn, wifehome X Partn.end									.01**	(.01)
Childsuffermotherwork X increase in young children									.01	(.00)
Childsuffermotherwork X decrease in young children									.00	(.00)
Husbandearn,wifehome X increase in young children									-.01*	(.00)
Husbandearn,wifehome X decrease in young children									-.01	(.00)
Childsuffermotherwork X income increase									-.00	(.00)
Childsuffermotherwork X income decrease									-.00	(.00)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income increase									.00	(.00)
Husbandearn,wifehomeX income decrease									-.00	(.00)
No of children aged under 16	.02***	(.00)	.02***	(.00)	.02***	(.00)	.02***	(.00)	.02***	(.00)
Years of Education	-.00***	(.00)	-.00***	(.00)	-.00***	(.00)	-.00***	(.00)	-.00***	(.00)
English language problems	.01	(.01)	.01	(.01)	.02*	(.01)	.01	(.01)	.01	(.01)
Age (centred)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)
Age ²	.00***	(.00)	.00***	(.00)	.00***	(.00)	.00***	(.00)	.00***	(.00)
Years since migration (Ref.=native-born/Second generation)										
<=5 years	.04*	(.02)	.03	(.02)	.04*	(.02)	.03	(.02)	.03	(.02)
>5 & <=10 years	.02	(.01)	.01	(.01)	.01	(.01)	.01	(.01)	.01	(.01)
>10 years	.01	(.00)	.01	(.00)	.01	(.00)	.01	(.00)	.01	(.00)
General health	.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)	.01***	(.00)
Wave	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)
N	42987		42987		42987		42987		42987	

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test)

Notes: The overall number of observations for labor market exits in the descriptive table is slightly higher than the number of observations here because 125 missing values were not imputed.

Evidence for interactions between life-course events and gender role attitudes is shown in Model 5. We find a positive interaction between “A husband’s job is to earn money; a wife’s job is to look after the home” and ending a partnership suggesting that traditional women are more likely to exit the labor market than egalitarian women after a partnership ended. We also find significant interactions of similar size between both gender role attitudes items and an increase in young children in the household – though in opposite directions. Considering that the partial effects of the two gender role attitude items are positive and of similar size as the interaction terms, it seems that, overall, gender role attitudes do not substantially moderate the effect of giving birth on women’s labor market exits.

From the descriptive results, we already know that differences between ethnic groups in exit rates are not as pronounced as for entry rates – with the exception of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women who have a 12 percentage points higher exit rate than White majority women. Model 1 shows that individual characteristics explain about half of this difference so that about six unexplained percentage points difference in the exit rate remain after we account for these factors. Including gender role attitudes in Model 2 also explains some of the differences in the exit rate between Pakistani and Bangladeshi and White majority women. However, the ethnic group coefficient remains statistically significant, indicating that about 4 percentage points difference remains unaccounted for. Incorporating life-course events (Model 3) and their interaction with gender role attitudes (Model 5) barely contribute to the explanation of ethnic differences in women’s exit rates.

Differences between the ethnic groups

The assumption underlying the analysis so far is that life-course events and gender role attitudes operate consistently across groups and, alongside individual characteristics, represent potential sources of compositional variation across ethnic groups that can help account for ethnic differences in labor force transitions. Given that the overall sample is dominated by an 81 per cent share of White majority women, these relationships will tend to be driven by those that pertain to the majority population. To explore the extent to which life-course transitions, gender role attitudes and religiosity operate in a consistent fashion across groups, we estimated Model 4 separately for each ethnic group. As the number of events for any given minority group is rather small (particularly the transitions in partnerships), the significance levels for their coefficients should be treated with some caution. Instead, Tables 3.4 and 3.5 allow more qualitative consideration of the overall consistency of contributory factors across groups in their size and sign. Given the comparison is within groups, strong within-group homogeneity on certain factors is likely to result in these factors offering rather limited explanatory power for differences in transitions within the group, even if they are relevant to explaining differences between groups.

Table 3.4 shows the results for women entering the labor market by ethnic group. We see that partnership seems to affect Caribbean women in a different way to women from other ethnic groups. Specifically, we see that Caribbean women who remain single over two waves are no more likely to enter the labor market than Caribbean women who remain partnered. In the other ethnic groups, single women are more likely to enter the labor market. Changes in household income dynamics also seem to impact women’s probability of entering the labor market differently across ethnic groups. Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Caribbean women do not show higher entry rates following a substantial decrease in the household income while we can observe this relationship

for the other ethnic groups. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are also the only group that is not negatively affected in their labor market entry by a low household income.

Interestingly, we can also see that an increase in the household's income seems to be positively linked to the labor market entries of African women, possibly because the poverty trap means work is only economically viable if the primary earners reach a certain threshold. For the other ethnic groups, we can find no evidence for this relationship.

Another interesting finding is that having young children in the household seems not to affect Pakistani and Bangladeshi women's propensity to enter the labor market. By contrast, women from other ethnic groups are less likely to enter the labor market when they give birth or when they have children under the age of 16 in the household. Finally, gender role attitudes are not related to labor market entries of Indian and Sri Lankan and Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, suggesting either that individual attitudes are more homogeneous within these minority groups or that attitudes are not central for these women's decision to enter the labor market.

We find fewer differences between women from different ethnic groups in the labor market exit models (see Table 3.5). Children seem to increase women's labor market exits in all ethnic groups even though a few details differ. The labor market exits of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are not directly affected by an increase in young children and Indian women are not affected in their labor market exits by the total number of children under the age of 16 in the

Table 3.4 Average marginal effect for entering the labor market, by ethnic group

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>Predictors</i>	White majority	Indian/Sri Lankan	Pakistani/Bangladeshi	Caribbean	African
Partnership (Ref.=Remains in partnership)					
Remained single	.09*** (.01)	.20** (.06)	.17*** (.05)	.02 (.09)	.28*** (.05)
Partn. started	.03 (.02)	.22* (.13)	.04 (.06)	-.07 (.14)	.11 (.08)
Partn. ended	.05* (.02)	.07 (.15)	.18** (.07)	.07 (.16)	.18+ (.10)
Changes in young children in HH (Ref.=no changes)					
Child <5 year old increase	-.16*** (.02)	-.25*** (.07)	-.06 (.04)	-.08 (.10)	-.08 (.07)
Child < 5 year old decrease	-.01 (.01)	-.00 (.05)	-.02 (.02)	.00 (.09)	-.03 (.06)
Household (HH) income (Ref.=stable)					
Household income decrease 20%	.04*** (.01)	.11** (.04)	-.00 (.02)	-.03 (.06)	.11* (.05)
Household income increase 20%	.00 (.01)	.00 (.03)	.00 (.02)	-.05 (.06)	.09* (.04)
HH below 60% median income	-.06*** (.01)	-.08* (.04)	-.01 (.02)	-.21** (.07)	-.15*** (.04)
Religiosity	.00 (.00)	-.02 (.01)	-.00 (.01)	-.01 (.02)	.02 (.02)
Children suffer if mother works (centred)	-.01*** (.00)	-.02 (.02)	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.03)	-.05** (.02)
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home (centred)	-.03*** (.00)	-.00 (.01)	-.02 (.01)	-.05+ (.03)	-.06*** (.02)
No of children aged under 16	-.05*** (.00)	-.02 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.15*** (.03)	-.06*** (.02)
Years of Education	.01*** (.00)	.01* (.01)	.02*** (.00)	.02+ (.01)	.02** (.01)
English problems	-.03 (.04)	-.02 (.04)	-.07* (.03)	.00 (.)	-.03 (.05)
Age	-.01*** (.00)	-.01* (.00)	-.00 (.00)	-.01 (.01)	-.00 (.00)
Age^2 (centred)	-.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	-.00 (.00)	-.00 (.00)
Years since migration (Ref.=native-born/Second generation)					
<=5 years	.01 (.04)	-.17*** (.05)	.01 (.05)		.01 (.09)
>5 & <=10 years	.05+ (.03)	-.12** (.04)	-.05 (.03)	.20+ (.11)	-.10 (.07)
>10 years	-.02 (.02)	-.04 (.05)	.02 (.03)	.08 (.08)	-.12 (.07)
General health	-.03*** (.00)	-.03* (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.02 (.02)	-.05** (.02)
Wave	.01*** (.00)	-.00 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.04* (.02)	-.00 (.01)
N	7521	810	2157	404	591

+ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test)

Table 3.5 Average marginal effect for exiting the labor market, by ethnic group

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)	
<i>Predictors</i>	White majority		Indian/Sri Lankan		Pakistani/Bangladeshi		Caribbean		African	
Partnership (Ref.=Remains in partnership)										
Remained single	-.01*	(.00)	-.04*	(.02)	.05	(.04)	.01	(.02)	.04*	(.02)
Partn. started	-.00	(.01)	-.00	(.04)	.04	(.07)	.00	(.03)	.03	(.04)
Partn. ended	.01	(.01)	.03	(.05)	.17	(.14)			.01	(.03)
Changes in young children in HH (Ref.=no changes)										
Child <5 year old increase	.06***	(.01)	.04*	(.02)	.06	(.04)	.08***	(.02)	.06*	(.02)
Child < 5 year old decrease	-.00	(.01)	-.00	(.02)	-.04	(.05)	-.00	(.02)	.04+	(.03)
Household (HH) income (Ref.=stable)										
Household income decrease 20%	.02***	(.00)	-.01	(.02)	.09*	(.04)	.01	(.01)	.04*	(.02)
Household income increase 20%	.02***	(.00)	.00	(.01)	-.01	(.03)	-.01	(.01)	.02	(.02)
HH below 60% median income	.01*	(.00)	.01	(.01)	.00	(.03)	.03*	(.02)	-.02	(.02)
Religiosity	-.00	(.00)	-.01*	(.01)	.01	(.02)	-.00	(.01)	-.02+	(.01)
Children suffer if mother works (centred)	.01***	(.00)	.00	(.01)	.03+	(.01)	.00	(.01)	.02*	(.01)
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home (centred)	.01***	(.00)	.02**	(.01)	.03*	(.01)	.01*	(.00)	.00	(.01)
No of children aged under 16	.02***	(.00)	.01	(.01)	.07***	(.01)	.02*	(.01)	.03*	(.01)
Years of Education	-.00***	(.00)	.00	(.00)	-.01	(.01)	-.00	(.00)	-.01*	(.00)
English problems	-.00	(.02)	.04+	(.02)	.12*	(.05)	.00	(.)	.04	(.03)
Age	-.00+	(.00)	.00	(.00)	.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)	-.00	(.00)
Age^2 (centred)	.00***	(.00)	.00**	(.00)	.00**	(.00)	.00	(.00)	.00	(.00)
Years since migration (Ref.=native-born/Second generation)										
<=5 years	.06+	(.03)	-.02	(.02)	.09	(.11)			.05	(.05)
>5 & <=10 years	.03+	(.02)	-.02	(.02)	-.10**	(.03)	.01	(.04)	.01	(.03)
>10 years	.01	(.01)	.01	(.02)	.03	(.03)	.02	(.02)	.01	(.02)
General health	.01***	(.00)	-.00	(.01)	.03+	(.01)	.01	(.01)	.02**	(.01)
Wave	.00	(.00)	-.01	(.00)	-.01	(.01)	-.00	(.00)	-.01	(.01)
N	36684		2076		1164		1614		1409	

+ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test)

household. Household income is of little relevance for Indian and Sri Lankan women’s labor market exits whereas a decreasing or low household income is positively linked to labor market exits in all other ethnic groups, which perhaps provides more evidence for the poverty trap.

More traditional gender role attitudes are associated with higher rates of exit in all ethnic groups and are therefore linked as much, if not more, to withdrawal from the labor market as they are to entering the labor market in the first place. Interestingly, we find a somewhat negative relationship between religiosity and labor market exits for Indian and Sri Lankan and for Black African women, while no such tendency can be shown in the other ethnic groups.

3.5 Conclusion and Discussion

This paper examined transitions into and out of the labor force of women from different ethnic groups in the UK. We argued that in order to understand and explain ethnic differences in female LFP rates, it is necessary to examine why women enter or exit the labor market. Our main goal was to explain ethnic differences in women’s labor market transitions, with a focus on gender role attitudes and on potential trigger events related to children, partnership, and household income changes, as well as how attitudes interact with such trigger events.

We show that compared to the other ethnic groups, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have the most distinctive labor force transition patterns. Not only do they have much lower labor force

entry rates than White majority women or women from other ethnic groups, they also have much higher exit rates. This is the reason why their overall LFP rate is substantially lower than in the other ethnic groups. In contrast, Indian and Sri Lankan women do not differ substantially from their White majority counterparts in their labor market entry and exit patterns. Another interesting pattern is that Caribbean women have considerably higher entry rates than White majority women and also slightly higher exit rates while having a similar overall LFP rate, suggesting that they might have a more flexible attitude towards LFP. The same can be said about African women who have similar LFP rates as Indian women but higher entry and exit rates. These descriptive findings already show that LFP rates are not necessarily indicative of the patterns in which women from different ethnic groups enter or exit the labor market, which highlight the importance of studying labor market dynamics in addition to static LFP rates.

Our findings regarding the influence of partnership show that changes in the partner's income play a crucial role for women's labor market transitions: with a deteriorating financial situation of the household women are more likely to enter the labor market while with an increasing household income, women are more likely to exit the labor market. These results are in line with household specialization theory and have been confirmed in other studies (Becker 1965; Bernasco, de Graaf, and Ultee 1998). Since changes in household income to some extent reflect partnership changes, it is not very surprising that we find little evidence for the additional influence of starting or ending a partnership on female labor market exits. But we do find that ending a partnership is positively related to labor market entries, which suggests that non-financial reasons are also driving women back into the labor market after a break up. We also find that beyond transitions triggered by the economic situation of the household, remaining single increases women's likelihood of entering the labor market. This indicates that some of the mechanisms that connect partnership with a lower LFP of women manifest themselves not directly after changes in the partnership status, but rather in the long-term. Alternatively, it could be that women who do not intend to participate in the labor market are also more likely to be in a partnership, but our robustness check accounting for the role of initial conditions produced substantively similar results, suggesting this is not the main reason. These findings suggest that partnerships in the UK often occur within a broader normative framework of a traditional gendered division of paid and domestic work. This accords with the wider trend that has been noted towards stagnation of progress in women's LFP, the high rates of part-time work among women with children, and flatlining of progressive gender role attitudes in recent years (England 2010).

Besides the effect of partnership status, we show that an increase in the number of children below the age of five decreases the likelihood of entering the labor market and increases the likelihood of women exiting the labor market, even while controlling for the number of children that are already present in the household. These results are hardly surprising given the previous empirical research that found a similar association (Jeon 2008; Schober 2013; Smeaton 2006). More interesting is that we could not find this relationship among Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. It is possible that the decision on participation is taken earlier, prior to the birth of a child, or, as argued by Holdsworth and Dale (1997), it is the impact of partnering rather than children that is critical for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women compared to White majority women. However, the fact that we cannot find a larger effect of changes in partnership for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women is not fully in line with this interpretation, leaving a puzzle for future research to investigate further.

We find that women with more traditional attitudes are less likely to enter and more likely to exit the labor market, confirming earlier research that showed the importance of women's attitudes for their LFP after accounting for the most common alternative explanations (Read 2004; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). Furthermore, differences in gender role attitudes partially explain why Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have lower labor force entry rates and higher exit rates than White majority women even after accounting for life-course events and individual characteristics. In contrast, religiosity seems to be of little relevance for women's decision to enter or exit the labor market, which leads us to conclude that the role of religiosity is probably overstated in public debates about the LFP of women in general and ethnic minority women in specific.

As we noted, gender role attitudes and partnership and child-bearing are unlikely to be independent. Here we view gender role attitudes as the consequences of early socialization within the family and cultural group, meaning that life course events are likely to mediate some of their effect. We thus measured gender role attitudes prior to the transitions of interest.²² However, given that we know that attitudes also adapt to circumstances, we might also expect partnership and child bearing to influence the development of attitudes over the longer term. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this study and the time span of the observations, but would merit further investigation.

Ultimately, we were not able to fully account for all the differences in labor force transitions across women from different ethnic groups. Even in additional models that allowed for the effect of initial conditions and unobserved individual-level heterogeneity (see Appendices 3), we could not explain the lower entry rates of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women and the higher entry rates of African women nor the higher exit rates of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. These findings strongly indicate that earlier models of female LFP have some shortcomings in explaining labor market behavior of women with different cultural backgrounds. This impression is supported by the separate analyses for each ethnic group, which showed some notable ethnic differences in the relation between the explanatory factors and women's labor market transitions. These relationships were mostly as expected for White majority women, but we had some unexpected findings for certain ethnic minority groups. These were perhaps most pronounced for, but not limited to, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women whose labor market entries were not driven by children, income or attitudes and whose higher labor market exits were not related to changes in partnerships or children in the household. Partnership changes seemed also to be of little relevance for Caribbean women's labor market transitions. This raises questions about which further factors might be of importance when analysing the labor market behavior of non- White majority women, and how we should adjust our models of women's LFP accordingly. Some options may be norms and values not accounted for in our model or varying degrees of involvement of the larger family and ethnic community in women's decision to participate in the labor market. Women's behaviors might also be influenced not only by the attitudes but also by the behaviors of their parents (Platt and Polavieja 2016) or by wider local or origin communities, linking our findings to contemporary discussions of the role of culture in women's labor supply (Polavieja 2015, Finseraas and Kotsadam 2017).

Another more conventional potential explanation is that the quality of the jobs available to women from different ethnic groups influences their decision to participate or not. That is, women adjust their expectations and adopt greater household specialization, where they observe more limited options for participation or potential rewards. We know that occupational distributions

²² We conducted additional analyses excluding wave 1 to 2 and wave 3 to 4 transitions where the attitudes were measured contemporaneously with the outcome and the results were the same.

vary substantially across ethnic groups and that minority groups face labor market discrimination, restricting their opportunities. We conducted some additional exploratory analysis (available on request) in which we investigated whether (lower) earnings and (fewer) hours worked resulted in a greater propensity to exit the labor market among those in work. We found that those women working fewer hours (and consequently accruing fewer earnings) were more likely to exit. However, this still failed to account for the higher rates of exit among Pakistani and Bangladeshi women.

Despite exploiting longitudinal data, incorporating temporal ordering into our analysis, and adjusting for within-individual variation on repeat observations (see Appendices 3) we do not make strong claims about the direction of effects in our analysis. It is possible that, in fact, transitions in the labor force are causing women to make changes (or no changes) in their partnership. It is also possible that an additional unobserved factor is responsible for changes in partnership, family and participation, or a whole range of life-dimensions. This question can only be answered by more sophisticated analyses, likely exploiting yet larger samples and more events than we have here.

Regardless of these limitations, we have demonstrated in this paper how crucial it is to not only look at ethnic differences in labor market stocks of women, but also at their differences in labor market transitions. Focusing on life-course events as well as gender role attitudes as explanations of ethnic differences in women's labor market transition, we were able to demonstrate their relevance to labor market entrance and exit and to account for some of the variation between the ethnic groups even if not all of it. Future research is needed to interrogate further what might be driving the remaining differences.

Chapter 4

A couple perspective on women's labor market transitions: Accounting for partners' gender role attitudes²³

Abstract: This paper examines the role of women's and their partners' gender ideology for women's labor market entries and exits as well as changes in the number of hours spent on paid employment. Using a household panel study from the Netherlands, the study shows that women's gender ideology affects their labor market entries and exits, but not changes in their hours worked, whereas their (male) partners' attitudes are only related to women's labor market exits. Furthermore, the study contributes to the literature by examining whether both partners' gender ideology moderate the effects of the partners' labor market resources and of having young children on women's labor market transitions. Results show that having children has a more negative effect on women's hours worked for traditional compared to egalitarian women. However, there is no evidence for a moderation effect of the partner's labor market resources and gender ideology on women's labor market transitions.

²³ A slightly different version of this chapter has been conditionally accepted for publication at the *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Khoudja wrote the main part of the manuscript and conducted the analysis. Fleischmann substantially contributed to the manuscript. The authors jointly developed the idea and design of the study.

4.1 Introduction

The rise of female labor force participation since the 1950s is often considered one of the great successes of female emancipation. Women in paid work were still the exception in the first part of the 20th century but dual-earner families and women in full-time employment are now widely accepted in all Western countries (Blossfeld and Drobnič 2001). However, gender inequalities still persist in participation rates and number of hours worked and many women continue to be economically dependent on their partner (Merens, Hartgers and Van Den Brakel 2012). Recent research even suggests a “stalled” gender revolution as the development toward gender equality has partly slowed down or even stopped (England 2010; Hochschild 1989; Thébaud and Pedulla 2015).

Some scholars have argued that women's own preferences and attitudes for the household division of paid and unpaid work – shaped by their gender ideology – are central to understanding contemporary labor market behavior of women (Charles 2011; Hakim 2000). However, most women do not make decisions about their involvement in childcare, household tasks and paid work within a social vacuum. Instead, these decisions are negotiated with partners whose allocation of time and resources are also affected. Because partnerships take a greater toll on women's labor market careers than men's (Bianchi and Milkie 2010), and men are more likely than women to seek a traditionally gendered division of paid and domestic work (Davis and Greenstein 2009), the role of the male partners' gender ideology should not be neglected in studying women's labor market outcomes. Hence, while we acknowledge the role of women's gender ideology in this study, we examine the effect of gender ideology on women's labor market transition at the couple level, also taking into account the male partners' gender ideology. We make two main contributions to the literature.

First, ours is one of the first studies to test whether the male partners' gender ideology has a direct effect on women's labor force transitions net of women's own gender ideology and other relevant factors such as children and the partners' labor market resources. Although extreme divergence in gender role attitudes within couples is rare and couples moderately align their attitudes over time (yet without showing complete adaptation) (Johnson and Huston 1998; Kalmijn 2005), it is clear that some differences exist. On average, men have more traditional gender role attitudes than women (Kalmijn 2005), and this holds within couples as well (Poortman and Van Der Lippe 2009). In such cases, the partner's attitudes are likely an important, though neglected influence on women's labor market decision. Our study further improves on previous research by using direct measures of gender ideology for both partners instead of proxies such as education or religion, allowing us to more precisely assess the influence of these attitudes on women's labor market transitions than earlier research.

Second, we consider how women's labor market transitions are shaped by the interaction of both partners' gender ideology with two important couple-level conditions: partners' labor market resources and the presence of young children in the household. Previous research on the effect of partners' labor market resources on women's labor market participation has been somewhat contradictory (Baker and Benjamin 1997; Bernardi 1999; Bernasco et al. 1998; Brekke 2013; Henz and Sundström 2001; Long 1980; Van Tubergen 2008; Verbakel 2010; Verbakel and De Graaf 2009). We argue that considering both partners' gender ideology as moderator may reconcile these opposing positions. Gender ideology may also shape the well-established influence of children on women's labor force participation. Prior research has shown that the consequences

of having children for women's labor market activity depend on institutional arrangements, including maternal leave and child care supply (Begall and Grunow 2015; Sainsbury 1996; van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002). However, the decision of women to lower their involvement in the labor market after giving birth might not only be a question of family policy, but also of the gender ideology of the women and their partner.

Our study focuses on three outcomes: women's labor market entries, labor market exits and changes in the number of hours worked, using the first three waves of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS). The labor force participation of women in the Netherlands has increased slowly but steadily over the last decades, from 43.5 per cent in 1990, to 55.0 per cent in 2000 and 63.2 per cent in 2010 (Statistics Netherlands 2016a). Employment policies make it relatively easy for employees to change their number of working hours and part-time jobs are generally similar to full-time jobs in status, terms and condition. This results in substantial variation in women's working hours. In 2010, about 75 per cent of all employed women worked part-time (i.e. less than 35 hours a week) and of these about 40 per cent worked less than 20 hours a week (Statistics Netherlands 2016b). Heterogeneity in the degrees of attachment to the labor market makes it a good setting to study the effect of various individual, partner and couple characteristics and life-course events.

4.2 Theoretical Background

The direct effects of gender ideology

An important aim in the study of gender ideology and female labor market activity is to identify the causality between the two. On the one hand, cognitive dissonance theory claims that individuals adapt their attitudes in response to certain life-course events to reduce the discrepancy between their experienced life and their self-image (Festinger 1957). This has been confirmed for the influence of women's employment status on women's gender role attitudes and work commitment (Corrigan and Konrad 2007; Gangl and Ziefle 2015; Kraaykamp 2012; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983) and for an effect of women's employment on their (male) partner's attitudes (Alwin, Braun, and Scott 1992; Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Schober and Scott 2012). On the other hand, the theory of planned behavior proposes that individuals first form their intentions and subsequently model their behavior accordingly (Ajzen 1991). Due to a number of developments such as the increasing normative dominance of individualism, proclaiming that people should form their lives according to their "true inner self", increasing economic wealth and changes in family policies and labor market structures, women's gender ideology has indeed become more central in the explanation of women's labor market behavior over the last two decades (Charles 2011; Hakim 2000). Empirical evidence supports this hypothesis showing that women's gender role attitudes at an early point in their career affect their labor market status several years later (Corrigan and Konrad 2007; Cunningham 2008b).

However, longitudinal research examining whether also the male partners' gender role attitudes affect women's labor market participation in the long term is still rare. Male partners may, implicitly or explicitly, expect women to follow traditional female life-trajectories and women with high career ambitions and a partner with traditional attitudes may meet these expectations despite high opportunity costs to avoid conflict and secure the stability of their family (McRae 2003).

Partners with more traditional gender role attitudes also spend less time on housework (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, and Robinson 2000; Blair and Lichter 1991; Cunningham 2008b; Poortman

and Van Der Lippe 2009), leaving women with a greater share of the work. Thus, men's traditional attitudes and corresponding behavior can result in women having less time and energy to spend on the labor market independent of women's own gender ideology and career ambitions.

We therefore hypothesize that male partners with traditional gender ideology decrease women's propensity to enter the labor market and increase the likelihood of women to exit the labor market or work fewer hours over and above women's own gender ideology (H1).

Moderating effects of gender ideology: the partner's labor market resources

Instead of the partners' gender role attitudes, much of earlier research on partner effects has focused on the partners' labor market resources as central explanatory factors of female labor force participation with the most dominant theories being household specialization, exchange theory and social capital theory.

Household specialization follows human capital theory in claiming that the maximization of financial resources is the main motive behind individuals' behavior, but adds that once people are married or cohabiting, they will pool their resources to maximize utility at the household level instead of the individual level (Becker 1985). The theory further claims that the most efficient way to maximize household utility is to divide domestic tasks and paid work between partners due to the economic gains inherent in specialization. In contrast, exchange theory argues that specialization is the consequences of power-based negotiations between the partners (Lundberg and Pollak 1996). Accordingly, the partner with more profitable labor market resources has a more powerful bargaining position, allowing him or her to minimize the contribution to domestic tasks and maximize the time spent in paid labor. Despite these differing suggested mechanisms, both theories would claim that an increase in the partner's income or an improvement in his labor market status make it more likely for women to exit the labor market or decrease their number of hours worked and a decrease in his income or labor market status increase the chances of women to enter the labor market or increase their number of hours worked.

Social capital theory proposes an opposing mechanism to household specialization and exchange theory by arguing that people in cohabiting partnerships use their partner's resources to improve their own labor market situation (Bernardi 1999; Bernasco et al. 1998). Partners can improve each other's skills and competencies and provide each other with useful information, guidance and training in several steps of the employment process: they can inform each other on how to best search for a job, how to behave in a job interview and even sometimes provide access to employment (Bernardi 1999; Bernasco et al. 1998; Van Tubergen 2008). As a result, the opportunity costs for non-participation also increases with a higher skilled partner. Hence, through mutual support and spill-over effects, partners help each other with their labor market endeavors, and especially the partner with lower resources might profit more from this exchange.

Some studies have found empirical evidence for household specialization and exchange theory, showing that the partner's labor market resources such as education, work experience, current employment, occupational status and earnings are negatively related to female labor force participation (Baker and Benjamin 1997; Henz and Sundström 2001; Long 1980; Verbakel and de Graaf 2009). Other studies found that partners with high levels of labor market resources increase women's chances of participating in the labor market, supporting social capital theory (Brekke 2013; Van Tubergen 2008). Again others found no effect of the partners' labor market resources (Verbakel 2010).

How can we make sense of the opposing theoretical predictions and empirical findings? We argue that one reason for the discrepancy might be that all three theories view couples'

household utility primarily in economic terms. If we base our prediction of the couple's behavior on their objective utility expectation, we would indeed expect to see empirical evidence mainly in support of the household strategy that promises the highest economic utility for the household. But earlier studies have shown that the negative effect of the partners' labor market resources on women's labor force participation weakened over the last decades (Henz and Sundström 2001; Verbakel and de Graaf 2009), and that gender ideology became increasingly egalitarian during the same period (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Cunningham 2008a). This could indicate that gender role attitudes might affect how couples capitalize on their economic resources.

So, if we instead apply a *subjective* utility expectation (Esser 1999), we can argue that household utility is not only based on economic factors but also increases if the division of paid and domestic work aligns with couples' attitudes and preferences. The couple's household strategy is accordingly rather the outcome of a complex equation of economic considerations and normative views (Wallace 2002). Women with traditional gender role attitudes can focus on domestic work without putting the household in financial strain if the partner provides sufficient funds for the household. In contrast, women with more egalitarian attitudes have the option of using their partners' resources to find better employment. The gender attitudes of the male partner might influence whether he uses his labor market resources to assist his partner in the labor market or whether he uses them to discourage her career ambitions. Variations of this idea have been tested earlier, but either focused on the national level (Abendroth 2014) or were limited by cross-sectional data and a relatively small sample of urban areas only (Khoudja and Fleischmann 2017).

Our hypothesis is that gender role attitudes of both partners moderate the effect of the male partners' labor market resources on women's labor force transitions. More specifically, we expect that if women or their partners have more traditional gender role attitudes, the labor market resources of the male partner are more likely to decrease women's labor market entries and number of hours worked and increase women's labor market exits. Correspondingly, if women or their partner have more egalitarian gender attitudes, the labor market resources of the male partner are more likely to increase women's labor market entries and changes in the number of hours worked and decrease women's labor market exits (H2).

Moderating effects of gender ideology: young children in the household

Children in the household are one of the main factors in decreasing women's participation in the labor market and their working hours if they are employed (Uunk, Kalmijn, and Muffels 2005; van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002). Having young children in the household requires time consuming care, leaving less time to be spent on paid work. Care for children in pre-school age is particularly time consuming. Once children enter elementary school, time constraints relax to some degree (while remaining high compared to childless couples), making it more feasible for women to enter the labor market again or to increase their number of working hours. Moreover, with increasing age, children become more cost intensive, giving mothers also an economic motivation to become more involved in the labor market (Banks and Johnson 1993). Nonetheless, unless arrangements are made to reconcile child-care with employment, having young children often implies that one of the parents will exit the labor market – and the parent who does it, tends to be the mother (Sanchez and Thomson 1997; Verbakel 2010).

The way in which couples reconcile child-care demands with paid work depends to some degree on the institutional context of their country of residence (van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002). Dutch family policies in the 2000s are characterized by a relatively low scope and subsidization of

parental leave and by giving employees more rights to change their working hours from full-time to part-time and vice versa (Lewis, Knijn, Martin, and Ostner 2008). Empirical evidence suggests that over the last decade women in the Netherlands became more likely to reduce their working hours rather than exiting the labor market completely after giving birth to a first child (Begall and Grunow 2015). All in all, the most important means to reconcile work and family in the Netherlands is the 1.5 breadwinner model with men in full-time and women in part-time employment (Portegijs and Keuzenkamp 2008).

In this paper, we argue that the degree to which women invest time in childcare at the expense of their time in paid employment depends to some degree on the gender ideology of these women and their partners. Parents in the Netherlands usually have reservations against sending their children to formal childcare five days a week (Portegijs, Hermans, and Lalta 2006). This might result in the mother taking care of the child at least one, but for traditional parents rather two or more days a week. More traditional male partners might also be less willing to invest in external childcare than egalitarian ones, making it more difficult for women to engage in the labor market after giving birth. Furthermore, women with traditional attitudes spend more time whereas men with traditional attitudes spend less time on childcare (Davis and Greenstein 2009; Poortman and van der Lippe 2009), which may also decrease the time mothers spend on the labor market (Sanchez and Thomson 1997; Schober 2013).

Hence, we expect that the entry of young children into the household raises the likelihood of women to exit the labor market and decreases their number of hours worked. In turn, a decrease in the number of children aged below 4 years (which is the school starting age in the Netherlands) should increase the propensity of entering the labor market and the number of hours worked for women. Our hypothesis is that all of these effects are moderated by gender ideology in the sense that the negative effects of children below 4 years on women's labor market activity becomes more negative and the positive effects of children reaching school age become less positive the more women and their partner endorse traditional attitudes (H3).

4.3 Data and Methods

Data

We use the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS), a large-scale longitudinal survey that focuses on family life in the Netherlands (<http://www.nkps.nl/>). The NKPS is well suited for our analysis for a number of reasons. First, it has a large sample at wave 1 of 8,161 individuals, aged between 18 and 79 years, that were chosen by use of random sampling of addresses of private households in the Netherlands. Women younger than 30 years are somewhat underrepresented and so are single women without children. In contrast, couples with children are somewhat over-represented. Second, it collects information of several household members including partners and other family members in the household. Third, it contains questions about work, income, education and gender role attitudes of women as well as of their partner. Longitudinal household surveys that contain questions about the gender role attitudes of respondents and their partners are still relatively rare. Fourth, data of the respondent as well as their partner is collected in three waves with 3-4 year intervals, thus providing information about their current state as well as about changes across waves.

For the first wave, data was collected between 2002 and 2004 (Dykstra et al. 2005), for the second wave in 2006/2007 (Dykstra et al. 2012) and for the third wave in 2010/2011 (Merz et al.

2012). For the main respondent (anchor), the NKPS used a computer assisted face-to-face questionnaire (CAPI) and a self-completion questionnaire. The partner of the main respondent (alter) received a shorter version of the self-completion questionnaire. In the third wave, a variety of ways were used for data collection to increase the response rate (and for financial reasons): Computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI, 27 per cent of all third wave interviews), online surveys (CAWI, 55 per cent) and CAPI (18 per cent). The response rate of anchors in the first wave was 44.7 per cent after a non-response follow-up in 2004, which is comparable to earlier family surveys in the Netherlands, and 76 per cent for the co-resident partners of these anchors (Dykstra et al. 2005). The response rate of partners varied to some degree by relationship quality, but less so compared to parents, siblings and children. Moreover, only a few relationships qualified as poor (ibid.). Based on the anchors that participated in the preceding wave, there was a 74.6 per cent response rate in Wave 2 and 72.1 per cent in Wave 3 whereas their partners' response rate was 60 per cent in Wave 2 and 55.4 per cent in Wave 3 (Dykstra et al. 2012; Merz et al. 2012).

The initial pooled sample of all three waves consists of 18,642 person-wave observations. In order to estimate the effect of characteristics of the partner at a given wave on women's labor market transitions at a subsequent wave, we only focus on long-term couples. Hence we are not interested in observations of single respondents or respondents that are not cohabiting with their partner or spouse, of respondents for which we have no information about the partner due to a refusal to participate, or other reasons and of respondents who changed their partner since the preceding wave. We exclude the observations of respondents that transition into or out of one these relationship statuses unless the transition is from non-cohabiting to cohabiting couple. All in all, this amounts to 14,900 excluded cases. Included in this number are also all first observations of any respondent, which only enter the sample indirectly - as basis for a transition that will be measured in the second observation of the respondent (see below for a more detailed explanation of our analysis). Furthermore, we exclude observations of homosexual couples ($n=82$), women who are younger than 18 and older than 64 years ($n=557$) and respondents whose age was inconsistently indicated across waves ($n=6$). Finally, women who transition into early retirement or disabled women as well as full-time students are also excluded from the analysis ($n=314$).

The remaining analytic sample consists of 2,783 person-waves and covers 1,899 women and their partners. The number of person-waves is not twice as high as the number of respondents as the maximum of three observations of a respondent amount to a maximum of two observed transitions (one between Wave 1 and Wave 2 and a second one between Wave 2 and Wave 3), meaning that for some respondents, we only observed one transition.

Measures

Dependent variables.

We construct two variables: *labor market entry*, which indicates that women were inactive at t_k and active at t_{k+1} , and *labor market exit*, which indicates that women were active at t_k and inactive at t_{k+1} . With this approach, we have two independent samples, one for estimating the entry probabilities and one for the exit probabilities (compare Jeon 2008). For the former, women who are inactive in two consecutive waves are the reference group, and for the latter, women who are active in two consecutive waves are the reference group. Due to the relatively high level of female labor force participation in the Netherlands, we can expect the sample for labor market entries to be relatively smaller than the sample for labor market exits. We also use *changes in the number of hours worked*

between two waves as outcome variable. We truncated the number of hours worked per week at 60 hours. Then, we subtracted the number of hours worked at t_k from the number of hours worked at t_{k+1} . For the analysis of this outcome, we only focused on respondents that were active between t_k and t_{k+1} to avoid that the analysis merely reflects the estimates of labor market entries and exits again.

Independent variables.

We use five items to measure *gender ideology of women and their partner*. “A woman must quit her job when she becomes a mother”, “It’s unnatural if men in a business are supervised or managed by women”, “It’s more important for boys than for girls to be able to earn a living later in life”, “Working mothers put themselves first rather than their families” and “It’s best to divide tasks and responsibilities in a relationship according to the customs, traditions and rules that have always been in force”. Respondents could indicate their (dis)agreement with this statement on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). The items were recoded so that a higher value stands for more traditional gender role attitudes. Factor analysis showed loadings of .61 to .65 on one factor for women and loadings of .58 to .68 for men. Cronbach’s alpha of the women’s index was .79 and for the men’s .77. We construct one gender ideology factor for women and one for men by averaging the items. As the two scales are, expectedly, correlated ($r=.45$; $p=0.00$), we will test for collinearity using the variance inflation factor. We use the measure for gender role attitudes in the wave preceding potential labor market transitions (so either wave 1 or wave 2). We decided for this lagged-variable approach to minimize the problem of ex-post rationalization. Attitudes might take some time to affect women’s behavior on the labor market as women might wait for the right opportunity to align their attitudes with their behavior (Cunningham 2008b).

We constructed the *relative education of partners* in the following way: *First*, we measured education for each of the partners by distinguishing between 4 levels: 0 ‘Primary education’, 1 ‘Lower secondary vocational education’, 2 ‘Upper secondary education’ and 3 ‘Tertiary education’. We then subtracted the level of education of men from the level of education of their female partner to measure the relative education between the two. Based on this relative scale, we constructed one dummy variable for those couples in which the men are higher educated and one dummy variable for the cases in which the men are lower educated compared to their female partners. The reference category is therefore couples who are equally educated. We also have a dummy variable that indicates whether the *male partner is not working*. This includes male partners that are unemployed, student, disabled or retired. To measure the *income of the male partner*, we sum up his salary with his welfare benefits (e.g. social security, pension, student grant), if applicable. We truncate the income distribution at 10.000 Euros a month to avoid bias through income outliers. Some respondents did not specify their income precisely, but only within an income range (e.g. between 1750 and 1950 Euros). In order to still use a continuous income measure, we estimated the income by calculating the mean between the lower and upper limit of the range these respondents indicated. Furthermore, we constructed a dummy variable measuring whether the income of the male partner increased or decreased more than 20 per cent between two consecutive waves.

We also construct measures that indicate changes in the number of children below the age of 4 in the household. Even though education in the Netherlands only becomes compulsory from the age of 5, almost all children can and do attend primary school already at the age of 4 (Luijkx and de Heus 2008). The age group of children that therefore puts the strongest time-demands on

parents are children below the age of 4. What matters here in our view is not only whether women gave birth but also how many children there are in the household within this high-demanding age period. We therefore construct one dummy that measures whether there has been an *increase in children below the age of 4* in the household between two waves and one dummy that measure whether there has been a *decrease* (meaning, children have reached school age and there has been no new childbirth). Additionally, we control for the lagged *total number of children below the age of 4 in the household*. We also control for *women's highest educational degree* (measured as described above), as well as for the time variant characteristics *general health* of the women, measured in every wave on a 5-point scale, *age* and *age squared* of the women as well as *wave*.

Analytic Strategy

Given our interest in labor market transitions, we pool pairs of waves from the three waves of the survey and model changes in the labor force participation and number of hours worked between t_k and t_{k+1} . We estimate separate logistic regressions models for entering and exiting the labor market (compared to remaining inactive and remaining active, respectively) and linear regressions to model changes in the number of hours worked between two consecutive waves. We introduced individual random effects in the logistic as well as in the linear regression models, to account for the potential non-independence of repeated observations over time within respondents (Allison 2009). Even though using random-effects might lead to biased results through unobserved time-invariant variables, it has the advantage of allowing us to model between-individual and within-individual differences simultaneously. We did not use fixed effect models as some of our variables of interest do not have much within-individual variation (e.g. relative education), particularly in the samples for labor market entries and exits. For modelling changes in the number of hours worked, a Hausman test suggested that a random effects model does not estimate significantly different coefficients compared to a fixed effects model, supporting our choice ($\chi^2(18)=22.49$, $p=.21$).

Person-wave observations with missing values on the dependent or independent variables are excluded from the analysis ($n=334$). In Model 1, we estimate the direct effects of our explanatory variables, including controls, on women's labor market entries and exits, as well as the changes in the number of hours worked. In Model 2, we estimate two-way interaction effects that examine whether male partners' labor market resources, and changes in the number of young children, interact with each of the partners' gender role attitudes.

Robustness of results

In an additional analysis, available in the appendix, we also test whether our results are sensitive to the listwise deletion of the within-wave missing values using multiple imputation (Acock 2005). In the case of the models on labor market entries and exits, the first observed measurement of respondents might reflect unobserved characteristics that lead to a greater propensity to remain in the first given state (Stewart and Swaffield 1999; Cappellari and Jenkins 2008). We incorporate generalized residuals in our models to account for these 'initial conditions' (Orme 2001; Jeon 2008). We find that the results from these robustness tests do not diverge substantially from the results presented below unless stated otherwise.

4.4 Results

Descriptive results

In Table 4.1, we can see that 37 per cent of all women who are inactive in the labor market in a given year enter the labor market within the next 3-4 years. Of all the women who are active in the labor market in a given year, a share of about 7 per cent exit it. This does not mean that more labor market entries than exits happen. As more than half of the Dutch women are active in the labor market, the sample that uses active women as the reference group is much larger than the sample that uses women who are inactive as the reference group. Overall, the absolute numbers of entries and exits balance each other more or less out. We can also see that women are more often less educated compared to their partner than the other way around. Unsurprisingly, men are on average somewhat more traditional than women; $t(2717) = -17.86$, p two-sided $< .001$.

Explanatory Results

We present the results of our explanatory analysis of labor market entries, exits and changes in the number of hours worked in Tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, respectively. As we apply the same explanatory framework for these outcomes, we first discuss results of Model 1 for all three outcomes (depicted in the three different tables) and subsequently continue with reporting the results of Model 2.

Table 4.1 Range, mean/proportion (M), standard deviation(SD), and missing values in % (MV) of the variables (n=2783)

<i>Variables</i>	Range	Women			Male partners		
		M	SD	MV	M	SD	MV
Labor market entry	0/1	.37					
Labor market exit	0/1	.07					
Changes in # of hours worked per week	(-60) - 50	0.11	10.36				
Education							
Max. Primary (Ref.)		.03			.04		
Secondary vocational	0/1	.25			.20		
Upper secondary	0/1	.33			.29		
Tertiary	0/1	.39			.47		
Male partner lower educated than woman	0/1				.19		
Male partner higher educated than woman	0/1				.28		
Male partner equally educated	0/1				.53		
Male partner not working	0/1				.17		
Income in € of male partner (lagged)	0 - 10000				2177	1216	5.1
Income increase of male partner	0/1				.28		10.0
Income decrease of male partner	0/1				.15		10.0
Traditional gender role attitudes	1-5	1.74	0.63	1.4	1.98	0.68	1.0
Increase in children aged <4	0/1	.09					
Decrease in children aged <4	0/1	.12					
# of children aged <4 (lagged)	0-4	0.22	0.52				
General Health	1-5	1.88	0.64				
Age	22-64	46.01	9.76				

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study, wave 1-3, unweighted.

Model 1 shows that partners' traditional gender role attitudes are positively related to women's labor market exits, but not significantly related to women's labor market entries or changes in the number of hours worked, providing only partial support for H1. There is more evidence for an influence of women's gender role attitudes on changes in their labor market activity. We find that women with traditional attitudes are less likely to enter the labor market and more likely to exit the labor market than women with less traditional attitudes. Interestingly, we do not find an effect of women's gender role attitudes on changes in their number of hours worked per week, which is not what we have expected. We cannot find indications for collinearity between women's and their partners' gender role attitudes using the variance inflation factor, which is about 1.3 for the two variables.

Also in Model 1, we find a significant positive effect of the partner's absolute income on women's labor market exits and a marginally significant negative effect on women's labor market entries, both in line with household specialization theory. Income changes of the partner of at least 20 per cent did not affect any of the labor market outcomes significantly. In an additional model (available upon request), we therefore also estimated effects of increases and decreases in the partners' income of at least 40 per cent. These estimations show an odds ratio of 2.95 for the coefficient of partner's income increases on women's labor market exit with a 95 per cent confidence interval of [1.18, 7.36]. This suggests that women whose partner raised his income of at least 40 per cent are considerably more likely to exit the labor market than women whose partner had a relatively stable income.

Another finding is that having an additional young child increases the likelihood of women to exit the labor market and having children reaching school age decreases women's labor market exits. Moreover, the central factor to explain women's changes in the number of hours worked seems to be having young children in the household. We find that an increase in the number of young children leads to about 8 to 9 hours less of working time whereas having children reaching school age increases women's hours in paid work by about 2.7 hours. Furthermore, a higher number of young children in the household also somewhat decreases women's working hours 3 to 4 years later. Children do not seem to be very relevant in explaining women's labor market entries. In Model 2, we examine whether both partners' gender role attitudes moderate the effects of the male partner's labor market resources and young children in the household on changes in women's labor market activity. We only find one significant interaction between any of the partner's gender role attitudes and the male partner's labor market resources, namely that women with a lower educated male partner compared to women with an equally educated male partner are more likely to decrease their number of hours worked if the male partner has more egalitarian attitudes. A closer examination of the average marginal effects shows that women with a lower compared to an equally educated partner only significantly decrease their number of working hours (by about 2.5 hours) if their partner indicated having highly egalitarian attitudes.

With a decreasing endorsement of egalitarian attitudes by the male partner, the effect of having a lower educated partner approaches zero and loses its significance. This finding could be interpreted as partly in line with H2 because it suggests that the predictions of social capital theory, that a partner with lower resources decreases women's number of hours worked, applies more to couples with egalitarian attitudes. However, in the robustness analysis with imputed missing values (available in the appendix), this interaction is no longer significant. As we also find no other evidence for a moderating role of gender ideology for the effect of the male partners' resources on women's labor market transitions, we have to reject H2.

Table 4.2 Random-effects logit models of women's labor market entries (n=654)

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>(1)</i>			<i>(2)</i>		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Characteristics of women</i>						
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered) (FGRA)	-0.36*	0.15	0.70	-0.29	0.30	0.75
Increase in # of children aged<4	-0.77	0.59	0.46	0.51	1.22	1.66
Decrease in # of children aged<4	0.11	0.46	1.11	-0.01	0.53	0.99
# children in HH aged <4 (lagged)	-0.27	0.31	0.76	-0.18	0.36	0.84
Max. primary education (ref.)						
Lower secondary education	0.84	0.56	2.32	1.00	0.61	2.71
Upper secondary education	1.20*	0.57	3.34	1.41*	0.64	4.09
Tertiary education or higher	1.86**	0.63	6.41	2.14**	0.72	8.46
Age (centered)	-0.12***	0.02	0.89	-0.13***	0.03	0.88
Age ²	-0.00**	0.00	1.00	-0.00*	0.00	1.00
General health	-0.08	0.15	0.92	-0.12	0.17	0.88
Wave	-0.55*	0.22	0.58	-0.42	0.29	0.66
<i>Characteristics of men</i>						
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered) (MGRA)	-0.18	0.15	0.84	-0.27	0.29	0.76
Male partner not working	-0.40	0.36	0.67	-0.47	0.41	0.62
Male partner equally educated (ref.)						
Male partner lower educated	0.02	0.31	1.02	0.31	0.42	1.37
Male partner higher educated	0.44	0.24	1.56	0.47	0.30	1.60
20% income increase	0.26	0.24	1.29	0.20	0.29	1.23
20% income decrease	0.46	0.30	1.58	0.46	0.38	1.58
Lagged income in 100€ (centered)	-0.02	0.01	0.98	-0.02*	0.01	0.98
<i>Two-way interactions</i>						
FGRA*Child under 4 increase				-3.05	2.55	0.05
MGRA*Child under 4 increase				-0.36	2.28	0.69
FGRA*Child under 4 decrease				-0.67	0.47	0.51
MGRA*Child under 4 decrease				0.53	0.41	1.70
FGRA*partner not working				-0.33	0.44	0.72
MGRA*partner not working				0.60	0.44	1.82
FGRA*partner lower educated				0.27	0.55	1.31
MGRA*partner lower educated				-0.89	0.56	0.41
FGRA*partner higher educated				0.37	0.37	1.45
MGRA*partner higher educated				-0.18	0.35	0.83
FGRA*partners' income increase				0.17	0.38	1.18
MGRA*partners' income increase				-0.10	0.39	0.91
FGRA*partners' income decrease				-0.33	0.44	0.72
MGRA*partners' income decrease				0.51	0.44	1.66
Constant	5.72***	1.16		5.77***	1.40	
Panel-level ln(variance)	-8.24	23.99		-1.16	2.90	
Log likelihood		-323.69			-315.52	
<i>df</i>		18			32	
% labor market entries		38.76			38.76	

Note: The random effects logit estimator does not differ significantly from the pooled logit estimator as a likelihood ratio test could not reject the null hypothesis that rho=0.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.3 Random-effects logit models of women's labor market exits (n=1795)

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>(1)</i>			<i>(2)</i>		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Characteristics of women</i>						
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered) (FGRA)	0.67*	0.28	1.95	0.41	0.42	1.51
Increase in # of children aged<4	1.85**	0.66	6.36	1.77**	0.63	5.85
Decrease in # of children aged<4	-2.49**	0.96	0.08	-2.41**	0.91	0.09
# children in HH aged <4 (lagged)	1.89**	0.67	6.60	1.75**	0.62	5.78
Max. primary education (ref.)						
Lower secondary education	-2.02*	0.97	0.13	-1.85*	0.90	0.16
Upper secondary education	-2.61*	1.09	0.07	-2.40*	1.01	0.09
Tertiary education or higher	-3.75**	1.37	0.02	-3.44**	1.26	0.03
Age (centered)	0.05	0.03	1.05	0.05	0.03	1.05
Age ²	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
General health	0.47	0.28	1.61	0.42	0.26	1.52
Wave	-0.62*	0.29	0.54	-0.67*	0.28	0.51
<i>Characteristics of men</i>						
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered) (MGRA)	0.54*	0.26	1.71	1.02*	0.45	2.76
Male partner not working	0.61	0.50	1.84	0.73	0.48	2.07
Male partner equally educated (ref.)						
Male partner lower educated	0.42	0.44	1.52	0.39	0.41	1.48
Male partner higher educated	0.25	0.41	1.28	0.26	0.39	1.30
20% income increase	0.48	0.36	1.61	0.46	0.34	1.58
20% income decrease	-0.20	0.46	0.81	-0.21	0.43	0.81
Lagged income in 100€ (centered)	0.05**	0.02	1.05	0.04**	0.02	1.05
<i>Two-way interactions</i>						
FGRA*Child under 4 increase				0.50	0.59	1.65
MGRA*Child under 4 increase				-0.17	0.58	0.84
FGRA*Child under 4 decrease				-0.09	0.92	0.91
MGRA*Child under 4 decrease				0.60	0.93	1.82
FGRA*partner not working				-0.08	0.58	0.93
MGRA*partner not working				-0.42	0.54	0.66
FGRA*partner lower educated				-0.68	0.62	0.51
MGRA*partner lower educated				-0.01	0.55	0.99
FGRA*partner higher educated				0.41	0.48	1.50
MGRA*partner higher educated				-0.63	0.49	0.53
FGRA*partners' income increase				0.33	0.49	1.40
MGRA*partners' income increase				-0.69	0.51	0.50
FGRA*partners' income decrease				0.12	0.63	1.13
MGRA*partners' income decrease				-0.17	0.63	0.85
Constant	-4.20	2.51		-3.52	2.28	
Panel-level ln(variance)	1.69	0.91		1.39	1.03	
Log likelihood			-389.71			-385.46
<i>df</i>			18			32
% labor market exits			7.18			7.18

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.4 Random-effects linear model of changes in women's number of hours worked per week, only women continuously active in the labor market (n=1658)

<i>Predictors</i>	(1)		(2)	
	Changes hours worked B	SE B	Changes hours worked B	SE B
<i>Characteristics of women</i>				
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered) (FGRA)	0.49	0.38	1.15	0.68
Increase in # of children aged<4	-8.76***	0.88	-10.14***	0.97
Decrease in # of children aged<4	2.72*	1.15	1.93	1.20
# children in HH aged <4 (lagged)	-1.92*	0.76	-1.93*	0.76
Max. primary education (ref.)	0.00	.	0.00	.
Lower secondary education	1.82	2.11	1.44	2.11
Upper secondary education	2.41	2.12	2.06	2.12
Tertiary education or higher	3.01	2.18	2.87	2.18
Age (centered)	-0.15***	0.04	-0.15***	0.04
Age ²	-0.01***	0.00	-0.01**	0.00
General health	-0.40	0.35	-0.35	0.35
Wave	2.05***	0.46	2.08***	0.46
<i>Characteristics of men</i>				
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered) (MGRA)	-0.34	0.37	-0.68	0.66
Male partner not working	-1.25	0.78	-1.13	0.79
Male partner equally educated (ref.)				
Male partner lower educated	-0.95	0.57	-0.83	0.59
Male partner higher educated	-0.71	0.68	-0.65	0.68
20% income increase	-1.03	0.53	-0.83	0.55
20% income decrease	0.36	0.70	0.51	0.74
Lagged income in 100€ (centered)	-0.04	0.02	-0.03	0.02
<i>Two-way interactions</i>				
FGRA*Child under 4 increase			-4.19**	1.45
MGRA*Child under 4 increase			-1.62	1.32
FGRA*Child under 4 decrease			-3.03*	1.23
MGRA*Child under 4 decrease			-0.18	1.16
FGRA*partner not working			0.06	1.13
MGRA*partner not working			0.88	1.05
FGRA*partner lower educated			-0.07	0.94
MGRA*partner lower educated			1.83*	0.90
FGRA*partner higher educated			-1.21	0.92
MGRA*partner higher educated			-1.04	0.91
FGRA*partners' income increase			0.61	0.86
MGRA*partners' income increase			0.21	0.84
FGRA*partners' income decrease			0.46	1.20
MGRA*partners' income decrease			0.36	1.16
Constant	2.12	3.24	2.26	3.24
<i>sd of residuals within groups</i>	0		0	
<i>sd of overall error term</i>	9.69		9.67	
<i>R2_overall</i>	0.11		0.13	

Note: A likelihood-ratio test comparing this model with a one-level ordinary regression is not significant.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

We have more evidence for a moderating effect between an increase in young children in the household and gender ideology. In line with our expectations, results show that with increasingly traditional attitudes of women, an increase in young children in the household leads to a stronger decrease in women's number of hours worked. The 95 per cent confidence interval of the effect of having an additional young child on women's number of hours worked per week lies between 3.1 and 8.3 hours less work for women with egalitarian gender role attitudes and between 13 and 32 hours less work for traditional women. Moreover, we find that the effect of having a child reaching school age is less positive the stronger women endorse traditional gender ideology. Whereas women with highly egalitarian attitudes tend to increase their number of hours worked by about 5 hours after their child reaches school age, women with less egalitarian attitudes do not significantly change their working hours. Both of these findings are in line with H3. However, as we find little evidence for a moderating role of the male partners' gender ideology, and also no indication for an interaction effect between having young children and gender ideology when it comes to labor market entries and exits, we can only partly confirm H3.

We made a number of additional analyses to check in how far our results are sensitive to smaller changes in the model specifications (available upon request). First, due to the large number of interactions in Model 2, we checked whether the order or number of interactions that are added simultaneously in the model mattered. Second, to test whether we might have to account for both partners' gender role attitudes simultaneously to detect any moderating effects, we estimated three-way interactions of both partners' gender role attitudes and the male partners' labor market resources and changes in the number of young children in the household. Finally, we re-estimated Model 1 and Model 2 limiting the age range of the sample to 18 to 55 years old women. None of these robustness checks came to substantially different results as the main analysis presented above.

4.5 Conclusion and Discussion

In this paper, we examined whether male partners' gender ideology affect women's labor market transitions over and above women's gender ideology and, additionally, whether the gender ideology of both partners moderates the effects of the partner's labor market resources and changes in the number of young children in the household.

Adding to findings of earlier cross-sectional research on the relation between male partners' gender ideology and women's labor force participation (Chuang and Lee 2003; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2017), we found that a male partner with traditional gender role attitudes increases women's risk to exit the labor market, but has no effect on women's labor market entries or changes in the number of hours worked. This finding is particularly remarkable considering that until the early 80s, legislation in some Western countries gave husbands legally a stronger voice than their partner. For instance, in Germany, the husband still had to consent to his wife's labor market activity until a change in the family law in 1976 (Rheinstein and Glendon 1978). In the Netherlands, the husband's opinion on important family decisions, such as children's education, legally outweighed the mother's stance until a family law change in 1984 (Holtrust and de Hondt 1997). One generation later, women in the Netherlands escaped the legal power exerted by their husbands, and, according to our research, to a large degree also their partners' direct normative influence on their labor market involvement.

However, our analysis could still detect that women are more likely to exit the labor market if their partner holds relatively traditional attitudes net of women's own gender attitudes. This

suggests that the *de-activating force* of the partners' gender role attitudes might have a higher effectiveness than the *activating force* of the partners' gender role attitudes. One interpretation of this is that the activating force of men's gender ideology is not required to encourage women to participate in the labor market as this is what structural constraints and societal norms encourage. The 'normal' life-course of women in the Netherlands is to start participating in the labor market after completing education, which is why most women are probably in (part-time) employment when they start cohabiting with a partner unless the women are highly traditional at a young age. Hence, women who do not have highly traditional gender attitudes are therefore more likely to end up in employment than outside the labor force. But in the long-term, particularly the group of women with less than highly egalitarian gender attitudes may also be more easily encouraged to exit the labor market if they end up in a partnership with a man who holds traditional gender attitudes.

Earlier longitudinal studies found an effect of women's gender ideology on their labor force participation (Corrigan and Konrad 2007; Cunningham 2008b). We could show that this effect holds true for predicting labor market entries as well as labor market exits while taking into account the male partners' attitudes. However, we do not find evidence for a direct effect of women's gender role attitudes on changes in their number of hours worked. A similar pattern was found by Verbakel (2010) with religion as proxy for gender ideology. Overall, it seems like women in the Netherlands decide about the extent of their employment based on other factors than their partner's and their own normative beliefs. Structural constraints set by motherhood seem more relevant for women's working hours.

We find relatively little evidence for a moderating role of gender ideology with regard to the effects of the partners' labor market resources. Hence, it does not seem like the male partners' labor market resources are used instrumentally by either women or men to realize their normative beliefs about the role of women in paid and domestic work. In fact, our only substantial finding is that regardless of gender ideology, chances of women to exit the labor market somewhat increase with a higher income of the partner, which is in line with household specialization and exchange theory. The mixed findings of earlier studies regarding the effect of the partners' labor market resources on women's labor market participation remain therefore puzzling. We encourage future research to focus on the role of other beliefs in influencing women's labor market participation. Items about gender role attitudes are often framed so that they measure how people think gender roles should be defined. However, it may be that men's perception about what kind of gender roles are actually endorsed by other men is more predictive for their behavior (Thébaud and Pedulla 2016). Others have suggested that personal attitudes towards a partner focusing on domestic work are more relevant for predicting the share of housework than abstract gender beliefs (Poortman and van der Lippe 2009). This might also apply to paid work but has rarely been tested.

An alternative explanation might lie in the larger narrative that the couple increasingly loses its function as economic unit as partners tend to focus on their labor market career more independently from each other (Blossfeld and Drobnič 2001). This development would imply a general decline of the male partners' influence on women's paid work.

As plenty of earlier research has shown, we found strong evidence for the influence of children on women's labor market transitions. Giving birth increases the probability of women to exit the labor market and reduces their working hours whereas children reaching school age decrease labor market exits and (slightly) increase working hours. However, we could not see a strong occurrence of (re)-entry when children reached school age. It seems that relatively recent Dutch family policies designed to increase women's labor market attachment are more successful

with keeping women who give birth active in the labor market (despite a substantial reduction of their working hours) than (re-) activating those women who are not participating (cf. Begall and Grunow 2015).

Furthermore, we find that a reduction in paid working hours after giving birth and an increase in hours after the child reaches school age is dependent on the gender ideology of women but not their partners, which is similar to findings in the UK (Schober 2013). This shows that the effect of children on women's hours in paid employment does not only reflect an adaptation to institutional structures set by family and employment policies, but is also shaped by normative views of women. In contrast, the male partner's gender ideology only seems to be of little relevance for how women divide their time between child care and employment.

A limitation of our study might be its focus on women who were in the same partnership over at least two waves. Given that chances to split up are higher among couples with opposing values and beliefs, our sample might be biased towards women who are above average willing to suit their partner's expectations. However, this conclusion is not as clear-cut as it appears. For instance, men in long-term relationships may also be a selected group that is more adaptive in their gender ideology than other men. Furthermore, couples split up for numerous reasons while having very similar gender attitudes and, finally, we also disregard those who transitioned from single to cohabiting; a group that might have particularly convergent attitudes. Hence, even though it seems plausible that our sample includes relatively more couples with similar than widely divergent views, this does not necessarily imply that we overestimate effects of attitudes on behavior. Nonetheless, it may be a fruitful avenue for future research to take into account divorce and re-marriage in the analysis of gender ideology and women's labor market behavior if more than three waves are available.

In this study, we examined various ways in which gender ideology may affect the labor force participation of women in partnerships. We found evidence showing that women's decision to act in the labor market are not only reactions to economic pressure and institutional constraints, but also to women's, and marginally, their partners', normative beliefs.

Chapter 5

Labor force participation of immigrant women in the Netherlands: Do traditional partners hold them back?²⁴

Abstract: Female labor force participation (FLFP) rates often vary across ethnic groups. This study examined the role of the partner's labor market resources and gender role attitudes for FLFP in different ethnic groups. Cross-sectional data of women in partnerships from the four biggest immigrant groups in the Netherlands and from a native Dutch control group were analyzed. Traditional gender role attitudes of partners were negatively related to FLFP and partly explained ethnic differences therein. Moreover, across all groups, the relation between partners' labor market resources and FLFP was more negative for traditional women and rather absent for egalitarian women.

²⁴ A slightly different version of this chapter is published as: Khoudja, Y., Fleischmann, F., 2017. Labor Force Participation of Immigrant Women in the Netherlands: Do Traditional Partners Hold Them Back? *International Migration Review* 51: 506–541. doi:10.1111/imre.12228. Khoudja wrote the main part of the manuscript and conducted the analysis. Fleischmann substantially contributed to the manuscript. The authors jointly developed the idea and design of the study.

5.1 Introduction

In most Western societies, female labor force participation (FLFP) rates differ substantially across ethnic groups (e.g. Van Tubergen 2006). In the Netherlands, 64–68 % of the native Dutch, Surinamese and Antillean women have a paid job of at least 12 hours a week or are actively looking for employment, whereas Turkish and Moroccan women participate in the labor market in such a way about 20 percentage points less (CBS Statline 2013). These discrepancies are disconcerting not only for female emancipation but also for the socio-cultural integration of immigrant women.

Previous research in the Netherlands failed to explain ethnic differences in FLFP sufficiently despite considering a large range of individual factors of the women such as human capital, household conditions and traditional gender role attitudes (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). In fact, most of the general individual-level research on FLFP has focused on the human capital of women or the presence of children in the household as explanatory factors (Van der Lippe and Van Dijk 2002). However, FLFP is not only influenced by women's individual, but also by their partner's characteristics (Blossfeld and Drobnič 2001). In partnerships, women have the option to coordinate their labor market behavior with their partner and may do so based on certain partner characteristics. Ethnic differences in partner characteristics may therefore help explaining ethnically varying FLFP, particularly given the high and ethnically varying rates of endogamous marriages in the Netherlands (Lucassen and Laarman 2009; Kalmijn and Van Tubergen 2006). Indeed, some studies found that the effect of having a partner on FLFP depends on women's and their partner's origin country (Read 2004; Brekke 2013), hinting at the importance of the partner's characteristics for the explanation of ethnic differences in FLFP.

However, it is still not well understood under what conditions characteristics of the partner influence FLFP. The two dominant theories in the field, household specialization and social capital theory, both focus on the partner's labor market resources, e.g. his education, current employment and earnings, for explaining FLFP (Becker 1981, 1985; Bernasco et al. 1998; Bernardi 1999). However, these two theories yield opposing predictions and empirical evidence is contradictory as well. Some findings support the prediction of household specialization theory that couples optimize their household income such that the partner with lower labor market resources specializes on domestic work while the other is active on the labor market (Long 1980; Baker and Benjamin 1997; Verbakel and De Graaf 2009). Others support the argument of social capital theory that partners make use of each other's labor market resources to improve their individual labor market position (Van Tubergen 2008; Brekke 2013).

In light of these contradictory theoretical predictions and empirical findings, we argue that women's and their partners' attitudes about the household division of paid and domestic work, in the following referred to as gender role attitudes, have to be considered to improve our understanding of partner effects on FLFP and ultimately explain ethnically varying FLFP. Previous research has shown that women's labor market decisions are not only motivated by economic factors but also influenced by their gender role attitudes (Corrigall and Konrad 2007). In this study, we contribute to the literature by extending this line of reasoning to the partner's influence on FLFP. Accordingly, men with traditional gender role attitudes may discourage their partner to participate in the labor market in conjunction with their labor market resources, while men with more egalitarian attitudes might use their resources to stimulate their partner's career.

Thus, adding gender role attitudes of both partners to the explanatory framework of FLFP allows us to combine the seemingly opposing predictions of household specialization and social

capital theory into an integrated model and may explain the contradictory empirical evidence. As argued above, men with traditional gender role attitudes may use their labor market resources as an argument against the LFP of their partner whereas men with more egalitarian gender role attitudes may use their labor market resources to actively support their partner's LFP. It may also be the woman who is either inclined to become dependent on the partner's income or tries to make use of her partner's resources, depending on her attitudes. Finally, it might be the combination of male and female attitudes that matters for the extent to which male labor market resources are mobilized to increase FLFP. In line with this reasoning, a study on Dutch couples using labor force surveys from 1977 until 2006 found a strengthening negative effect of the partner's labor market resources on men's working hours over time and a weakening negative effect on women's working hours (Verbakel and De Graaf 2009). As the authors note, this changing pattern may be related to gender role attitudes becoming more egalitarian. Women nowadays have fewer obligations to focus on domestic duties and more opportunities to pursue a career after they marry whereas men face higher expectations regarding their (non-financial) contribution to family life. However, the association between the partner's labor market resources, his gender role attitudes and FLFP has not been studied empirically yet.

We aim to contribute to the literature about partner effects on FLFP by using a direct measure of the partner's gender role attitudes. The existing studies that looked into this relationship mostly used education as a proxy for gender role attitudes, assuming that highly educated men also endorse more egalitarian attitudes (Verbakel and De Graaf 2009; Brekke 2013). This is a problematic assumption given that education is also the most important labor market resource, and, as we argue below, it is important to disentangle resources from the motivation to put them to use for FLFP. Therefore, we test whether women's and their partner's gender role attitudes moderate the effect of the partner's labor market resources on FLFP, thus advancing the debate between the opposing positions of household specialization and social capital theory theoretically as well as empirically.

Finally, we examine whether this model applies to native Dutch women as well as women from the four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands, namely Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean women. Examining FLFP among a variety of ethnic groups provides a good test case due to the increased variation in women's and their partner's resources and attitudes. Given the ethnically varying prevalence of traditional gender role attitudes among men (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009), it may also help explaining ethnic differences in FLFP.

The study addresses two research questions: (1) To what extent can the partner's labor market resources and gender role attitudes explain ethnic differences in the FLFP in the Netherlands? And (2) do gender role attitudes of women and their partner moderate the relation between the partner's labor market resources and FLFP?

5.2 Theoretical Background

This paper extends common theoretical models of FLFP with gender role attitudes to reconcile contradictory theoretical positions and empirical evidence. We first describe the most widely used theories to explain FLFP and ethnic differences therein and then move on to describe our theoretical contribution.

Household specialization vs. social capital

The two dominant theories on partner effects, household specialization and social capital theory, both emphasize the relevance of the partner's labor market resources, such as educational level, LFP, and earnings as a determinant of their female partner's labor market behavior. Given the ethnic differences in the labor market resources of men (Van Tubergen 2008), partner effects may also contribute to the explanation of ethnically varying FLFP rates.

Household specialization theory is a version of human capital theory that switches the unit of analysis from the individual to the household level. According to household specialization theory, married or cohabiting individuals are not trying to maximize their individual utility but instead join forces to increase the utility of the household (Becker 1981, 1985). The theory claims that a clear division of domestic tasks and paid labor between partners promises the highest economic outcome for the household due to the economic gains inherent in specialization (*ibid.*). Thus, the partner with more chances and a higher pay-off on the labor market will seek employment, whereas the other partner specializes in domestic work. In many studies, the predictions of household specialization were not operationalized with relational variables that indicate whether the male partner has more labor market resources than the female partner or not. Instead, it is common practice to control for the women's labor market resources and then examine how an increase in the partners' labor market resources is related to FLFP (Van Tubergen 2008; Brekke 2013). However, testing the effect of the absolute level of the partners' labor market resources while holding the women's labor market resources constant implies that a partner with many resources always affects the women's chances of succeeding in the labor market - regardless of her own resources. Yet, household specialization theory explicitly predicts that the partner with *lower* labor market resources focuses on domestic instead of paid work. Even though the core argument of household specialization is of a relational nature, little research has examined the role of couples' relative labor market resources for FLFP (but see Eeckhaut et al. 2014).

The hypotheses of social capital theory are based on the same factors as household specialization theory, but propose an opposing mechanism connecting the partner's labor market resources with FLFP (Bernasco et al 1998; Bernardi 1999; Van Tubergen 2008). Social capital theory argues that people in cohabiting partnerships use their partner's resources to improve their own labor market situation. Partners can improve each other's skills and competencies and provide each other with useful information, guidance and training in several steps of the employment process: they can inform each other on how to best search for a job, how to behave in a job interview and even sometimes provide access to employment (Bernasco et al. 1998; Bernardi 1999). Furthermore, the opportunity costs for non-participation increase for people with a highly skilled compared to a lower skilled partner through a transfer of human capital between the partners. Hence, through mutual support and spill-over effects, the partners help each other with their labor market endeavors, though the partner with lower resources might profit more from this relation.

Some studies have found empirical evidence for household specialization theory, showing that the partner's labor market resources such as education, work experience, current employment, occupational status and earnings are negatively related to FLFP (Long 1980; Baker and Benjamin 1997; Bernasco et al. 1998; Henz and Sundström 2001; Verbakel and De Graaf 2009). Other studies found that partners with high levels of labor market resources increase women's chances of participating in the labor market, which supports the prediction of social capital theory (Van Tubergen 2008; Brekke 2013).

Hence, we formulate the two following opposing hypotheses:

In accordance with household specialization theory, we hypothesize that *women who have a partner with more labor market resources than themselves are less likely to participate in the labor market than women with a partner who has similar labor market resources* and, vice versa, *women who have a partner with less labor market resources are more likely to participate in the labor market than women with a partner who has similar labor market resources* (H1a).

In line with social capital theory and as alternative prediction to household specialization theory, we hypothesize that *increasing labor market resources of the partner are positively related to FLFP* (H1b).

Even though social capital theory focuses on the absolute level of the partner's resources, we use a relative measure to provide a better test for household specialization theory. As we control for women's labor market resources when male partners' resources are in the model, however, the resulting coefficients can also be interpreted in line with social capital theory's prediction as we use the same amount of information. This means that the effect of the partner's relative education is always estimated with women's education held constant at the mean. A relatively higher educated male partner will therefore also have a higher absolute levels of resources (here: education) than a male partner with the same level of education as his female partner (the reference category) as this comparison is based on women's levels of education held constant at the sample mean.

This research aims to identify the moderating conditions that can adjudicate between the two opposing hypotheses. To this end, we examine the importance of gender role attitudes for FLFP.

Gender role attitudes

Cultural norms and values with regard to the division of paid work, childcare and household chores between women and men may differ across ethnic groups and thereby contribute to ethnic differences in FLFP (Reimers 1985). Previous longitudinal research already showed that early traditional gender role attitudes of women are associated with lower FLFP later in life even after controlling for human capital and household conditions (Corrigall and Konrad 2007; Cunningham 2008). While women's own gender role attitudes therefore are known to be influential, the influence of their partner's gender role attitudes on FLFP has not been examined so far, to our knowledge. But studies have found that men with an employed partner tend to have less traditional gender role attitudes (Alwin et al. 1992). In the following, we provide theoretical arguments for a direct influence of the partner's gender role attitudes on FLFP. Furthermore, we argue that the role of the partner's labor market resources for FLFP may depend on the gender role attitudes of the women and their partner.

Partners' gender role attitudes may influence FLFP in two ways. First, the partner as significant other may, implicitly or explicitly, expect his wife to conform to his attitudes about gendered task distributions, e.g. to follow traditional female life-trajectories. As most people have a general desire to meet the expectations of significant others, women might adapt their attitudes and behaviors to their partner's preferences. Moreover, previous research showed that women tend to put stress problems of their partner before their own (Jones and Fletcher 1993). Women who get into a conflict of interest between their career ambitions and their partner's expectations may sacrifice their career despite high opportunity costs to avoid conflict with their partner and to secure the stability of their family (McRae 2003). Second, partners with more traditional gender role attitudes may also spend less time doing domestic work, leaving a greater share of the household tasks to women and therefore decreasing the women's opportunities for labor market

success (Blair and Lichter 1991; Bianchi et al. 2000; Cunningham 2008;). Thus, men's traditional attitudes and corresponding behavior imply that women have less time and energy to invest in their careers, which leads to lower FLFP independently of women's own gender role attitudes and career ambitions.

We therefore hypothesize *a negative relation between traditional gender role attitudes of the partner and FLFP* (H2).

Of course, we can expect a high overlap between the gender role attitudes of women and their partner. It is unlikely for an emancipated woman to marry a deeply traditional man and it has been shown that interethnic marriages with high cultural discrepancies are more likely to end in divorce than endogamous marriages (Kalmijn et al. 2005). However, up to a certain degree partners can also have different attitudes. Men have on average more traditional attitudes than women (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009), which is likely to hold within couples as well. Moreover, attitudes may change over time or only become visible in the course of the partnership. In these cases the partner's attitudes constitute, even after accounting for the women's gender role attitudes, an additional factor in women's decision about participating in the labor market and are therefore indeed relevant for explaining FLFP.

Household specialization and social capital theory both base their predictions about household strategies concerning domestic and paid work on economic factors. One of their essential differences, however, is that the former assumes that the specialization of the partners into domestic and paid workers promises the highest household utility whereas the latter assumes that the household's utility is maximized when both partners are participating in the labor market and pursue a career. One possibility to integrate these two assumptions is to use a subjective expected utility perspective (Esser 1999). From this perspective, we can argue that the decision about the use of the partner's labor market resources with regard to a general household strategy is not only based on economic factors (i.e. objective expected utility), but also on cultural norms and values. These norms and values affect the subjective evaluations of the alternative options partners are considering as course of action (Wallace 2002). In a household in which traditional gender role attitudes prevail, economic considerations may be made with the ultimate goal of providing the woman with the possibility of focusing only on domestic work and childrearing. In contrast, for couples with more egalitarian attitudes, a woman working as a homemaker is an option that the partners want to avoid if possible and to which they attach low subjective utility. Actions that are taken with regard to the use of the partner's labor market resources may therefore differ substantially between couples with egalitarian and traditional attitudes as egalitarian couples want to use their economic resources to avoid what traditional couples try to achieve.

Specifically, gender role attitudes may influence the man's willingness to use his skills and knowledge for improving the labor market performance of his partner. A man who prefers his partner not to work is not likely to assist her in finding a job. Similarly, it can be argued that women with strongly traditional gender role attitudes may prefer to focus on domestic work when their partner provides enough financial resources for the household, whereas women with more egalitarian attitudes may actively use their partner's labor market resources to improve their own labor market situation.

This leads to the hypotheses that *in partnerships in which women have rather traditional gender role attitudes, the labor market resources of the partner will have a more negative effect on FLFP, whereas in partnerships in which women have rather egalitarian gender role attitudes, the labor market resources of the partner will be more positively related to FLFP* (H3). Additionally, we expect that *in partnerships in which the male partner has*

rather traditional gender role attitudes, his labor market resources will have a more negative effect on FLFP, whereas in partnerships in which the male partner has rather egalitarian gender role attitudes, his labor market resources will be more positively related to FLFP (H14).

Immigrant groups and the institutional context in the Netherlands

Our empirical analyses of FLFP will be based on the four largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands as well as a native Dutch reference sample. In the following, we provide background information about guest-worker immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, and post-colonial immigrants from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles.

The first Turkish and Moroccan immigrants arrived at the beginning of the 1960s during the economic boom in the Netherlands. The peak of this immigration was reached in the early 1970s before the state stopped admitting low-skilled labor immigrants in 1973 and since then, a large part of the immigration from Turkey and Morocco is due to family reunification and marriage migration (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff and Groeneveld 2004). Recent estimates claim that about 56 % of the Moroccan women and 59% of the Turkish women live in partnerships (as compared to about 56 % of the native Dutch women) (Loozen et al. 2011). with more than 90% of first- and second-generation Moroccan and Turkish women marrying within their own ethnic group (Lucassen and Laarman 2009). In 2003, about 341,000 Turks and 295,000 Moroccans lived in the Netherlands, of whom 47% are women (CBS Statline 2003). Mass migration movements from the Antilles and Suriname to the Netherlands occurred in the same period as the guest-worker migration and it continued throughout the 1980s until the Dutch government installed visa requirements restricting migration from the former colonies to the Netherlands. However, due to family reunification and marriage migration the Surinamese and Antillean population in the Netherlands continued to grow afterwards. About 40% of the Surinamese and 37% of the Antillean women live together with a partner and about 65% of the married Surinamese and 47% of the married Antillean women have a husband from their own ethnic group, 26% and 40%, respectively, are married to native Dutch and 9% and 13%, respectively, are married to men from other ethnic groups (Loozen et al. 2011; Kalmijn and Van Tubergen 2006). In 2003, 320,000 Surinamese and 129,000 Antilleans lived in the Netherlands of whom 52% and 50%, respectively, are women (CBS Statline 2003).

Surinamese, Antillean and Dutch women have similar LFP rates ranging from 64 to 68% whereas Turkish and Moroccan women have more than 20 percentage points lower rates (CBS Statline 2013). We expect this difference to be partly explained by the lower educational level and the relatively poor Dutch language skills of the guest-worker immigrant women from Turkey and Morocco compared to native Dutch women. More than 40 % of the Turkish and Moroccan women have at most primary education, while this is the case for only 7 % of the native Dutch women and 15 % of the Surinamese and Antillean women (Gijsberts and Iedema 2011). Moreover, while Dutch language skills of Surinamese and Antilleans are very high as Dutch is the official language in their origin countries, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants and their children often struggle with the Dutch language. There are also considerable ethnic differences with respect to household conditions. Turks and Moroccans have more children, particularly in the first generation (on average, 1.99 and 2.81 children, respectively) than native Dutch, Surinamese and Antillean women (about 1.8 children; Loozen et al. 2011), which may contribute to their lower FLFP rates.

Moreover, gender traditionalism is generally stronger among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands than in other ethnic groups (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009).

We therefore expect women with a Turkish or Moroccan background, as well as their partners, to endorse more traditional gender role attitudes than women from the other ethnic groups, which in turn may lead to less FLFP among guest worker compared to native Dutch. Motherhood in the Caribbean often implies rearing children as well as providing income for the family and women are often single parents (De Valk 2008). Hence, immigrants from Suriname and the Antilles are not expected to have substantially more traditional gender role attitudes than native Dutch.

We hypothesize that *ethnic differences in FLFP can be fully explained by compositional differences between the ethnic groups in human capital levels of women and their partners, the presence of children in the households and ethnically varying endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes by women and their partners* (H5).

The Dutch institutional context forms the backdrop of the current study. The Dutch welfare state is often characterized as a hybrid model consisting equally of conservative, social-democratic as well as recently introduced liberal elements (Van Hooren and Becker 2012). Because it encourages part-time and flexible employment of mothers, the 1.5 breadwinner model, with the husband in full-time and the wife in part-time employment, is the most favored arrangement in Dutch families (Lewis et al. 2008). In fact, the relatively high FLFP rate of native Dutch is mostly due to the high share of part-time employment. Childcare facilities have only become widespread in the last two decades. But costs for public childcare are relatively high and parents have to advance the payments before getting reimbursed through taxes. In 2004, about 25% of all children under 3 years and 7% of children between 4 and 12 years were in formal day care (Van der Kemp and Kloosterman 2005). Low-income and immigrant families may be particularly reluctant to make use of childcare because they may have less knowledge about the refund system and less trust in receiving the reimbursement (OECD 2008), which may lead to a greater withdrawal from the labor market of ethnic minority mothers than native Dutch mothers.

5.3 Data and Methods

Data

We used the first wave of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Survey (NKPS) from 2003 and, to increase the number of ethnic minority women in our sample, the Social Position and Use of Welfare Facilities by Immigrants survey (SPVA) from 2002 for a cross-sectional analysis. The NKPS and SPVA teams cooperated in these years and matched their questionnaires for a subsample of each survey.

The NKPS is a large-scale longitudinal survey that focuses on family life in the Netherlands with a representative sample of the Dutch population. It contains questions about work, income, education and gender role attitudes and it targets individuals in households as well as their partner and other family members in the household. This makes it particularly suited for examining the research questions. For the main respondent (anchor), the NKPS used a computer assisted face-to-face questionnaire (CAPI) and a self-completion questionnaire. The partner of the main respondent (alter) received a shorter version of the self-completion questionnaire. The main sample of the NKPS consists of 8,161 individuals that were chosen by use of random sampling of addresses of private residences in the Netherlands. For a subsample of 1,300 respondents, the NKPS used an adapted version of the anchor and alter questionnaire that consists of a mix of questions from the main NKPS and from the main SPVA questionnaire. The NKPS response rate of 47% is about average for surveys in the Netherlands (Dykstra et al. 2005).

As the main NKPS sample is a random sample of the whole population in the Netherlands, it only includes few immigrants. Hence, in order to increase the number of ethnic minority respondents in our sample, we also had to make use of the migrant sample, which was collected in cooperation with the SPVA from 2002 to reduce costs and to benefit from the experience of the SPVA in surveying migrant groups in the Netherlands. From 1988 until 2002, the SPVA regularly collected data among the four largest ethnic minority groups. Individuals are defined as migrants when they or at least one of their parents were born abroad. For a subsample of about 1,300 individuals of the survey conducted in 2002 (which has a total sample of over 4,000 individuals), the SPVA adapted its anchor and alter questionnaires to those of the NKPS. Unfortunately, the questionnaires for the anchors and alters were substantially shortened in the migrant sample, which limits the range of variables that can be used in the analysis. The data of the anchor in the SPVA were collected in face-to-face interviews using pencil and paper questionnaires (PAPI) and the data for other household members (alters) were collected with a self-completion questionnaire. Questionnaires were translated into Turkish and Arabic for immigrants with few Dutch language skills and bilingual interviewers with fluency in the minority language were used. As former colonial migrants, Surinamese and Antillean minorities have high levels of Dutch proficiency. The response rate for anchors ranged from 40% for Surinamese to 52% for Moroccans (Groeneveld and Weijers-Martens 2003).

The NKPS and the SPVA used different sampling techniques. Whereas the sample of the NKPS is a random sample of individuals within private households in the Netherlands between the age of 18 and 79, the SPVA was limited to 13 municipalities with relatively large migrant populations, and therefore covers only about 50% of the migrant population, mostly those living in urban areas (*ibid.*). In general, the migrant sample is biased towards middle-aged migrants with children in their household. Young second-generation migrants who live alone or with their parents are strongly under-represented and also childless couples are underrepresented (Dykstra et al. 2005). However, since this research focuses on the oversampled group, this is not a major issue for this paper. We will analyze the two subgroups of the NKPS and the SPVA data, which received matched questionnaires. Given that the NKPS subsample consists only of respondents who live in one of the SPVA municipalities, they are also more comparable with regard to sample characteristics.

We further restrict the sample to heterosexual cohabiting couples, regardless of their marital status, in which the woman is aged between 18 and 65. Women in retirement or full-time education or disabled women are also excluded from the analysis. The sample used for the analysis consists of 540 couples. The female partner is native Dutch in 277 couples, Turkish in 85 and Moroccan in 80 couples. Due to the small number of Antillean and Surinamese women in the sample, we aggregated them into one group, which consists of 98 couples.

Measures

Dependent variable

A binary variable indicated whether the woman is *participating in the labor market* (1) or not (0). Following the Dutch Statistical Office (CBS), LFP implies that the respondent either has employment (or a contract) of more than 12 hours a week at the time of the survey or is unemployed, but available and actively looking for employment of more than 12 hours a week. For those without employment of more than 12h a week we have to rely on a variable that captures the self-declared main economic activity at the time of the interview instead of more

precise measures about whether respondents without employment are available and searching for a job. Respondents without work of more than 12 hours a week had to choose whether they consider their main activity to be unemployed, a homemaker, student, disabled or retired. The advantage of our measure is that it comes closer to the way respondents see themselves while the disadvantage is the loss of comparability with other surveys. We categorized respondents who are not in paid work for more than 12 hours a week and indicated being a homemaker as their main activity as not participating in the labor market (0). Respondents that are in paid employment or that are at the time of the survey not employed and described their main activity as being unemployed, were coded as 1.

Independent variables

Education: To measure women's level of education, we used the highest educational degree received and to reduce the number of variables in the model, we distinguished only between four levels: 0 "Primary education", 1 "Lower secondary vocational", 2 "Upper secondary" and 3 "Tertiary". In order to construct the relative education of the partner, we used a more refined variable with the categories 0 "no education" 1 "Elementary education" 2 "Lower vocational" 3 "Lower general secondary" 4 "Intermediate vocational" 5 "upper general secondary" 6 "Higher vocational" and 7 "University".²⁵ Based on these categories, we constructed a variable for the relative education of the partner by subtracting the level of education of men from the level of education of their female partner, both measured on the 8-point scale. In our analyses, we use one dummy variable for male partners that are lower educated and one dummy variable for partners that are higher educated than their female partner. The reference category in these analyses therefore consists of couples with the same value on the 8-point scale of educational attainment.²⁶

Men's employment status: A dummy variable was constructed that indicates whether male partners are in education, disabled or retired. Male respondents who indicated to be a student, disabled or retired, but were also working for more than 12 hours a week were categorized as employed. A second dummy variable indicates that the male partner does not have a job of over 12 hours a week and considers his main economic activity to be unemployed. The reference group for both indicators of men's employment status is male partners that are employed (12h per week or more).

Men's income: We use the sum of the monthly net income and, if applicable, the welfare benefits (e.g. social security, pension, student grant) of the male partners. In the migrant sample, we had no information on alters' income but only on the income of the anchor and the total net household income. In order to have a proxy for the male alter income in the migrant sample (n=86), we subtracted the income of the female anchor from the household income. A subsequent t-test showed that the income in the migrant sample is significantly lower for the male alters than for the male anchors ($t(256)=3.98$; p 2-sided $<.001$), which indicates that the remaining household income (after subtracting the female anchor's income) is not likely to include the income of other potential household members than the male partner. Respondents could either precisely specify the amount they receive or choose from a number of income categories that each had a range of 200 to 250 Euros (e.g. (3) 750-950 Euros; (8) 1750-2000 Euros, etc.). In order to use income as a continuous

²⁵ We did not use this refined education variable as measure for women's education because of small case numbers in a few categories for ethnic minorities.

²⁶ In a robustness check, we also constructed relative education based on the four-point scale for women's and their partner's education and found a Pearson's correlation of .92 between both measures of relative education.

variable, we calculated the mean for the income categories ((3) 850Euros; (8) 1875 Euros). We excluded two respondents that indicated having an income of more than 10.000 Euros a month to avoid bias through outliers.

Traditional gender role attitudes: We used the item “A woman must quit her job when she becomes a mother” as indicator of gender role attitudes of the female and the male partners. Respondents expressed their agreement on a scale from 1”strongly agree” to 5”strongly disagree”. Due to the shortened partner questionnaire in the migrant sample, we did not have more items to construct a multi-item scale. However, a previous study used the anchor data in the NKPS and SPVA to examine the factor structure of the family, marital, and gender-role value items and found that the item we use is part of a factor that only consists of gender-role attitude items and is structurally equivalent across ethnic groups (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009). We recoded the item so that a higher value represents more traditional gender role attitudes. The attitudes of the partners were correlated, as expected ($r=.51$, $p=.00$). We therefore use the variance inflation factor as postestimation test for collinearity.

Control variables

Dutch language problems were measured as a dichotomous variable. For the anchors in the migrant sample, the interviewers could indicate how fluent the respondent is in Dutch on a three-point scale with 1”fluent” 2”fair” and 3”bad”. Respondents with fluent Dutch language skills were coded as 0 and all others as 1. For alters, this variable was not available. Instead, we had to rely on the language in which alters completed the questionnaire. Respondents who completed the questionnaire in Dutch were coded as 0 and respondents who answered the non-Dutch version were coded as 1. It has to be mentioned that all Moroccan alters completed the questionnaire in Dutch even though an Arabic version was available. One reason for this may be that many of the Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands originate in regions of Morocco where Berber languages are dominant and therefore may not speak Arabic. As a consequence, language problems within the sample of Moroccan alters may be underestimated.

General health was measured on a five-point scale ranging from 1”excellent” to 5”very poor”. The variable was recoded so that a higher value represents better health.

Finally, we also include *age* and *age square* of the women as well as whether the women are *first generation immigrants*, *the number of children in the household* and a dummy indicating *the presence of children below the age of 6 in the household* as control variables.

Missing values

The share of missing values on each independent variable was not higher than 10% (for income) and in most cases even lower than 5% (see Table 5.1). However, listwise deletion would lead to a loss of about 100 cases (20% of the sample). Little’s MCAR test indicates that the missing values are not missing completely at random ($\text{Chi}^2=95.47$; $df=60$; $p>.002$). As listwise deletion is therefore also likely to produce biased estimates (Acock 2005), we used multiple imputation by chain equations to replace missing values with predicted values (Royston and White 2011). Following the rule of thumb that the number of imputed datasets should be equal to the percentage of missing cases (White, Royston, and Wood 2011), we created 20 imputed datasets. The chain equation method uses separate models for every variable with missing values. The variables included in each of the models correspond with the variables we used in the explanatory analysis of our dependent variables.

*Method*Labor force participation

We used average marginal effects (AME) based on logit regressions to examine the FLFP. As the dependent variable FLFP is binary and the interest of this paper is in comparing coefficients across groups and models, the statistical analysis has to account for the scaling problem (cf. Mood 2010). The scaling problem refers to the fact that logistic regression estimates are implicitly rescaled based on a fixed residual variance of 3.29. This means that regardless of model specification or varying unobserved heterogeneity between models or groups, the residual variance is always assumed to be the same. Hence, unless all factors that might cause differences in unobserved heterogeneity in the dependent variable between respondents are accounted for, coefficients may not be comparable across groups and models (Karlson et al. 2012).²⁷ We therefore followed Mood's (2010) suggestion and, using the margins command in stata, estimated AME, which are calculated by averaging effects over all observations based on an initially estimated equation (in our case logit regressions). This makes them relatively unaffected by unaccounted explanatory factors unrelated to the already included independent variables (ibid.). Moreover, AME are intuitive to interpret as they express the change in the expected value (or the expected probability) of the dependent variable as an explanatory variable increases by one unit. Note that the margins command does not allow calculating interaction terms but provides predicted probabilities and marginal effects conditional on specific values of the variables involved in the interaction accounting for the interactions terms included in the base logit-equation (StataCorp. 2013).

5.4 Results

Descriptive results

The ethnic distribution of our sample is similar for women and men. Even though not directly shown here, the Turkish and Moroccan women in our sample are almost exclusively married within their ethnic group. Interethnic marriage can only be found to some extent between native Dutch women and Surinamese or Antillean men. Table 5.1 shows that women participate about 18 percentage points less in the labor market than men. The men in our sample are slightly higher educated than the women. Whereas 31% of the men have tertiary education, this is only the case for 24% of the women. In turn, the share of women who obtained a secondary vocational degree is 9 percentage points higher than the share of men. Within couples, 39% of the men are higher and 29% lower educated than the women. Furthermore, 7% of the men are unemployed and 17% are not available for the labor market due to retirement, disability or education. The average income

²⁷ Potential sources of scaling bias in our analysis are differences in the residual variance across ethnic groups. It is possible that including mediating variables between ethnicity and FLFP, such as gender role attitudes, affects the residual variance differently across ethnic groups. For instance, gender role attitudes may be less important for the FLFP of Turks and Moroccans than for native Dutch. One option to test and account for the residual variance is by estimating heterogeneous choice models, which fit potential predictors of the residual variance simultaneously with the regression equation of the binary outcome variable (Williams, 2009). However, fitting heterogeneous choice models with ethnicity as predictor of the variance in an additional robustness test did not show any signs for varying residual variance in FLFP across ethnic groups in our sample. Following Williams (2009), models with a misspecified variance equation may result in worse estimations than models without a variance equation. We therefore decided not to estimate heterogeneous choice models in the main analysis.

of men, including salary and/or social benefits, is 1595€ each month. Finally, men have on average more traditional gender role attitudes than women $t(487)=-4.05$; p 2-sided $<.001$.

Explanatory analysis

We start our explanatory analysis by only including the ethnicity of the women in Model 1 to estimate ethnic differences in FLFP (see Table 5.2). Then we include the socio-demographic characteristics of women and household conditions in Model 2 before adding the labor market resources of the partner in Model 3. The gender role attitudes of the women and the partners are added in Model 4 and 5, respectively. In a final model (not shown in Table 5.2), we add the two-way interactions between the women's and their partners' gender role attitudes with the labor market resources of the partners. Results are shown in the form of predicted probabilities for varying combinations of the highest and lowest values on the gender role attitudes measure of women and their partner as well as for couples in which the partner has similar and higher labor market resources (Table 5.3). To explore in how far our model is applicable across women with different ethnic background, we additionally ran the model with the two two-way interactions separately for each ethnic group (also Table 5.3).

Table 5.2 presents the AME of the explanatory variables on FLFP. In Model 1 we can see that the chances for Turkish and Moroccan women participating in the labor force are more than 40 percentage points lower than for native Dutch women, whereas the chances of Surinamese and Antillean women to participate are not statistically significantly different from those of native Dutch women.

In Model 2, we add individual characteristics and household conditions of the women. As expected, education is positively associated and Dutch language problems, the number of children and the presence of young children in the household are negatively associated with FLFP. Moreover, ethnic differences in FLFP disappear for Moroccan and Turkish compared to native Dutch. Individual characteristics and household conditions seem to explain the lower FLFP in this sample. In contrast, the Surinamese and Antillean women's coefficient substantially increases from Model 1 to Model 2 suggesting that, with similar individual characteristics and household conditions, they are more active in the labor market than native Dutch women. Adding the labor market resources of the partner in Model 3 does not substantially affect the ethnicity coefficients, which means that ethnically varying labor market resources of the partner are not explaining ethnic differences in FLFP. Women with a partner who is a student, retired or disabled are less likely to participate in the labor market than women with a partner active in the labor market. Also unemployed partners seem to lower FLFP though the effect only becomes marginally significant after adding women's gender role attitudes in Model 4. These results are more in line with the hypothesis derived from social capital theory (H1b). At this point we do not find any evidence in support of the household specialization theory that predicted lower FLFP with higher labor market resources of the male partner (H1a) because the relative education of the partners and the partner's income are not significantly associated with FLFP.

Table 5.1 Range, mean/proportion (M), standard deviation (SD) and missing values (MV) of the variables (n=540)

		ALL RESPONDENTS																					
		Native Dutch			Turkish			Moroccan			Surinamese/Antillean												
Range	Women		Male partners		Women		Male partner		Women		Male partner		Women		Male partner								
	M	SD	MV (in %)	M	SD	MV (in %)	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD							
<i>Labor market characteristics</i>																							
LFP	0/1	.65	0	.83	0	.78	.87	.36	.81	.68	.81	.86	.10	.14	.10	.14							
Unemployed (only men)	0/1			.07			.03		.13			.10											
Student/retired/disabled (only men)	0/1			.17		.01	.13		.19		.32												
Income in € (only men/other household members)	0-100000			1595	1042	.09	2016	1179	1184	657	1093	428	1158	696									
Dutch language problems	0/1	.11				0		.60		.08		0											
Education	0-3		.03			.01																	
Primary (Ref.)	0	.19		.21		.05	.07	.56	.45	.48	.58	.12	.16	.37	.31	.16							
Secondary vocational	1	.32		.23		.29	.18	.22	.25	.38	.18	.45	.45	.37	.31	.31							
Upper secondary	2	.25		.25		.30	.27	.16	.19	.13	.18	.27	.27	.27	.27	.27							
Tertiary	3	.24		.31		.36	.48	.06	.11	.01	.06	.16	.16	.16	.16	.16							
Male partner relatively lower educated	0/1	.29		.04		.23		.28		.45		.34											
Male partner relatively higher educated	0/1	.39		.04		.39		.27		.14		.35											
Male partner equally educated	0/1	.32		.04		.37		.45		.41		.31											
<i>Traditional gender role attitudes</i>																							
Women should stop working after 1st child	1-5	2.22	1.20	.02	2.45	1.17	.02	1.88	.96	2.14	1.01	3.01	1.40	3.26	1.38	2.97	1.29	2.92	1.14	1.94	.90	2.22	.97
<i>Control variables</i>																							
First generation (Ref: Native Dutch/ 2 nd gen.)	0/1	.45				.03		.94		.9		.86											
Age	18-65	39.00	10.9	.04		41.5	11.12	34.8	8.58	34.5	10.7	38.3	10.2	3.97	.76								
General health	1-5	3.95	.77	.01		4.08	.68	3.75	.97	3.66	.73	3.97	.76	.47									
ANCHOR (Ref: ALTER)	0/1	.17		0	.83	0		.33		.2		.47											
Number of children in the household	0-7	1.27	1.30	0		.87	1.02	1.72	1.12	2.25	1.82	1.19	1.08										
Child younger than 6 years	0/1	.35				.25	.44	.49		.61		.31											

Source: Netherland Kinship Panel Study, 2003 and Social Position and Use of Welfare Facilities by Immigrants survey, 2002, descriptions based on unweighted data

Table 5.2 Average marginal effects, DV: Female labor force participation (FLFP)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	FLFP	FLFP	FLFP	FLFP	FLFP
<i>Characteristics of women</i>					
Native Dutch (ref.)					
Turkish	-.41***	.04	.05	.08	.08
	(.06)	(.09)	(.09)	(.08)	(.08)
Moroccan	-.44***	-.01	.01	.02	.02
	(.06)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Surinamese/Antillean	.03	.19**	.2**	.17*	.16*
	(.05)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)
Age (centred)		-.006**	-.004*	-.004*	-.004+
		(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
Age2		-.001***	-.001***	-.001***	-.001***
		(.0002)	(.0002)	(.0002)	(.0002)
General health		.06**	.06**	.05*	.05*
		(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
First generation		-.15*	-.17*	-.15*	-.14*
		(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)
Dutch language problems		-.17*	-.15*	-.14*	-.14*
		(.07)	(.07)	(.06)	(.06)
Max. primary education (ref.)					
Lower secondary education		.05	.03	.04	.03
		(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)
Upper secondary education		.23***	.21**	.17*	.15*
		(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.06)
Tertiary education or higher		.27***	.25**	.18*	.16*
		(.07)	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)
# children in the household		-.06**	-.06***	-.05**	-.05*
		(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Child younger than 6 years		-.09*	-.09*	-.1*	-.11**
		(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Traditional gender role attitudes (centred)				-.06***	-.05***
				(.01)	(.01)
<i>Characteristics of men</i>					
Unemployed			-.10	-.11+	-.11+
			(.06)	(.06)	(.06)
Student, disabled, retired			-.09+	-.09+	-.10*
			(.05)	(.05)	(.05)
Male partner equally educated (ref.)					
Male partner relatively lower educated			.05	.05	.06
			(.05)	(.05)	(.04)
Male partner relatively higher educated			-.001	-.02	-.02
			(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Income (centred & in 100€)			-.001	-.001	-.001
			(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
Traditional gender role attitudes (centred)					-.04*
					(.02)
N	540	540	540	540	540

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

In Models 4 and 5 we add women's and subsequently men's gender role attitudes. The Variance Inflation Factor of 1.47 for the gender role attitudes of the women and 1.44 for the attitudes of the partner suggests unproblematic collinearity between the two variables. We find that

women's gender role attitudes are negatively related to FLFP even after taking into account the partner's labor market characteristics and his gender role attitudes. *Ceteris paribus*, traditional gender role attitudes of the partner have a negative association with FLFP, providing evidence for our hypothesis on the direct influence of the partner's gender role attitudes (H2). The size of the coefficient of Surinamese and Antillean women decreases overall about 20 % from .2 to .16 after including the women's and subsequently the partner's gender role attitudes. However, in Model 5, FLFP is still higher for Surinamese and Antilleans than for native Dutch, contradicting H5 that we can fully account for ethnic differences in FLFP.

To test H3 and H4 about the moderating role of women's and men's gender role attitudes on the effect of the partner's labor market resources, we included two-way interaction effects between all indicators of men's labor market resources (male partner higher educated, male partner lower educated, male partner unemployed, male partner disabled, student or retired, income of male partner) and women's and men's gender role attitudes. To get a direct test for the interaction coefficients we estimate an OLS-regression, as linear models come usually relatively close to the estimates of AME (Mood 2010).²⁸ The results of this estimation, not shown here, support H3 that the effect of a higher educated male partner on FLFP is more negative the more traditional gender role attitudes women endorse ($b = -.077$; $se = .04$; $p(\text{two-sided}) = .064$). Moreover, and seemingly opposed to the prediction of H4, having a higher educated male partner has a more positive effect on FLFP if the partner is more traditional ($b = .076$; $se = .04$; $p(\text{two-sided}) = .072$). The other interactions were not significant.

To illustrate how the significant interactions work within a couple, we show the predicted probabilities of FLFP based on Model 5 supplemented by these two interactions in Table 5.3. We calculated the predicted probabilities under eight different conditions, varying the composition of partnerships with regard to the gender role attitudes of the man and the woman as well as with regard to the male partner being higher educated compared to the woman or not. Even though some of these constellations are rather uncommon in the population, particularly couples with a very traditional and a very egalitarian partner, they are helpful to understand the impact of the interaction effects on FLFP by revealing their most pronounced outcomes.

Table 5.3 shows that, if both partners are egalitarian, FLFP is predicted at about 80% regardless of the partner's relative education (81% for women with an equally educated partner and 78% for women with a higher educated partner). If the partners are both traditional, the predicted probability of FLFP is about 40%—again without being substantially affected by the partner's relative education. This clearly reveals the negative main effect of traditional gender role attitudes on FLFP. The effect of having a relatively higher educated partner becomes more relevant when we look at couples with opposing attitudes. If the woman has egalitarian gender role attitudes and the man traditional attitudes, a higher educated partner increases FLFP by 26 percentage points compared to similarly educated partners. If the female partner is traditional and the male partner egalitarian, FLFP is 31 percentage points lower for women with a higher educated partner than for women with a similarly educated partner. These findings suggest that in case of normative agreement between the partners with regard to women's gender roles, economic motives seem to be less relevant for women's decision whether to work or not. FLFP rates are consistently high when both partners have egalitarian attitudes and low if both partners have traditional attitudes. In

²⁸ To check the robustness of the results, we also tested the interaction effects with a logit-regression, which came to the same results.

contrast, if there is attitudinal disagreement between the partners, the relative education of the partners seems to matter more, suggesting that economic motives are in these cases more important for women's decision whether to participate in the labor force.

Table 5.3 Predicted probability of female labor force participation for the entire sample and by ethnic group, two way interaction: GRA of women*man higher educated, GRA of men*man higher educated

	Both partners equally educated	Man higher educated than woman	Difference (in percentage points)	Significance of difference p (two-sided)
<i>All respondents</i> ¹				
f-eg. & m-eg.	81%	78%	-3	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	53%	79%	26	p<.05
f-tr. & m-eg.	71%	39%	-31	p<.05
f-tr. & m-tr.	39%	40%	1	n.s.
<i>Native Dutch</i> ²				
f-eg. & m-eg.	94%	91%	-3	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	52%	89%	37	n.s.
f-tr. & m-eg.	83%	38%	-45	p<.05
f-tr. & m-tr.	25%	27%	2	n.s.
<i>Turkish</i> ³				
f-eg. & m-eg.	55%	62%	7	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	26%	44%	18	n.s.
f-tr. & m-eg.	44%	44%	0	n.s.
f-tr. & m-tr.	17%	24%	7	n.s.
<i>Moroccan</i> ³				
f-eg. & m-eg.	66%	34%	-32	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	24%	58%	34	n.s.
f-tr. & m-eg.	67%	8%	-59	p<.05
f-tr. & m-tr.	18%	30%	12	n.s.
<i>Surinamese/Antillean</i> ³				
f-eg. & m-eg.	87%	96%	9	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	78%	87%	9	n.s.
f-tr. & m-eg.	81%	8%	-73	p<.001
f-tr. & m-tr.	77%	2%	-75	p<.001

Notes: f/m= female/male, eg./tr.=egalitarian gender role attitudes/traditional gender role attitudes

¹Predicted probabilities based on Model 5 + Interaction effects:

- GRA of women* male partner higher educated than female partner,
- GRA of men* male partner higher educated than female partner,
- GRA of women* male partner lower educated than female partner,
- GRA of men* male partner lower educated than female partner

²Predicted probabilities based on the following model: Age, Age2, general health, women's education, number of children in the household, child younger than 6, men employed, male partner lower educated than female partner, male partner higher educated than female partner, income of men, GRA of women, GRA of men, + Interaction effects:

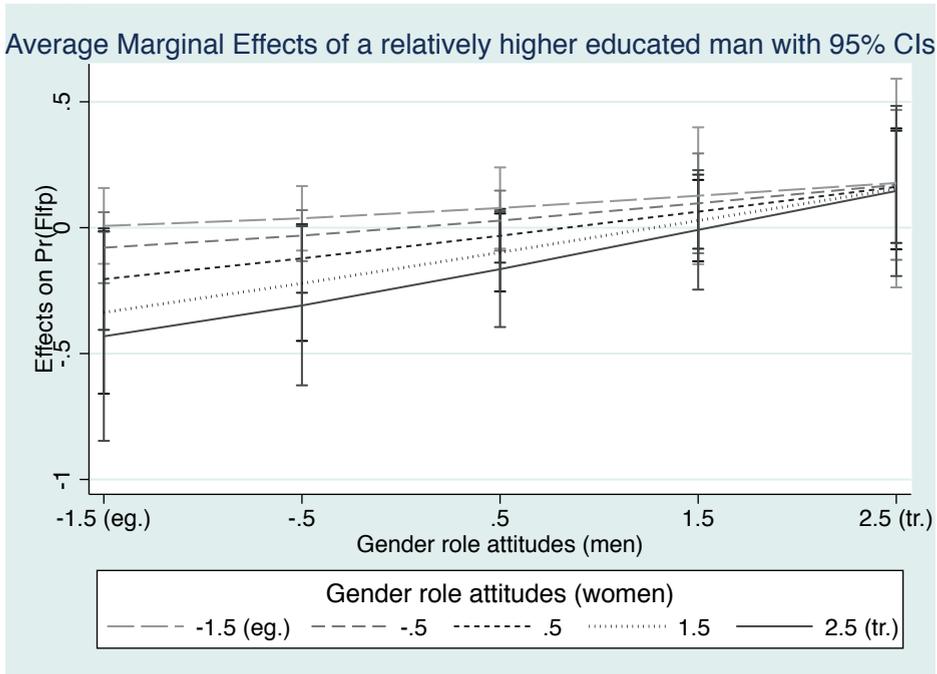
- GRA of women* male partner higher educated than female partner,
- GRA of men* male partner higher educated than female partner,
- GRA of women* male partner lower educated than female partner,
- GRA of men* male partner lower educated than female partner

³ see previous model + 1st generation immigrant. To keep the model as comparable as possible to the other three groups, we decided to exclude language problems for the Turkish subsample (as we do not have this variable for the

Moroccan sample). However, we also run a model that included language problems and results did not differ substantially.

What does this mean with regard to our hypotheses? Let's first look at the role of women's gender role attitudes. We expected the effects of the man's labor market resources to be negative if the woman holds traditional gender role attitudes and positive if the woman holds egalitarian attitudes. We find indeed in line with H3 a positive effect of a higher educated partner on FLFP if the woman is egalitarian and a negative effect if the woman is traditional. However, the effect of relative education only appears in the conditions in which the male partner has opposing attitudes to the woman.

Figure 5.1 Average marginal effects, three-way interaction: Varying effects of a higher educated male partner on female labor force participation dependent on women's and men's gender role attitudes



Note: eg./tr.=egalitarian/traditional. Average marginal effects based on Model 5 + Interaction effects:

- GRA of women* male partner higher educated than female partner,
- GRA of men* male partner higher educated than female partner,
- GRA of men*GRA of women,
- male partner higher educated than female partner*GRA of men*GRA of women,
- GRA of women* male partner lower educated than female partner,
- GRA of men* male partner lower educated than female partner,
- male partner lower educated than female partner*GRA of men*GRA of women

The role of the man's gender role attitudes is more difficult to understand because here, contradicting H4, the interaction effect goes in the other direction. In couples in which the male partner is traditional, his higher education seems actually to increase FLFP whereas in couples in which the man is egalitarian, having a higher education than his female partner seems to decrease FLFP. Again, this effect only holds in couples with opposing attitudes.

In order to account for possible interactions between women's and men's gender role attitudes, we continued the analysis by including a three-way interaction between a relatively higher educated man and both partners' gender role attitudes.

Results, as illustrated in Figure 1, confirm indeed that the effect of a relatively higher educated partner on FLFP depends on the interaction of both partners' attitudes. In couples in which the man has egalitarian attitudes, the effect of a higher educated man depends primarily on the women's gender role attitudes. In line with H3, if women are very traditional, the probability of participating in the labor market decreases with a higher educated partner compared to an equally educated partner. For egalitarian women, the relative education of the partner seems not to affect FLFP, which is not entirely in line with H3 that predicted a positive effect.

Focusing on couples in which men have very traditional gender role attitudes, we see immediately that there is much less variation in the effects of relative education between egalitarian and traditional women. Though it would seem that the effect of a higher educated partner becomes positive with increasing traditional views of the male partner, which is what the two-way interaction suggested, at the limit of the scale most of the effects of a higher educated male partner are insignificant. These findings rather contradict H4, which expected the effect of the partner's resources on FLFP to be positive for egalitarian men and negative for traditional men. Instead, the results suggest that the partner's relative resources are not central for women's decision whether to participate in the labor market if the partner is traditional. In contrast, egalitarian men seem to accept a woman's choice to focus on domestic work if she has traditional attitudes and the economic situation allows it while they won't use their higher resources as argument against or for her participation if she has egalitarian attitudes.

To explore in how far our assumption holds that a general model of FLFP can be applied to women from different ethnic groups, we conducted an additional analysis, in which we ran the model with the two-way interactions separately for the four different ethnic groups (see Table 5.3). Note that the statistical power of these analyses is relatively low due to the small sample size, particularly of the ethnic minority groups, and significance levels may therefore be underestimated. This is also the reason why we decided to only include two-way interactions. In Table 5.3, we can see that the predicted probabilities show similar patterns between the ethnic groups. We find for women from almost every ethnic group, with the exception of Surinamese and Antillean women, that the effect of a relatively higher educated male partner is strongest if the partners' gender role attitudes differ from each other. The most notable differences between ethnic groups can be observed for Surinamese and Antillean women whose partners' attitudes seem not to matter for their decision to participate in the labor force. The effect of a relatively higher educated man is strongly negative if the woman has traditional attitudes. Moreover, in all conditions in which Surinamese and Antillean women have egalitarian attitudes, FLFP is high – regardless of the attitudes and the relative education of the man. This suggests that household specialization seems to take place only if the woman has traditional attitudes and her partner has more labor market resources than herself. Under all other conditions, Surinamese and Antillean women are similarly and highly likely to participate in the labor market.

5.5 Conclusion and Discussion

The aim of this study was, first, to extend previous explanations of ethnic differences in FLFP by adding the partner's labor market characteristics and his gender role attitudes and, second, to

reconcile the opposing positions of household specialization and social capital theory about partner effects on FLFP by testing the moderating role of gender role attitudes.

Our key findings relate to the explanation of ethnic differences in FLFP. Our model is relatively successful in explaining ethnic differences in FLFP between native Dutch, Moroccans and Turks, though most of the ethnic differences are already explained after accounting for women's individual characteristics and the presence of children in the household. This indicates that variations in partner characteristics seem to be a less important ingredient in explaining differences in FLFP between these three ethnic groups. This is an interesting finding, particularly within the context of previous research, which could not explain differences between these ethnic groups entirely with compositional differences in women's human capital and household conditions (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). One reason for this finding might be that our sample consists only of couples whereas the previous studies also included single women. If that would be the case, future studies should investigate differences in FLFP between single Turks, Moroccans and native Dutch more thoroughly.

For Surinamese and Antilleans we still find a higher FLFP than for native Dutch after accounting for individual characteristics, which has also been observed in previous studies (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012). Adding women's gender role attitudes and ultimately the partner's gender role attitudes slightly decreases the difference in FLFP whereas the partner's labor market resources seem to matter less. This suggests that native Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan women have more often partners with attitudes that lower FLFP than Surinamese and Antillean women. However, Surinamese and Antillean women are still participating 16 percentage points more than native Dutch women even after accounting for all these factors. So the question remains how to explain the higher FLFP of Surinamese and Antilleans. One explanation might be that the partner's attitudes are less relevant for Surinamese and Antillean women's decision on how to make use of their partner's resources and whether to participate in the labor force. This is in line with previous research claiming that Caribbean women are often taking the responsibility to provide income for the household because they don't expect or count on the partner to make a contribution (De Valk 2008).

With regard to the impact of the partner's characteristics, we find that his gender role attitudes are relevant. The more traditional the partner, the less likely is it for women to participate in the labor market, and, importantly, this is even the case after controlling for women's own gender role attitudes – which are related to those of their male partner but not completely overlapping with them. This indicates that the partner's normative views about the gendered division of paid and domestic work are to some extent relevant for FLFP. Future research should examine in detail, ideally with a larger sample, which mechanisms are at work here. Is a traditional partner, as common stereotypes would suggest, explicitly urging women to work less, and are women in fact giving in to these expectations? Or are more subtle mechanisms at work, for instance related to a lower engagement in household work of the partner, which leaves women with less time and energy to participate in the labor force?

Concurrently, we find evidence for the association between women's gender role attitudes and FLFP. The importance of gender role attitudes for FLFP over and above women's human capital characteristics and household conditions has also been shown in previous studies (Read 2004; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). But this paper shows that women's attitudes are even an important factor for FLFP after controlling for the partner's labor market resources and his gender role attitudes in addition to conventional factors.

Our analysis gives no unequivocal answer to the question whether household specialization or social capital predicts FLFP more accurately. We find that women with a partner who is a student, retired or a disabled as well as women with unemployed partners tend to be less active in the labor market, which is in line with social capital theory because these partners have less labor market resources and are therefore not able to provide the women with assistance in the labor market. It has to be noted, though, that having a retired or disabled partner is not necessarily only measuring a lack of labor market resources in the household. The reason for a negative relation could also result from an enhanced need for care for instance in the case of a disabled partner who may require assistance in daily life, making participation in employment less feasible. However, in that case, household specialization and social capital theory would fall short of an explanation and the question whether men would act in the same way if their partner were disabled comes up. Future research should investigate through which mechanisms inactivity of the partner is connected to FLFP. In sum, we can say that without accounting for potential interactions with gender role attitudes, the evidence points slightly more into the direction of social capital than household specialization theory. However, given the only marginally significant relation between an unemployed partner and FLFP and the ambiguity of interpreting the impact of a retired or disabled partner, support for social capital theory is far from overwhelming.

So, does our proposed model actually resolve the opposing positions of household specialization and social capital theory? We find some indication that a male partner with higher resources compared to equal resources has a more negative effect on FLFP for more traditional women. Seemingly in contrast, the negative effect of higher partner resources is stronger for women with less traditional male partner. The latter can be explained once we examine the interplay of women's and men's attitudes with regard to the use of the male partner's resources. In the scenarios in which we assessed FLFP in couples in which the partners have similar attitudes, we find that the higher education of the partner makes hardly a difference. Predicted FLFP is high in couples in which both partners have egalitarian attitudes and low if both partners have traditional attitudes, regardless of their relative resources in terms of education. This indicates that normative considerations seem to dominate the decision-making process regarding FLFP within these couples.

A relatively higher educated partner compared to an equally educated partner seems to make the biggest difference for FLFP if the man has egalitarian and the woman traditional gender role attitudes. More specifically, in this scenario, a partner's relatively higher education decreases FLFP. This could mean that in this constellation, economic considerations as outlined by household specialization theory may be a more important factor in the decision making process of women than normative considerations. The unexpected positive effect of a higher educated male partner for couples in which the woman has egalitarian and the man traditional attitudes is explained when we take into account the interaction between both partners' attitudes. The three-way interaction shows that women in a relationship with a traditional partner, him being higher educated seems not to make a difference for FLFP – regardless of the woman's own attitudes. Traditional men may consistently reject FLFP whether it makes economically sense for the household or not, whereas egalitarian men are fine with letting the woman decide whether to work even if the man's higher labor market resources would allow the woman to withdraw from the labor market. Interestingly, in this context, the attitudes of the partner seem to matter much less for Surinamese and Antillean women. This supports previous findings, which showed that models for FLFP designed for women from Western society might not be as suitable for women with

different cultural origins (Dale et al. 2006; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). The findings should encourage migration researchers to question in how far conventional models of female labor market behavior, mostly designed for women with a White Western background, are in fact applicable to women with different cultural origins. The role of key characteristics such as the partner, children and attitudes for FLFP might vary according to the broader cultural background that women live in and the socialization they experienced.

These results partly confirm our proposition of how to reconcile household specialization and social capital theory. We find indeed that women with traditional gender role attitudes are more likely to specialize on domestic work compared to women with more egalitarian views if the resources of the partner allow it (i.e. if he is relatively higher educated). Hence, household specialization seems to be more often applied as a strategy in households where women hold more traditional gender role attitudes. In contrast, we could not show that for women or partners with more egalitarian attitudes, the predictions of social capital theory are more applicable. This could also be a sign that for couples with egalitarian gender role attitudes, individualization, meaning independence from each other with regard to labor market behavior, is already the norm (Hakim 2000). Our finding about the ‘irrelevance’ of the attitudes of Caribbean women’s partner also fits in the picture drawn by Berthoud (2005) that Caribbean women in the UK are ‘ahead of the trend’ towards modern individualism as they showed lower rates of marriage and a higher share of single parenthood compared to other ethnic groups while all groups were moving in this direction. Our finding might therefore also be read as an extension of this observation in terms of how Caribbean women combine work and family – namely without much consideration of their partner’s attitudes – even though we cannot say anything about future developments.

However, we have to mention that we only find indications for varying effects of labor market resources depending on the gender role attitudes of women and their partner for relative education between the partners. Associations of other labor market resources (concretely, men’s labor market status and income) with FLFP were not dependent on attitudes of either men or women. However, it is possible that other norms and values than gender role attitudes may condition the effect of the partner’s labor market resources. Future research should investigate this possibility.

The limited evidence we find in favor of social capital theory may also be related to our dependent variable. The decision to participate in the labor market does not require much assistance in comparison with other labor market behavior such as finding employment or improving one’s occupational status. At this early stage, the social capital of the partner may be of limited help, but it may become more relevant regarding decisions or opportunities related to the extent and quality of women’s work.

Some findings may also be due to the shortcomings of this study. One limitation is that our dataset did not allow us to use an extended measure of gender role attitudes. Additionally, the specific item relates to a mother’s childrearing responsibility, which may be not as relevant for the participation of childless women. However, in general, gender role attitudes about women working after having had children and other attitudes about gendered division of household labor are very highly correlated (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009). Nonetheless, future research should use a broader set of items to test the impact of gender role attitudes of both male and female partners on FLFP.

Furthermore, our measurement of FLFP is based on self-categorization and not on an official definition for which it is usually essential whether a workless person is searching for and

willing to work or not. Women may describe themselves as a homemaker even if they are officially registered as unemployed and searching for work. In fact, only a limited number of women in our sample who indicated not being in employment categorized themselves as unemployed (n=21). Therefore, we may overestimate the number of “self-chosen” homemakers and ultimately underestimate FLFP. This problem is also to some degree caused by our use of cross-sectional data. Originally egalitarian women who are unemployed might become more traditional to reduce discrepancies between their beliefs and behavior. In fact, previous cross-sectional research already showed that employed women as well as their partner have less traditional gender role attitudes compared to women who are homemakers (and their partner) (Alwin et al. 1992). In order to disentangle cause and effect in the relation between gender role attitudes and FLFP more longitudinal studies are required.

Regardless of these limitations, this research provides strong evidence that FLFP is not only related to economic factors but also to attitudes regarding the gendered division of paid and domestic work held by both partners. Gender role attitudes of both partners influence FLFP directly and independently from each other, but they also moderate how the male partner’s labor market resources affect FLFP. Do traditional partners hold women back from the labor market? Our results suggest ‘yes’ because a more traditional partner is related to lower FLFP even after accounting for women’s gender role attitudes. However, we also find that traditional partners do not use their labor market resources to hold back egalitarian women. Instead, the partner’s labor market resources only decrease FLFP in partnerships with egalitarian men and traditional women. As an explanation for ethnic differences in FLFP in partnerships, the gender role attitudes of both partners seem to be of limited power, but do matter nonetheless.

Chapter 6

What about the national context? Comparing the United Kingdom, Germany and the Netherlands²⁹

Abstract

Women's labor force participation (LFP) rates vary highly across ethnic groups but also across countries. Previous research tried to explain ethnic differences in female LFP from compositional effects of human capital, household conditions and gender role attitudes but usually some unexplained ethnic variation remained. Most of these studies focused on a single country, limiting their potential to detect possible country-level factors contributing to ethnic differences in women's LFP. Earlier research on cross-country variations in native majority women's LFP, have attributed these differences on welfare policies (taxation, family policy) and cultural climate. But ethnic minority women may experience policies as well as the cultural climate differently than native majority women, and may therefore also respond differently to incentives set by their host-society to encourage or discourage women's LFP. In this study, we therefore test in how far the insights from the literature on country effects on women's labor market participation apply equally to ethnic minority women. For this this aim we examine ethnic differences in women's LFP in three different countries: The United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands. More specifically, we ask whether partnership, children and gender role attitudes are differently related to first and second generation immigrant and native majority women's LFP in these three countries.

Results show first generation immigrant women differ more strongly from native majority women than the second generation in how partnership, children, and gender role attitudes are related to their LFP. Findings also show that first and second generation immigrant women in the UK are overall more disadvantaged in terms of LFP than immigrant women in Germany and the Netherlands – before and after accounting for human capital, household conditions and gender role attitudes. Particularly second generation women behave relatively similar to native majority women in Germany and the Netherlands once compositional differences are accounted for.

²⁹ The work presented in this chapter was presented at the DGS-congress 2016 in Bamberg, the ICS-Forum Day in Fall 2016, and at the MaSS-Seminar of ICS Utrecht, and is to be submitted for peer review to an international journal. Khoudja wrote the main part of the manuscript and conducted the analysis. Fleischmann substantially contributed to the manuscript. The authors jointly developed the idea and design of the study.

6.1 Introduction

Even though women's labor force participation increased (LFP) over the last 50 years, we can still see high ethnic difference in the participation rate in many countries. Particularly women who hail from predominantly Muslim countries have very low participation rates compared to women with other origins. For instance, Moroccan and Turkish women in the Netherlands have a LFP rate between 45 and 49 percent whereas 66 percent of native Dutch women in the Netherlands participate in the labor market (CBS 2012). In the UK, about 42 percent of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women participate in the labor market whereas more than 75 percent of White, Indian, Caribbean and African women participate in the labor market (ONS 2013). A similar pattern can also be found in Germany where 83 percent of West German native women (and 89 % of East German women) participate in the labor market whereas this applies only to 50 percent of first generation immigrant Turkish women (estimates from Fleischmann and Höhne 2013 based on German Microcensus data from 2009). Economic inactivity makes women financially highly dependent on their husband. Moreover, employment is often considered a crucial indicator for the economic integration of immigrants and can also foster their socio-cultural integration.

While ethnically varying female LFP rates have been examined within selected countries (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2006; Angela Dale et al. 2006; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015; Khoudja and Platt 2016; Luthra 2013), few studies have thoroughly looked at ethnic difference in women's LFP in a cross-national context. Those who did were often conducted within a frame of analyzing the labor market integration of female and male immigrants, which often made them use a rather general explanatory framework that did not account for central explanatory factors of women's LFP such as partnership, children and gender role attitudes (Fleischmann and Dronkers 2007; Koopmans 2010; van Tubergen et al. 2004). One exception is a study by Holland and de Valk (2014) that examined second generation Turkish women's participation in the labor market. However, it focused strongly on motherhood, disregarding the important role of partnership and gender role attitudes (Brekke 2013; Cunningham 2008; Read 2004a; Verbakel 2010).

In contrast to men, whose LFP status mostly does not vary strongly over the life-course, women drop out of the labor market and re-enter it more frequently, in particular in reaction to specific events such as entering a partnership or motherhood. Moreover, women's participation in the labor market is also subject to an on-going ideological conflict between egalitarian and traditional ideals regarding women's reconciliation of work and family life. Hence, as women's reason to participate in the labor market tend to be more complex than men's, studying cross-national differences is also more challenging and demanding for model building.

LFP rates of women differ substantially between countries (Antecol 2000; Schwarz 2012), suggesting that country characteristics, such as welfare state policies, are connected to how many women actually enter and stay in the labor market. Indeed, feminist research has repeatedly emphasized over the last 20 years that particularly taxation, family policies, and the dominant gender norms, can have detrimental effects on the labor market attachment of women (Hipp and Leuze 2015; Mandel and Semyonov 2006; Pfau-Effinger 2005; Pfau-Effinger 1998; Sainsbury 1996). However, for ethnic minority women, these relations have rarely been studied even though they may differ from native majority women. Welfare states are historically grown social security systems that were often formed in times when the nation's population was culturally (and language-wise) more homogeneous than nowadays. Therefore, present social security systems or state policies in general might be differently experienced and responded to by immigrant groups than

by the native majority. For instance, children of women with a migration background in Germany are underrepresented in pre-primary education and some evidence suggests that over and above structural explanations regarding the availability and costs of childcare, varying notions about maternal care and child-rearing practices may be one reason for this underrepresentation (Durgel et al. 2013; Peter and Spieß 2015; SVR 2013). The effect of country characteristics may also vary for different immigrant generations. Second generation women are likely to have a better understanding of specific features of the receiving society than their parents. At the same time, they are also still influenced by the norms, values, and socio-economic status of their immigrated parents. This particular combination of socialization experiences may reduce or accentuate effects of country characteristics depending on the mechanisms through which the country exerts its influence. Especially in times of increasing cultural diversity, it becomes more important for policymakers to understand and account for such culturally dependent sensitivities in order to design and implement effective policies. In this paper, we therefore focus on how selected country characteristics may have different relations to the LFP of immigrant and second generation women compared to native majority women.

We will argue that especially family policies, taxation systems and the general normative climate towards women's division of paid and domestic work have different consequences for first and second generation immigrant women than for native majority women. Specifically, the paper at hand compares the LFP between first and second generation immigrant women and native majority women in three different countries: the UK, Germany and the Netherlands. By comparing in how far certain factors affect the LFP of immigrant and native majority women differently in these three countries, we can learn about how the institutional and societal contexts might have ethnically differential impacts. Therefore, our main research question is whether partnership, children and gender role attitudes are differently related to the LFP of first and second generation immigrant and native majority women in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands?

We chose the UK, Germany and the Netherlands, as these countries have important similarities but also differences on a number of key characteristics. There are two main commonalities in particular. First, they all have large immigrant groups with a relatively comparable economic and cultural background – namely immigrants from Muslim countries that started to arrive in the 1960/70s in the context of booming economies and a high demand for low-skilled labor and grew by subsequent family migration. Second, all three countries have relatively flexible labor markets, particularly since the major labor market reforms in Germany and the Netherlands in the 2000s. Furthermore, the LFP of native majority women is heavily based on part-time employment in all three countries (though this is even more pronounced in the Netherlands than in the UK and Germany).

The difference that makes these countries interesting to compare is that they have different forms of welfare states (Esping-Andersen 1990; Mandel and Semyonov 2006; Sainsbury 1996). Germany is, in terms of social policies, a classic conservative state. Its family and tax policies encourage the traditional 'male-breadwinner' household model even though recent policies introduced the so-called "daddy-month". The UK is a prototypical liberal welfare state, in which any sorts of social provisions are minimized. Since its thorough reforms of their family and labor market policies in the 1990s, the Netherlands could be labeled as a hybrid welfare state with elements of conservative, liberal as well as social-democratic welfare states. The final reason why we chose Germany, the Netherlands and the UK is of pragmatic nature. Only in these three countries did we find surveys with sufficiently large samples of immigrants and natives majority

women that have not only structural information about labor market behavior and household conditions, of the respondents but also measures of norms and values, specifically gender role attitudes.

6.2 Theoretical Background

Individual level explanations

Earlier studies on ethnic differences in women's LFP within countries have identified three key factors to explain the differences: human capital, household conditions and gender role attitudes (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2006; A. Dale et al. 2006; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015; Read and Cohen 2007). The main argument brought forward by these studies is that compositional differences between different groups of women on these key factors, that are all known to be related to LFP, can explain ethnic differences therein.

Human capital refers mainly to the level of education and language skills. There are several mechanisms that explain the positive association between human capital and women's LFP, but one of the main ideas is that with increasing human capital the opportunity costs of not participating in the labor market also increase, which makes it less likely for women to shift their focus to unpaid domestic work (Becker 1985, 1975). Hence, a higher education and more skills in the receiving society's language explain why women from the native majority group are more likely to participate in the labor market than women from some ethnic minorities (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012).

Another explanation of ethnic differences in women's LFP is that ethnic minority women are more likely to be living with a partner, which tends to decrease women's LFP. Even though in recent years, many have argued that it is rather partner characteristics, such as the male partner's income, gender attitudes or involvement in domestic work, than partnership itself that drives women to exit the labor market, starting cohabiting still more often marks a shift in women's rather than in men's labor market trajectory (Verbakel 2010).

Entering motherhood is one of the most influential factors for women's labor market trajectories as women are by far more likely to be responsible for childcare than their male partners. Ethnic minority as well as native majority women who give birth tend to be particularly at risk of exiting the labor market and with every additional birth, the chance of them remaining outside the labor market increases (Khoudja and Platt 2016). Women who do not leave the labor market have high chances of switching into part-time jobs. Children tend to be a central explanation of ethnic differences in women's LFP as women with an ethnic minority background, in particular those with a Muslim background, tend to have more children on average than native majority women.

In the context of increasing individualization and female emancipation, more recent studies have paid more attention to gender role attitudes as an explanatory factor of women's LFP and ethnic differences therein (Hakim 2000; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015; Koopmans 2016; Read 2004b). These studies argue that women with more traditional attitudes prefer to focus on domestic tasks and childrearing instead of paid work, which is why they are less likely to participate in the labor market. Moreover, they are also likely to invest less in their education and have more children than women with egalitarian attitudes, which indirectly also decreases their labor market participation. Evidence from longitudinal studies has also addressed the causal relation between gender role attitudes and LFP showing that women with traditional gender role attitudes at an early age are less likely to participate in the labor market later in their life (Corrigan and Konrad 2007;

Cunningham 2008). Gender role attitudes have also been used to explain ethnic differences in female LFP, arguing that immigrant groups with low female LFP rate often come from a country or a region in which traditional norms and values are predominant, which makes women from these groups, on average, also more traditional than native majority women in Western countries (Diehl et al. 2009; Röder 2014; van de Vijver 2007). Studies that looked at the explanatory power of gender role attitudes for female LFP within one country, usually showed that women's gender role attitudes are indeed related to women's LFP, though they usually only contributed a relatively small share of the ethnic variation in women's LFP – the highest share tended to be explained by conventional explanations related to demographic characteristics, human capital and household conditions (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2006; Holdsworth and Dale 1997; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015; Khoudja and Platt 2016).

Immigrant women in different national contexts

In order to study the economic incorporation of immigrant women in different institutional settings, it is necessary to compare similar immigrant groups in different institutional settings.

Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants in the UK, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants the Netherlands and Turkish immigrants in Germany share traits that make them suitable for such a comparison. First, these groups have a similar migration history. In all three cases, migration to their destination country started in the 1960s mainly to match increasing demand for low-skilled labor in the three countries due to a booming economy. Whereas immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands were recruited within the context of formal guest worker agreements with Turkey and Morocco, Pakistani and Bangladeshi mainly arrived as post-colonial immigrants in the UK. After this labor migration formally stopped at the beginning of the 1970s, migration from these countries continued in the following decades mainly in the form of family reunification. That meant that many women joined their already settled husbands as family migrants, hence not necessarily with the primary intention to work. Second, all three groups have on average low education and large gender gaps in education in their origin countries, and tend to work in low-skilled jobs (Fleischmann et al. 2014). Moreover, immigrants from all three communities arrived in their host-country with relatively limited host-country language skills. Third, they all originate from countries (or regions within these countries) in which religiosity is relatively high and traditional gender norms are predominant. Fourth, almost all Turks, Moroccans, Pakistani and Bangladeshi follow the Islamic faith and all three groups are in their receiving country the main visible “representatives” of Islam, which makes them also the predominant target of anti-Muslim sentiments and discrimination against Muslims. Finally, these groups are in general one of the largest minorities in their receiving country increasing also the societal relevance of studying their performance on the labor market.

The national context and women's LFP

The national contexts of the three countries in the focus of this study vary with regard to their institutional configurations but also in their overall cultural climate towards women's labor market participation. In the following, we discuss some features of national context that may be of importance and then briefly describe how the countries we focus on in this analysis are configured with respect to these aspects. Subsequently, we formulate hypotheses about how the country context might contribute to ethnic differences in women's LFP.

For women's LFP the taxation system and the provision of childcare are the most often discussed institutional factors (van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002). The literature broadly distinguishes between individual-based and family-based taxation systems. In individual-based taxation systems, two full-time earners in households (or marriages) get (in principle) taxed independently from each other. In contrast, family-based taxation system give reliefs to single earner households by taxing the second earner more or taxing the first earner less if their partner is not employed. As men tend to participate in the labor market regardless of tax incentives, women's LFP is more susceptible to this taxation form. The family-based tax system therefore strongly encourages households to follow the traditional male breadwinner/female caretaker model. Ample evidence shows that in family-based tax systems female LFP tends to be lower than in individual-based tax systems (Schwarz 2012; Smith et al. 2003; Vlasblom and Schippers 2006). Additionally, joint family taxation may even be more negatively related to the employment of second earners with relatively low earning potential. With an increasing reservation wage of second earners, women with low earning potentials may even be more reluctant to enter the labor force than women with higher earning potential in family taxation systems. As mentioned earlier immigrant groups of this analysis all tend to have on average relatively low education, which means that women from these groups tend to have lower earning potentials than women from the majority groups.

Another major branch of the welfare state that is often discussed in relation to women's LFP are family policies. There are many different policies within countries that can influence women's LFP independently from each other. What research showed relatively unequivocally is that countries with higher childcare subsidies and a higher supply of childcare facilities tend to have higher female LFP rates and number of hours worked (Hipp and Leuze 2015; Jaumotte 2003). Other often discussed family policies with a potential influence on women's participation in the labor market are the number of parental leave weeks, and what share of them is paid and unpaid, welfare support for the child (that is the extent to which the state subsidizes parents financially for each child) as well as the degree to which state regulations give mothers (or employees in general) the right to flexible working hours. The effect of these different provisions may differ and can also be non-linear. For instance, recent research suggests that short periods of childcare leave may be beneficial for women's employment whereas long periods of childcare leave may be detrimental (Nieuwenhuis et al. 2017). But overall, a more extensive provision of formal childcare is likely to increase women's LFP.

Having available childcare provisions does not imply that it is fully used by eligible families. Studies suggest that particularly first-generation immigrants from non-Western countries are less likely than White majority women to send their children to pre-school childcare facilities even when these are available (Peter and Spieß 2015; SVR 2013; Woodland et al. 2002). Immigrant families may be less likely to use formal childcare provision due to a lack of knowledge, different norms about the appropriate age of children to enter external childcare, and concerns about the sensitivity to parental cultural and religious norms in childcare (Durgel et al. 2013; Tackey et al. 2006). This suggests that an overall increase in childcare supply may decrease the overall negative effect of having children but simultaneously lead to an increased inequality in the effect of having children between native majority and immigrant women.

Besides the direct institutional influence on women's LFP, countries also differ in the degree to which the dominant culture encourages more or less traditional gender role behavior (Alwin et al. 1992; Pfau-Effinger 1998; Treas and Widmer 2000). Cultural norms can influence which

institutional gender arrangements become most prevalent, but also the individual gender role attitudes of mothers and the expectations in the family, community, and larger society towards women's balance of work and family life (Boeckmann et al. 2015; Pfau-Effinger 2004). In countries with more traditional gender norms, women's own egalitarian attitudes may play less of a role as they have to assert themselves against the expectations of society. The family and community members play a crucial role in the enforcement of these norms, as they can potentially sanction women for norm violations. The degree to which women are affected by societal traditional gender role norms may therefore depend on the dominant norms in the family and community of women. An immigrant group with traditional norms may find it therefore easier to 'convince' women with egalitarian gender role attitudes not to participate in the labor market if their host-society is supportive of their traditional gender role norms. In contrast, it may be more difficult for these immigrant groups to assert their traditional gender role norms on women with egalitarian gender role attitudes if the host-society also has egalitarian norms and encourages women to work.

Even though we conduct a country comparison, our small sample of three countries does, of course, not allow us to examine how specific country characteristics influence the outcome and relations we study. We focused in the theoretical discussion above on those aspects that are most prominent in the literature on women's LFP, but cannot rule out that other country characteristics, policies, or certain special rules within these policies, have (unintended) varying effects on ethnic minority compared to native majority women's LFP.

United Kingdom

The UK is a classical liberal welfare state (Esping-Andersen 1990). In the course of the 1990s, the UK implemented several policies that transformed their family taxation into an individual taxation system, which gave dual earner couples a tax advantage over single earner couples. These changes are thought to have increased participation in the labor market by married women (Gregg et al. 2003). Due to simultaneous reforms in the taxation of low-income wages, part-time employment also grew in popularity during the 1990s and the UK has one of the highest rates in part-time employment among women in Europe (Dingeldey 2001). Policies supporting mothers in raising children are relatively limited. Instead the UK relies heavily on market mechanisms when it comes to childcare provision. Economic necessity often doesn't give mothers, especially single mothers, any other choice than to search for (part-time) employment. Even though in the late 1990s and early 2000s parental leave policies have become somewhat more generous (Gregg et al. 2003), it is still very difficult for mothers to combine paid work and childrearing.

The UK welfare state does not explicitly encourage a gendered division of paid and domestic work even though this is often the outcome of very little family support. Moreover, studies showed that the UK rather ranks as a conservative country in terms of public opinion towards married women's employment compared to other European countries (Andringa et al. 2015; Treas and Widmer 2000).

Germany

Germany is generally considered as a conservative welfare state that strongly fosters the traditional male-breadwinner, female-caregiver family model (Esping-Andersen 1999; Sainsbury 1999). It is one of the few remaining European countries with a family-based taxation system, which strongly

favors single earner over dual earner households in terms of taxations rates (Sainsbury 1999; Vlasblom and Schippers 2006).

Family policy parameters are configured in a way that gives mothers a strong incentive to stay at home instead of participating in the labor market. For instance, the parental (paid as well as unpaid) leave is very long compared to other countries and there are generous universal child benefits. Both of these policies have been shown to keep mothers away from the labor market (Ondrich et al. 2003). Moreover, childcare facilities for children younger than 3 years old are in short-supply, especially in Western Germany (though the supply has increased in the years succeeding the collection of the data we use in this paper). The strong regional differences in childcare supply in Germany might disadvantage ethnic minority women. Whereas East Germany has inherited a very high supply of childcare provision from the GDR, West Germany has traditionally a much lower supply of childcare (Immervoll and Barber 2006). While this discrepancy became smaller in recent years, it still remaining relatively high (Goldstein et al. 2010). Ethnic minority women profit in general less from the Eastern German childcare infrastructure as most of them live in regions of Western Germany.

Overall, Germany has a conservative welfare state which clearly incentivizes the traditional division of paid and domestic work and also ranks at the attitudinal level as a rather conservative society (Treas and Widmer 2000).

Netherlands

The Dutch welfare state is generally characterized as a hybrid with liberal, conservative as well as social-democratic elements (Lewis et al. 2008). Similar to the UK, the Netherlands also transitioned from a family taxation system to an individual taxation system in the 1990s and saw an increase in female LFP during and after this period (Vlasblom and Schippers 2006). At the same time, labor market reforms and some exceptions in the individual taxation system also highly incentivize (marginal) part-time employment of second earners (Dingeldey 2001). Part-time employment among women is even more common in the Netherlands than in Germany and the UK even though women's share of the total work volume of couples and the working hours difference between male and female partners are almost the same in the three countries (Hipp and Leuze 2015).

Formal childcare supply in the Netherlands has increased substantially in the 1990s after barely existing at all earlier (Vlasblom and Schippers 2006). The Netherlands provide somewhat more childcare support, particularly for children below the age of 3 than the UK and Germany (European Commission 2013; Kröger 2011; Plantenga and Remery 2009). This does not mean that the Netherlands score particularly well in terms of childcare provision and defamilisation. In fact, childcare is mostly provided and used part-time (Portegijs et al. 2006), which facilitates women joining the labor force, but not to engage in it to the same degree as men. Nonetheless, the Dutch provision of formal childcare can still be characterized as more extensive than the German or UK one, which suggests having children is less detrimental for the labor force participation in the Netherlands than in the other two countries.

Childcare centers in the Netherlands are not directly financed by the state. Instead, parents have to pay for childcare initially, and only get reimbursements later on for which they have to formally apply or they can deduce the expense for formal childcare from their taxes. The costs are perceived as relatively high, possibly also because of this form of childcare support (Wetzels 2005). More importantly, this indirect form of financial support for the parents may disproportionately affect

ethnic minority women, who only have limited language skills and knowledge of the Dutch childcare support system. Partly as a consequence, they might also have less trust in actually receiving the reimbursement, which might discourage them to make use of the childcare in the first place (OECD 2008).

Whereas the family and tax policies encourage part-time employment of mothers, there are indications that the overall attitudes in the Netherlands are still rather conservative. For example, among native Dutch majority women, it is still relatively uncommon and unpopular to make use of childcare more than 2 or 3 times a week as this is considered to have harmful effects for children (Portegijs et al. 2006).

Hypotheses

Due to its family-based taxation system, the tax benefits for single earner households compared to households with an additional (part-time) earner are higher in Germany than in the UK and the Netherlands. Hence, the German taxation system is less favorable for partnered women's employment than the Dutch or the UK taxation system. As family-based taxation systems may also be more detrimental for immigrant women's LFP due to their lower earning potential, we expect that partnership may be more negatively related to the LFP of immigrant women compared to native majority women in Germany. The Netherlands and the UK, however, may have similar discrepancies as Germany in the earning potential between immigrant and native majority women, but their individual taxation system does not only remove barriers to women's employment in general, but also reduces varying incentives for low income and high income women to work.

Hence, in addition to the overall more negative impact of partnership on women's LFP in Germany compared to the UK and the Netherlands, we also expect partnership to be more negatively related to (first and second generation) immigrant women's LFP than to native women's LFP in Germany than in the other two countries (H1).

Even though the UK system makes it relatively difficult for women to combine paid work and childcare, this disadvantage might apply equally for mothers with and without immigrant background. In contrast, we outlined some features of the Dutch and German family policies that might disproportionately disadvantage ethnic minority mothers. Furthermore, the relatively more extensive (yet still somewhat limited) availability of formal childcare in the Netherlands compared to the other two countries may lead to a larger negative effect of children on first and second generation immigrant women than on native majority women due to the unequal use of formal childcare service between native majority and immigrant women.

Hence, we hypothesize that having children is more negatively related to the LFP of immigrant women compared to native majority women in the Netherlands and to a lesser degree in Germany whereas in the UK the negative relation between having children and women's LFP is more similar for native majority and first and second generation immigrant women (H2).

Immigrant women's gender role attitudes may play a more important role for their LFP in countries in which institutional incentives and cultural norms do not clearly favor a traditional household model, and therefore do not align with the immigrant women's ethnic group norms. It could be argued that due to their liberal elements, the incentives for women to work are somewhat stronger in the Netherlands and the UK than in Germany where societal norms and institutional settings both tend to encourage women to take up a role as a caretaker.

We therefore expect that gender role attitudes exert a greater influence on the LFP of first and second generation immigrant women than on native majority women in the Netherlands and the UK, whereas we expect gender role attitudes to have less of an influence on immigrant women's than on native majority women's LFP in Germany (H3).

6.3 Data and Methods

Data

We use three different surveys to analyze the labor market participation of immigrant women in the three countries: the British Understanding Society Survey (UKHLS), the Generation and Gender Survey for Germany (GGS), and the Netherlands Life-course study (NELLS). We chose these datasets for two reasons: (1) they all contain a large ethnic minority sample that covers the biggest Muslim immigrant groups in these countries and allows to distinguish between first generation immigrants and the second generation, (2) they have various items on economic behavior, family situation as well as gender role attitudes. To increase the comparability of the groups, we focus on immigrants whose origin is in predominantly Muslim countries. These are Pakistani and Bangladeshi in the UK, Moroccans and Turks in the Netherlands, and Turks in Germany. Immigrants with Muslim background have a very similar migration history in these countries as mentioned earlier. Even though Caribbean immigrants constitute a large minority group in the UK and in the Netherlands, we decided not to include them in the analysis, mainly because the NELLS did not provide us with a large enough sample of this group. In all samples, we excluded women in full-time education, retirement or disabled people from the analysis.

UKHLS (United Kingdom)

The UKHLS is an annual household panel study that started in 2009 (Knies 2016). It has a large sample size of over 28,000 households in the general population sample (GPS) at Wave 1 (2009/10) and an ethnic minority boost (EMB) of an additional 4,000 households. Information is collected by both interviewer-administered questionnaire and a self-completion questionnaire for measures more likely to be subject to social desirability. We use Wave 2 from 2010/11 of this survey as this is the first wave in which items on gender role attitudes were included in the questionnaire. For further information on the study, see www.understandingsociety.ac.uk.

We use the self-reported ethnic group of the respondent and their parents and information on own/parental/grandparental country of birth to allocate respondents to an ethnic group category. Ethnic self-categorization is the basis for our ethnicity measure: we distinguish between (1) White British/White Irish/other White background and (2) Pakistani and Bangladeshi. In a second step, we also assign respondents to one of the ethnic groups if at least one of their ancestors was born in the country of origin of the minority group. If respondents had ancestors from more than one of the minority groups (sometimes the case for Indians and Pakistanis), we used the self-categorization of the respondent or the ethnic categorization of their parents (by the respondent) in the case that the respondent identified as White. We also used the ethnic categorization of the parents to identify White British born in Africa or India and Indians/Pakistanis with (grand)parents in Africa.

GGS (Germany)

The GGS is a longitudinal survey with so far two waves that was conducted in 19 countries with

the purpose of improving the understanding of relationships between parents and children, and between partners. In this paper, we use the first wave of the German survey because this is the only country that also included an additional independent sample of immigrants (Ruckdeschel et al. 2006). Data collection took place between February and May 2005. The main sample consists of 10,017 German-speaking respondents in wave 1 (which also includes some German-speaking respondents with Turkish origin) and the additional sub-sample consist of 4045 Turkish citizens of first or second generation immigrants that live in Germany. The questionnaires for these two samples were identical (though the Turkish one included some additional questions on the migration history).

The German sample is based on a random-selection procedure whereas the Turkish one is a probability sample from the local registration offices and only contains Turkish citizens. Nationalization in Germany was until the beginning of the 2000s based on the *jus sanguinis* principle (i.e. nationality was transmitted by the parents, not by being born in German territory), which means that even for second generation Turks, it was relatively difficult to acquire citizenship. Hence, it might be that the sample tends to accentuate differences between Turks and Germans as the Turks who did not acquire German citizenship are likely to show stronger differences to the German native majority compared to those who acquired the German citizenship. A small group of German-speaking Turks are also included in the main German sample and might reduce this bias.

In the analysis, we distinguish between first and second generation immigrants with first generation immigrant being born in Turkey and second generation being born in Germany and having at least one Turkish parent.

NELLS (Netherlands)

The NELLS is a longitudinal Dutch survey with a focus on sociological research questions of which two waves have been released so far (de Graaf et al. 2010). However, we will only use the first wave of the survey for our analysis. The NELLS focuses on younger respondents, having an age range between 14-45 in the first wave.

The sampling of the survey was conducted in two stages. In a first step, 35 municipalities were chosen quasi-randomly by region and urbanization, and in a second step a random selection from the population registry based on age and country of birth of the respondent and his/her parents was taken. Interviews were conducted partly face-to-face and partly using a self-completion questionnaire either online or with pen and paper. Data collection was conducted in two stages, the first from December 2008 till June 2009 and the second from September 2009 till May 2010. The survey intentionally oversampled respondents of Turkish and Moroccan origin, meaning people who were born in one of the two countries or whose parent(s) were born in one of the two countries as determined by the municipal register. The overall response of the survey was with 52% (56% for Dutch, 50% for Turkish and 46% for Moroccans) similar to previous face-to-face surveys in the Netherlands. All in all, 4857 people of Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch origin were interviewed. Due to a low response rate for the self-completion questionnaire in the first data collection phase, 7.7% of the sample (=376 respondents) contains missing information on all the variables from the self-completion dataset. These missing values also concern the following analysis, which is why the respective cases were excluded from the analysis.

Measures

Dependent variable

Labor force participation:

Unfortunately, the three surveys do not have the exact same way of measuring labor market participation. However, even though this might affect the absolute level of LFP measured in each country, we do not have reason to believe that this affects the gap between native and immigrants, which is the main focus of this paper.

In the UKHLS, respondents are considered as participating, or active, in the labor force if they are either employed or actively looking for a job and willing to start paid work at short-notice. In the GGS, respondents had to self-categorize their economic activity status. Respondents who indicated that they were looking after the home or family as main activity were categorized as not participating in the labor force whereas respondents who indicated that they were employed or self-employed, unemployed or in military service or social service were categorized as active in the labor market.

The NELLS does not include a direct measure of economic activity, so we based our category on whether respondents have a job and on the main source of their own income. Respondents without a job who indicated that they don't have an own income or whose main income source was 'welfare aid (*bijstand*)' or 'savings, wealth, or other income sources' were categorized as not participating in the labor market whereas respondents whose main income sources was 'employed or self-employed work' or 'unemployment benefits' were categorized as participating in the labor market.

We coded respondents that are not participating in the labor market as 0 and participating respondents as 1.

Independent variables

In all surveys, *cohabitation with a partner or spouse* was easily identifiable. Hence, we coded cohabiting respondents with a 1 and singles with a 0.

We count the *number of children* below the age of 16 who live in the same household as the respondent in all three surveys.

For the UKHLS and the GGS, we use agreement with the item "A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works" to measure *gender role attitudes*. We recoded the 5-point scale item in both surveys so that a higher value stands for a strong agreement with this statement, representing traditional gender role attitudes, and a lower value for disagreement.

The measure for gender role attitudes in NELLS is based on the agreement with the claim "It is unnatural for men to do housework" on a 5-point scale. Again, we recoded it so that a higher value stands for more agreement with this statement. The NELLS also includes a number of other items that measure gender role attitudes that we used in additional analyses to test for the robustness of our results. Besides explaining 1-2 percentage points more or less of the gap between first generation and native majority group, using a different measure does not change the result in a substantial way that would alter the conclusions.

Control variables: We also include overall health, age, age squared and years of education. Ideally, we also would have included language skills as control variables, but information on this was only available for the UK and the Netherlands. We conducted additional analyses with the data for which this information was available but this did not have a substantial effect on the conclusions. Another potentially relevant control variable is perceived discrimination, but again,

information was not available in all three surveys. We are relatively confident, though, that this variable would not have affected the results as a number of earlier studies have shown that perceived discrimination does not explain ethnic minority women's lower LFP (Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015; Koopmans 2016).

Analytic Strategy

We start the analysis presenting the descriptive results separately for the three countries. We first discuss the overall characteristics of the analytic samples and then take a closer look at compositional differences between native majority women and first and second generation women on the key variables of our analysis.

Then, we present the results of our explanatory analysis. In order to show that ethnic differences in female LFP rates differ between country we estimate the average adjusted predicted probabilities of women participating in the labor force for native majority and first and second generation immigrant women in all three countries accounting for control variables (M1) and then adding partnership, having children, and gender role attitudes as explanatory factors (M2). Results of M1 and M2 are depicted in Figure 6.1. The models with the average marginal effects of each covariate, on which the predicted LFP is based, are included in the appendix (Table A6.1). We move on to estimating models with interaction effects between each of explanatory variables and immigrant status. Here, we present the average adjusted predicted LFP probabilities of native majority women and first and second generation immigrant women conditional on different values of the explanatory variables (Figure 6.2-6.4). The full logit models with the interaction effects on which these figures are based are included in the appendix (Table A6.2)

The average adjusted predicted LFP probabilities are based on average marginal effects of logit models. Average marginal effects calculate predicted probabilities by fixing the value of a selected variable (in our case immigrant status) and using the observed values of the other variables of the equation for each observation. The predicted values of each case are then averaged, which results in the average adjusted predicted probability of the selected variable with the fixed value.

Average marginal effects are a common method to facilitate the interpretation of nonlinear models giving more emphasis on the “substantive and practical significance of findings” (Williams 2012), and are also suggested as a method to improve comparability of coefficients between groups, models and samples in logistic regressions, which are otherwise sensitive to the amount of unobserved heterogeneity (see Mood 2010).

6.4 Results

Descriptive results

In Table 6.1, we present the descriptive statistics. The percentage of women active in the labor market is highest in the Netherlands with 86 percent and lowest in Germany with 72 percent. The relatively high participation rates in the Dutch sample may be due to the measure we use, which sets a relatively low threshold for being categorized as participant in the labor market. The share of women living with a partner is similar between the countries with 69 percent of women in the UK living with a partner, 73 percent in Germany and 77 percent in the Netherlands. The number of children is highest in the Dutch sample, in which women have an average number of 1.26 children. In Germany and the UK women have on average .89 and .80 children, respectively.

Women in the German sample show on average the most traditional gender role attitudes, followed by the UK. In the Dutch sample, the average score on the gender role attitude item is somewhat lower, but it has to be considered that we used a different item as our measurement in this sample.

Table 6.1 Range, mean/proportion (M), standard deviation (SD) of the variables

	Range	UK		DE		NL	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Native majority group	0/1	.95		.68		.60	
First-Generation immigrant	0/1	.03		.25		.29	
Second Generation	0/1	.02		.07		.11	
Labor force participation	0/1	.81		.72		.86	
Household condition							
Living with a partner/spouse	0/1	.69		.73		.77	
Number of children at home	0-9	.80	1.05	.89	1.06	1.26	1.17
Traditional gender role attitudes	1-5	2.78	1.08	3.1	1.34	2.03	.92
Control variables							
Education (in years)	4-23	13.1	2.7	12.63	3.78	11.78	3.17
Age	16-64	40.78	11.95	40.81	11.02	34.02	7.13
Overall health	1-5	2.39	1.00	4.06	.78	3.37	.83

Note: Descriptive statistics based on unweighted sample.

Table 6.2 shows the compositional differences between native majority women and first and second generation women on the key variables. Immigrant-native gaps on these variables tend to go in the same direction, but are more pronounced for first generation immigrants than for the second generation. LFP rates are smaller for immigrant than native majority women in all three countries, though the differences are more pronounced in the UK than in the other two countries. Furthermore, we can also see that immigrant women tend to have more children than native majority women with the exception of second generation women in the Netherlands, who have on average less children than native majority women. First generation women are also more often living with a partner whereas second generation women are less often living with a partner than native majority women. This is perhaps due to the relatively young age of second generation women. Finally, we can see that immigrant women have on average more traditional gender role attitudes than native majority women.

Explanatory results

Variations in ethnic difference across countries

In Figure 6.1 we compare the differences in the predicted probabilities of women's LFP based on the model that only accounts for the control variables and the model that includes all the explanatory variables. We can see that first generation immigrant women have a substantially lower labor force participation rate than native majority women in all three countries after accounting for education, age, age squared and general health. Furthermore, we see that the difference is much more pronounced in the UK (with 45 percentage points) than in the Netherlands (17 percentage

points), whereas Germany lies in between (26 percentage points). The gap in labor force participation between the second generation and the native majority women is smaller than the gap for the first generation in all three countries. But again, the UK shows the biggest difference with 23 percentage points lower participation of second generation compared to native majority women. The gap in the Netherlands is smaller, though still substantial with second generation women having a 6 percentage points lower predicted LFP rate than native majority women after accounting for the control variables. Interestingly, the predicted probability of second generation's LFP in Germany does not differ substantially from the native majority women's predicted LFP.

Table 6.2 Native- immigrant mean gaps on key variables

	Native-Majority group mean	Natives – First generation gap	Natives- Second generation gap
<i>United Kingdom</i>			
Labor force participation	0.83	-.55	-.33
Household condition			
Number of children at home	0.74	+1.01	+.51
Living with a partner/spouse	0.69	+.17	-.11
Traditional gender role attitudes	2.73	+1.02	+.64
<i>Germany</i>			
Labor force participation	0.81	-.39	-.04
Household condition			
Number of children at home	0.63	+.52	+.29
Living with a partner/spouse	0.75	+.08	-.13
Traditional gender role attitudes	2.83	+1.09	+.73
<i>Netherlands</i>			
Labor force participation	0.94	-.22	-.07
Household condition			
Number of children at home	1.13	+.54	-.20
Living with a partner/spouse	0.78	+.01	-.17
Traditional gender role attitudes	1.87	+.22	+.04

Note: Descriptive statistics based on unweighted sample.

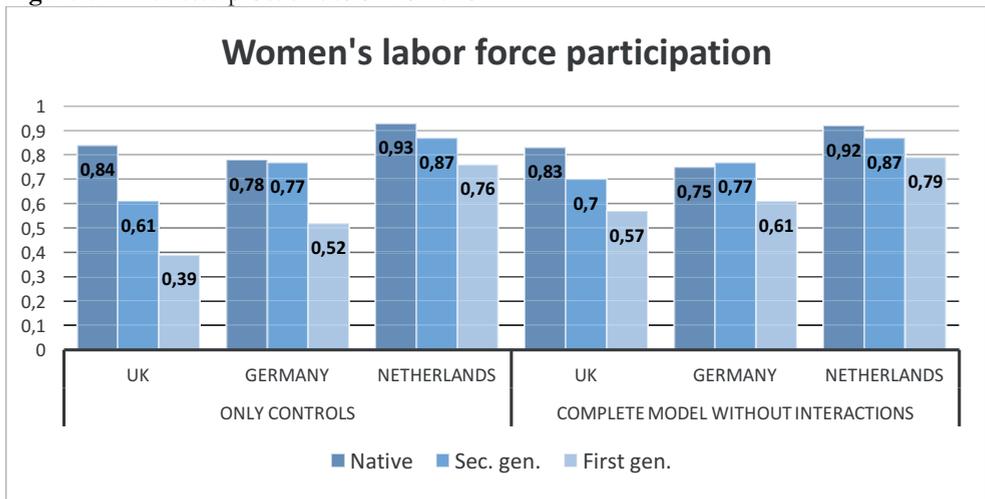
The model that includes all of the discussed explanatory factors still shows substantial unexplained gaps between the predicted probabilities of first generation immigrant and native majority women in all three countries. Particularly in the UK, this difference is quite substantial with the first generation having a 26 percentage points lower predicted LFP than native majority women. The remaining gaps in Germany and the Netherlands are relatively similar, with 14 percentage points and 15 percentage points, respectively. Having a partner, children and traditional

gender role attitudes explained about 16 percentage points differences in LFP between the first generation and native majority women in the UK, about 12 percentage points in Germany and 2 percentage points in the Netherlands.

For the second generation, the unexplained difference in LFP compared to native majority women is also most pronounced in the UK, with 16 percentage points. The gap is reduced by 8 percentage points compared to the model that only accounted for the control variables. In contrast, the gap in LFP between the second generation and native majority women in the Netherlands is not much affected by adding partner, children and gender role attitudes to the model, remaining at 7 percentage points. The difference in LFP between second generation and native majority women in Germany was already small and insignificant in the model that only accounted for the control variables. After adding the additional explanatory factors, the model even predicts somewhat higher LFP for the second generation than for native majority women, though the difference is still insignificant.

In additional robustness tests, we added skills in the destination country language as variables in the models for the UK and the Netherlands where suitable measures were available. While language helps reducing the gap in the predicted probability between native majority and first generation immigrant women by about 5 percentage points in both countries, the unexplained variance still remained substantial.

Figure 6.1. Predicted probabilities of women’s LFP.



Partnership and women’s labor force participation

In Figure 6.2, we examine the role of partnership for the LFP of native majority and immigrant women. We can see that in Germany having a partner is linked to a lower LFP of women for native majority as well as first and second generation immigrant women. The gap between partnered and single women is somewhat higher for first generation immigrant women (22 percentage points) than for native majority women (16 percentage points) and second generation women (17 percentage points). In the UK and in the Netherlands, having a partner is not substantially related to female LFP for native majority and second generation women. However, first generation

immigrant women with a partner have a 11 percentage points lower predicted probability of participating in the labor market than single women in the UK and a 20 percentage points lower predicted participation rate in the Netherlands. Hence, while we can clearly observe that partnership is overall more detrimental to women’s LFP in Germany (with its family based taxation system) than in the UK and the Netherlands (with their individual based system), we actually see a more negative relation between having a partner and LFP for first generation immigrants compared to native majority women in all three countries. Women from the second generation show very similar associations between partnership and LFP as native majority women. H1 is therefore mainly not confirmed.

Children and women’s labor force participation

In Figure 6.3, we look at the association of children in the household and the LFP of native majority and immigrant women. In all three countries, and regardless of immigrant status, women participate less in the labor market the more children there are in household. But in the Netherlands, the link between having children and lower female LFP seems to be stronger for first generation immigrant women than for native majority women. The former show a 13 percentage points lower predicted LFP with two children compared to no child whereas the latter show an only 6 percentage point reduced predicted LFP. In Germany and the UK, having children reduces women’s LFP by about the same amount for native majority (Germany: 23 percentage points, UK: 20 percentage points) and first generation immigrant women (Germany: 24 percentage points; UK: 16 percentage points). These findings are in line with H2, which predicted a stronger discrepancy between native majority and immigrant women in the negative relation between having children and women’s LFP in the Netherlands.

Figure 6.2. Predicted probabilities of women’s LFP conditional on having a partner. *Note:* These predicted probabilities are based on the full model and an interaction effect of partnership and immigrant status.

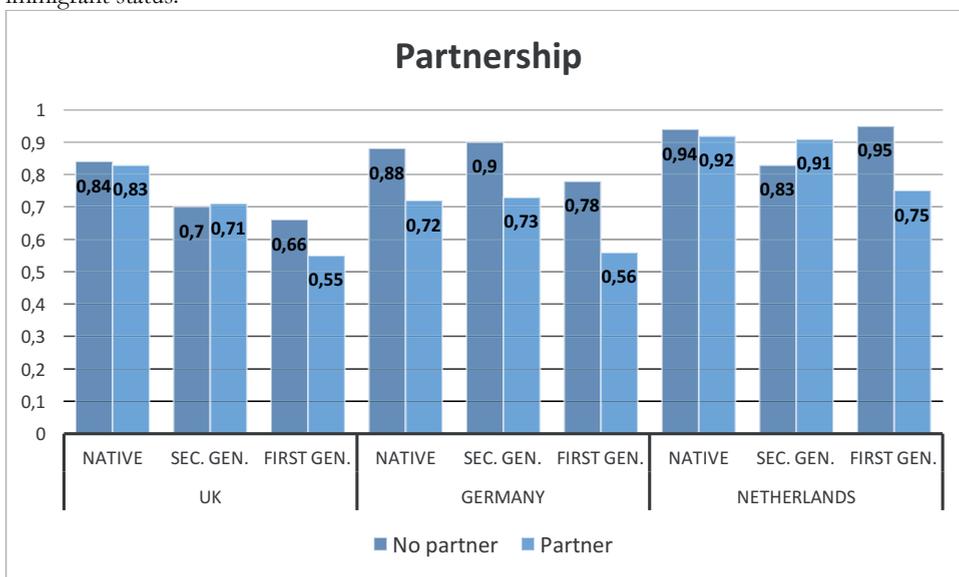


Figure 6.3. Predicted probabilities of women’s LFP conditional on the number of children in the household. *Note:* These predicted probabilities are based on the full model and an interaction effect of having children and immigrant status.

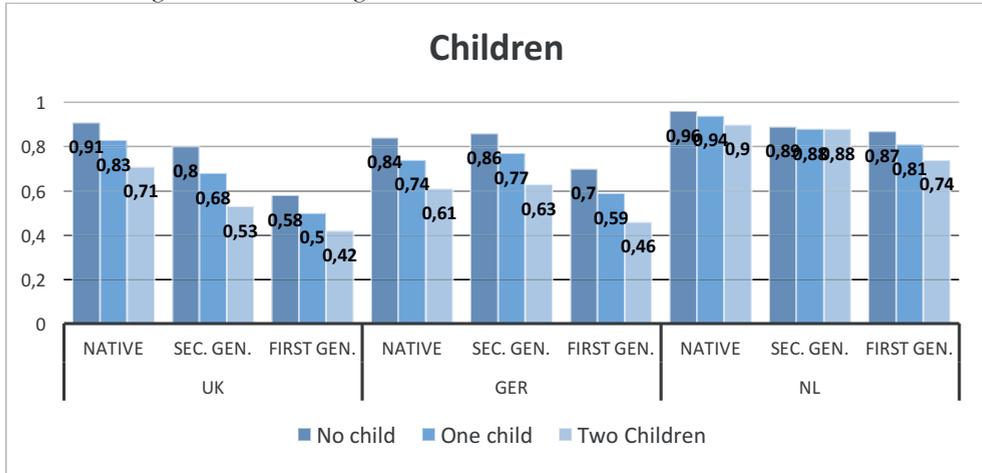
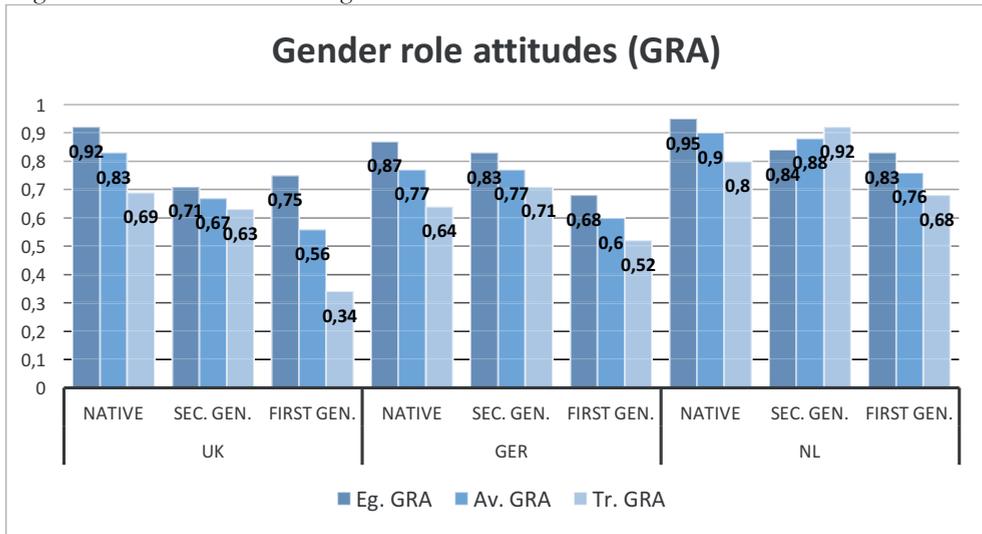


Figure 6.4. Predicted probabilities of women’s LFP conditional on women’s gender role attitudes. *Note:* These predicted probabilities are based on the full model and an interaction effect of gender role attitudes and immigrant status.



Gender role attitudes and women’s labor force participation

Figure 6.4 shows that traditional gender role attitudes are also negatively related to women’s LFP in all three countries. In the UK, these attitudes seem to affect the first generation immigrant women more negatively than native majority women. While the difference in the predicted LFP between egalitarian and traditional women is 23 percentage points for native majority women, it is 41 percentage points for first generation immigrant women. In Germany, we see 23 percentage

points lower LFP for native majority women with traditional compared to egalitarian attitudes and a 16 percentage points difference for first generation women. In the Netherlands, the difference between women with egalitarian and traditional attitudes is 15 percentage points for native majority women as well as for first generation immigrant women. These findings confirm H3 with regard to Germany and the UK. However, contrary to our expectations, gender role attitudes seem to be as negatively related to the LFP of first generation immigrant as to the LFP of native majority women in the Netherlands.

The figure also shows an interesting pattern for second generation women, for whom gender role attitudes are less related to LFP than for native majority women in all three countries. For second generation women in the UK the difference between women with egalitarian and traditional attitudes is 8 percentage points and for the second generation in Germany, it is 12 percentage points. In the Netherlands, gender role attitudes show no substantial association with the LFP of second generation women.

6.5 Conclusion and Discussion

In this study, we compared differences in LFP between native majority women and first and second generation immigrant women in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands. We find that ethnic difference in women's LFP are prevalent in all three examined countries despite their different characteristics in welfare state regimes.

In general, the UK shows the largest difference in LFP between native majority and immigrant women of the first as well as second generation. This holds true before and after accounting for all explanatory variables. The gross female LFP gap between first generation immigrants and natives in Germany is higher than the gross gap in the Netherlands, but decreases more strongly after accounting for the various explanatory factors and reaches the level of the gap in the Netherlands after all factors are accounted for. Second generation women strongly resemble native majority women in Germany and the Netherlands.

We found evidence for varying country level influences on immigrant women's labor market participation. The main aim of the paper was to detect some indications for varying effects of country characteristics on the LFP of immigrant women compared to native majority.

We expected partnership to have a more negative effect on immigrant women than on native majority women in Germany but not in the UK and the Netherlands due to differences in the countries' taxation systems. Our findings could not fully confirm this expectation. While Germany was the only country in which partnership was negatively related to native majority women's and second generation women's LFP, we found that the difference between having a partner and being single was more pronounced for first generation immigrant women in all three countries. One explanation for this stronger negative effect of partnership for first generation immigrant women in all three countries could be that normative expectations for women in partnerships to focus on domestic work are stronger in the ethnic communities than among native majority women. In fact, for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, it has been argued that decisions about leaving the labor market are rather a consequence of entering a partnership than entering motherhood compared to White majority women in Western Europe (Holdsworth and Dale 1997).

We did find a more negative relation between having children and women's LFP for immigrant women than for first generation women in the Netherlands than Germany and the UK as we expected. This suggests that, indeed, a higher supply with formal childcare may increase the

inequality in LFP between native majority and immigrant women, possibly due to the unequal use of childcare facilities between the two groups. In their effort to meet the Barcelona Target of the European Commission to increase women's LFP by expanding childcare provision, European welfare states should take into account that insufficient sensitivity to cultural and religious needs of ethnic minority families may lead to an accentuation of the labor market differences between native majority and some immigrant women. However, future research should examine whether similar effects can also be found in other European countries. Denmark would be, for example, a particular interesting case to study as it is way ahead of any other European country in their development of a formal childcare infrastructure (European Commission 2013).

Our results on the relation between gender role attitudes and female LFP are more difficult to interpret. As we expected, we find a more negative relation between traditional gender attitudes and women's LFP among first generation immigrants than among native majority women in the UK. Also in line with our expectation, traditional gender role attitudes were not more negatively related to female LFP of first generation immigrant than to native majority women in Germany. However, and this goes against our hypothesis, in the Netherlands we could not find a more negative association between gender role attitudes and female LFP for first generation immigrant women compared to native majority women. This could mean that the incentives for women to become a caretaker are still more engrained in the Netherlands than we expected originally and do not really strongly encourage immigrant women with egalitarian attitudes to participate in the labor market. Future research should examine more closely under what conditions gender attitudes become more relevant for women's decision to participate in the labor market.

An interesting result in this context is that we find a relatively weak or even absent association between gender role attitudes and female LFP for the second generation in all three countries. This could suggest that second generation women are more affected in their LFP by external forces such as the economic conditions in the host-society, discrimination, or the social control from their community, and that their own personal preferences and attitudes only play a secondary role for their decision to participate. Future research should examine the determinants of the second generation's labor market behavior more closely.

This study is not without weaknesses. Perhaps most notably, the use of different surveys and at times varying measures for our constructs decreases the comparability of the models. Nonetheless, we believe that the main differences we identify between the countries are so pronounced that they should also hold with more rigorous research designs. Unfortunately, the lack of standardized cross-national datasets with large enough samples of native majority and ethnic minority populations and detailed questionnaires still impedes a more robust analysis of country characteristics that affect immigrant women's labor market behavior differently than native majority women's.

We can also not completely rule out the possibility that our findings are the result of specific characteristics of the immigrant communities rather than more general effects of national contexts even though we focused our analysis on relatively comparable immigrant groups. An analysis with a larger number of countries and ethnic minority groups would make it easier to separate host-country from ethnic community effects and allow to gain more insights into the role of macro factors for ethnic minority women's labor market behavior.

This study showed that partnership, having children, and gender role attitudes are often differently related to female LFP of immigrant and native majority women, and that the way these relations differs, also varies between the UK, Germany, and the Netherlands. We saw this as an

indication that country level characteristics can influence immigrant women differently than native majority women even though this is not necessarily intended. Future research should examine more closely the potentially disadvantageous effects of welfare state institutions and other country characteristics on the economic integration of immigrant women.

Appendices

Appendices Chapter 2

Table A2.1 Correlations

	Educational level					Children at home					Gender role attitudes								
	All	D	TR	MO	SR	ANT	All	D	TR	MO	SR	ANT	All	D	TR	MO	SR	ANT	
Educational level	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children at home	-.19*	.08	-.12	-.30*	-.01	-.09	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender role attitudes	-.47*	-.44*	-.37*	-.39*	-.38*	-.41*	.17*	-.05	.06	.19*	.03	.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Religiosity	-.31*	-.07	-.20*	-.20*	-.10	-.14	.20*	-.01	.00	.20*	.11	.09	.36*	.18*	.17*	.29*	.24*	.27*	.27*

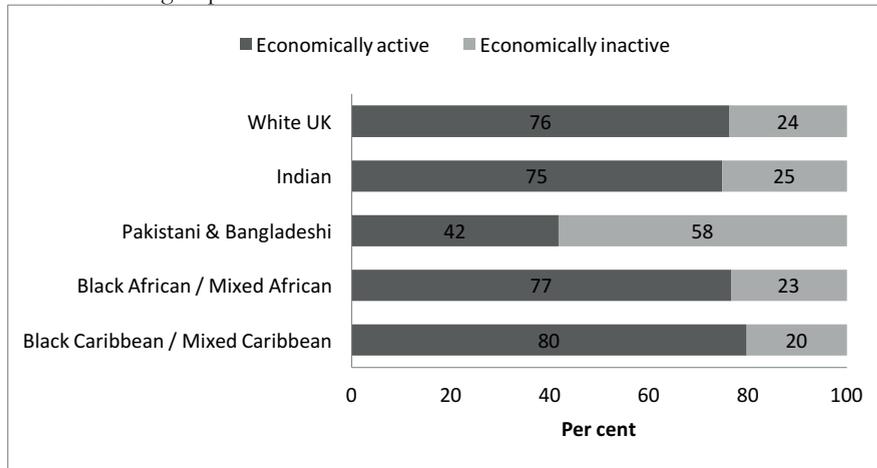
Note: *p<.01 (2-sided)

Table A2.2 Interval regression with number of hours worked, excluding respondents inactive in the labor market (n=1124)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	h/week	h/week	h/week	h/week	h/week
<i>Ethnicity</i>					
Native Dutch (Ref.)					
Turkish	-.99	3.24	2.27	2.26	2.37
Moroccan	-1.94	-.03	-1.43	-1.25	-1.51
Surinamese	3.14	3.74	2.32	2.27	2.18
Antillean	-.58	-.24	-1.51	-1.58	-1.60
<i>Human Capital</i>					
Education					
Primary (Ref.)					
Secondary vocational		2.27	2.34	2.31	2.22
Upper secondary		6.69**	6.43**	6.39**	5.84**
Tertiary		12.85	12.13***	12.13***	11.21***
Dutch language skills		2.00	1.34	1.28	1.22
<i>Household Condition</i>					
Number of children at home			-3.56***	-3.56***	-3.55***
Living with a partner/spouse			1.27	1.26	1.32
<i>Religiosity</i>					
Non-religious (dummy)				-.52	-.29
				-2.14	-1.56
<i>Traditional gender role attitudes</i>					
					-1.44
<i>Control variables</i>					
Years since migration					
Native-born/second generation (Ref.)					
0-5 years	-5.81	-2.68	-1.04	-1.18	-1.15
6-10 years	-3.72	-.89	1.89	1.86	2.28
11-20 years	1.38	4.09	7.19**	7.21**	7.59**
20-30 years	.39	2.60	5.63*	5.63*	5.94*
>30 years	3.56	3.82	6.02*	5.91*	6.06*
Age	-.12	-.09	-.09	-.09	-.10
Ethnic discrimination	.35	.05	.14	.15	.15
Overall health	1.25	.21	.57	.59	.54
Constant	26.89***	16.67*	20.13**	22.17**	25.26**
Residual Variance (ln(sigma))					
Native Dutch (Ref.)					
Turkish	.62***	.67***	.73***	.74***	.73***
Moroccan	.51***	.54***	.55***	.56***	.56***
Surinamese	.43***	.42***	.48***	.48***	.49***
Antillean	.64***	.60***	.69***	.69***	.68***
Constant	2.50***	2.46***	2.39***	2.39***	2.39***

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001 (2-sided)

Appendices Chapter 3

Figure A3.1 Economic activity and inactivity among women aged 16-64 (excluding students) by selected ethnic group

Source: ONS 2011 Census. Constructed by authors from Table BD0076.

Additional analysis

In additional analyses, we also tested in how far initial conditions and unobserved individual heterogeneity may affect the results. Initial conditions relates to the fact that some of the ethnic differences and the effects we find in our transition models might be caused by factors that determine the labor force status at the first observation (Wooldridge 2005). In other words, the group of women who are at risk of becoming inactive, or becoming active, is a non-random sample since it is the group of women who are already active or inactive respectively at the beginning of the observations. Whether a woman is in one or the other group in the first place might be related to unobserved individual characteristics. Orme (2001) suggests using generalized residuals to account for the bias due to initial conditions.³⁰ Following this method, first, a logit regression for LFP in the year of the first observation is estimated using a model that includes basic predictors for LFP (Table A3.1). In a second step, a generalized residual is calculated based on this logit regression, which is then included as a predictor in the final logit models of entering and leaving the labor market. Our results do in fact show a significant effect of the generalized residual on likelihood of entering and exiting the labor market (see Table A3.2 and A3.3). However, including it in the model does not have a substantial effect on the ethnic coefficients or on our predictors, which leads us to the conclusion that the variations in labor force transitions between the ethnic groups are unlikely to be due to differences in the ethnic composition of the two initial samples (women at risk of entering or exiting the labor market).

To account for individual unobserved heterogeneity across the different waves we estimated random effect probit models with individuals at the second level and time/person observations at the first level, while using a clustered standard error for person sampling units (Table A3.4 and

³⁰ Other methods have been suggested, but Capellari and Jenkins (2008) could not find substantial difference when comparing the different approaches for the risk of receiving social assistance

A3.5). Again, we could not find any difference in the results that would lead us to different conclusions compared to the average marginal effect models described above. The differing results in the random effect models can in fact be explained by the unaccounted weights as unweighted average marginal effect models come to almost identical conclusions.

Table A3.1 Initial Condition model

<i>Predictors</i>	Initial Condition LFP Logit model	
Age	0.025 ^{***}	(0.002)
Age ²	-0.000 ^{**}	(0.000)
Years of Education	0.215 ^{***}	(0.009)
hhincome_exclf	0.000	(0.000)
No of children aged under 5	-0.833 ^{***}	(0.037)
<i>Government Office Region</i>		
North East	Ref.	
North West	0.246 ⁺	(0.128)
Yorkshire and the Humber	-0.002	(0.133)
East Midlands	0.152	(0.134)
West Midlands	-0.001	(0.126)
East of England	-0.011	(0.133)
London	-0.577 ^{***}	(0.123)
South East	0.020	(0.128)
South West	0.063	(0.129)
Wales	0.033	(0.136)
Scotland	0.308 [*]	(0.136)
Northern Ireland	-0.005	(0.149)
Constant	-1.963 ^{***}	(0.182)
N	15295	

Standard errors in parentheses

⁺ $p < 0.10$, ^{*} $p < 0.05$, ^{**} $p < .01$, ^{***} $p < .001$

Table A3.2 Average marginal effects for entering the labor market

Predictors	AME		AME		AME	
			Initial condition	control	Initial condition with	IA
Ethnic group (Ref.=White)						
Indian/Sri Lankan	-0.017	(0.023)	-0.016	(0.022)	-0.013	(0.022)
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	-0.071***	(0.019)	-0.068***	(0.019)	-0.067***	(0.019)
Black Caribbean/mixed Caribbean	0.014	(0.027)	0.010	(0.027)	0.009	(0.027)
Black African/mixed African	0.122***	(0.032)	0.117***	(0.032)	0.112***	(0.031)
Partnership (Ref.=Remains in partnership)						
Remained single	0.145***	(0.016)	0.152***	(0.016)	0.150***	(0.016)
Partn. started	0.050+	(0.028)	0.055+	(0.028)	0.063*	(0.028)
Partn. ended	0.085**	(0.031)	0.083**	(0.031)	0.081**	(0.031)
Changes in young children in HH (Ref.=no changes)						
Child <5 year old increase	-0.22***	(0.024)	-0.226***	(0.024)	-0.243***	(0.027)
Child < 5 year old decrease	-0.011	(0.015)	-0.015	(0.015)	-0.017	(0.015)
Household (HH) income (Ref.=stable)						
Household income decrease 20%	0.064***	(0.012)	0.066***	(0.012)	0.064***	(0.012)
Household income increase 20%	0.006	(0.010)	0.006	(0.010)	0.004	(0.010)
HH below 60% median income	-0.085***	(0.013)	-0.088***	(0.012)	-0.087***	(0.012)
Religiosity	0.004	(0.005)	0.004	(0.005)	0.004	(0.005)
Children suffer if mother works	-0.02***	(0.005)	-0.018***	(0.005)	-0.028***	(0.008)
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home	-0.036***	(0.005)	-0.035***	(0.004)	-0.026***	(0.008)
Generalized residual			0.075***	(0.013)	0.074***	(0.013)
Childsuffermotherwork X Single					0.027**	(0.010)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.start					0.065*	(0.026)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.end					0.032	(0.029)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Single					-0.024**	(0.009)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Partn.start					-0.031	(0.023)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Partn.end					-0.005	(0.025)
Childsuffermotherwork X birth					-0.042+	(0.025)
Childsuffermotherwork X childo5					-0.002	(0.013)
Husbandearn,wifehome X birth					-0.039	(0.025)
Husbandearn,wifehome X childo5					0.017	(0.013)
Childsuffermotherwork X income increase					-0.000	(0.011)
Childsuffermotherwork X income decrease					-0.002	(0.011)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income increase					-0.008	(0.010)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income decrease					0.006	(0.011)
No of children aged under 16	-0.07***	(0.006)	-0.071***	(0.006)	-0.071***	(0.006)
Years of Education	0.020***	(0.002)	0.021***	(0.002)	0.021***	(0.002)
English language problems	-0.050+	(0.026)	-0.050*	(0.025)	-0.052*	(0.025)
Age	-0.01***	(0.001)	-0.008***	(0.001)	-0.008***	(0.001)
Age^2	-0.000	(0.000)	-0.000	(0.000)	-0.000	(0.000)
Years since migration (Ref.=native-born/ Second generation)						
<=5 years	-0.017	(0.034)	-0.014	(0.033)	-0.012	(0.033)
>5 & <=10 years	0.009	(0.024)	0.008	(0.023)	0.007	(0.023)
>10 years	-0.019	(0.020)	-0.018	(0.019)	-0.017	(0.019)
General health	-0.039***	(0.004)	-0.038***	(0.004)	-0.038***	(0.004)
Wave	0.011***	(0.003)	0.004	(0.003)	0.003	(0.003)
N	11484		11484		11484	

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table A3.3 Average marginal effects for exiting the labor market

Predictors	AME		AME		AME	
			Initial condition control		Initial condition control IA	
Ethnic group (Ref.=White)						
Indian/Sri Lankan	-0.006	(0.004)	-0.005	(0.005)	-0.005	(0.005)
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	0.037***	(0.009)	0.034***	(0.009)	0.034***	(0.009)
Black Caribbean/mixed Caribbean	0.003	(0.006)	0.006	(0.006)	0.007	(0.006)
Black African/mixed African	-0.000	(0.006)	0.006	(0.007)	0.006	(0.007)
Partnership (Ref.=Remains in partnership)						
Remained single	-0.009***	(0.002)	-0.007*	(0.003)	-0.007*	(0.003)
Partn. started	0.001	(0.006)	-0.001	(0.005)	-0.001	(0.005)
Partn. ended	0.005	(0.007)	0.003	(0.007)	0.002	(0.007)
Changes in young children in HH (Ref.=no changes)						
Child <5 year old increase	0.040***	(0.003)	0.042***	(0.003)	0.043***	(0.003)
Child < 5 year old decrease	-0.001	(0.004)	0.001	(0.004)	0.001	(0.004)
Household (HH) income (Ref.=stable)						
Household income decrease 20%	0.009***	(0.003)	0.011***	(0.003)	0.011***	(0.003)
Household income increase 20%	0.010***	(0.002)	0.010***	(0.002)	0.010***	(0.002)
HH below 60% median income	0.007**	(0.002)	0.006*	(0.002)	0.006*	(0.002)
Religiosity	-0.002*	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.001)
Children suffer if mother works	0.005***	(0.001)	0.006***	(0.001)	0.007***	(0.002)
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home	0.007***	(0.001)	0.007***	(0.001)	0.007***	(0.002)
Generalized residual			-0.036***	(0.003)	-0.036***	(0.003)
Childsuffermotherwork X Single					-0.001	(0.002)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.start					-0.000	(0.006)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.end					0.001	(0.006)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Single					0.002	(0.002)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Partn.start					-0.002	(0.005)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Partn.end					0.015**	(0.005)
Childsuffermotherwork X birth					0.005*	(0.003)
Childsuffermotherwork X child05					0.001	(0.004)
Husbandearn,wifehome X birth					-0.007*	(0.003)
Husbandearn,wifehome X child05					-0.007	(0.005)
Childsuffermotherwork X income increase					-0.004*	(0.003)
Childsuffermotherwork X income decrease					-0.000	(0.003)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income increase					0.002	(0.002)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income decrease					-0.000	(0.003)
No of children aged under 16	0.014***	(0.001)	0.015***	(0.001)	0.015***	(0.001)
Years of Education	-0.003***	(0.000)	-0.004***	(0.000)	-0.004***	(0.000)
English language problems	0.010	(0.008)	0.008	(0.008)	0.009	(0.008)
Age	-0.000	(0.000)	-0.000	(0.000)	-0.000	(0.000)
Age^2	0.000***	(0.000)	0.000***	(0.000)	0.000***	(0.000)
Years of migration (Ref.=native-born /Second generation)	0.000	(.)	0.000	(.)	0.000	(.)
<=5 years	0.034+	(0.018)	0.027+	(0.016)	0.027+	(0.016)
>5 & <=10 years	0.009	(0.008)	0.009	(0.008)	0.009	(0.008)
>10 years	0.006	(0.005)	0.007	(0.005)	0.007	(0.005)
General health	0.009***	(0.001)	0.009***	(0.001)	0.009***	(0.001)
Wave	-0.000	(0.001)	-0.002*	(0.001)	-0.002*	(0.001)
N	42987		42987		42987	

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table A3.4 Random effect probit models for entering the labor market (not accounting for design weight)

Predictors	AME (unweighted)		Random effect probit		AME (unweighted) Initial condition		Random effect probit Initial condition	
Ethnic group (Ref.=White)								
Indian/Sri Lankan	-.00218	(.0226)	-.0222	(.107)	-.0058	(.0188)	-.0243	(.105)
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	-.0487**	(.0168)	-.378***	(.09)	-.057***	(.0142)	-.36***	(.0878)
Black Caribbean/mixed Caribbean	.00981	(.0245)	.0387	(.117)	-.00284	(.0207)	.0111	(.115)
Black African/mixed African	.133***	(.0296)	.566***	(.122)	.103***	(.0258)	.532***	(.12)
Partnership (Ref.=Remains in partnership)								
Remained single	.132***	(.0155)	.684***	(.0652)	.152***	(.0135)	.698***	(.0641)
Partn. started	.0937**	(.0298)	.347**	(.122)	.0775**	(.0245)	.352**	(.12)
Partn. ended	.0868**	(.0332)	.429***	(.127)	.0994***	(.0271)	.423***	(.125)
Changes in young children in HH (Ref.=no changes)								
Child <5 year old increase	-.181***	(.024)	-.895***	(.106)	-.199***	(.0216)	-.902***	(.105)
Child < 5 year old decrease	-.0186	(.0155)	-.0307	(.0661)	-.0148	(.0129)	-.0491	(.0654)
Household (HH) income (Ref.=stable)								
Household income decrease 20%	.069***	(.0116)	.269***	(.0528)	.0586***	(.00977)	.275***	(.052)
Household income increase 20%	.00804	(.0108)	.0476	(.0476)	.00717	(.00874)	.0519	(.0469)
HH below 60% median income	-.0839***	(.0121)	-.367***	(.0561)	-.085***	(.0104)	-.369***	(.0552)
Religiosity	.00502	(.00473)	.0306	(.0223)	.00485	(.00399)	.0309	(.0218)
Children suffer if mother works	-.0324**	(.00822)	-.138***	(.0353)	-.028***	(.00629)	-.13***	(.0347)
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home	-.0287***	(.00769)	-.143***	(.0345)	-.022***	(.00622)	-.136***	(.0339)
Generalized residual					.0681***	(.0108)	.163***	(.0345)
Childsuffermotherwork X Single	.0284**	(.01)	.119*	(.0471)	.027**	(.00829)	.116*	(.0461)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.start	.0675**	(.0251)	.336**	(.119)	.0665**	(.0212)	.325**	(.117)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.end	.0708*	(.0306)	.193	(.12)	.0405*	(.0227)	.191	(.12)
Husbandearn,wifework X Single	-.0242**	(.00923)	-.11*	(.0434)	-.0202**	(.0075)	-.111**	(.0424)
Husbandearn,wifework X Partn.start	-.0167	(.0236)	-.161	(.109)	-.0264	(.0199)	-.156	(.107)
Husbandearn,wifework X Partn.end	-.000179	(.0251)	.0198	(.11)	.00565	(.0206)	.0236	(.109)
Childsuffermotherwork X birth	-.0243	(.0237)	-.129	(.102)	-.0294	(.0205)	-.127	(.101)
Childsuffermotherwork X child05	.00531	(.0144)	.0526	(.0622)	.00637	(.0118)	.0531	(.0615)
Husbandearn,wifework X birth	-.0247	(.0229)	-.104	(.104)	-.0348	(.0212)	-.0998	(.102)
Husbandearn,wifework X child05	.0104	(.0139)	.00203	(.0584)	.00251	(.0115)	.00296	(.0578)
Childsuffermotherwork X income increase	-.00342	(.0111)	-.0274	(.0452)	-.00356	(.00854)	-.0278	(.0446)
Childsuffermotherwork X income decrease	.000993	(.0111)	-.0439	(.0498)	-.00251	(.00898)	-.039	(.049)
Husbandearn,wifework X income increase	-.00469	(.0105)	-.00295	(.0445)	-.00349	(.00848)	-.00064	(.0439)
Husbandearn,wifework X income decrease	-.00299	(.0108)	.014	(.0495)	.0017	(.00917)	.0126	(.0486)
No of children aged under 16	-.0594***	(.00538)	-.334***	(.0272)	-.061***	(.00457)	-.331***	(.0268)
Years of Education	.019***	(.00189)	.118***	(.00967)	.0208***	(.00157)	.123***	(.00954)
English language problems	-.0713**	(.0225)	-.308**	(.108)	-.053**	(.019)	-.296**	(.105)
Age	-.0064***	(.000902)	-.037***	(.00435)	-.006***	(.000747)	-.0337***	(.00426)
Age^2	-7.9e-06	(.000041)	.000076	(.000194)	8.1e-06	(.000034)	.000062	(.000189)
Years since migration (Ref= native-born/ Second generation)	0	(.)	0	(.)	0	(.)	0	(.)
<=5 years	-.0346	(.0261)	-.328*	(.144)	-.0391*	(.0233)	-.299*	(.14)
>5 & <=10 years	-.0182	(.0225)	-.189*	(.107)	-.0237	(.018)	-.183*	(.104)
>10 years	-.013	(.0171)	-.13	(.0848)	-.017	(.0147)	-.121	(.0826)
General health	-.0316***	(.00432)	-.185***	(.0207)	-.033***	(.00364)	-.178***	(.0203)
Wave	.0154**	(.00519)	.12***	(.0153)	.00186	(.00253)	.0936***	(.0158)
Constant			-.2.06***	(.171)			-.1.89***	(.171)
var(_cons pidp)								
Constant			.88***	(.0939)			.804***	(.0896)
N	11550		11550		11550		11550	

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table A3.5 Random effect probit models for exiting the labor market (not accounting for design weight)

Predictors	AME (unweighted)		Random effect probit		AME (unweighted) Initial condition		Random effect probit Initial condition	
Ethnic group (Ref.=White)								
Indian/Sri Lankan	-.000305	(.00485)	.0189	(.0879)	.000274	(.00488)	.0337	(.0852)
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	.0389***	(.00781)	.578***	(.09)	.0354***	(.00756)	.53***	(.0873)
Black Caribbean/mixed Caribbean	.0122*	(.0059)	.219*	(.0903)	.0137*	(.00609)	.239**	(.088)
Black African/mixed African	.016*	(.0073)	.262*	(.104)	.0158*	(.00727)	.255*	(.101)
Partnership (Ref.=Remains in partnership)								
Remained single	-.0032	(.00271)	-.099*	(.048)	-.00513*	(.0027)	-.122**	(.0467)
Partn. started	.000935	(.00554)	-.0359	(.0903)	-.000374	(.00556)	-.0447	(.0888)
Partn. ended	.00204	(.00706)	.0224	(.107)	.000882	(.00705)	.0176	(.105)
Changes in young children in HH (Ref.=no changes)								
Child <5 year old increase	.0456***	(.00328)	.673***	(.0592)	.0471***	(.00331)	.692***	(.0581)
Child < 5 year old decrease	-.000097	(.00431)	-.0191	(.0673)	.00339	(.00433)	.0224	(.0667)
Household (HH) income (Ref.=stable)								
Household income decrease 20%	.012***	(.00259)	.178***	(.041)	.012***	(.00259)	.177***	(.0402)
Household income increase 20%	.00971***	(.00238)	.158***	(.0373)	.00941***	(.00237)	.15***	(.0364)
HH below 60% median income	.00523*	(.00247)	.0977*	(.0421)	.00505*	(.00246)	.0875*	(.0409)
Religiosity	-.00167	(.0011)	-.0278	(.0183)	-.00161	(.0011)	-.0276	(.0177)
Children suffer if mother works	.00773***	(.00168)	.128***	(.0279)	.00695***	(.00168)	.114***	(.027)
Husbands should earn, wife should stay at home	.00861***	(.00181)	.133***	(.0296)	.00823***	(.00182)	.12***	(.029)
Generalized residual					-.0356***	(.00353)	-.365***	(.0373)
Childsuffermotherwork X Single	-.00121	(.00226)	-.012	(.0378)	-.00138	(.00228)	-.0162	(.0368)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.start	-.00127	(.0056)	-.0698	(.0941)	-.00193	(.00572)	-.0651	(.0928)
Childsuffermotherwork X Partn.end	.00689	(.00621)	.0699	(.103)	.00623	(.00638)	.0648	(.102)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Single	.000952	(.00236)	.0309	(.04)	.00158	(.00237)	.0413	(.0391)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Partn.start	-.00299	(.0054)	-.0357	(.0924)	-.00262	(.00546)	-.0328	(.0911)
Husbandearn,wifehome X Partn.end	.0127*	(.00526)	.253**	(.0916)	.0128*	(.00539)	.241**	(.0904)
Childsuffermotherwork X birth	.00495	(.0031)	.104*	(.0566)	.00513	(.00313)	.104*	(.0555)
Childsuffermotherwork X childo5	.00212	(.0038)	.0416	(.0644)	.00159	(.00375)	.0294	(.0626)
Husbandearn,wifehome X birth	-.00688*	(.00329)	-.0636	(.0597)	-.00629*	(.00328)	-.0536	(.0584)
Husbandearn,wifehome X childo5	-.00419	(.00468)	-.0674	(.0742)	-.00452	(.0046)	-.0694	(.0722)
Childsuffermotherwork X income increase	-.00448*	(.00239)	-.0674*	(.0383)	-.00442*	(.00241)	-.0648*	(.0376)
Childsuffermotherwork X income decrease	-.0016	(.00259)	-.0244	(.0405)	-.00126	(.00258)	-.0201	(.0397)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income increase	.00209	(.00235)	.0354	(.0379)	.00201	(.00235)	.0336	(.0373)
Husbandearn,wifehome X income decrease	-.000488	(.00269)	-.00363	(.0424)	-.000393	(.00269)	-.00167	(.0417)
No of children aged under 16	.0158***	(.00119)	.293***	(.0232)	.0157***	(.00119)	.281***	(.0222)
Years of Education	-.00352***	(.00045)	-.0581***	(.00782)	-.00441***	(.000457)	-.0698***	(.00775)
English language problems	.0186**	(.00714)	.39**	(.134)	.016*	(.00727)	.34**	(.13)
Age	-.000227	(.000145)	-.00299	(.00242)	-.000222	(.000145)	-.00272	(.00234)
Age^2	.00008***	(8.0e-06)	.00137***	(.000137)	.000082***	(8.0e-06)	.00138***	(.000133)
Years since migration (Ref.=native-born/	0	(.)	0	(.)	0	(.)	0	(.)
Second generation)								
<=5 years	.0224*	(.0123)	.322*	(.153)	.0196	(.012)	.294*	(.147)
>5 & <=10 years	.013*	(.00702)	.21*	(.1)	.0133*	(.00701)	.203*	(.0965)
>10 years	.00636	(.00438)	.118*	(.0705)	.00654	(.00439)	.114*	(.0682)
General health	.00967***	(.00111)	.157***	(.018)	.00959***	(.00111)	.152***	(.0174)
Wave	-.000665	(.000698)	-.0262*	(.0115)	-.00238**	(.000726)	-.00172	(.0114)
Constant			-.258***	(.142)			-.218***	(.136)
var(_cons pidpl)								
Constant			.988***	(.132)			.849***	(.11)
N	43079		43079		43079			

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Appendices Chapter 4

Robustness Tests

Our robustness tests address two issues that might bias our estimates: missing values, and the impact of initial conditions. First, with about 10 per cent missing values on the income variables and 1 per cent missing on each partners' gender role attitudes, listwise deletion might affect the results (Acock 2005). Assuming that the data is missing at random, we use multiple imputation with chained equations to multiply impute the missing values on the income variables (and the interaction they are part of) based on 10 imputed datasets, following the rule of thumb that the number of imputed datasets should correspond to the share of missing observations (White, Royston, and Wood 2011). Our equation models consist of the variables used in the analytical model, plus a few auxiliary variables, namely household size and household type, region. Second, as we have to split our sample to estimate labor market entries and exits separately, we also introduce a potential sample selection bias into our estimates. The women that are active or inactive in the initial sample, i.e. initial condition, and therefore at risk of exiting or entering the labor market, are likely to be a non-random selection as has been noted in earlier research on transitions of women into low pay and social assistance (Cappellari and Jenkins 2008; Stewart and Swaffield 1999). To correct for the potential sample selection in the initial sample, we follow a two-way procedure that has been suggested by Orme (2001) and applied by Jeon (2008) for labor market transitions. Following this procedure, we first estimate a logistic regression with basic predictors for the women's labor market participation at the initial wave. In a second step, we calculate a generalized residual based on this regression and then include it in the regression models for labor market entries and exits. Results of these additional checks, shown in Table A, are very similar to the estimates presented in the main analysis. One smaller difference is that the interaction effect of having a lower educated partner and the male partners' gender attitudes on changes in women's hours worked is no longer significant. The included generalized residuals variable has a positive effect on women's labor market entries and a negative effect on women's labor market exit. However, in both cases, this seems not to substantially affect the other relevant predictors.

Table A4.1 Logit models for labor market entries and labor market exits and linear model for changes in hours worked

<i>Predictors</i>	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
	LM entry	LM entry	LM exit	LM exit	Changes Hours worked	Changes Hours worked
<i>Characteristics of women</i>						
Increase in # of children aged<4	-1.05 (0.58)	-0.77 (0.69)	1.15*** (0.34)	1.17*** (0.35)	-8.63*** (0.82)	-9.48*** (0.87)
Decrease in # of children aged<4	-0.21 (0.42)	-0.30 (0.46)	-1.23* (0.49)	-1.24* (0.50)	2.24* (1.12)	1.45 (1.17)
# children in HH aged <4 (lagged)	-0.18 (0.31)	-0.07 (0.32)	1.23*** (0.25)	1.25*** (0.26)	-1.90** (0.74)	-1.91** (0.73)
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered) (FGRA)	-0.35* (0.14)	-0.24 (0.26)	0.44** (0.14)	0.19 (0.28)	0.54 (0.38)	1.27 (0.68)
Max. primary education (ref.)						
Lower secondary education	0.53 (0.48)	0.53 (0.49)	-1.04* (0.43)	-1.08* (0.44)	3.02 (2.05)	2.47 (2.06)
Upper secondary education	0.91 (0.49)	0.95 (0.50)	-1.62*** (0.46)	-1.68*** (0.47)	3.75 (2.06)	3.18 (2.07)
Tertiary education or higher	1.41* (0.55)	1.48** (0.55)	-2.51*** (0.52)	-2.56*** (0.53)	4.23* (2.11)	3.88 (2.12)
Age (centered)	-0.12*** (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.16*** (0.04)	-0.16*** (0.04)
Age2	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
General health	-0.19 (0.14)	-0.21 (0.15)	0.24 (0.15)	0.24 (0.15)	-0.65 (0.34)	-0.61 (0.34)
Wave	-0.63** (0.23)	-0.57* (0.24)	-0.95*** (0.24)	-0.95*** (0.25)	1.90*** (0.44)	1.89*** (0.44)
<i>Characteristics of men</i>						
Male partner not working	-0.43 (0.34)	-0.49 (0.37)	0.35 (0.30)	0.48 (0.31)	-1.01 (0.77)	-0.95 (0.77)
Male partner equally educated (ref.)						
Male partner lower educated	0.02 (0.29)	0.39 (0.37)	0.14 (0.27)	0.20 (0.28)	-0.90 (0.55)	-0.83 (0.57)
Male partner higher educated	0.35 (0.23)	0.37 (0.26)	0.20 (0.24)	0.20 (0.26)	-0.84 (0.65)	-0.87 (0.65)
20% income increase	0.10 (0.23)	0.03 (0.26)	0.36 (0.23)	0.37 (0.25)	-0.80 (0.53)	-0.64 (0.55)
20% income decrease	0.46 (0.29)	0.42 (0.32)	-0.07 (0.30)	-0.08 (0.31)	0.30 (0.70)	0.47 (0.75)
Lagged income in 100€ (centered)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered) (MGRA)	-0.18 (0.14)	-0.29 (0.25)	0.29* (0.14)	0.69* (0.27)	-0.38 (0.36)	-0.67 (0.66)

<i>Two-way interactions</i>						
FGRA*Child under 4 increase	-1.90		0.33			-3.25**
	(1.47)		(0.38)			(1.22)
MGRA*Child under 4 increase	0.70		-0.22			-1.31
	(1.18)		(0.40)			(1.20)
FGRA*Child under 4 decrease	-0.53		0.49			-3.04*
	(0.38)		(0.61)			(1.24)
MGRA*Child under 4 decrease	0.41		-0.27			-0.03
	(0.35)		(0.57)			(1.14)
FGRA*partner not working	-0.32		-0.06			-0.45
	(0.41)		(0.38)			(1.16)
MGRA*partner not working	0.51		-0.31			0.79
	(0.40)		(0.36)			(1.03)
FGRA*partner lower educated	0.12		-0.16			0.05
	(0.47)		(0.41)			(0.92)
MGRA*partner lower educated	-0.90		-0.19			1.56
	(0.46)		(0.37)			(0.84)
FGRA*partner higher educated	0.24		0.43			-1.11
	(0.31)		(0.32)			(0.90)
MGRA*partner higher educated	-0.16		-0.47			-1.52
	(0.31)		(0.32)			(0.89)
FGRA*partners' income increase	0.09		0.18			0.31
	(0.35)		(0.37)			(0.92)
MGRA*partners' income increase	0.08		-0.30			0.42
	(0.34)		(0.35)			(0.86)
FGRA*partners' income decrease	-0.34		-0.15			0.67
	(0.41)		(0.45)			(1.23)
MGRA*partners' income decrease	0.54		0.09			0.38
	(0.40)		(0.45)			(1.19)
<i>Generalized residual</i>	0.93*	0.90*	-1.34***	-1.36***		
	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.36)	(0.36)		
Constant	7.23***	7.09***	-2.01	-1.93	2.34	2.97
	(1.24)	(1.26)	(1.11)	(1.13)	(3.13)	(3.13)
N	738	738	2004	2004	1877	1877

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table A6.1 Average marginal effects for women's labor force participation by country

Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			
	UK	DE	NL													
Native majority (Ref.)																
Second generation	-0.22*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.22*** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	
First generation	-0.45*** (0.03)	-0.26*** (0.02)	-0.17*** (0.02)	-0.43*** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.02)	-0.17*** (0.02)	-0.36*** (0.04)	-0.20*** (0.02)	-0.15*** (0.02)	-0.34*** (0.03)	-0.20*** (0.02)	-0.16*** (0.02)	-0.26*** (0.03)	-0.14*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.02)	
Single (Ref.)																
In partnership	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.22*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.02)													
No. of children at home				-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.12*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)										
Trad. gender role attitudes				-0.06*** (0.00)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)										
Years of education	0.03*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	
General Health	-0.04*** (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.00)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.00)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	
Age	0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	0.00* (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	
Constant																
N	10952	4958	1767	10944	4958	1767	10944	4958	1767	10944	4958	1767	10944	4958	1767	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Models also account for age squared, but coefficients of interaction terms cannot be depicted as average marginal effects. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001 (2-sided)

Table A6.2 Logit models with interaction effects

Variables	Model 5 + Partner*Immigrant status			Model 5 + Children*Immigrant status			Model 5 + GRA*Immigrant status			Model 5 + all IEs		
	UK	DE	NL	UK	DE	NL	UK	DE	NL	UK	DE	NL
Native majority (Ref.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Second generation	1.04** (0.33)	0.27 (0.37)	1.31** (0.49)	1.01** (0.32)	0.21 (0.30)	1.18** (0.41)	2.16** (0.73)	-0.58 (0.55)	2.10** (0.67)	2.32** (0.72)	-0.43 (0.67)	2.99*** (0.80)
First generation	-	-	0.13 (0.62)	-	-	-	-1.43* (0.64)	-	-	-1.43 (0.49)	-	-0.48 (0.78)
Single (Ref.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
In partnership	-0.14* (0.06)	1.23*** (0.16)	-0.38 (0.40)	-0.14* (0.06)	1.28*** (0.13)	0.75** (0.24)	-0.14* (0.06)	1.28*** (0.13)	0.67** (0.24)	-0.13* (0.06)	1.22*** (0.16)	-0.34 (0.42)
No. of children at home	0.78*** (0.03)	0.71*** (0.05)	0.49*** (0.08)	0.78*** (0.03)	0.76*** (0.06)	0.53*** (0.11)	0.78*** (0.03)	0.71*** (0.05)	0.47*** (0.08)	0.79*** (0.03)	0.76*** (0.06)	0.55*** (0.12)
Trad. gender role attitudes (GRA)	0.47*** (0.03)	0.33*** (0.04)	-0.19* (0.09)	0.47*** (0.03)	0.33*** (0.04)	-0.20* (0.09)	0.47*** (0.03)	0.40*** (0.05)	0.44** (0.16)	0.47*** (0.03)	0.40*** (0.05)	0.43** (0.17)
Partner*Sec. gen.	0.15 (0.45)	-0.18 (0.41)	1.21* (0.61)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.24 (0.55)	-0.11 (0.45)	1.14 (0.63)
Partner*First gen	-0.47 (0.42)	-0.09 (0.27)	-1.62* (0.64)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.92* (0.43)	-0.14 (0.27)	1.69** (0.64)
Children*Sec. gen.	-	-	-	0.06 (0.19)	-0.04 (0.18)	0.47 (0.26)	-	-	-	-0.02 (0.22)	-0.04 (0.19)	0.15 (0.24)
Children*First gen	-	-	-	0.39* (0.19)	0.13 (0.10)	0.03 (0.15)	-	-	-	0.48** (0.19)	0.15 (0.10)	0.11 (0.16)
GRA*Sec. gen.	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.36 (0.21)	0.19 (0.14)	0.64* (0.29)	0.37 (0.20)	0.20 (0.14)	0.72* (0.29)
GRA*First gen.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.07 (0.17)	0.19* (0.09)	0.20 (0.20)	-0.05 (0.15)	0.20* (0.09)	0.23 (0.20)
Years of education	0.18*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.03)
General Health	-	0.10 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.10)	-	0.10 (0.03)	-0.08 (0.07)	-	0.10 (0.03)	-0.09 (0.10)	-	0.10 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.10)
Age	-0.01 (0.00)	-	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.00)	-	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.00)	-	0.06*** (0.01)	-	0.02*** (0.00)	0.06*** (0.01)
Age squared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Constant	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
	2.69*** (0.22)	2.75*** (0.39)	3.13*** (0.64)	2.71*** (0.22)	2.89*** (0.40)	3.52*** (0.59)	2.70*** (0.22)	3.04*** (0.39)	3.94*** (0.66)	2.71*** (0.22)	3.09*** (0.42)	3.66*** (0.72)
N	10943	4958	1767	10943	4958	1767	10943	4958	1767	10943	4958	1767

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. These models are just depicted for completeness.

Interaction effects in logit models (in contrast to linear models) cannot be understood by only looking at the interaction coefficients (see Ai and Norton 2003; Greene 2010). *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001 (2-sided).

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Inleiding

De afgelopen decennia hebben Westerse landen een aantal belangrijke maatschappelijke veranderingen ondergaan. Eén daarvan was het toenemende aandeel van vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt (Blau en Kahn 2007; Goldin 2006; Rosenfeld 1996). Tegelijkertijd werd de houding in de meeste Westerse samenlevingen tegenover de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen steeds positiever (Bolzendahl en Myers 2004; Brooks en Bolzendahl 2004; Kraaykamp 2012; Scott, Alwin, en Braun 1996). De deelname van vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt draagt bij aan het verkleinen van het armoederisico voor vrouwen en kinderen, in het bijzonder armoede als gevolg van tragische levensgebeurtenissen zoals een plots ontslag of het overlijden van een levenspartner (Oppenheimer 2007). Deels ten gevolge van deze, en andere gelijksoortige ontwikkelingen, worden Westerse maatschappijen vaak afgeschilderd als meer egalitair dan landen in andere delen van de wereld (Norris en Inglehart 2002).

In de decennia na WOII, gelijktijdig met de toenemende arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen, kenden Westerse economieën een sterke opmars, en verdween de koloniale overheersing. Deze ontwikkelingen hebben een grootschalige migratie naar West-Europa vanuit economisch minder sterk ontwikkelde regio's gecreëerd (Castles, Haas en Miller, 2014). Veel van de migranten uit deze migratiestroom onderscheidden zich van de autochtone bevolking in de ontvangende samenlevingen door hun etniciteit en religie - twee groepskenmerken, die de basis voor belangrijke symbolische differentiëring van de samenleving zouden vormen (Alba 2005; Zolberg en Woon 1999). Een gevolg hiervan was dat de gastlanden transformeerden van min of meer etnisch homogene tot multi-etnische maatschappijen. Bovendien, veel migranten die in deze periode gearriveerd zijn, hadden minder onderwijs genoten dan de autochtone bevolking, en waren vooral werkzaam in laaggeschoolde functies (Alba en Foner 2015). In verscheidene West-Europese landen is succes in onderwijs en op de arbeidsmarkt nog steeds erg verschillend per etnische groep, zelfs wanneer gekeken wordt naar de kinderen van de eerste migrantengeneratie (Heath en Brinbaum 2014; Heath en Cheung 2007).

Hoewel de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie gestaag is toegenomen in de afgelopen decennia heeft dit (nog) niet geleid tot een gelijkaardige vrouwelijke participatiegraad over verschillende etnische groepen heen. Marokkaanse en Turkse vrouwen in Nederland kennen een participatiegraad tussen de 51 en 53 procent, tegenover een deelname van 66 procent van de autochtoon Nederlandse en Surinaamse vrouwen en 63 procent van de Antilliaanse vrouwen aan de arbeidsmarkt in Nederland (CBS 2015). In Engeland en Wales neemt ongeveer 42 procent van Pakistaanse en Bengalse vrouwen deel aan de arbeidsmarkt, tegenover 75% van de witte, Indiase, Caraïbische en Afrikaanse vrouwen (ONS 2011 census). Een gelijkaardig patroon doet zich voor in Duitsland, waar 83 procent van de West-Duitse autochtone bevolking (en 89% van de Oost-Duitse) aan de arbeidsmarkt deelneemt, terwijl dat voor Turkse vrouwen die tot de eerste generatie migranten behoren slechts 50% is (schatting van Fleischmann en Höhne 2013, gebaseerd op data van de Duitse Microcensus uit 2009).

Grote etnische verschillen die zich aftekenen tussen de participatiegraden van vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt kan leiden tot grotere inkomensverschillen tussen de autochtone meerderheid en

etnische minderheden, wat voor die laatsten het risico op permanente assimilatie in de lagere sociaaleconomische klassen verhoogt (Portes en Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Bovendien kan het niet deelnemen aan de arbeidsmarkt een verlies aan kansen tot sociaal-culturele integratie betekenen voor vrouwelijke migranten. De werkvloer heeft het potentieel om migranten te helpen om hun vaardigheden te verbeteren in de taal van de gastmaatschappij, en het kan ook interetnische relaties bevorderen met mensen die behoren tot de meerderheidsbevolking. Beide aspecten kunnen positief bijdragen tot de economische positie van de vrouw zelf, alsook tot die van haar kinderen (Chiswick en Miller 2002; Lancee 2010).

In eerder onderzoek zijn er pogingen gedaan om etnische verschillen in de vrouwelijke participatiegraad op de arbeidsmarkt te verklaren aan de hand van de verschillen die bestaan in samenstelling van deze groepen op het vlak van hulpbronnen zoals menselijk kapitaal en huishoudelijke omstandigheden (Bevelander en Groeneveld 2012; Dale, Lindley en Dex 2006). Maar deze studies slagen er over het algemeen niet in om etnische verschillen ten volle te verklaren. Dit leidt tot de vraag welke andere factoren verantwoordelijk zijn voor de overblijvende etnische verschillen.

Eén van de kanshebbers is het verschil in culturele normen en waarden dat bestaat tussen etnische groepen. Wat de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie betreft, worden normen die betrekking hebben op de verdeling van betaalde en huishoudelijke arbeid tussen partners op basis van gender gewoonlijk in het centrum van de discussie geplaatst. Individuen met een traditionele houding tegenover gender rollen denken dat vrouwen zich moeten concentreren op het opvoeden van kinderen en op onbetaalde huishoudelijke arbeid, zoals schoonmaken en koken, terwijl het de primaire taak van de man is om het huishouden van een vast inkomen te voorzien. Individuen die egalitaire gender rollen voorstaan, vinden daarentegen dat betaalde en onbetaalde arbeid gelijk verdeeld zou moeten worden tussen beide partners. Maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen zoals de toenemende normatieve dominantie van het individualisme, dat claimt dat mensen hun levens moeten leiden volgens hun “ware innerlijke zelf”, de groeiende economische rijkdom, de veranderingen in gezinsbeleid en de structuur van de arbeidsmarkt hebben ertoe bijgedragen dat de houding tegenover gender rollen van vrouwen zelf meer centraal is komen te staan in studies die het gedrag van vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt analyseerden in de laatste twee decennia (Charles 2011; Hakim 2000). Empirisch bewijs schraagt deze hypothese, en laat tevens zien dat de houding die vrouwen aannemen tegenover gender rollen vroeg in hun loopbaan hun status op de arbeidsmarkt jaren later nog steeds beïnvloedt (Corrigall en Konrad 2007; Cunningham 2008b).

Naast de houding van vrouwen zelf tegenover gender rollen, kunnen ook die van hun partners bijdragen tot een beter begrip van de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie. Kwalitatief onderzoek heeft een aantal manieren beschreven waarop koppels onderhandelen over de verdeling van betaalde en huishoudelijke arbeid, en hoe individuele partners omgaan met de incongruenties tussen hun houding en voorkeur aan de ene kant, en het feitelijke compromis aan de andere kant (Hochschild [1989] 2012). Maar er bestaat slechts een beperkt aantal kwantitatieve studies die de houding van beide partners tegenover gender rollen rechtstreeks meten, en deze laten de vraag over de invloed van houding tegenover gender rollen op de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie onbeantwoord.

De studie van culturele normen en waarden is relevant om etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie te verklaren, omdat de normen en waarden van migrantengroepen verschillen van die van de autochtone bevolking. Migrantengroepen kunnen houdingen en overtuigingen, gevormd tijdens socialiseringsprocessen in hun landen van oorsprong, met zich meebrengen naar

hun gastmaatschappijen (Gordon 1964; Norris en Inglehart 2012). Landenvergelijkende studies hebben aangetoond dat landen met een meerderheid aan moslims de neiging hebben om een traditionelere houding tegenover gender rollen aan te nemen dan West-Europese landen (Alexander en Welzel 2011; Inglehart en Norris 2003; Norris en Inglehart 2002). Dit suggereert dat migranten uit deze landen die naar West-Europa komen eveneens een traditionelere houding hebben dan de autochtone bevolking (Norris en Inglehart 2012). Vergelijkingen tussen verschillende etnische en religieuze groepen binnen een land bevestigen dit beeld inderdaad, en laten zien dat de eerste generatie van etnische minderheden die hoofdzakelijk islamitisch zijn over het algemeen traditioneler is dan de autochtone meerderheid (Diehl, Koenig, en Ruckdeschel 2009) en dan andere etnische groepen (Arends-Tóth en van de Vijver 2009; van de Vijver 2007), terwijl de tweede generatie nog steeds een traditionelere houding tegenover gender rollen aanneemt, maar al minder dan hun ouders. Deze verschillen kunnen bijdragen tot de etnische variaties in de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen, hetzij via de houding van de vrouwen zelf, hetzij via die van hun partners.

De vrouwelijke participatiegraad verschilt niet alleen tussen etnische groepen, maar ook tussen landen (Fernandez en Fogli 2009; OECD 2017). Onderzoek naar de impact van de nationale context op de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie heeft de nadruk gelegd op het feit dat verschillen in participatiegraad deels te maken hebben met belasting- en gezinsbeleid, en deels met het sociaal-culturele klimaat (Fortin 2005; Hipp en Leuze 2015; Kremer 2007; Mandel en Semyonov 2006; Pfau-Effinger 2005; Sainsbury 1996; Uunk et al. 2005). Maar gezien het feit dat landelijke eigenschappen historisch gegroeid zijn binnen de sociaal-culturele context van de autochtone meerderheid, is het mogelijk dat hun effect op vrouwen die tot een etnische minderheid behoren verschillend is.

In deze dissertatie zal ik een bestaand theoretisch model, oorspronkelijk ontworpen om de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen die tot de autochtone meerderheid in West-Europa behoren te bestuderen, gebruiken en verder ontwikkelen, en de toepasbaarheid ervan testen op vrouwen die tot verschillende etnische groepen behoren, in aantal verschillende nationale contexten (Nederland, het Verenigd Koninkrijk en Duitsland). Dit kan ons leren of theorieën die ontwikkeld zijn om het gedrag op de arbeidsmarkt van één specifieke groep te begrijpen, namelijk West-Europese vrouwen die tot de autochtone meerderheid behoren, veralgemeend kunnen worden, teneinde het gedrag van vrouwen met een verschillende etnische en religieuze achtergrond te begrijpen. Mijn onderzoek kan tevens de bestaande literatuur over de integratie van migranten verrijken, door te laten zien in welke mate integratieprocessen van migrantenvrouwen een verschillende ontwikkeling kennen dan die van –mannen. Ik stel drie hoofdonderzoeksvragen:

1. In welke mate dragen religiositeit en de houding tegenover gender rollen bij tot de verklaring van etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie, na rekening gehouden te hebben met menselijk kapitaal, huishoudelijke omstandigheden en andere individuele kenmerken?
2. Welke rol speelt de partner in de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen met verschillende etnische achtergrond?
3. In hoeverre speelt de nationale context een rol in het ontstaan van etnische verschillen betreffende de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie?

De dissertatie bestaat uit vijf empirische hoofdstukken, waarin ik op systematische wijze deze drie onderzoeksvragen zal bespreken. In het resterende deel van deze samenvatting, zal ik de resultaten van deze vijf hoofdstukken kort bespreken, om vervolgens tot een algemene conclusie te komen.

Hoofdstuk 2: Etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie in Nederland

Eerder onderzoek dat een verklaring zocht voor etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie heeft zich geconcentreerd op een verschil in samenstelling van menselijk kapitaal en huishoudelijke omstandigheden tussen etnische groepen. Zelfs al konden deze studies een aanzienlijk deel van de etnische variatie duiden, een deel van het verschil in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie bleef in de regel onverklaard (Bevelander en Groeneveld 2012; Dale et al. 2006). In hoofdstuk 2 worden het traditionele rollenpatroon en religiositeit naar voor gebracht als bijkomende verklarende elementen, gezien beide in eerder onderzoek al in verband werden gebracht met de deelname van vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt. Bovendien laten etnische groepen variatie zien in de mate waarin een traditionele houding tegenover gender rollen ondersteund wordt, en verschillen ze in religiositeit, hetgeen suggereert dat ze een verklaring zouden kunnen bieden voor overblijvende etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie. Daarom is de hoofdonderzoeksvraag in dit hoofdstuk *of religiositeit en de houding tegenover rollen een uitleg kunnen bieden voor de etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie, na rekening gehouden te hebben met menselijk kapitaal en huishoudelijke omstandigheden*. Daarenboven stel ik de vraag of de negatieve relatie tussen religiositeit en vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie verklaard kan worden door een traditionele houding tegenover gender rollen.

De resultaten van hoofdstuk 2 laten zien dat vrouwen die een traditionele houding tegenover gender rollen aannemen minder deelnemen aan de arbeidsmarkt, en dat deze houding ook etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie kan verklaren, na rekening gehouden te hebben met menselijk kapitaal en huishoudelijke omstandigheden. De relatieve bijdrage van een traditionele houding tegenover gender rollen is echter betrekkelijk klein in vergelijking met de meer conventionele verklaringen. De resultaten laten ook zien dat religiositeit zwak gerelateerd kan worden aan vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie, en dat deze relatie volledig verklaard kan worden door de houding tegenover gender rollen. Tenslotte dragen bijkomende analyses bewijs aan voor een rol van partner en kinderen in etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie. Dit vormt een eerste indicatie dat bestaande modellen die de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie pogen te verklaren aangepast zouden moeten worden voor de culturele achtergrond van migrantenvrouwen.

Hoofdstuk 3: Het betreden en verlaten van de arbeidsmarkt door vrouwen uit verschillende landen van herkomst in het VK

Cross-sectionele analyses zijn nuttig om een algemene indruk te krijgen van de relevante factoren in verklarende modellen. Ze hebben echter ook een aantal inherente beperkingen, zoals hun onvermogen om transitie van een fase naar een andere te observeren en te verklaren. Zeer weinig studies gericht op etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie zijn uitgevoerd op basis van longitudinale data, en laten verschillende vragen onbeantwoord betreffende etnische verschillen in de sequentie en de causale relatie tussen gezinsvorming en het gedrag van vrouwen

op de arbeidsmarkt, en de invloed die religiositeit en de houding tegenover gender rollen hebben op deze processen. Daarom wordt in hoofdstuk 3 het perspectief op de participatie van vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt veranderd, door gebruik te maken van de eerste zes golven van de *UKHLS-data* om vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie met een dynamisch perspectief te analyseren. De onderzoeksvragen zijn *of etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie begrepen kan worden door verschillen in arbeidsmarkt betredings- en verlatingsgraden, en of etnische verschillen in transities verklaard kunnen worden door de variatie die bestaat in de houding tegenover gender rollen, religiositeit en levensevenementen.*

De resultaten laten zien dat de grootste bijdrage tot etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarkttransities geleverd wordt door huishoudelijke omstandigheden en de controlevariabelen. De houding tegenover gender rollen draagt ook bij tot de verklaring van de lagere betredings- en hogere verlatingsgraad van Pakistaanse en Bengalese vrouwen, maar slechts in relatief beperkte mate. Er is geen bewijs voor een effect veroorzaakt door religiositeit op het betreden en verlaten van de arbeidsmarkt. Na alle factoren in acht genomen te hebben, blijft er slechts een beperkt verschil over in het betreden en verlaten van de arbeidsmarkt tussen vrouwen die behoren tot de blanke meerderheid enerzijds, en Indiase en Caraïbische vrouwen anderzijds. In tegenstelling hiermee hebben Pakistaanse en Bengalese vrouwen nog steeds minder kansen om de arbeidsmarkt te betreden, en is het meer waarschijnlijk dat ze de arbeidsmarkt verlaten, in vergelijking met vrouwen die behoren tot de blanke meerderheid. Zwarte vrouwen uit sub-Sahara Afrika kennen een hogere betredingsgraad. De uitkomst van het onderzoek laat ook zien dat de relatie tussen levensevenementen en arbeidsmarkttransities verschillend is tussen etnische groepen. In het bijzonder is het zo dat de transities van Pakistaanse en Bengalese vrouwen minder gevoelig zijn voor zwangerschap en dat de transities van Caraïbische vrouwen minder beïnvloed worden door verandering van levenspartner dan die van andere vrouwen.

Hoofdstuk 4: Het perspectief van het koppel op vrouwelijke arbeidsmarkttransities: de rol van de houding van de levenspartner tegenover gender rollen.

De etnische verschillen die nog als onverklaard overblijven uit de analyses uitgevoerd in hoofdstuk 2 en hoofdstuk 3 suggereren dat er nog bijkomende verklaringen nodig zijn die etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie uit kunnen leggen. Een van die verklaringen zou te maken kunnen hebben met partnerschap. In tegenstelling tot alleenstaande vrouwen kunnen vrouwen die een partner hebben hun gedrag op de arbeidsmarkt met hen coördineren. Om het gedrag op de arbeidsmarkt van vrouwen die samenwonen of getrouwd zijn te kunnen verklaren is het dus nodig om een analyse uit te voeren vanuit het perspectief van het koppel, die rekening houdt met de specifieke eigenschappen van vrouwen en van hun partners (Blossfeld en Drobnič 2001; Verbakel 2010). De meeste eerdere studies op het effect van partnerschap hebben de nadruk gelegd op de relatieve resources op de arbeidsmarkt waarover de partner beschikt, alsook op de aanwezigheid van kinderen, als cruciale componenten in de beslissing over de (omvang van de) vrouwelijke betrokkenheid op de arbeidsmarkt (Becker 1981; Bernasco 1994; Bernardi 1999). Er is daarentegen veel minder aandacht besteed aan het belang van de houding die de partner aanneemt tegenover gender rollen. In hoofdstuk 4 zal het effect van de resources van beide partners op de arbeidsmarkt, alsook dat van de aanwezigheid van kinderen in het huishouden, op de transitie van vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt onderzocht worden, in samenhang met de houding die beide partners aannemen ten overstaan van gender rollen. Het theoretische model dat voorgesteld wordt, suggereert dat de houding van beide partners tegenover gender rollen de transitie van vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt

direct beïnvloedt, maar dat deze ook het effect van de arbeidsmarkt-resources van beide partners en de aanwezigheid van kinderen beïnvloedt. Omdat een dergelijk model nog niet in eerder onderzoek is getest, is het niet het doel van dit hoofdstuk om etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie te onderzoeken, maar om de details van het model verder te ontwikkelen, en om het te onderwerpen aan een rigoureuze empirische test.

Daarom is de onderzoeksvraag die in hoofdstuk 4 gesteld wordt *hoe de houding van beide partners tegenover gender rollen een invloed heeft op het betreden en verlaten van de arbeidsmarkt door vrouwen, alsook op het veranderende aantal gewerkte uren, in relatie tot de beschikbare resources van de partner op de arbeidsmarkt, en op veranderingen veroorzaakt door de aanwezigheid van jonge kinderen in het huishouden*. De analyse maakt gebruik van de Netherlands Kinship Panel Survey (NKPS), een longitudinale panelstudie van huishoudens uit Nederland, die data bevat van drie golven, verzameld tussen 2002 en 2011. Omdat dergelijk overvloedige informatie niet beschikbaar was voor vrouwen behorend tot etnische minderheden, werd de analyse alleen werd uitgevoerd op autochtone Nederlandse vrouwen met partner.

De resultaten laten zien dat de houding van vrouwen tegenover gender rollen een invloed heeft op het betreden en verlaten van de arbeidsmarkt door hen, maar niet op het aantal gewerkte uren, terwijl de attitude van hun (mannelijke) partners eveneens het vrouwelijke verlaten van de arbeidsmarkt beïnvloedt, maar niet het betreden, noch het aantal gewerkte uren. De studie onderzoekt tevens of de houding van koppels tegenover gender rollen een invloed heeft op het effect dat arbeidsmarkt-resources en het krijgen van kinderen hebben op vrouwelijke arbeidsmarkttransities. De bevindingen tonen aan dat moederschap tot een sterkere daling leidt in het aantal gewerkte uren voor vrouwen die een traditionelere houding aannemen ten overstaan van gender rollen, en dat het effect van resources op de arbeidsmarkt van de partner niet beïnvloed wordt door de houding van koppels tegenover gender rollen.

Hoofdstuk 5: Migrantenvrouwen in Nederland: Houden traditionele partners hen tegen?

Waar verschillende studies de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van autochtone vrouwen hebben onderzocht vanuit het perspectief van het koppel, blijft dit perspectief in het onderzoek naar etnische minderheden zeldzaam (maar zie Brekke 2013, Van Tubergen 2008). Dit is verrassend omdat verschillen in familiale banden, in het bijzonder tussen gehuwden, vaak voorgesteld worden als een van de belangrijkste culturele verschillen tussen etnische groepen (Inglehart 2002). Vanwege deze lacune in de wetenschappelijke literatuur wordt in hoofdstuk 5 het theoretisch model dat ontwikkeld werd in hoofdstuk 4 getest op mogelijke toepasbaarheid op andere etnische groepen.

De onderzoeksvraag die gesteld wordt is *in hoeverre de resources waarover de partner op de arbeidsmarkt beschikt en de houding tegenover gender rollen etnische verschillen kan verklaren in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie, na rekening gehouden te hebben met de eigen resources van vrouwen, en hun eigen houding*. Voorts wordt geanalyseerd of de houding van de partner tegenover gender rollen de effecten van resources op de arbeidsmarkt waarover de partner beschikt matigt, en in hoeverre deze matiging verschillend is voor verschillende etnische groepen. Hoofdstuk 5 maakt gebruik van de eerste golf van de NKPS uit 2003, en de Social Position and Use of Welfare Facilities by Immigrants Survey (SPVA) uit 2002, om een cross-sectionele analyse uit te voeren.

De resultaten laten zien dat de lagere deelname van Turkse en Marokkaanse vrouwen in vergelijking met autochtone Nederlandse vrouwen bijna volledig verklaard kan worden door het verschil in samenstelling van het menselijk kapitaal van deze vrouwen, en het aantal (jonge)

kinderen die in het huishouden aanwezig zijn. Maar Surinaamse en Antilliaanse vrouwen laten een hogere arbeidsmarktparticipatie zien dan autochtone Nederlandse vrouwen, hetgeen gedeeltelijk verklaard kan worden door de houding van beide partners tegenover gender rollen. Een aantal etnische verschillen blijft daarbij onverklaard.

Een andere bevinding is dat, wat betreft vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie, naast de houding van de vrouw zelf, ook de houding van de mannelijke partner tegenover gender rollen van belang is, en dit geldt voor alle etnische groepen. Daartegenover staat dat er geen sterk verband bestaat tussen de resources van de partner op de arbeidsmarkt en de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie, met uitzondering van koppels waarin de vrouw een meer traditioneel en de partner een meer egalitaire houding aanneemt. In deze samenstelling blijkt dat het hebben van een hoger opgeleide partner de vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie verkleint.

Hoofdstuk 6: Wat is de rol van de nationale context? Een vergelijking tussen het Verenigd Koninkrijk, Duitsland, en Nederland

De empirisch studies uit de hoofdstukken 2-5 zijn onderzoeken die zich beperken tot een specifiek land. Ze concentreren zich op het gedrag van vrouwen behorende tot verschillende etnische groepen op de arbeidsmarkt in Nederland of het VK. Deze analyses hebben laten zien dat het hebben van een partner, kinderen en de houding tegenover gender rollen relevant zijn om de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen te begrijpen, en om de etnische verschillen in arbeidsmarktparticipatie te kunnen verklaren. Maar deze studies geven slechts een beperkt inzicht in de invloed die de nationale context heeft op de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen uit verschillende etnische groepen. Eerder onderzoek naar landenverschillen in de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van autochtone vrouwen heeft het belang van belasting- en gezinsbeleid benadrukt, naast het aanwezige sociaal-culturele klimaat binnen een bepaald land op het vlak van gendergelijkheid. Maar de instituties van de welvaartsstaat en het sociaal-culturele klimaat binnen een bepaald land vonden hun oorsprong in maatschappijen die cultureel homogener waren. Vrouwen die behoren tot een etnische minderheid en die een verschillende culturele achtergrond bezitten kunnen deze instituties en het algemeen heersende klimaat verschillend ervaren dan vrouwen die behoren tot de autochtone meerderheid. Ze kunnen er dan ook een andere reactie op hebben. Tot op heden hebben slechts weinig studies onderzocht hoe landenkenmerken inwerken op gezinskenmerken en de houding tegenover gender rollen, en hoe deze samen de etnische patronen die bestaan in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie vormgeven.

Hoofdstuk 6 stelt daarom de onderzoeksvraag *of het hebben van een partner, kinderen en de houding tegenover gender rollen zich verschillend verhouden tot vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie van eerste- en tweede-generatie migranten en vrouwen die geboren tot de autochtone meerderheid in het VK, Duitsland en Nederland?* In dit hoofdstuk wordt gebruik gemaakt van cross-sectionele steekproeven uit de tweede golf van de UKHLS, de eerste golf van de German Gender and Generation Survey, en de eerste golf van de Netherlands Longitudinal Life-Course Study. Om de vergelijkbaarheid te verhogen is de focus gelegd op etnische minderheden met een islamitische achtergrond – Pakistanen en Bengalezen in het VK, Turken in Duitsland, en Turken en Marokkanen in Nederland. Vrouwen behorende tot de eerste- en tweede-generatie migranten van deze groepen worden vergeleken met vrouwen die deel uitmaken van de respectieve autochtone meerderheids groepen.

De resultaten laten zien dat de invloed van het hebben van een partner, kinderen en de houding tegenover gender rollen op de arbeidsmarktparticipatie sterker verschilt tussen vrouwen uit de

eerste generatie migranten en vrouwen uit de autochtone meerderheid dan tussen vrouwen uit de tweede generatie en die uit de autochtone meerderheid. Uit de analyse kan ook geconcludeerd worden dat vrouwen uit zowel de eerste als de tweede generatie migranten in het VK in het algemeen sterker achtergesteld zijn in hun arbeidsmarktparticipatie dan migrantenvrouwen in Duitsland en Nederland – zowel voor als na controle voor menselijk kapitaal, huishoudelijke omstandigheden en de houding tegenover gender rollen. In Duitsland en Nederland, daarentegen, blijkt dat vooral vrouwen uit de tweede generatie migranten zich gelijkaardig gedragen als vrouwen die tot de autochtone meerderheid behoren, na rekening gehouden te hebben met alle verklarende factoren.

Conclusie

Eén van de hoofddoelstellingen van deze dissertatie was om te onderzoeken in welke mate houdingen tegenover gender rollen bijdragen tot de verklaring van etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie, naast menselijke kapitaal en huishoudelijke omstandigheden. De verschillende analyses uitgevoerd in deze dissertatie leiden tot twee belangrijke conclusies.

Ten eerste kunnen verschillen in samenstelling van menselijk kapitaal en huishoudelijke omstandigheden, alsook in andere demografische eigenschappen, een groot deel verklaren van etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie. Bovenop deze verklarende factoren vormt de houding tegenover gender rollen een klein, maar merkbaar deel van de verklaring van etnische verschillen, terwijl religiositeit niet bijzonder belangrijk lijkt om etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie te kunnen verklaren, zodra de houding tegenover gender rollen in overweging is genomen.

Ten tweede blijft er een onverklaarde etnische variatie over, ook al is het voorgestelde verklarende model succesvol in het bieden van aanvullende verklaringen voor etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie. In het bijzonder blijkt dat de verschillende studies voor migranten van de eerste generatie onverklaarde verschillen vonden, zelfs nadat religiositeit en de houding tegenover gender rollen in overweging waren genomen. Deze verschillen zijn niet altijd in het voordeel van vrouwen die behoren tot de autochtone meerderheid. Het is zelfs zo dat de overblijvende verschillen een aantal keer duiden op een hogere participatiegraad voor etnische minderheidsgroepen, na rekening gehouden te hebben met alle verklarende factoren – Surinaamse en Antilliaanse vrouwen in Nederland, bijvoorbeeld, kennen een hogere participatiegraad dan autochtoon Nederlandse vrouwen (zowel in een steekproef die alleenstaande vrouwen bevatte als in een steekproef die zich uitsluitend op samenwonende vrouwen toeleegde). Ook kennen zwarte vrouwen uit sub-Sahara Afrika in het VK een hogere betredingsgraad op de arbeidsmarkt dan vrouwen die tot de witte meerderheid behoren.

Bovendien bevestigen de resultaten eerder onderzoek dat de nadruk heeft gelegd op de rol van voorkeuren en houdingen op de beslissing van vrouwen om aan de arbeidsmarkt deel te nemen (Cunningham 2008b; Hakim 2000, 2002; Read 2004). De consistentie tussen deze resultaten beklemtoont het belang om rekening te houden met de houding tegenover gender rollen in verklarende modellen van vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie. Daartegenover staat dat de bevindingen van deze dissertatie weinig bewijs leveren voor een onafhankelijk, direct effect van religiositeit in de Europese context, zelfs al wordt in bepaald onderzoek gesuggereerd dat religiositeit op zichzelf bestudeerd zou moeten worden als een voorspellende variabele voor vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie. In die zin zijn de publieke aandacht die gegeven wordt aan

individuele religiositeit, en de academische debatten die plaatsvinden over de economische integratie van moslimmigranten, overdreven.

Literatuur over de verdeling van betaalde en huishoudelijke arbeid in het huishouden heeft lang gewezen naar gender rollen als verklaring voor het feit dat vrouwen mannen nog niet ingehaald hebben wat betreft de graad van arbeidsmarktparticipatie (Blossfeld en Drobnič 2001). Maar er bestaat slechts weinig onderzoek dat werkelijk onderzocht heeft hoe de houding van beide partners tegenover gender rollen, naast de resources op de arbeidsmarkt, een invloed heeft op de vrouwelijk arbeidsmarktparticipatie, in samenhang met de attitudes en resources van de vrouwen zelf en de aanwezigheid van kinderen. Voorts is slechts zelden onderzocht in welke mate de dynamiek binnen koppels verschillend is voor verschillende etnische groepen. Het opvullen van deze leemtes in het onderzoek was een tweede doelstelling van deze dissertatie. De analyse uitgevoerd in hoofdstuk 5 suggereert dat een traditionele houding van de mannelijke partner tegenover gender rollen de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen doet afnemen, ongeacht de resources van de vrouw zelf op de arbeidsmarkt, en dat dit zo lijkt te zijn voor verschillende etnische groepen. Het dynamisch perspectief dat werd toegepast in hoofdstuk 4 onthult verder dat dit effect vooral te wijten is aan mannelijke partners met een traditionele houding tegenover gender rollen, die vrouwen pushen om de arbeidsmarkt te verlaten, althans in het geval van autochtone Nederlandse vrouwen. Het betreden van de arbeidsmarkt, en veranderingen in het aantal gewerkte uren, daarentegen, lijkt minder beïnvloed te worden door de houding van de mannelijke partner tegenover gender rollen. Daartegenover staat dat er slechts beperkt bewijs bestaat voor het idee dat koppels de resources op de arbeidsmarkt van de mannelijke partner instrumenteel gebruiken om de betrokkenheid van de vrouw op de arbeidsmarkt op een lijn te stellen met de houding van het koppel tegenover gender rollen.

Tenslotte heb ik vergeleken in welke mate samenwonen, het hebben van kinderen en de houding tegenover gender rollen verschillend gerelateerd kunnen worden aan de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen die tot een minderheid en zij die tot de meerderheid behoren, binnen de verschillende nationale contexten in het VK, Duitsland en Nederland. De resultaten laten zien dat etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie meer uitgesproken zijn in het VK dan in Duitsland en Nederland, en dat dit geldt zowel voor als na rekening gehouden te hebben met verklarende elementen op individueel niveau. Het is zelfs zo dat op het gebied van arbeidsmarktparticipatie, de tweede generatie migranten in Duitsland en Nederland slechts weinig verschilt van de autochtone meerderheid. Het is moeilijk om specifieke oorzaken te vinden voor dit fenomeen, maar integratiebeleid en het niveau van etnische segregatie kunnen allebei een verklaring bieden. Er is ook een variatie vastgesteld in het effect van het hebben van een partner, de aanwezigheid van kinderen, en de houding tegenover gender rollen op de verschillende etnische groepen in deze drie landen. Het meest bijzonder is misschien het feit dat het hebben van kinderen het grootste effect had op etnische verschillen in het land dat de hoogste beschikbaarheid van kinderopvang had ten tijde van het verzamelen van de data (Nederland). Verder liet het land dat gezinsbelasting kent (Duitsland) een negatievere relatie optekenen tussen partnerschap en vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie dan de twee landen die een individueel belastingstelsel kennen (het VK en Nederland). Er bestaan daarentegen geen aanwijzingen dat vrouwen die tot een minderheid behoren hierdoor meer geraakt worden dan vrouwen die tot de meerderheid behoren, hetgeen suggereert dat het belastingbeleid etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie niet groter maakt. Tot slot kon de houding tegenover gender rollen sterker

negatief gerelateerd worden aan de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vrouwen die behoren tot een minderheid dan die van vrouwen behorende tot de meerderheid in het VK, maar niet in Duitsland of Nederland. Dit kan een aanduiding zijn dat het contrast tussen de relatief traditionele normen en waarden van islamitische minderheidsgroepen en het liberaler klimaat in het VK (in vergelijking met de twee andere landen) vrouwen behorende tot de minderheden aanzet om hun arbeidsmarktparticipatie meer te laten beïnvloeden door hun houding.

Een vergelijking tussen de resultaten verkregen in de verschillende empirische hoofdstukken laat ook zien dat de voorgestelde verklaringen voor etnische verschillen in vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie relatief succesvol zijn om de lagere participatiegraad van (in het bijzonder tweede generatie) Turken en Marokkanen in Nederland en Duitsland te duiden, terwijl er een relatief groot gat blijft bestaan in het VK tussen Pakistaanse en Bengalese vrouwen enerzijds, en vrouwen behorende tot de autochtone meerderheid anderzijds. Deze vaststelling vormt een belangrijke wetenschappelijke bijdrage, aangezien eerder onderzoek, dat geen onderscheid maakte tussen etniciteit (of gender), meer uitgesproken verschillen heeft vastgesteld tussen niet-EU vreemdelingen en autochtonen in Nederland dan in het VK, hetgeen werd toegeschreven aan de Nederlandse combinatie van multicultureel beleid en een genereuze welvaartsstaat (het VK heeft ook een multicultureel beleid, maar een veel minder genereuze welvaartsstaat) (Koopmans 2010).

In het algemeen kunnen de resultaten die ik verkregen heb in deze dissertatie opheldering bieden op de vraag hoe onderzoek omtrent vrouwelijke arbeidsmarktparticipatie voordeel kan hebben bij het in rekening brengen van de toenemende etnische diversiteit binnen Westerse maatschappijen. Tegelijkertijd laat dit werk zien dat de literatuur over de integratie van migranten meer aandacht dient te besteden aan de specifieke behoeftes en ervaringen van vrouwen die tot een etnische minderheid behoren, aangezien deze verschillend zijn van die van mannen die tot dezelfde minderheid behoren, in het bijzonder op het domein van gezin en arbeid.

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Curriculum Vitae

Yassine Khoudja was born in Kelibia (Tunisia) on December 4, 1985, and grew up in Fulda (Germany), where he obtained the Abitur at the Freiherr-vom-Stein Gymnasium in 2005. Afterwards he spent one year in Tunis, attending Arabic courses at the Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes. In 2006, he started to study sociology at the University of Göttingen. During these undergraduate studies, he spent one year as an exchange student at the University of California, San Diego. After obtaining his Bachelor degree, he worked for several months in the International Migration Division of the OECD in Paris. In 2011, he enrolled in the Research Master 'Migration, Ethnic Relations, and Multiculturalism' at Utrecht University from which he graduated two years later *cum laude*. Subsequently, Yassine started working as a PhD candidate at the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) and at the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) at Utrecht University. As part of his PhD project, Yassine spent three months at the Department of Social Policy at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) to collaborate with Lucinda Platt. Yassine has published in *European Sociological Review*, *International Migration Review* and *Social Science Research*. Since September 2017 he works as a postdoctoral researcher at ERCOMER at Utrecht University.

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