

De Valk – Pathways into adulthood

Pathways into adulthood

A comparative study on family life transitions among migrant and Dutch youth

Helga de Valk

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Pathways into adulthood

A comparative study on family life transitions among migrant and Dutch youth

Paden naar volwassenheid

Een vergelijkende studie naar demografische transitie onder allochtone en autochtone jongeren
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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door

Helga Antoinette Gerda de Valk

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Promotores: Prof. dr. A.C. Liefbroer
Prof. dr. P.A. Dykstra
Prof. dr. W. Raub

VOORWOORD

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 MIGRANT AND DUTCH YOUTH: PATHWAYS INTO ADULTHOOD

The ethnic composition of the Dutch population has changed significantly since the 1960s. Migration to the Netherlands, as to other Western countries, has grown considerably in recent decades. As a result, around 19% of today's in total 16.3 million inhabitants of the Netherlands were born abroad or have at least one parent who was born abroad. About half of these migrants are of non-Western origin (Statistics Netherlands, 2005). Migrants and their children already constitute a substantial proportion of the Dutch population and this share is set to grow in the future. In recent years, the consequences for society of this ethnically diverse population have been debated both publicly and scientifically.

Many studies in the field of migration sociology have focused on the socio-economic position of migrants in the host society. Educational attainment, labor force participation and housing are among the major subjects studied in this respect, for example in the United States (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003; Borjas, 2000; Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Portes, 1981, 1989; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Zhou, 1993). In the Netherlands, too, the structural position of migrants has received extensive attention (Crul, 2000; Dagevos, 2001a, 2001b; Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Van Praag, 2003; Latten, 2005; Odé, 2002; Phalet & Andriessen, 2003; Van Tubergen, 2005; Veenman, 1999, 2002; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000; Zorlu & Hartog, 2005). More recently, there has been a growing interest in the cultural integration of migrants in the Netherlands. The main emphasis has been put on language acquisition (SCP, WODC, & CBS, 2005), religion (Phalet & Van Praag, 2004; Phalet, Van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000), ethnocentrism and identity (Gijsberts, Hagendoorn, & Scheepers, 2004; Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2003; Scheepers, Felling, & Peters, 1990; Verkuyten, 1997, 2003), child-rearing practices and attitudes (Distelbrink, 2000; Eldering, 2002; Nijsten, 1998a; Pels, 2000), problem behavior (Van Gemert, 1998; Stevens, 2004; Vollebergh, 2002) and general modernization and emancipation attitudes (Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Van Praag, 2003; Gijsberts & Merens, 2004; Uunk, 2003).

Surprisingly, studies of the cultural integration of migrants have largely neglected young migrants' pathways into adulthood. Attention has mainly focused on one specific aspect of migrant youths' transition to adulthood, namely partner choice (Esveldt, Kulu-Glasgow, Schoorl, & Van Solinge, 1995; Hondius, 1999; Hooghiemstra, 2003; Sterckx & Bouw, 2005; Yerden, 1995). Although North American studies on family life transitions increasingly include migrant groups (for an overview see McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000; Boyd, 2000; Burr & Mutchler 1993; Glick & Van Hook, 2002; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1989, 1997), insights into the determinants of differences in attaining adulthood between migrant and native youth are limited. For European countries in general, and the Netherlands in particular, migrant children's pathways into adulthood are still a rather unexplored field.

There are at least two major reasons why this lack of attention for young migrants' pathways into adulthood is unfortunate. First, it is largely unknown which mechanisms influence the transition to adulthood among migrant youth. There are good reasons to assume that these mechanisms may differ for migrant youth compared to native Dutch youth. The transition to adulthood has changed considerably in the Netherlands and now contrasts strongly with the demographic traditions in non-Western countries from which many migrants originate. Among native Dutch, postponement of demographic transitions, a low level of commitment and egalitarian partner relationships characterize family life choices in young adulthood. Studies in the fields of family sociology and demography link the changes in partner relationships and demographic behavior in Western societies since the 1960s to socio-structural and cultural shifts (Blossfeld, 1995; Kuijsten & Schulze, 1997; Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1988; Van de Kaa, 1994). It has been suggested that processes of individualization, secularization and emancipation in Western Europe have led to changed demographic attitudes and behavior (Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986). Consequently, young people have more autonomy in constructing their own life paths. Family tradition and parental authority no longer necessarily play a crucial role. As a result, the timing and sequencing of major transitions have become less predictable, more prolonged and diverse (Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000). Cross-cultural studies have indicated that the transition to adulthood takes place at younger ages and still follows more traditional paths in the countries from which most non-Western migrants originate (Nauck, 2002; Oropesa, 1996). Whereas the development into adulthood in the Netherlands is characterized by processes of individuation and increased autonomy, in many non-Western countries the main transitions into adulthood are embedded in interdependent kin relationships and a strong group orientation. In the latter countries, family considerations, family strategies and honor play a crucial role in decision-making by young adults (Fuligni, 1998; Giles-Sims & Lockhart, 2005; Walsh, Shulman, Feldman, & Maurer, 2005). Many migrants in the Netherlands have a Mediterranean or Caribbean background. Mediterranean societies, like Turkey and Morocco, are characterized by collectivist oriented relationships and a patriarchal family structure. Caribbean countries, like Surinam and the Antilles, share the collectivist orientation of Turkish and Moroccan societies but have a matrifocal organization of family life. These four countries differ from Dutch society in the level of individual autonomy in decision-making regarding family life transitions. Migration from these countries to the Netherlands raises questions on how the transition into adulthood is shaped among migrant youth growing up in a society in which native Dutch are the majority group. In this situation it is likely that the majority group (native Dutch) will influence these minority groups. Migrant youth are confronted with values regarding demographic choices in Dutch society which clearly differ from traditions regarding the transition to adulthood in their (parents') home countries. Many youngsters with a migrant background may find themselves balancing between the traditions of their parents and that of the Netherlands. It is as yet unknown how migrant youth will cope with these potentially opposing influences. Getting more insight in how pathways into adulthood

are shaped is important because family life transitions are known to influence future life chances of young adults. Early home-leaving and teenage pregnancies in particular are often associated with negative individual and social consequences. Furthermore, the timing of family formation can have (negative) effects on educational attainment, labor force participation, relationship stability and well-being (Barber et al., 2002; Furstenberg, Levine, & Brooks-Gunn, 1990; Hogan 1986; Kahn & Anderson, 1992; Mollenkopf, Waters, Holdaway, & Kasinitz, 2005). From research among native (white) populations it is known that young adults' choices are influenced through different modes of socialization (like value transmission and social status inheritance) in the parental family. How and to what extent the same mechanisms of parental influence also apply to migrant families is largely unknown. Tracing the mechanisms that lead to specific pathways into adulthood among migrant youth gives insight in how intergenerational transmission is shaped in different contexts.

A second reason why the lack of attention for migrant youth's pathways into adulthood is unfortunate is that a large and growing share of youth in the age of family formation, in many Western countries, has a migrant origin. The Netherlands are in no respect an exception: around 25% of youth aged 15-30 years in the Netherlands has a migrant background (Statistics Netherlands, 2005). Given that children born to first generation migrants from Turkey, Morocco, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles are about to experience main transitions to adulthood, this provides a unique possibility to start studying family life transitions among migrant youth. The focus in most studies relating to migrant youth has been on either a single migrant group or on a comparison with other migrant groups without addressing the distinctive differences with the native population. In order to be able to compare the importance of distinct mechanisms of intergenerational transmission among different ethnic groups, this study includes besides native Dutch, four of the (in absolute numbers) largest migrant groups in the Netherlands: Surinamese, Antilleans, Moroccans and Turks. Together these migrant groups account for two third of the current non-Western migrant population in the Netherlands.

The first aim of this thesis is to analyze family life transitions among Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and Dutch youth in the Netherlands. When entering adulthood, young adults face important decisions in the family domain. In this thesis four aspects of family life transitions are examined: adolescent's preferred type of union, their gender roles preferences, young people's preferred timing of family life transitions, and their patterns of co-residence in the parental home. This study thus covers both preferences and behavior in the family domain.

The second aim of this thesis is to gain insight into how and to what extent the family life transitions of migrant and Dutch youth are influenced by their parents. Though family life transitions in the Western world are assumed to be rather autonomous decisions made primarily by the young adult him- or herself, the literature shows that parents continue to influence their children's preferences and behavior (Barber, 2001; Barber et al., 2002; Meus, 1989; Sartor & Younnis, 2002; Thornton, 1991). Parents remain the principle socializing

agents in young people's lives (Younnis & Smollar, 1985). The fact that first-generation migrants (parents) arrived in the Netherlands as adults implies that they have been socialized primarily in their country of origin. Migrant parents may thus adhere to the values acquired in their home countries whereas their children have been extensively exposed to Dutch values at school and among peers. Among migrant families, the intergenerational transmission of attitudes and behavior is therefore no longer self-evident. Nevertheless, the literature has paid relatively little attention to the extent and the ways in which migrant parents influence their children's transition to adulthood (Haug, 2005). The two research questions that will be addressed in this study are therefore:

- *What preferences and behavior regarding family life transitions are predominant among migrant and Dutch youth?*
- *How and to what extent are the preferences and behavior regarding family life transitions among migrant and Dutch youth influenced by their parents?*

In order to answer these questions we distinguish three levels of analysis at which the transition to adulthood is studied. Similarities and differences are examined from the general to the group-specific. At the most general level the family life transitions of migrant youth and the influence of the parents on these transitions are compared to those of Dutch youth. Next, comparisons between the four migrant groups (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans) are made. This second level of the analysis refers to an inter-group comparison of family life transitions. Finally, we consider the factors that influence the transitions in the family domain of youth within each of the five ethnic groups. This third level focuses on intra-group differences. At each of the three levels of analyses attention is paid to the importance of cultural and socio-structural factors.

The most general level of analysis involves a comparison between migrants and non-migrants. Here the main focus is on the relative importance of cultural and socio-structural factors for understanding family life transitions. Cross-cultural studies suggest that family life transitions are largely determined by prevailing cultural prescriptions. These cultural scripts are transmitted in the parental family and sustained in society. It is debated to what extent these cultural differences remain of importance after migration to a host society. It is often suggested that migrants will adhere to the family life traditions from their home countries. The general assumption suggesting that differences in family life choices between ethnic groups are mainly due to cultural differences is challenged in this study. It is known from the literature that choices in the family domain are also influenced by the socio-structural position of the parents. Possible differences in family life choices between migrant and native Dutch youth may thus not so much be caused by cultural factors, but rather be due to the specific socio-structural situation migrant families find themselves in. By simultaneously analyzing the effects of cultural and socio-structural family characteristics we can determine

the sources of differences or similarities in pathways into adulthood among migrant and Dutch youth.

At the second level of analysis the focus is on inter-group comparisons between each of the four migrant groups. Once more a distinction is made between cultural and socio-structural factors and their relative importance is assessed among each of the migrant groups. We thus examine whether cultural elements in family life choices remain of importance for each of the migrant groups to the same extent. In this way we try to unravel whether the same or different mechanisms influence family life transitions among youth from different migrant backgrounds.

The third level focuses on intra-group comparisons within each of the five ethnic groups. The expectation is that diversity in family life transitions exists in the ethnic groups. In order to disentangle the part played by cultural and socio-structural factors within each of the five ethnic groups we include characteristics of the parental home and relationships in the kin network. We expect variation in the influence of these factors in both individualistic and collectivistic oriented ethnic groups. The literature suggests that although parents and children in individualistically oriented societies focus on autonomy of the child, a certain level of (emotional) dependency remains important in this relationship. At the same time it is argued that strong interdependent kin relations also include facets that stress individual independence and that this may apply in particular to migrant families (Kagitcibasi, 2005; Rhee, Uleman, & Lee, 1996). Although this study could of course not cover every single cultural aspect, a start is made to pursue the influence of the parental family, both in cultural and socio-structural terms, on family life transitions of young adults.

Three issues related to terminology should be clarified at this point. First of all, both ‘migrant’ and ‘ethnic group’ are used in this thesis. ‘Migrant’ is used to refer to people with an immigrant background *and* their descendents. The term ‘ethnic group’ is used when referring to each of the five groups (both migrant and Dutch) in this study. Secondly, we use both ‘pathways into adulthood’ and ‘family life transition’ throughout this thesis. In the literature different family life transitions are often studied separately. In this study we aim to have a more inclusive approach and do not limit ourselves to one particular transition only. Several transitions on the way to adulthood are covered in order to get a more complete picture of the (preferred) family formation of youth with distinct ethnic backgrounds. The term ‘family life transition’ is used when we focus on a single dimension of the trajectory into adulthood, whereas ‘pathway into adulthood’ refers to a combination of these distinct transitions. Finally, this study aims to provide insight in how and to what extent parents influence the preferences and behavior of children in the family domain. Nevertheless, with the cross-sectional data that are available and used in this study the empirical findings can indicate associations between parents and children only. The hypotheses relate to associations that do not necessarily imply causality even though this follows from the theoretical frame.

As described previously this thesis studies youth from Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean descent living in the Netherlands as well as native Dutch. A brief background on

each of the four migrant groups is therefore in order. The next section provides an overview of their background, their migration history, and their position in Dutch society (Section 1.2).

Furthermore, as this thesis focuses on the transition to adulthood in the Dutch context, it is important to give an overview of the main characteristics related to transitions in the family domain in current Dutch society. This immediately raises the question of how demographic transitions in the migrants' countries of origin compare with the Dutch situation. A first set of notions guiding the analyses on ethnic differences in this thesis is formulated using theories on demographic behavior and related cultural characteristics (Section 1.3).

Processes of intergenerational transmission from parent to child are explored in Section 1.4. The role of parents in the transition to adulthood is elucidated by discussing general socialization mechanisms and by analyzing the peculiarities of intergenerational transmission among migrant families. This theoretical exploration results in a second set of notions which are taken as the starting point for the analyses in each of the empirical chapters of this thesis. An outline of the study is provided in the final Section (1.5) of this chapter.

1.2 MIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Since the 1960s, a growing share of the Dutch population has a migrant background. Nowadays three million out of a total of 16 million Dutch residents have at least one foreign-born parent. Three major types of migration to the Netherlands can be distinguished since the 1960s. First, migrants from former Dutch colonies (for example, Indonesia, Surinam) settled down in the Netherlands. Second, like many other Western European countries (e.g. Germany and Sweden) the Netherlands recruited labor migrants from southern Europe and the Mediterranean (for example, Turkey and Morocco) in the 1960s. Third, asylum migration from a wide variety of countries increased significantly in the 1990s. Many migrants who arrived for one of these three reasons rejoined their families in the Netherlands through family reunification and formation.

A relatively small proportion of today's residing migrants came to the Netherlands for asylum reasons. Asylum migrants are mainly first-generation migrants with (very) young children, and are for that reason not included in the current study. The situation is clearly different for the 329,000 Surinamese, 131,000 Antillean, 359,000 Turkish and 316,000 Moroccan inhabitants of the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 2005). For the first time since their settlement in the Netherlands, these migrant populations include substantial numbers of young adults. The four migrant groups have a substantially younger age structure than the Dutch: whereas 17% of the Dutch population is between 15 and 30 years of age, among the four migrant groups this percentage varies between 25% and 30% (Statistics Netherlands, 2005).

Turkish and Moroccan migration initially started with male migrants who came to the Netherlands to carry out unskilled labor. Many were recruited in the rural areas of their

countries of origin where Islam played an important role in life (Den Exter, 1993; Haffmans & De Mas, 1985). Besides settling down in the four major Dutch cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), Turkish and Moroccan migrants went to live in industrial areas in the southern and eastern parts of the Netherlands. The families of these migrants came to the Netherlands in the 1980s and 1990s through family unification. Many spouses were low educated, like their husbands, and a substantial proportion were illiterate upon arrival in the Netherlands. Migration from Turkey and Morocco continues today predominantly through family formation because many Turks and Moroccans find a partner in their countries of origin (Hooghiemstra, 2001; De Valk, Liefbroer, Esveldt, & Henkens, 2004). Due to the economic recession and disability resulting from physically taxing work, many Turks and Moroccans have become dependent on state benefits. As a result of this particular and selective migration pattern, and the sectors in which they worked, first generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants have a low socio-economic status in the Netherlands. Despite similarities in background characteristics and traditions, earlier research has also brought to light differences between the Turkish and Moroccan groups in the Netherlands. Whereas Turks, for example, are more inclined to fall back on close family networks with a high degree of solidarity and social control, Moroccans are more individualistic and more inclined to break with traditional role models (Dagevos, 2001a; Lesthaeghe, Surkyn, & Van Creanem, 2000).

The migration history of Surinamese and Antilleans is predominantly influenced by Dutch colonial history. Surinam is a former colony of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Initially, migration from Surinam was an elite migration of children from well-to-do families (mainly Creoles) who sent their children to the Netherlands for educational purposes. This initial migration was followed by a more heterogeneous group of migrants (both in socio-economic and in ethnic terms) who left Surinam around the time of independence in 1975. Up to 1980, they could settle down easily in the Netherlands without a residence permit because they held Dutch nationality. The worsening economic situation in Surinam in the 1980s led many people leave the country (Van Heelsum, 1997; Van Niekerk, 2000; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). Like in Suriname a diversity of religions exists among the Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands: Islam, Hinduism and Christianity.

Migration from the Antilles to the Netherlands has traditionally taken place for educational reasons (Entzinger, 1994). More recently the limited employment opportunities in the Antilles prompted many young adults to leave for the Netherlands (Van Dam, 1995; Van Leusden, 2001). Immigrants from Surinam and the Antilles mainly settled down in the four large cities of the Netherlands. The diverse background characteristics of Surinamese and Antillean migrants is reflected in their socio-economic position in the Netherlands, which lies between the native Dutch on the one hand and Turks and Moroccans on the other. Their Dutch language proficiency is good, they attain higher education, and both men and women often have a paid job (Odé & Veenman, 2003).

1.3 PATHWAYS INTO ADULTHOOD: A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON

1.3.1 Pathways into adulthood in the Netherlands

Pathways into adulthood in Western societies have changed significantly in the past decades. Changes in family life transitions and living arrangements have also been observed in the Netherlands (Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000). Until the 1960s, the majority of young adults in the Netherlands left the parental home to get married, children were born shortly after marriage, women had relatively many children, and major family life transitions were experienced at younger ages than today. Nowadays, marriage and parenthood are postponed, and new types of living arrangements (like living on one's own and unmarried cohabitation) have emerged. These new forms of relationships have actually become the new 'norm' (Dykstra, 2003) in Dutch society. Most young adults, for example, cohabit with their partner before marriage (Liefbroer, 1999). Many do, however, marry before they have children (Garssen, De Beer, Cuyvers, & De Jong, 2001; Kalmijn, Bernasco, & Weesie, 1999; Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000). The timing of family life transitions in the Netherlands is characterized by a young age at leaving the parental home ($M = 22$; Statistics Netherlands, 2003) and a late age at first marriage and at the birth of a first child (both events $M = 29$ years for women; Statistics Netherlands/Statline, 2004).

Besides the fact that the timing and sequencing of transitions have changed and have become less predictable, we also observe a shift in how partner relationships are organized. Up until the 1970s a clear task specialization existed between partners in the Netherlands: men had a full-time paid job and women cared for the home and the family. However, the labor force participation of women has increased during the last decades. Nevertheless, especially after they have their first child, many women in the Netherlands change to part-time jobs whereas the majority of men continue to work full-time (Alders, Latten, Pool, & Esveldt, 2003; Garssen, De Beer, Cuyvers, & De Jong, 2001; Kalmijn et al., 1999; Keuzenkamp & Hooghiemstra, 2000; Van der Lippe, 1999). Though women still perform the greater part of household and caring tasks compared with men, household chores are reported to be somewhat more equally shared between partners nowadays (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000; Van Nimwegen & Esveldt, 2003). A final feature of current married and unmarried relationships in the Netherlands is that a substantial percentage breaks up. Divorce rates have increased significantly since the beginning of the 1970s (De Graaf, 2005). Nowadays a quarter of all marriages end in a divorce (Kalmijn, De Graaf, Broese van Groenou, & Dykstra, 2001).

The transition to adulthood of Dutch youth thus follows the patterns generally observed in Western countries since the 1960s and which is referred to as the second demographic transition. Whereas the main characteristic of the first demographic transition (at the beginning of the last century) is a drop in mortality and fertility levels, the second transition has brought about main changes in family formation and partner relationships. Essential features of the second demographic transition are postponement of major commitments and

transitions, lower levels of commitment between partners and more egalitarian relationships (Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986; Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1988, Van de Kaa, 1988). These changes in the family life domain in general, and the pathways into adulthood in particular, are explained by both socio-economic and cultural shifts in society (Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000). Since the 1960s educational attainment has increased and women's labor force participation has risen substantially. Norms and values regarding union formation, intergenerational- and partner relationships as well as gender roles within relationships have changed accordingly. Processes of emancipation, individualization and secularization have fuelled these changes in the Western world (Beck, 1990; Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986).

1.3.2 Pathways into adulthood in Turkey, Morocco, Surinam and the Antilles

The characteristics of pathways into adulthood in the non-Western countries from which migrants in the Netherlands originate differ in several respects from the current Dutch pattern. Trajectories into adulthood in Turkey and Morocco are for example characterized by relatively young ages at experiencing major family life transitions. Furthermore, marriage is still universal and the number of children a woman has during her life is higher than in most Western countries. In 1999, for example, the mean age at first marriage for Turkish women was 22 years (UN, 2004) and the median age at the birth of the first child was 25 years for women in Morocco (2003-2004, Ministère de la Santé, 2005). However, in these countries too, the ages at marriage and childbirth have risen and the total fertility rate has declined in recent years.

On the whole, Turkish and Moroccan societies are more strongly delineated along patriarchal lines than Dutch society (Kagitcibasi, 1994b; Todd, 1985). Traditionally, older kin members and men have a prominent say in major decisions (Nauck & Suckow, 2003; Pels & De Haan, 2003; Pyke, 2003). Furthermore, men and women largely live separate lives (Bolak, 2002). Despite shifts in marriage traditions and in the process of partner selection, marriage is still the dominant type of union. Marriage is traditionally instigated by the parents and arranged by the two families, making it less of an individual affair and more of an occasion at which family honor is at issue (Cressey, 2002; Pels & Vedder, 1998; Sterkx & Bouw, 2005; Wakil et al., 1981; Yacef, 1994). According to tradition, sons remain living with their parents after they marry, and daughters move in with their stepfamilies after marriage. Marriage is therefore a way of perpetuating cohesion within the kin network as well as patriarchal family ties. The role and behavior of women in particular are bound by rules also because virginity at marriage is perceived to be important. Fathers and brothers are deemed to be responsible for the (sexual) behavior of daughters until the latter marry, and girls' behavior is therefore more strongly supervised by the family than boys' is (Eldering, 2002; Pels & Nijsten, 2003; Pels & Vedder, 1998; Phalet & Schönflug, 2001; Timmermans, 1994). It is traditionally of importance to have a first child shortly after marriage and having many children is socially rewarded (Haug, 2005; Nauck, 2001a). Women's role is centered around the home: household chores and childcare are primarily the responsibility of women. Men are

more involved in activities outside the house and are deemed to be responsible for earning the household income (Eldering, 2002).

Family life traditions in Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles in many respects occupy an intermediate position between those predominant in Turkish/Moroccan and Dutch society. The transition to adulthood in Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles is characterized by a high incidence of unmarried cohabitation and a relatively young age at first childbirth. In Surinam women's mean age at first birth, for example, was 24 years in 1995 (UN, 2004). In Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles women play a central role in kinship relations and traditions. This is also referred to as the matrifocal Caribbean family system (Shaw, 2003). Women are often the head of household as their (male) partners are not, or only irregular, present. This very often results in extended households of mothers and daughters living together. In Caribbean countries marriage is not that important. This is reflected in the fact that in 2000 two thirds of women in the oldest reproductive age group (40-45 years) are unmarried (UN, 2004). Giving birth is a much more important life transition than having a formal relationship. Unmarried cohabitation and giving birth out of wedlock are very common. Single-parent (mother) families are not exceptional and women often combine motherhood and paid employment (Distelbrink, 2000). In the Netherlands, too, around 60% of women from these groups are active in the labor market (which is higher than the 50% of native Dutch women who are economically active; Dagevos, 2001b; Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000, Statistics Netherlands, 2005). At the same time, Surinamese and Antillean women (living with or without a partner) in the Netherlands are responsible for household duties and the children (Distelbrink, 2000; Kook & Vedder, 1998).

1.3.3 Pathways into adulthood: a classification

The discussion in the previous section has made clear that family life transitions in the Netherlands contrast in various respects with the predominant traditions in Turkey, Morocco, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. Dutch youth, for example, experience many transitions at a later age and relationships are more egalitarian than is the case among young people in the Mediterranean and Caribbean countries. In order to explain differences in the pathways into adulthood between each of the five ethnic groups in our study we focus on theories about differences between cultures. Within various disciplines ranging from political science (Fukuyama, 1992; Huntington, 1996) to cross-cultural psychology (Barth, 1969; Hofstede, 1991; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Triandis, 1995) and demography (Todd, 1985; Reher, 1998; Lesthaeghe & Moors, 2002), attempts have been made to find main ordering principles along which societies can be grouped. Based on comparisons of different sets of individual traits, values, or types of kin and interpersonal relations, societies are divided into specific (regional) sets of cultures with broadly similar characteristics (Huntington, 1996; Triandis, 1996).

An important ordering principle suggested in the literature focuses on the level of group affiliation of the individual and juxtaposes an individualistic versus a collectivistic

orientation. Generally speaking, collectivists define themselves as members of a group and give priority to group goals, whereas individualists see themselves as autonomous individuals and prefer to see their own interests prevail (Beck, 1986; Schwartz, 1994; Suh, Diener, Oishi, & Triandis, 1998; Triandis, 1996, 2000; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). According to, for example, Huntington (1996) and Triandis (1996) a fundamental difference exists between the strong individualistic focus of Western cultures and that of Confucian and Islamic cultures, which place more emphasis on the importance of the group. Todd's (1985) family typology reflects the same basic ordering principle. Nuclear families reflect an individualistic orientation by emphasizing independence in parent-child relationships and a focus on individual development. According to Todd, this family type developed in the West and is geared to urban and industrialized societies. On the other hand, in the 'community family' it is not the individual but the community that takes precedence. The latter family type is found primarily in Islamic and Confucian societies (see also Huiberts, 2002; Kagitcibasi, 2005; Nave-Herz, 2002).

The individualism-collectivism distinction has been broadly applied to kin relations (Arnett, 1995; Giles-Sims & Lockhart, 2005). Reher (1998), for example, suggests a distinction between countries with strong and weak family ties. In societies with relatively strong family ties, the predominant weight is on the kin network, and intergenerational relationships are strong, strictly defined, and normatively controlled (Kuijsten, 1999; Reher, 1998; Triandis, 2000). Historical and comparative studies (Hajnal, 1965; Kagitcibasi, 1982; Kalmijn, 1993; Lesthaeghe, 1996) have shown that in group-oriented cultures, the kin interest is central to any decisions taken. The legitimacy of guidance within the family is often determined by age and sex. This hierarchy in relationships applies not only to parent-child relationships but also to other types of intergenerational relationships and to partner relationships. In countries where family ties are relatively weak, the independence of each kin member is emphasized, and often the state takes on the responsibility to care for older family members who are in need (Reher, 1998). Another typical feature is that the independence of children as they grow older is felt to be essential. Young adulthood emerges as a phase that marks the transition from childhood to adulthood (Ariès, 1975; Du Bois-Reymond, 1993; Hurrelmann, 2004; Tillmann, 2003). In addition, more individualistic societies tend to attach importance to egalitarian relations within and between generations.

Like many Western industrialized countries, the Netherlands today can be characterized as a typical individualistic society with rather weak family ties (Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986; Reher, 1998; Triandis, 1996). This implies that high priority is given to individual autonomy in family life decision-making (Baanders, 1998; Pyke, 2003). At the same time, the countries from which most non-Western migrants living in the Netherlands originate can be characterized as collectivistic societies, with strong family ties, an emphasis on (intergenerational) kin ties (older kin members are perceived to be very important in the continuation of the family line and honor) and extended family loyalties (Fuligini &

Pedersen, 2002; Nauck & Suckow, 2003; Reher, 1998). To varying degrees the latter description applies to both Turkey/Morocco and Surinam/Netherlands Antilles.

Existing research suggests that culturally defined expectations regarding transitions and arrangements in the family domain remain important after migration (Boyd, 2000; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993; Goldscheider, Bernhardt, & Goldscheider, 2004; Hofferth, 1984; Pyke, 2003; Tang, 1997; De Valk et al., 2004). Therefore, the first notion that guides the empirical analyses in this thesis is that Dutch youth will more often postpone major family life transitions and attach more importance to individual autonomy in family life arrangements compared to migrant youth.

As described previously, the hierarchy of family relations also differs between cultures. The importance attached to gender equality in Western societies like the Netherlands, contrasts with the patriarchal gender relationships in Morocco and Turkey in which the lives of men and women are more separated. In the latter countries women's role and behavior is more strongly bound by rules than men's (Eldering, 2002; Kagitcibasi, 1994a; Pels & Vedder, 1998; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001; Timmermans, 1994). Given its matrifocal orientation, the perception of women's role and position in Surinamese and Antillean society is presumably more egalitarian. Following these considerations, the second notion guiding the analyses in the empirical chapters, is that the pathways into adulthood are more gendered among Turkish and Moroccan youth than among Surinamese, Antillean, and Dutch youth. The review of the literature suggests that these pathways differ in particular between young *women* with a Turkish or Moroccan background on the one hand and youth with a Surinamese, Antillean, or Dutch background on the other hand.

1.4 PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON PATHWAYS INTO ADULTHOOD

Parents generally play an important role in the formation of family life preferences and subsequent behavior (Amato, 1996; Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Barber, 2001; Cunningham, 2001a, 2001b; Furstenberg, Levine & Brooks-Gunn, 1990; Hogan, 1986; Meeus, 1989; Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Musick, 2002; Sartor & Younnis, 2002; Trent & South, 1992). Therefore, analyses of the interplay between parent, child, and background characteristics are important when investigating the family life transitions of young people. In this section we discuss the general principles of intergenerational transmission, and subsequently describe the specific situation of socialization among migrant youth.

1.4.1 Processes of intergenerational transmission

Parents are important socializing agents for children. Although peers, school and the mass media are found to have a major influence on youngsters, parents remain of primary importance to them (Grusec & Kuczynski, 1997; Thornton, 1992). The transition to adulthood in Western countries like the Netherlands is generally characterized as a period of

mastery of autonomy, and the development of individual identity and morality (Blustein, 1982; Du Bois-Reymond, Te Poel, & Ravesloot, 1998; Sturm, 1984; Younnis & Smollar, 1985). Though the child will increasingly seek independence, parents remain important in adolescents' social networks (Coleman, 1980; Collins, Gleason, & Sesma, 1997; Dekovic & Meeus, 1997). Stressing the autonomy of the individual child does not mean that total (emotional) separation of the child from the parents is pursued (Kagitcibasi, 2005; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). Parents continue to act as role models, and they provide the emotional environment in and financial resources with which the youngster grows up (Böhnisch, 2003; Goldscheider, 2000; Hurrelmann, 2004). Intergenerational transmission is likely to be strong with respect to issues that parents find important. Because choices made in the family domain have a long-lasting effect on the child's life course, they are of concern to both child and parent(s). Timing and sequencing of family life transitions will, for example, affect children's life chances, educational attainment and labor force participation (Astone, Nathanson, Schoen, & Kim, 1999; Furstenberg, Levine, & Brooks-Gunn, 1990; Kahn & Anderson, 1992). Given these consequences, parents have an interest in their children's preferences and subsequent behavior regarding family life transitions.

Children learn through socialization by their parents, peers and other significant persons in different ways. Socialization theories suggest three modes by which preferences and behavior are transmitted from parents to their children. Parents influence their children's preferences and behavior by direct transmission of values and norms (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Grusec & Kuczynski, 1997), by role modeling (Bandura, 1977), and by social status inheritance (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Vollebergh, Iedema, & Raaijmakers, 2001).

According to the first mode of intergenerational transmission, children perceive and internalize parental expectations and attitudes. Parental values form the foundation for the development of their children's values and thereby directly influence the child's preferences and behavior (Acock & Bengtson, 1980; Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Thornton & Camburn, 1987; Thornton, 1991). The literature indicates that certain conditions foster differences in the success of value transmission. Parenting style is one factor of influence for the successful transmission of values (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Grusec & Kuczynski, 1997). Furthermore, research shows that a good parent-child relationship is essential in intergenerational communication and advances attitude transmission (Taris, Semin, & Bok, 1998; Sartor & Younnis, 2002). The quality of the parent-child relationship can thus facilitate or inhibit the intergenerational transmission of norms and values (Brody, Moore, & Gleib, 2001; Helsen, Vollebergh, & Meeus, 2000; Steinberg, 1990; Taris et al., 1998).

The second mode of intergenerational transmission concerns parents as role models for their children. According to social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), children learn not only through instruction or own experience but also by observing the behavior of and its consequences for significant others. Given that parents have experienced family life transitions, young people also have them as role models. The parents are significant reference

points for the youngsters because many peers will not yet have experienced these main family transitions (Denuwelaere, 2003; Eldering, 2002; Thornton et al., 1983).

A third mode of intergenerational transmission refers to the process of social status inheritance. According to this perspective, similarity in parent-child attitudes and behavior results from a transmission of social statuses that structure life. Young adults share socio-structural and demographic circumstances with their parents. This social context of the parental home has a direct influence on the youngsters' family life transitions (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986). A range of social contexts is mentioned in the literature, varying from parents' educational level (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993; Mulder & Clark, 2000), economic status (Avery & Goldscheider, 1992; Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1985; Laferrère, 2004; Van Hekken, Mey, & Schulze, 1997), housing situation (Aquilino, 1990; Bolt, 2001; Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1985; Laferrère, 2004), and religion (Thornton & Camburn, 1987; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993; Oppenheimer, 1988), to demographic composition of the household (De Jong-Gierveld, Liefbroer, & Beekink, 1991; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1989; Mitchell, Wister & Burch, 1989; Mitchell, Wister, & Gee, 2004; Murphy & Wang, 1998).

Based on these insights from socialization theories a third notion that guides the analyses in each of the empirical chapters is that parents have an effect on their children's preferences and behavior through value transmission, role modeling and status inheritance. This general notion on socialization (including the three modes of intergenerational transmission) is used to analyze the ways in which the parental family influences family life transitions of youth of different ethnic backgrounds. By distinguishing the three modes of transmission we also aim to determine whether the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission are the same in each of the ethnic groups.

1.4.2 Intergenerational transmission among migrant youth

The argument presented in the previous section is that parents are crucial actors in socialization. However, parental socialization takes place in a specific social, cultural and normative context (Goodnow, 1997; Sam & Virta, 2003). Research and theories on socialization have long focused exclusively on Western societies. More recently, cross-cultural research has pointed out cultural differences in customs regarding child-rearing, ideas on the child's appropriate behavior and beliefs regarding patterns of child development (Arnett, 1995; McDade & Worthman, 2004; Pels, 2000; Eldering, 2002). One of the cultural differences put forward in the literature refers to the legitimacy of external prescription (Giles-Sims & Lockhart, 2005; Kagitcibasi, 1996). In societies in which strong external prescription is accepted, clear norms and rules exist about the appropriate behavior in a specific situation. Moreover, (expert) guidance is perceived to be important and conformity to these rules is high (Arnett, 1995). As described in Section 1.3.2, in Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean society older kin members have an important say in major life decisions. Conformity to this external guidance is stressed (see also Lesthaeghe & Moors,

2002). Legitimacy and acceptance of guidance by older people is much lower in Dutch society because of its emphasis on the autonomy of the individual. Parents can thus generally be expected to influence their children's family life transitions through socialization, but the parental influence may be larger in the countries from which the four migrant groups in our study originate.

At the same time socialization in migrant families may be affected by the migration experience itself. Whilst theory on socialization in migrant families is still rather fragmented, it is clear that because migrants are confronted with a host society in which parental values and beliefs are not necessarily shared, modes of intergenerational transmission are no longer self-evident. Raising children in a new country of settlement requires that migrants find a balance between continuity and change (Foner, 1997; Pels & De Haan, 2003; Walsh et al., 2005). The way in which migrant families deal with this new situation is a dynamic process about which still relatively little is known (Foner, 1997).

Studies on intergenerational transmission among migrant families postulate two general but contradictory assumptions. First of all, intergenerational transmission is suggested to be stronger among migrant families compared to native families. According to this line of reasoning, the parental generation tends to hold more traditional values regarding family life transitions and arrangements than their children (Furstenberg, Rumbaut, & Settersten, 2005) because parents live by the norms they have acquired through their own experiences and socialization (Alwin, 1990; Arnett, 1995; Furstenberg et al., 2005). Migrant parents' adherence to values and traditions regarding family life transitions and arrangements acquired in their countries of origin is expected to be particularly strong (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998; Foner, 1997; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Trommsdorff, 1995). According to Kagitcibasi's model of family change (1996) migrant families originating from group-oriented societies become more materially independent in the host society but remain characterized by emotional interdependence. Others have suggested that the kin network and family ties become more important after migration because, on the one hand they provide an important coping resource in a new society, and on the other hand, provide continuity with the past (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Foner, 1997; Goodwin, 1999; Pels & Nijsten 2003). The ethnic kin network thus has a crucial supportive role, both emotionally and practically, for migrants arriving in a new society (Haug, 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Walsh et al., 2005). The increased importance of the ethnic group and network in the host society could result in a stronger emphasis on the (collective) values shared within the ethnic group (Triandis, 2000). In a comparative study on Turks in Germany and Turkey, Nauck (1990, 1997) found that the intergenerational transmission of cultural attitudes among Turks in Germany is indeed stronger than among families in Turkey. North-American studies further find that group-orientation and interdependence is stronger if migrants identify with the country of origin or in the event of status deprivation through exploitation and blocked opportunities in the host society (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Kagitcibasi, 1978). A collectivistic focus inherited from traditions in the country of origin, can thus be reinforced by the

migration experience (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996). As a result of the more rapid change in values among young migrants compared to their parents, intergenerational differences are furthermore expected to be more pronounced among migrant families. Migrant parents may fear larger intergenerational differences due to dissonant acculturation between themselves and their children, which in turn could result in more parental emphasis on the ethnic shared values (Kwak & Berry, 2001; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). The previous considerations suggest that the migration experience results in stronger transmission of (ethnic) group-specific values and behavior among migrant families than among native Dutch families.

Contrary to this line of reasoning, others have theorized that the migration experience results in weaker intergenerational transmission among migrant families compared with natives. Migration disrupts existing family relations and leads to changes in parent-child relations (Goodwin, 1999; Nauck, 2001b; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001; Schönplflug, 2001). Migrants' exposure to different preferences regarding family life in the host society results in attitude changes among both parents and children (Foner, 1997; Kagitcibasi, 1978). This is supposed to be particularly true for migrant children, given their participation in and exposure to school, peer groups and the media (McLoyd et al., 2000; Oropesa & Landale, 2004). As a result, children will more easily find their way in the host society. It has been documented that migrant children guide their parents through the rules and institutions of the new social context (Eldering, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Parents are no longer necessarily the major reference point of the young adults' orientation as traditional prescriptions on parent-child relations no longer apply. Socialization in migrant families may then, as tends to be the case in Western families, be defined as a negotiation process between parents and children (Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997). In these circumstances, intergenerational transmission is no longer self-evident and parental influence is assumed to be weaker.

These considerations suggest that two competing notions can be formulated concerning the effectiveness of parental influence among migrant families compared to Dutch families. On the one hand the importance of the migrant family in the host society can be stressed, implying that migrant parents will have a stronger influence on their children compared to Dutch families. On the other hand the disruptive effects of the migration experience can be emphasized, implying that migrant parents will have a weaker influence on their children compared to Dutch families. These final two contradictory notions will be juxtaposed in the empirical chapters of this thesis.

1.5 THIS STUDY

1.5.1 Contribution to the literature

This study contributes to the existing literature both theoretically and methodologically. Theoretical progress is made by addressing new questions and refining theories on intergenerational transmission in the parental family. Despite the fact that in family sociology

and demography, the transition to adulthood is a key theme within the study of life courses, up to now little is known on the family life transitions of migrant youth. It is often suggested that cultural differences exist in the life trajectories of migrant and Dutch youth. This study will enhance existing knowledge by systematically comparing different aspects of family life transitions among Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans and Dutch. Furthermore, it will increase our knowledge about this issue by examining whether the processes that lead to specific preferences and behavior are the same or different among migrant and native Dutch families. Particular attention will be paid to the role of parents, and general versus context-specific parental influence processes will be distinguished. By simultaneously analyzing ethnic and socio-structural characteristics of the parental family we can start unraveling the effect of each of these factors.

The questions addressed in this thesis are linked to more general discussions on processes of modernization in society. Some researchers have suggested that all societies will eventually develop towards the model of Western industrialized society (Fukuyama, 1992; Huntington, 1996; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Lesthaeghe & Moors, 2002). This is contested by others who state that some form of cultural differences will remain (Harvey, 2001; Kagitcibasi, 1996, 1999; Rhee et al., 1996). Similar questions have been posed regarding migrant adaptation to host societies (Han, 2000). For many of the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean migrants who settled down in the Netherlands, migration involved a radical change from living in a group oriented society with strong family ties to a society with an individual orientation and weak family ties. Integration research shows that migrants can react to this new situation in different ways. Whilst on the one hand it is suggested that migrants will integrate into the dominant society, on the other hand it is put forward that migrants will adhere to core family values (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998; Kagitcibasi, 1999). Socialization can play a crucial role in achieving adaptation and continuation of values over generations (Lesthaeghe, 2002; Harvey, 2001). This study provides more insight into migrant-specific pathways into adulthood and the role played by parents.

This study focuses on intergenerational transmission in the parental family. Socialization has received a great deal of attention in social sciences. Initially most research and theory took modern Western society as its premise and focus. More recently, the cultural context has been included by comparing and contrasting cultures. However, theorizing on socialization in migrant families has been rather fragmented and often limited to one ethnic group, which makes it even more compelling to look at the parental influence on family life transitions among migrant families from different cultures. This study takes a step towards filling the gap in the literature by systematically analyzing modes of intergenerational transmission among different migrant groups and comparing them with those among Dutch families.

This study also aims to make methodological progress in the study of family life transitions among migrant youth. We want to overcome a number of limitations of previous studies in the Netherlands which often had small sample sizes, were restricted to one ethnic group, made limited comparison with Dutch, or examined the first generation migrants only.

Data on migrant youth in the Netherlands that can provide insight into their family life preferences and behavior, and the mechanisms influencing them are very scarce. Although Dutch population register data include demographic outcomes, like marriages and births among migrants, they do not include a wide variety of background characteristics about individuals, making it difficult to gain insight into the background mechanisms leading to certain choices. Surveys that include background characteristics of individuals often do not include migrants, have limited information on family life transitions and include children's reports regarding their parents' values and attitudes only (Hooghiemstra, 2000; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). It is only recently that new data sets on migrant youth's pathways into adulthood have become available in the Netherlands. A first example is the latest wave of the *Onderzoek Gezinsvorming* (Family and Fertility Survey, OG, 2004) carried out by Statistics Netherlands which was expanded to include a special survey on family formation among Turkish and Moroccan youth (Distelbrink & De Graaf, 2005; Distelbrink & Loozen, 2005). A second example is the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS-SPVA, 2003) in which migrants from Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean origin were over-sampled (Dykstra, Kalmijn, Knijn, Komter, Liefbroer, & Mulder, 2005).

In this thesis we improve on existing research first by using new data that include both different migrant groups and Dutch in the Netherlands which makes useful comparisons between and within groups possible. This study secondly goes a step further by covering different aspects of family life transitions. Whereas most studies on young migrants' transitions to adulthood focus on one facet only, namely partner choice (Hooghiemstra, 2003; Sterckx & Bouw, 2005; Yerden, 1995), we include preferences regarding marriage and unmarried cohabitation, the division of labor, the timing of transitions and patterns of leaving home. Finally, we make use of multi-actor data in which adolescents and their parent(s) reported preferences and behavior by themselves.

Overcoming the previously described data limitations and finding comparable data about family life transitions among both Dutch and migrant youth has been a main challenge. Data sets that include all the type of data that are required to answer the research questions are scarce and therefore several data sets are used. Chapters 2 and 3 are based on data from the *Nationaal Scholierenonderzoek* (National Secondary School Pupil Survey, NSO 1992-1999; SCP & NIBUD). In these surveys, pupils in secondary education completed a written self-report questionnaire on a set of themes like finances, leisure time, school and politics. Data were collected at schools that represent different levels of education, denominations and regions in the Netherlands (De Zwart & Warnaar, 1993). The NSO includes a considerable number of young migrants as well as Dutch adolescents. The data collected in the survey rounds of 1992, 1994, 1996 and 1999 were pooled. Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch adolescents were selected on the basis of country of birth of the young adult as well as that of both parents.

Chapters 4 and 5 are based on data from three related surveys especially designed to study kinship relations and to facilitate comparisons between migrant and Dutch families. As a

result of collaboration between the survey teams, many questions were posed in all three surveys. The first dataset is the main sample of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS 2003).¹ The NKPS main sample is a nationally representative sample of about 8,000 Dutch respondents. It is a random sample of individuals (aged 18 to 79) living in private households in the Netherlands. Potential respondents were approached by the interviewer either in person or by phone. Computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI) were carried out with the primary respondent. The interview data were supplemented with self-completion questionnaires. Up to five family members (partner, one parent, one sibling and two children) of the primary respondent (both in and outside the household) were asked to complete a self-completion questionnaire (Dykstra et al., 2005).

The second dataset is the migrant sample of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS-SPVA 2003; Dykstra et al., 2005). The NKPS migrant sample, drawn from 13 Dutch cities in which half the migrants from the four migrant groups live, resulted in additional data on 1,400 migrants of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean origin (NKPS-SPVA 2003; Dykstra et al., 2005; Groeneveld & Weijers-Martens, 2003). The topics covered in the main and the migrant questionnaires are more or less equivalent, thereby providing data that make meaningful comparisons possible.

The survey *Sociale Positie en Voorzieningengebruik Allochtonen* (Social Position and Use of Welfare Provisions by Migrants, SPVA 2002), which includes 4,100 migrants with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean background, was the third dataset (used in Chapter 4). Like the NKPS migrant sample, this survey sampled heads of households from the population registers of (the same) thirteen municipalities in the Netherlands (Groeneveld & Weijers-Martens, 2003). These heads of household were approached at home by an interviewer with the same ethnic background. The interview followed a structured (paper and pencil) questionnaire that was available in Turkish, Arabic and Dutch. In addition to this main interview with the head of household, the partner and any children over the age of 12 who lived in the same household were asked to fill in a short self-completion questionnaire. Themes included in these questionnaires ranged from demographic background, educational trajectories, work history, and religion to the respondents' opinions on a range of topics.

1.5.2 Outline of the book

The four aspects of family life transitions addressed in the successive empirical chapters are the preferred type of union, gender role preferences, preferred timing of main transitions, and patterns of co-residence. The cross-cultural classification of pathways into adulthood revealed that on each of these four family life transitions the Netherlands and the countries

¹ The Netherlands Kinship Panel Study is funded by grant 480-10-009 from the Major Investment Fund of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), and by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), Utrecht University, the University of Amsterdam and Tilburg University.

from which migrants originate differ. Whereas chapters 2 to 4, on union formation, gender roles, and timing of transitions refer to preferences, actual behavior is the subject of study in the fifth chapter on living arrangements. The chapters of this book are written as separate articles and therefore each of them includes a discussion of the relevant theories, literature and data. The two general research questions as well as the three levels of analyses formulated in Section 1.1, provide the guiding framework in each of the four empirical chapters of this thesis.

Chapter 2 compares union formation preferences of Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch adolescents (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2004). One of the predominant characteristics of family formation in the Netherlands is the rise in unmarried cohabitation. In both Surinam and the Antilles unmarried cohabitation is also common. This practice, however, contrasts strongly with Turkish and Moroccan society, in which marriage is still the predominant living arrangement. Given this divergence in family formation in the Mediterranean region and the Netherlands it is compelling to study to what extent Turkish and Moroccan youth in the Netherlands prefer unmarried cohabitation or have a preference for marriage. This chapter pays attention to ethnic and gender differences in these preferences as well as to the parental influence through status inheritance and relationship quality. The question whether parental socialization effects are stronger or weaker among migrant families than among non-migrant families is also addressed.

Chapter 3 addresses gender role preferences of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and Dutch youth in the Netherlands (De Valk, 2004). These days, an important aspect of partner relationships is the division of paid and unpaid tasks. On this point, too, the current situation in the Netherlands, with more equal gender relations, diverges from the patrifocal orientation in Turkey and Morocco. In view of the central role played by women in public and private life in Caribbean societies, the gender role division in partner relationships is expected to be less pronounced among youth of Surinamese or Antillean descent, than among Turkish and Moroccan youth. Socialization hypotheses based on value transmission, social learning and status inheritance are tested.

One of the central characteristics of the transition to adulthood in the Netherlands today is that young people delay major commitments. In the Mediterranean and the Caribbean this is much less the case. In these countries, pathways into adulthood are rather short, particularly for women. Chapter 4 examines the predominant timing preferences for family life transitions of women among migrant and Dutch families in the Netherlands (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2005). Independent reports of parent-child dyads are used to test intergenerational transmission through value socialization and status inheritance. The relative strength of each of these factors is assessed and compared among migrant and native Dutch families.

A final aspect on which migrants from the Mediterranean and Caribbean countries are expected to differ from the Dutch is the emphasis that is placed on co-residence with parents. In the Netherlands the transition to adulthood generally marks a transition to independence, which is also reflected in independent living by young adults. This contrasts clearly with the

tradition of prolonged co-residence in the parental home in both the Mediterranean and Caribbean countries. Chapter 5 studies co-residence among migrant and Dutch youth in the Netherlands (De Valk & Billari, 2006). We apply a multilevel design to disentangle the influence of the family on patterns of co-residence. By including characteristics of the child, the parent(s) and the parental home, processes of intergenerational transmission are studied. The analyses in this chapter go beyond the simple division by ethnic origin and elaborate on key family features that influence young adults' co-residential behavior.

Chapter 6 summarizes the main findings of this study. Furthermore, conclusions and implications of this study are discussed. The final chapter ends with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON UNION FORMATION PREFERENCES AMONG TURKISH, MOROCCAN AND NATIVE DUTCH ADOLESCENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Helga A.G. de Valk & Aart C. Liefbroer

Abstract

This study examines parental influences on union formation preferences of Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch adolescents. Hypotheses on the union formation preferences of adolescents with different ethnic backgrounds as well as the way in which parents have an influence on these preferences are derived from socialization theory and notions on migrant integration based on migration sociology. Self-reported data of approximately 19,000 Dutch, 460 Turkish and 400 Moroccan adolescents aged 11 to 23 years are used to test these hypotheses. We find that youth with a Turkish and Moroccan background, and particular those with a strong ethnic identification, more often prefer marriage whereas among Dutch youth unmarried cohabitation is the norm. In addition, both parental characteristics and characteristics of the parent-child relationship have a major influence on adolescents' union formation preferences. Socialization effects are found to be largely comparable among all groups.

A slightly different version of this chapter is currently under review. An earlier Dutch version of this paper was published in *Migrantenstudies* (2004) 20, 3, 108-129. An earlier version of the paper was presented at the *European Population Conference*, 26-30 August 2003, Warsaw, Poland.

2 PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON UNION FORMATION PREFERENCES AMONG TURKISH, MOROCCAN AND NATIVE DUTCH ADOLESCENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Up until the 1970s, couples who decided to start living with a partner were generally expected to marry, but in the Netherlands this is no longer automatically the case. The majority of young adults today enter a union by unmarried cohabitation and it is generally assumed that, among native Dutch, the decision for a subsequent marriage is a matter of individual preferences. This practice is often contrasted with that of Turkish and Moroccan migrants living in the Netherlands, most of whom are assumed to hold a strong preference for marriage and to disapprove of unmarried cohabitation. It is also generally believed that the parents among these migrant groups have a strong influence on the preferences that adolescents form. But what are the actual union formation preferences of Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch adolescents in the Netherlands? Do their parents influence their preferences? And how can differences in parental influence within and between these groups be explained?

This paper aims to contribute to our knowledge about parental influence on the formation of relationships in two ways. First, the majority of studies on this subject, both in the Netherlands and in other Western countries, focus primarily on native adolescents (Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Hogan, 1986; Liefbroer, 1989; Kalmijn, Bernasco, & Weesie, 1999; Starrels & Holm, 2000). It is not well known to what extent findings on native adolescents apply to migrant adolescents. In this chapter we will broaden this scope by studying adolescents from two large migrant groups in the Netherlands - Turks and Moroccans. Young migrants are a population group that is numerically increasing, so it is becoming ever more important to gain an insight into the processes of parental influence among these adolescents (Dagevos, 2001; Oropesa & Landale, 2004; Nauck, 2001b).

Second, most studies on union formation among Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands have focused particularly on aspects of partner choice (Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Esveldt, Kulu-Glasgow, Schoorl, & Van Solinge, 1995; Hondius, 1999; Veenman, 2002; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000; Yerden, 1995). Studies carried out in the United States, Germany and Belgium (e.g. Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1996; Lodewijckx & Hendrickx, 1998; McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000; Nauck, 2001b; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981) have not or only indirectly addressed the issue of unmarried cohabitation. Little attention has been paid to the importance of unmarried cohabitation to migrant groups. And although it is generally assumed that parents play an important part in the transition to adulthood, their influence on their children's union formation preferences has yet to be systematically analyzed among migrants (Eldering, 2002; Pels, 2000).

In this chapter the preferences of Turkish, Moroccan and native Dutch adolescents for a particular type of union will be examined. Hypotheses about parental influence on adolescents' preferences will be formulated based on theories from integration research and family sociology and these hypotheses will be tested with data about Turkish, Moroccan and native Dutch secondary school pupils.

2.2 UNION FORMATION AMONG NATIVE DUTCH, TURKISH AND MOROCCAN MIGRANTS

Union formation in the Netherlands has changed quite considerably since the 1960s. Up until then, the majority of young adults married as soon as they left the parental home, but today, most young adults cohabit with their partner before marriage (Liefbroer, 1999). Many do, however, marry before they have children (Garssen, De Beer, Cuyvers, & De Jong, 2001; Kalmijn et al., 1999). People's norms and values about union formation have also changed (Liefbroer, Gerritsen, & De Jong Gierveld, 1994). These norms and values influence behavior, as shown, for example, by the fact that young adults with a more traditional outlook are more likely to marry than those with a modern outlook (De Jong Gierveld, Beekink, & Liefbroer, 1993).

It is unclear to what extent these changed preferences regarding union formation have been adopted by Turks and Moroccans, whose numbers have grown considerably since the 1960s. The majority of young Turks and Moroccans living in the Netherlands today are the children of the generation of migrant workers who were recruited in the 1960s and early 1970s from various parts of Turkey and Morocco to carry out unskilled labor in the Netherlands. These migrants were brought up with union formation traditions that differ widely from those among native Dutch. Turkish and Moroccan societies are traditionally patrilineal and much value is attached to marriage. Marriages are traditionally instigated by the parents and arranged by the two families, making them less of an individual affair and more of an occasion at which family honor is at issue. According to tradition, sons and their families stay with their parents after they marry, and daughters move in with their stepfamilies. Marriage is therefore a way of perpetuating cohesion within the kin group and patriarchal family ties. In addition, the lives of men and women are strongly segregated. The role and behavior of women in particular are bound by rules. Fathers and brothers are deemed to be responsible for the (sexual) behavior of daughters until the latter marry, and girls' behavior is therefore more strongly supervised by the kin network than boys' is. Virginity is an important aspect of this (Eldering, 2002; Pels & Vedder, 1998; Phalet & Schönflug, 2001; Timmermans, 1994).

In Turkey and Morocco, this pattern has been susceptible to change in recent years. Norms regarding union formation and partner selection are being adapted and reinterpreted (Cressey, 2002; Pels & Vedder, 1998; Wakil et al., 1981; Yacef, 1994). Boulahbel-Villac (1994) talks of a transition from a normative to a contractual family relationship. This same process of

reinterpretation occurs among Turks and Moroccans living in the Netherlands as well. Young Turks and Moroccans are looking for ways to choose their own partner without completely rejecting the part played by their parents (Esveldt et al., 1995; Hooghiemstra, 2001). However, despite shifts in marriage traditions and the process of partner selection, marriage is still the dominant type of union. Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands marry at a younger age than native Dutch young adults. The age-at-first-marriage for men in these three groups were 25, 28 and 30 years old respectively for the period 1995 to 1999 (De Valk, Liefbroer, Esveldt, & Henkens, 2004). Research in both the Netherlands and Belgium suggests that young adults from the two migrant groups do not yet regard unmarried cohabitation as a viable option (Hooghiemstra, 2003; Lodewijckx & Hendrickx, 1998). For instance, highly educated Moroccan girls in Belgium said they would like to cohabit before marriage in order to get to know their partner better. However, they did not expect to be able to achieve this aspiration because it would be frowned upon by the Moroccan community (Lodewijckx & Hendrickx, 1998).

Although the union formation traditions of Turks and Moroccans are broadly similar, earlier research has also brought to light some differences. Turks are supposedly more inclined to fall back on closed kin networks with a high degree of solidarity and social control, whereas Moroccans are supposedly more individualistic and more inclined to break with traditional role models (Dagevos, 2001; Lesthaeghe, Surkyn, & Van Creanem, 2000).

2.3 THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

In this section, hypotheses about factors that explain differences among adolescents in their union formation preferences will be formulated. First, a general hypothesis will be formulated about differences in union formation preferences between Turks and Moroccans on the one hand and native Dutch adolescents on the other. Next, additional hypotheses are formulated about differences among Turks and Moroccans in these preferences. Finally, hypotheses will be formulated about socialization-related factors that may be operative in all three groups, albeit to a different extent. In developing these hypotheses, we will draw on two theoretical orientations. The most general of these is socialization theory. This theoretical approach is used to explain differences within groups in how successful parents are in influencing preferences formation. However, because socialization theory is more concerned with how values and behaviors are transmitted than with which values and behaviors are transmitted, we will also pay attention to ideas from integration research about the importance of ethnic orientation in order to explain differences between and within ethnic groups.

2.3.1 Differences in union formation preferences between ethnic groups

Adolescents' preferences for unmarried cohabitation or marriage are not formed in a vacuum. They are influenced by the attitudes of people and institutions that are important to them.

Socialization theory (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Younnis & Smollar, 1985) emphasizes the major part that parents play in this process. The assumption is that parents transmit their norms and values to their children by means of instruction, confirmation and role modeling (Bandura, 1977; Barber, Axinn & Thornton, 2002). Parents will be particularly keen to influence their children's attitudes towards key aspects of life (Younnis & Smollar, 1985). Union formation constitutes one of these key aspects because the introduction of new family members puts the group's identity and boundaries at stake. Traditions and norms regarding partner selection and union formation will therefore be passed on within the person's own (ethnic) group (Hooghiemstra, 2001; Trent & South, 1992; Wakil et al., 1981).

Native Dutch parents could generally be expected to have a preference for marriage over unmarried cohabitation. Many of today's generation of parents either never cohabited outside of marriage, or did so for a very short time. They might therefore attach more value to marriage as an important life course transition for their children. This is borne out by surveys which show that parents have slightly more traditional ideas about union formation and living arrangements than young people (see, for example, Esveldt, Beets, Henkens, Liefbroer, & Moors, 2001). At the same time, the literature on the role of ethnic orientation in the lives of migrants suggests that Turkish and Moroccan parents may hold a much stronger preference for marriage. In this literature, it is often assumed that migrants orient themselves to the culture and customs of their country of origin, because these offer a sense of security and identity in new circumstances after migration (Dagevos, 2001; Distelbrink & Pels, 2002; McLoyd et al., 2000). Given our knowledge of the union formation process in Turkey and Morocco during the parents' own youth, this would imply that many Turkish and Moroccan parents will have a very strong preference for marriage and will oppose unmarried cohabitation. So our first hypothesis is: Turkish and Moroccan adolescents will have a stronger preference for marriage than Dutch adolescents (H1).

2.3.2 Differences in union formation preferences within ethnic groups

The concept of ethnic orientation is also useful to derive additional hypotheses about differences among Turkish and Moroccan adolescents in their union formation preferences. For instance, the ethnic orientation of adolescents who are born in their country of origin can be expected to be stronger than that of Turkish and Moroccan adolescents born in the Netherlands. The latter have been much more exposed to values and norms prevalent in Dutch society. As a result, they will be more familiar with Dutch practices in terms of union formation and living arrangements than first-generation migrants (Zhou, 1997). Of course, this does not have to imply a complete break with parental traditions. Research shows that the second generation wants to have more freedom of choice, but still regards the protection and support of the kin group as extremely important as well (Cressey, 2002; Kagitcibasi, 1994a). However, in general second-generation young migrants can be expected to be more in favor of Dutch customs than first-generation migrants. This leads to the formulation of our second

hypothesis: first-generation Turkish and Moroccan adolescents will have a stronger preference for marriage than second-generation Turkish and Moroccan adolescents (H2).

Above, we used the simplifying assumption that all Turkish and Moroccan adolescents born in the Netherlands identify themselves with their own ethnic group to the same extent. However, in reality some adolescents may be much more exposed to Dutch society, for instance by contact with peers and at school, than others. These experiences can cause some of them to stop identifying, or to identify less, with their own ethnic group and this could affect their union formation preferences. Those who strongly identify with their own ethnic group will be more influenced by the prevailing union formation practices of their group than adolescents who lack a strong ethnic orientation. The latter are more likely to share the union formation preferences of native Dutch adolescents (Phalet, Van Lotringen, & Entzinger, 2000). This leads to the formulation of the third hypothesis: Turkish and Moroccan adolescents who identify with their own ethnic group will have a stronger preference for marriage than those who identify with native Dutch people (H3).

Moroccan and Turkish parents can, furthermore, be expected to hold stricter union formation expectations for daughters than for sons. Turkish and Moroccan societies are delineated along far more patriarchal lines than Dutch society (Kagitcibasi, 1994a; Todd, 1985). As discussed earlier, girls are expected to be virgins when they marry and the honor and reputation of the kin group are important issues in this context (Esveldt et al., 1995; Lievens, 2000; Yerden, 1995). So for Turkish and Moroccan girls there is usually little scope for experimenting with relationships (Hooghiemstra, 2003; Nijsten, 2000). Boys, however, are given more freedom in this area and it is easier for them to have a (sexual) relationship without getting married. Besides, for boys marriage represents a financial obligation which they may well want to delay (Yerden, 1995). We would therefore expect Turkish and Moroccan boys to be more in favor of unmarried cohabitation than girls from these groups. Given the much stronger emphasis on gender equality in Dutch society, we do not expect to find such gender differences among Dutch adolescents. So our fourth hypothesis is that: Turkish and Moroccan girls will have a stronger preference for marriage than Turkish and Moroccan boys (H4).

2.3.3 Parental influences on adolescents' union formation preferences

Until now, the focus has been on differences between native Dutch adolescents and Turkish and Moroccan adolescents in their union formation preferences and on differences within the Turkish and Moroccan groups. However, socialization theory allows for the derivation of hypotheses about parental influence on adolescents' union formation preferences that operate in all three groups. Within each of the groups variation exists in the extent to which parents disapprove of unmarried cohabitation. We would expect to find that the stronger the parents' disapproval of unmarried cohabitation, the greater their desire to transmit this attitude to their children. Earlier research has indicated that certain characteristics, such as a low level of education, a strong religious commitment and a gender-specific division of labor, are

associated with more traditional attitudes towards family life (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Starrels & Holm, 2000; Thornton & Camburn, 1987; Trent & South, 1992). It can be expected that these more traditional parents hold a negative attitude towards unmarried cohabitation as well. Therefore, the fifth hypothesis is: adolescents whose parents have characteristics associated with more traditional attitudes towards relationships and the family will have a stronger preference for marriage than adolescents whose parents have characteristics associated with more modern attitudes towards relationships and the family (H5).

The hypotheses we have formulated thus far are based on the assumption that Turkish, Moroccan and native Dutch parents are fairly successful at transferring their attitudes about unmarried cohabitation to their children. In reality, however, this will by no means always be the case. This raises the question as to the circumstances under which adolescents adopt their parents' attitudes. In the development of children, parents play a crucial role as significant persons to learn all kinds of attitudes and behavior from (Blustein, 1982; Younnis & Smollar, 1985). Despite the fact that the child will seek for more independence in adolescence, parents remain an important source of close relationships (Coleman, 1980; Dekovic & Meeus, 1997). Research shows that a good parent-child relationship is essential in intergenerational communication and attitude transmission (Taris, Semin, & Bok, 1998; Sartor & Younnis, 2002). The quality of the parent-child relationship can thus facilitate or inhibit the intergenerational transmission of norms and values (Brody, Moore, & Gleib, 2001; Helsen, Vollebergh, & Meeus, 2000; Steinberg, 1990; Taris et al., 1998). Adolescents may be less willing to adopt the union formation preferences of their parents when the relationship with their parents is characterized by many problems. This leads to the sixth hypothesis: adolescents who have a high-quality relationship with their parents will have a greater preference for marriage than those whose relationship with their parents is of lesser quality (H6).

The above hypothesis presupposes that the parents of Turkish, Moroccan and native Dutch adolescents will react in the same way if their children develop preferences different to their own. But is this a correct assumption to make? We mentioned earlier that the ethnic orientation of Turkish and Moroccan parents generally means that, when it comes to relationships and the kin group, a deviation in norms and values can adversely affect the family's honor and therefore the family's position within the ethnic community. This can be partly attributed to the fact that Turkish and Moroccan kin relationships tend to be more collectively oriented (see 2.1). Dutch society, on the other hand, is more individualistically oriented (Eldering, 2002; Lievens, 2000; Nauck, 1988). We would therefore expect Dutch parents to be less likely than the parents of young Turks or Moroccans to challenge deviant preferences of their children. This brings us to our final hypothesis that the hypotheses based on socialization (H5) and parent-child relationship quality (H6) will apply less to Dutch adolescents than to adolescents of Turkish or Moroccan origin (H7).

2.4 DATA AND METHODS

2.4.1 Data

To test our hypotheses, we used data from the Dutch National (Secondary) School Pupil Surveys (NSO) of 1996 and 1999 (the Dutch National Budgeting Advisory Centre (NIBUD) and the Social & Cultural Planning Agency (SCP). In these surveys, pupils in secondary education complete a written self-report questionnaire on a set of themes like finances, leisure time, school and politics. Data are collected at schools that represent different levels of education, denominations and regions in the Netherlands (Zwart & Warnaar, 1993). One great advantage of the NSO is that it incorporates a considerable number of young migrants as well as Dutch adolescents. Few datasets are available in the Netherlands that include a sufficient number of Turkish and Moroccan adolescents to analyze these groups on a differentiated basis.

The data collected in 1996 and 1999 were pooled and Turkish, Moroccan and native Dutch adolescents were selected. This resulted in a dataset containing 19,792 native Dutch, 549 Turkish and 453 Moroccan respondents. To check for effects of weighting, analyses with and without weighting were carried out on the 1999 data. Because no differences were found, unweighted data were used for further analyses.

2.4.2 Measures

The dependent variable was the preference for a particular type of union based on the question: "When you are older, do you want to cohabit and/or marry?" Answering categories were: (1) No (1999)/Neither (1996), (2) Cohabit rather than marry, (3) Cohabit first, then marry, and (4) Marry without having cohabited. The group (n = 463) of youngsters who answered "no" on this question have been excluded from analyses. For analyses, the response categories on the preferred type of union were reverse coded and ranged from (1) marry without cohabiting, (2) cohabit first, then marry, and (3) cohabit and never marry.

The independent variables were grouped in line with the theoretical notions and hypotheses. Descriptive information on the independent variables is presented for each of the three ethnic groups in Table 2.1.

Ethnic orientation. Direct measures of the adolescents' characteristics, like migrant group and reported ethnic identification are included.

Migrant group. We included a migrant origin variable for Turks and Moroccans. To define the migrant group of the respondent, the current Statistics Netherlands (CBS) definition was used: a migrant is a person with at least one foreign born parent (Keij, 2000). The adolescent was assigned to a particular migrant group according to the reported country of birth of him/herself and both parents. Native Dutch adolescents were the reference group.

Ethnic identification. Young Turks and Moroccans were asked: "Which ethnic group would you say you belong to?" Those who considered themselves to belong to their own

ethnic/migrant group were compared with the category that regarded themselves as Dutch (the reference category).

Migration generation. Country of birth of the adolescent was used to determine who was born in Turkey or Morocco (first generation). The second generation was the reference group.

Socialization. Five characteristics relating to the parental home, which earlier research has shown to be of influence on union formation intentions, were included. Furthermore the youngster's reported characteristics of the relationship with parents were used.

Maternal religiosity. It is well-known that religious people marry younger and are less apt to unmarried cohabitation (Jansen, 2002a). The adolescents were asked: "What religious denomination does your mother belong to?" The various religious persuasions were then included in the analyses as separate dummy variables. Adolescents whose mothers had no religious persuasion were the reference category.

Maternal labor force participation. In the traditional breadwinner model, the man works and the woman's work outside the home is limited. We would expect those women who combine paid work with child rearing to have a more modern outlook on relationships (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991). In order to know whether the mother participated at the labor market we used the question: "How many hours a week does your mother work on average? (Excluding time spent on housework and commuting)". Mothers who did not work (0 hours) were compared with those who had a paid job outside the home.

Parental level of education. We would expect parents with a higher level of education to have a more positive attitude towards unmarried cohabitation (Barber et al., 2002; Esveldt et al., 1995; Weijters & Scheepers, 2003). The highest known educational level of both parents was determined by using the question: "What is the highest level of education your father/mother completed?" The answer categories ranged from (1) "Primary school" to (8) "University".

Type of family. Children who were not part of a two-parent family are expected to attach less importance to marriage and be more open towards other types of unions (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991). We included a variable which compared adolescents from two-parent families (the reference group) with others (such as those from one-parent families or stepfamilies). This was obtained by using the answers on the question: "What type of family do you live in?"

Ethnically mixed marriage. Parents of mixed ethnic origin may well be more open to modern attitudes towards union formation because they themselves know what it is like to cross clear group boundaries (Hondius, 1999). This measure was constructed on the basis of the question: "Which country were your father/mother born in?" If one of the parents had been born in the Netherlands and their partner in Turkey or Morocco, this was defined as a mixed marriage. Homogamous couples were the group used for the purpose of comparison.

Quality of relationship with parents. The quality of the relationship indicates how important the relationship with their parents is to the adolescent. Research (Brody et al., 2001) showed that the attitudes of parents and children are more similar in case of a good

relationship quality. The quality of the relationship was determined on the basis of the responses to five dichotomous items, such as: “I don't like spending time at home” and “Have you had any serious problems with your parents over the past year?” Together, these items formed a reasonable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .62$). The scores on the items were added up and divided by the total number of valid answers to these questions. The created scale ranges from 0 to 1: a score close to 1 indicated that adolescents have a good relationship with their parents and a score close to 0 indicated a relationship with more problems.

Conflict with parents. Having many conflicts and conflicting views with the parents is used as a second indicator for the relationship with the parents. If there is a lot of conflict between parents and a child, it is assumed that the adolescent will be less inclined to adopt the parents' attitude towards union formation. The level of conflict with parents was calculated using the question: “Please indicate whether you and your parents generally agree or disagree about the following things..”. The adolescents could indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with their father and mother about nine items including “Your behavior at school”, “Your friends” and “Your plans for the future”. Separate scales of conflict created for mothers and fathers correlated .7. The answers given for father and mother were combined to create one scale for ‘conflict with parents’ by adding up the number of times the respondent disagreed and dividing this by the total number of valid answers. An analysis of the scale showed that these nine items can be regarded as a scale of the degree to which the adolescent's attitudes conflicted with those of their parents (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$). Conflict scores could range from 0 to 1, with a low score indicating a high level of agreement and a high score indicating a high level of disagreement between adolescent and parents.

Furthermore some individual and control variables were included as independents in the analyses.

Sex. A dummy variable indicating the adolescent's gender with boys being the reference group.

Age. The adolescent's age (in years) at the time of completion of the questionnaire.

Educational level. This variable indicates the type of education the adolescents were following at the time they completed the questionnaire, ranging from (1) Lower General Secondary Education (VMBO) to (4) Upper General Secondary Education (VWO).

Survey year. The year the survey was conducted, with 1996 being the reference category.

Table 2.1 Descriptive information on independent variables for native Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan adolescents

Variable	Range	Native Dutch		Turks		Moroccans	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<i>Ethnicity and gender</i>							
First generation migrant (1 = 1st gen)	0/1			0.21	0.41	0.26	0.44
Ethnic identification (1 = migrant group)	0/1			0.71	0.46	0.78	0.42
Sex (1 = girl)	0/1	0.50	0.50	0.51	0.50	0.53	0.50
<i>Parental socialization</i>							
Maternal religious denomination							
Christian	0/1	0.56	0.50	0.02	0.13	0.03	0.15
Islamic	0/1	0.00	0.04	0.87	0.34	0.92	0.28
Other religion	0/1	0.04	0.21	0.02	0.15	0.01	0.10
Maternal labor force participation (1 = work)	0/1	0.63	0.48	0.29	0.46	0.15	0.35
Educational level parents	1-8	4.35	1.83	2.80	1.61	3.49	1.11
Family type (1= other than two parent family)	0/1	0.08	0.28	0.13	0.34	0.12	0.32
Ethnic mixed marriage parents (1 = intermarried)	0/1			0.05	0.20	0.05	0.22
Quality of relationship with parents	0-1	0.84	0.23	0.79	0.27	0.81	0.25
Conflict with parents	0-1	0.19	0.20	0.24	0.20	0.25	0.23
<i>Control variables</i>							
Age	11-23	14.71	1.66	14.89	1.59	14.77	1.47
Level of education	1-4	2.41	0.98	2.07	0.94	2.05	0.85
Survey year (1 = 1999)	0/1	0.57	0.49	0.67	0.47	0.74	0.44
N		18,452		467		385	

Source: NSO, 1996-1999

2.4.3 Method

The dependent variable on the preferred type of union has an ordinal measurement level. Therefore, ordinal logistic regression was used. Five models of increasing complexity were estimated. In the first model only migrant origin was incorporated. Adolescents' ethnic orientation and gender were entered in model 2. To test the socialization hypotheses, variables on characteristics of the parents and the adolescents' relationship with the parents were entered (model 3 and 4). In the final model (5) interactions between migrant origin and socialization are added. Only those interactions that produced a significant effect are shown in the results.

2.5 RESULTS

2.5.1 Bivariate analysis

First, we present the union preferences of boys and girls from each ethnic group (Figure 2.1). Broadly speaking, the large majority of all adolescents wanted to marry in the future. Only a small minority (between four and ten percent) were contemplating unmarried cohabitation without subsequent marriage. The current Dutch practice, whereby partners cohabit for a period of time before marrying, was reflected in the preferences of the native Dutch adolescents, with a broad majority (80%) preferring this option.

Even though young Turks and Moroccans were more likely than their native Dutch peers to prefer marriage not preceded by cohabitation, premarital cohabitation was also more popular among Moroccans than direct marriage not preceded by cohabitation: respectively 51 and 42% of the youngsters preferred this type of union. Young Turks were slightly more traditional: 56% preferred marriage not preceded by cohabitation, and yet 38% of them still indicated that they would like to cohabit before marrying. Clearly, many adolescents from the two migrant groups consider a period of unmarried cohabitation, which is the norm in the Netherlands, to be an attractive option.

Significant gender differences were only found in the two migrant groups. The preferences of the migrant girls were more traditional than those of the migrant boys. Turkish girls were the most traditional oriented in their preference: 65% wanted to marry without previous cohabiting. The preferences of Moroccan boys were most similar to those of the native Dutch adolescents.

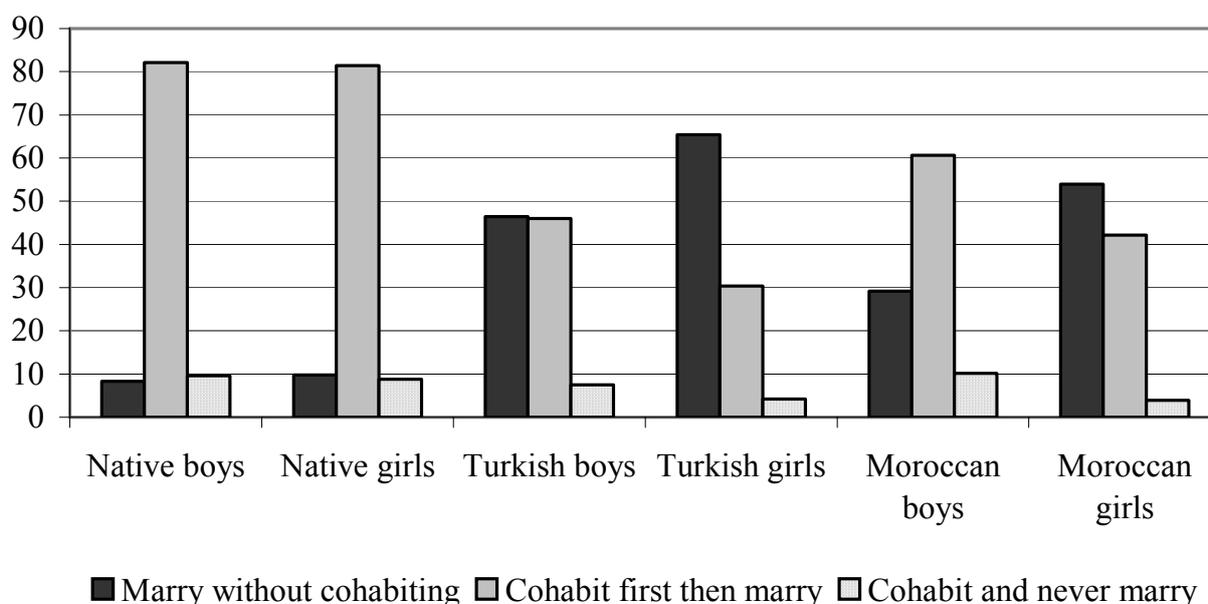


Figure 2.1 Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan adolescents' union formation preferences, by sex (percentages)

2.5.2 Multivariate analysis

To test our hypotheses on group differences and parental influence on the adolescents' union formation preferences, a series of ordinal logistic regressions were estimated. The results are presented in Table 2.2.

According to the first hypothesis, Turks and Moroccans should have a stronger preference for marriage than native Dutch adolescents. Our findings (Table 2.2, model 1) were indeed consistent with this hypothesis: young Turks and Moroccans had significantly more traditional union formation preferences than their native Dutch counterparts. In addition, we found that Turkish adolescents were in general more in favor of (direct) marriage than adolescents with a Moroccan background.

In the second model (Table 2.2), migration generation, ethnic identification, gender and control variables were entered. The results showed that both our second and third hypotheses, based on ethnic orientation, were confirmed. In line with our expectation the first generation of Turks and Moroccans was more in favor of marriage than the second generation. Also the adolescents' ethnic identification was clearly an important factor in terms of their preference for a particular union. As hypothesized we found that those who identified more with their own ethnic group were more in favor of marriage than those who regarded themselves as Dutch.

We had different expectations about how gender would affect migrant and native Dutch adolescents. In the second model the main effect of gender and an interaction variable for gender and migrant origin were added. In general we found that girls were somewhat more in favor of marriage than boys. In line with our hypothesis (H4), among the two migrant groups we found a clear difference in preferred type of union between the sexes. Turkish and Moroccan girls were more in favor of marriage than boys from these groups.

Of the control variables (age, level of education and survey year) only survey year resulted in a significant effect on the union formation preferences. Adolescents who took part in the 1999 survey had a more traditional union formation preference than those who participated in the 1996 survey.

Model 2 also shows that after inclusion of ethnic orientation, gender and control variables, there was no longer an effect of having a Moroccan background. This was in particular attributable to inclusion of the adolescent's ethnic identification. The effect of having a Turkish migrant background declined in the second model as well, but the preferences of these adolescents remained significantly different from Dutch adolescents.

Table 2.2 Ordinal logistic regression models for the preferences for different types of unions among Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch adolescents

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	B	SE								
Ethnicity (ref. = Dutch)										
Turkish	-2.43***	0.09	-1.11***	0.19	-0.69**	0.29	-0.70**	0.29	-1.19*	0.54
Moroccan	-1.84***	0.10	-0.16	0.22	0.31	0.32	0.39	0.32	-0.05	0.68
First generation migrant			-0.27*	0.18	-0.32	0.18	-0.34	0.18	-0.33	0.18
Ethnic identification			-1.14***	0.17	-0.93***	0.18	-0.91***	0.18	-0.93***	0.18
Girl			-0.14***	0.04	-0.08*	0.04	-0.10**	0.04	-0.10**	0.04
Turkish x girl			-0.86***	0.20	-0.92***	0.21	-0.87***	0.21	-0.88***	0.21
Moroccan x girl			-1.14***	0.23	-1.17***	0.23	-1.17***	0.23	-1.22***	0.23
Age			-0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01	-0.02	0.01
Level of education			0.01	0.02	-0.05*	0.02	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.02
Survey year			-0.30***	0.04	-0.36***	0.04	-0.35***	0.04	-0.36***	0.04
Maternal denomination (ref. = no religion)										
Christian					-1.04***	0.04	-1.03***	0.04	-1.03***	0.05
Islamic					-1.23***	0.25	-1.33***	0.25	-1.27***	0.25
Other religion					-1.52***	0.09	-1.54***	0.09	-1.54***	0.09
Maternal labor force participation					0.55***	0.05	0.55***	0.05	0.55***	0.05
Educational level parents					0.07***	0.01	0.07***	0.01	0.06***	0.01
Family type					0.78***	0.06	0.70***	0.07	0.70***	0.07
Ethnic mixed marriage parents					0.60	0.42	0.51	0.43	0.67	0.43
Quality of relationship with parents							-0.69***	0.09	-0.72***	0.09
Conflict with parents							0.65***	0.10	0.69***	0.10
Quality of relationship with parents x Moroccan									0.98*	0.48
Maternal labor force participation x Moroccan									-0.73*	0.33
Pseudo R ² (Nagelkerke)	0.06		0.08		0.14		0.15		0.16	

Source: NSO, 1996-1999

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

The fifth hypothesis emphasized the general importance of parental socialization. Characteristics indicative of the modernity of the parents and the parental home were expected to be directly related to the adolescent's preferences. Model 3 (Table 2.2) shows that our hypothesis was corroborated by the results. Those with a religious mother (of whichever denomination) were more in favor of marriage than those whose mother was not religious, whereas a higher educational level of the parents, having a working mother and growing up outside a two-parent family were found to have a modernizing effect on the adolescent's union formation preferences. Although the correlation between adolescents' preferences and parental mixed marriage was in the predicted direction, it was not statistically significant. The addition of the socialization variables resulted, nevertheless, in a considerable improvement in the model's predictive value.

The sixth hypothesis predicted that having a good relationship with the parents would facilitate intergenerational transmission and thus be related to adolescents' union formation preferences. The quality of the relationship with the parents and the degree of conflict with the parents are added in the fourth model. Both indicators produced the predicted association. A poor relationship as well as a high level of conflict with parents both resulted in a greater preference for unmarried cohabitation among adolescents.

According to our final hypothesis, general parental socialization influences should apply more to young Turks and Moroccans than to native Dutch adolescents. However, results showed only limited differences in the association between parental socialization and adolescent's preferences for Turkish and Moroccan youth. Compared to the native Dutch reference group, having a working mother was found to be less associated with the union formation preferences of Moroccan adolescents. Furthermore, whereas we find that a better relationship quality among Dutch youngsters was related to a preference for marriage, for Moroccans results pointed in the opposite direction. The quality of the relationship with the parents is not found to be associated with the union formation preferences of Moroccan adolescents.

2.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

We began this chapter with the observation that unmarried cohabitation had effectively become the norm among native Dutch, but that the extent to which young Turks and Moroccans also opt for this type of union is much less clear. Our first aim was to provide a better insight into (differences in) the union formation preferences of native Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan adolescents. Secondly, we wanted to study the influence parents have on the adolescent's preferences regarding union formation. We explored how socialization as well as migration specific factors affect the adolescent's preference for a particular type of union.

Our data showed that the vast majority of native Dutch adolescents had a preference for unmarried cohabitation (before marriage). Contrary to our expectations and to current

practice, a very considerable proportion of young Turks and Moroccans also favored a period of unmarried cohabitation. Between 30 and 50 percent of adolescents from these migrant groups said they would prefer to cohabit before marriage. This is not in line with findings from previous, focus-group based research into the union formation intentions of young Turks and Moroccans (Hooghiemstra, 2003; Lodewijckx & Hendrickx, 1998). This divergence may well have been due to the research method used. The adolescents studied here completed a written questionnaire at school. This is a completely different research setting from a focus group discussion with peers from one's own ethnic group. The more anonymous (and individualized) collection of the data used here may well result in adolescents giving less socially acceptable responses than they might give in focus groups.

The relatively strong preference for unmarried cohabitation is in sharp contrast to the current union formation practice among Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands. Only a very small percentage of Turks and Moroccans actually cohabit. So why is it that stated preferences so rarely translate into actual behavior? Part of the explanation may lie in the fact that behavior is more determined by restrictions than preferences are. When adolescents express a preference, they may pay relatively little attention to the reactions of their parents and the attitude of the broader community, whereas they will certainly become aware of these reactions and related consequences when they have to take an actual union formation decision. If this line of reasoning is correct, then parental influence on the choices young Turks and Moroccans make, will be (even) greater than on their preferences. The young migrants may thus overestimate the likelihood and possibilities of unmarried cohabitation in the belief that they have more control over these choices themselves than they will actually have in practice. Panel studies among these groups are needed to determine how parental influences may change over time when it comes to union formation behavior.

The results showed that young Turks (and Turkish girls in particular) were more in favor of marriage than native Dutch or Moroccan adolescents. Earlier research has also shown that compared to Moroccans, Turks are more traditional in their union formation attitudes and that the control exerted by their social network is stronger than is the case for Moroccans (see, for example, Lodewijckx, Page, & Schoenmaeckers, 1996 and Dagevos, 2001). Whereas Moroccan boys did not differ significantly from the native Dutch adolescents, Moroccan girls had a stronger preference for marriage without preceding cohabitation than native Dutch adolescents. The fact that Moroccan boys held preferences similar to the native Dutch adolescents can perhaps be accounted for by the large degree of freedom Moroccan boys have compared to girls from this group. Moroccan girls may place more emphasis on having a modern approach to relationships and to the task division with a partner, with the actual type of union itself being less of an issue for them.

The ethnic identification of adolescents was found to have a considerable predictive value for the union formation preferences of young Turks and Moroccans. Turkish and Moroccan adolescents who identify with their own (ethnic) group are more likely to prefer marriage than those who identify themselves as being Dutch. Ethnic identification partly explained the

independent effect of ethnic origin among Turks and completely explained it in the case of young Moroccans. This too corroborates the explanation given above that young Moroccans have more individual freedom of choice than young Turks. The fact that the young Turks, even those who felt themselves to be Dutch, tended not to favor unmarried cohabitation suggests that social control within the Turkish community is more effective than it is within the Moroccan community. We can however not neglect that the concept of ethnic identification was measured in a very general way in the data used here. It did, for example, not provide scope for identification with more than one (ethnic) group. Recent (integration) studies have shown that belonging to several (transnational) communities is becoming increasingly important for young migrants (see, for example Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). Further research might provide a better insight into which ethnic groups migrant youngsters identify with and how the latter influences their union formation preferences. It is in any case clear that ethnic identification is an important factor which should not be neglected when studying adolescents with a migrant background.

Regarding the effect of socialization and the parental home, the effect of religion, parental educational level and maternal labor force participation are striking. Adolescents with a religious background were less in favor of unmarried cohabitation than adolescents with a non-religious background. Given the importance of Islam to a large proportion of young Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands (see, for example Phalet et al., 2000), we expect this to remain an important factor in union formation choices. A low level of parental education and a non-working mother is also related to a stronger preference for marriage among adolescents. Given that both educational attainment and employment are expected to increase among second-generation migrants, second-generation parents may be expected to have more modern union formation attitudes than first-generation parents. As a result, third generation migrant adolescents may well have a stronger preference for unmarried cohabitation than adolescents from the previous two migrant generations of Turks and Moroccans.

The effects of socialization on adolescents' union formation preferences were generally not found to differ between native Dutch, Moroccan and Turkish adolescents. The only two exceptions that are found relate to Moroccan youngsters. Our results showed that having a working mother had a strong modernizing influence on union formation preferences of young Dutch and Turks, but no such effect was found for Moroccans. Our findings also showed that the quality of the parent-child relationship is essential in the transmission of union formation preferences among Dutch and Turks: a good parent-child relationship results in a stronger preference for marriage. For Moroccans, however, a good relationship with the parents is not found to have an effect. It is known that compared to Dutch families, the parent-child relationship and socialization among Moroccan families is rather authoritarian (see for example Pels & Dieleman, 2000). In the Moroccan parent-child relationship a more affective component, like the parent-child relationship quality, thus seems to be less important as a facilitator for intergenerational transmission. Our findings do, however, show that also among Moroccan adolescents the level of conflicts with the parents is related to union formation

preferences. This could indicate that Moroccan adolescents who discuss more with their parents achieve more freedom in forming their own union formation preferences. Future research should take into account different aspects of the parent-child relationship in order to gain a better understanding of how this relationship affects the union formation preferences of adolescents with a different background.

This study shows the general importance of the parent-child relationship for the formation of union formation preferences among both native Dutch and migrant adolescents. However, in addition other important persons in the lives of adolescents, like peers or other family members, may have an influence on the development of (union formation) preferences. Therefore, it would be interesting if follow-up studies examined broader kin relationships and included, beside parents, other relatives and peers in order to examine the relative influence of these different persons in the adolescents' environment. This could provide new insights into the role of the kin network in the choices that adolescents, of different ethnic origins, plan to make.

Based on our results we would expect premarital unmarried cohabitation to remain popular among native Dutch young adults in the future and to increase in popularity among Turks and Moroccans. The difference we found between first- and second-generation adolescents makes it clear that we expect union formation among the second generation in the future to more closely resemble the native Dutch pattern. Having said that, we can conclude that parents do indeed influence adolescents' preferences. Further (longitudinal panel) research among migrant groups, in which preferences and actual behavior at a later age are compared, would be valuable in order to gain more insight into these processes.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER ROLE PREFERENCES AMONG MIGRANT AND NATIVE DUTCH ADOLESCENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS: THE INFLUENCE OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

Helga A.G. de Valk

Abstract

This study examines gender role preferences among migrant and Dutch youth. The first aim was to identify the importance of ethnic and personal characteristics for gender role preferences of adolescents (N=52,000). The second aim was to ascertain how and to what extent migrant and Dutch parents influence adolescents' gender role preferences. Hypotheses are derived from socialization theories in which different modes of intergenerational transmission are distinguished. Analyses show that generally gender role preferences of Dutch adolescents are not more egalitarian than those of migrant youth (Turks being the only exception). Overall girls are more egalitarian oriented than boys. Findings indicate that parental behavior affects adolescents' gender role preferences of the five ethnic groups. Furthermore, analyses revealed that the experience of helping with household chores is a major predictor of boys' preferences regarding the division of labor.

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3 GENDER ROLE PREFERENCES AMONG MIGRANT AND NATIVE DUTCH ADOLESCENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS: THE INFLUENCE OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is identified as an important period in gender role socialization (Erikson, 1968; Dion & Dion, 2004). Conceptions of male and female roles are learned both in the parental family and in society (Harris, 1994). Previous research into gender role preferences and behavior, however, has largely ignored to study *migrant* youth (Orbuch & Eyster, 1997; Buckley & Carter, 2005). First aim of this study is to understand possible differences in gender role preferences among adolescents with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, and a Dutch background in the Netherlands. Gender roles in the Netherlands have changed considerably since the 1970s. One of the major changes being that the number of women in the labor force has grown tremendously. The migrant groups in this study originate from countries in which gender roles are defined differently both in the public and private sphere. It is, however, understudied how migrant adolescents shape their gender role preferences and to what extent ethnic factors may remain of importance among the second generation. As the share of adolescents with a migrant background in the population of the Netherlands as well as many other Western countries increases, it is extremely relevant to examine which gender role perspectives these adolescents have (Dion & Dion, 2004). Research in various disciplines has shown that attitudes and preferences shaped during adolescence may play an important part in actual behavior in later life (Beets, Liefbroer, & De Jong Gierveld, 1997; Hakim, 2003a; Orbuch & Eyster, 1997). Gender role perspectives may affect participation in the public and private sphere and thus determine how the transition to adulthood is shaped among youth in the future. Analyzing adolescents' *preferences* regarding the division of labor can contribute to improving existing knowledge in this area. The first research question is therefore: What preferences regarding the division of labor do adolescents with a migrant and Dutch background have and how can differences be explained?

Why are some adolescents more in favor of a gendered division of labor whereas others prefer partners to share tasks more equally? Earlier research leads us to expect that socialization plays an important part in shaping preferences. Parents can be assumed to play a prominent role in the development of gender roles (Kulik, 2002). In socialization theory two ways of intergenerational transmission can be distinguished. First, socialization takes place primarily through the transmission of values from parents to their children. Here, the parents' ideology influences the preferences formed by their children (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Thornton, Alwin & Camburn, 1983). Second, according to social learning theory socialization results from role modeling. Emphasis is placed on children's own experiences and the fact that parents act as role models for their children (Bandura, 1977; Cunningham,

2001a, 2001b). According to this approach, the actual division of tasks between the parents tends to determine the preferences and future behavior of their children.

So far, however, research has not assessed how and to what extent *migrant* parents influence their children's gender role preferences. Among migrant families intergenerational transmission of preferences is not a given. In the sociology of migration it is underlined that young migrants occupy a special position since they are part of two – often different – cultures: the culture of the country of origin, which tends to prevail in the parental home, and that of the host society. Migrant adolescents' parents are generally socialized in their countries of origin whereas they themselves have generally been raised in the Netherlands. Second aim of the study is therefore to explain how and to what extent migrant and Dutch parents influence the gender role preferences of their adolescent children. Neither migrants nor Dutch are a monolithic group socialized in the same manner. Different ways of socialization are identified and tested for each of the groups. This will allow us to expand on and refine existing theories on intergenerational transmission among different ethnic groups.

3.2 BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

3.2.1 Migrant populations in the Netherlands

Around 19% of the current Dutch population (16.3 million in 2005) is born abroad or has at least one parent who is born abroad. The four migrant groups in this study (Surinamese, Antilleans, Moroccans, and Turks) together compose 67% of the non-Western migrant population in the Netherlands in 2005 (Statistics Netherlands, 2005).

Nowadays, the majority of young Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands are children of the (predominantly male) migrant workers who were recruited from (rural areas in) Turkey and Morocco in the 1960s to carry out unskilled labor in the Netherlands. Although their stay was originally expected to be temporary, most of them remained in the Netherlands and family members who initially stayed in the home countries joined them in the Netherlands. Nowadays, many Turks and Moroccans still find a partner in their countries of origin, resulting in a continued influx of migrants from these countries (De Valk, Esveldt, Henkens, & Liefbroer, 2001).

Migration from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles to the Netherlands stems from the colonial history between the Netherlands and these countries. Traditionally, migrants from Surinam and the Antilles came to the Netherlands for educational purposes. Furthermore, a substantial number of Surinamese migrated to the Netherlands around independence of Surinam in 1975. Until 1980, Surinamese kept their Dutch nationality and could thus easily settle down in the Netherlands without residence permits. Because The Antilles are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, migration is not bound to immigration rules making migration relatively easy.

Due to their specific migration background first generation Turks and Moroccans are predominantly low-educated. They generally have a disadvantaged socio-economic position characterized by a low income, and restricted Dutch language proficiency. The position of the second generation is improving but still at the lower end of the social stratum. The socio-economic position of Surinamese and Antilleans is more diverse and in general better than that of Turks and Moroccans. Their Dutch language proficiency is good and they reach higher educational levels (Odé & Veenman, 2003).

3.2.2 Gender roles: Dutch and migrants

Until the 1970s there was a clear division of tasks among couples in the Netherlands: men worked outside the home and women were homemakers. These days, however, the labor force participation of Dutch women is much higher than it was a few decades ago. A substantial proportion of couples in the Netherlands are dual earners. Still, 35% of 30-year-old women with children and their partners had traditional gender roles in 2000 (Garssen, De Beer, Cuyvers, & De Jong, 2001). On top of that, many of the dual-earning couples are in fact one-and-half earning households. This tends to be the case in particular among couples with children: whereas most men continue to work full-time after the birth of their first child, many women decide to work fewer hours (Alders, Latten, Pool, & Esveldt, 2003; Garssen et al., 2001; Kalmijn, Bernasco, & Weesie, 1999; Keuzenkamp & Hooghiemstra, 2000; Van der Lippe, 1999).

The emancipation and growing labor force participation of women since the 1960s has also affected attitudes towards the division of housework. Nowadays about 70% of the Dutch population is of the opinion that couples should share household responsibilities (SCP, 2000). Keuzenkamp and Oudhof (2000) note, however, that despite the egalitarian gender role attitudes, Dutch women still tend to take on most of the housework and child caring responsibilities, also those who have a paid job (Van Nimwegen & Esveldt, 2003).

Migrants from Turkey, Morocco, Surinam and The Antilles brought their own traditions with regard to gender roles with them. Turkish and Moroccan societies are traditionally organized patrilineal and the lives of men and women are strongly segregated. The role and behavior of women in particular are bound by rules as fathers and brothers are deemed to be responsible for the (sexual) behavior of daughters until the latter marry. Girls' behavior is therefore more strongly supervised by the kin group than boys' is (Phalet & Schönflug, 2001; Dion & Dion, 2004). Traditionally women are expected to assume responsibility for the housework and childcare and men are thought to have a paid job (Eldering, 2002; Gijsberts & Merens, 2004; Klatter-Folmer, 1996; Nijsten, 1998b).

Cross-cultural studies have shown that kin relations and gender roles in Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles traditionally differ from those of the Mediterranean countries. The Caribbean countries are described as matrifocal in which women play a central role in kin relations and decisions (also referred to as the 'Caribbean family system'; Shaw, 2003). As it is quite common among Surinamese and Antillean families for the men to be absent from the

home, women have to assume responsibility for household duties and the children. Women in these societies are taught to be prepared to take responsibility for supporting and raising their families (Distelbrink, 2000).

Our knowledge of the gender role preferences and behavior of the four migrant groups in the Netherlands is basically limited to labor force participation. Studies in this field have shown that among Turkish and Moroccan migrants it is mainly men who have a job outside the home and earn the family income (Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Van Praag, 2003; Veenman, 2002). Nevertheless, the percentage of Turkish and Moroccan men in the Netherlands who are not economically active is considerable, due in part to unemployment and disability (Dagevos, 2001b). Labor force participation among Turkish and Moroccan women, at around 25% in 1999, is low compared both with men from their own migrant groups and native Dutch. This can partly be attributed to the fact that Turkish and Moroccan women tend to marry and have children at a young age (Gijsberts & Merens, 2004). Among these women, as is the case among women of Dutch descent, there is a clear downturn in labor force participation after the birth of the first child. On top of that, Turkish and Moroccan women tend to have more children than their Dutch counterparts resulting in more limited labor force participation during a longer period of time (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000). The labor force participation of Surinamese and Antilleans in the Netherlands shows a completely different pattern. Almost two thirds of the women in these groups are active in the labor market, which is substantially higher than the 50% of native Dutch women who are economically active. The labor force participation of Surinamese and Antillean men (70% to 80%) is comparable to that among Dutch men (Dagevos, 2001b; Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000).

3.2.3 Parental socialization

Research has shown that intergenerational transmission has a major influence on behavior and attitudes in a whole host of areas. Parents are found to play an important role (alongside peers and school) in the socialization process (Younnis & Smollar, 1985). Also regarding gender role attitudes and behavior, studies in North-America (mainly among native white Americans) have confirmed the influence of parental socialization on their children (see, among others, Behrman, Pollak, & Taubman, 1995; Cunningham, 2001a, 2001b; Moen, Erickson, Dempster-McClain, 1997). The research results paint a varied picture when it comes to the way in which this intergenerational transmission takes place. Whereas Blee and Tickamyer (1986) find that the attitudes of white daughters are influenced by the mothers' attitudes rather than by their labor force participation, they found that in the case of African Americans parental influence mainly manifests itself through parental behavior (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995).

In other words, these findings suggest that different aspects of intergenerational transmission may be important among different ethnic groups. First, it can be expected that the parents' values constitute the context within which adolescents form their preferences. Second, observing the *behavior* of others or learning by their own experience may be of

importance to adolescents. Whilst these two approaches tend to be studied separately in existing research, both approaches are used here to test for different ways of socialization.

3.2.4 Value transmission

Socialization theories primarily emphasize the role of parental values and attitudes in intergenerational transmission. Parents are expected to transmit their cultural determined values about among others gender roles (Acock & Bengtson, 1978; Gibbons, Stiles, & Shkodriani, 1991; Starrels, 1992). One can assume parents to transmit values that are familiar to them (from their countries of origin) (Buckley & Carter, 2005; Lesthaeghe, 1996). In line with this assumption one would thus expect migrant parents who come from a different cultural context to transfer other traditions than dominant in the host society. This is confirmed by studies conducted in the United States which show that the transmitted gender roles differ markedly depending on the origin of the migrant (for an overview see Blee, & Tickamyer, 1995; Orbuch & Eyster, 1997). According to cross-cultural studies the present generation of migrant parents in the Netherlands grew up in societies that are found to differ from one another in terms of kin and gender relations (Hofstede, 1991; Schwartz, 1994; Todd, 1985; De Valk et al., 2001). On the whole, Turkish and Moroccan adults will hold more traditional gender and family values. This means that they prefer a clear division of tasks: paid employment is the man's responsibility and homemaking is typically a woman's job. The gendered division of labor is less evident among Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch adults. Women from these Caribbean societies combine supporting and caring tasks and can thus be expected to attach more importance to egalitarian gender roles. The latter is also expected for Dutch adults whose values will be determined by the more egalitarian position of women in the Netherlands. This difference in cultural values transmitted by parents leads us to expect that immigrant youth of Turkish and Moroccan origin set less store by an egalitarian division of labor between partners than native Dutch, Surinamese and Antillean youth (H1).

Now that women are increasingly participating in the labor force, the gendered division of labor between partners has become less distinct in Western countries. Women, both migrant and Dutch, have more to gain from an egalitarian division of labor than men (Dion & Dion, 2004). Labor force participation can give them greater (financial) independence and sharing household duties with their partners relieves their work burden. This is confirmed by research showing that women, irrespective of their ethnic background, have more egalitarian values than men (Gibbons et al., 1991; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1992; Kulik, 2002). The fact that girls have more to gain from an egalitarian division of labor is reinforced by the fact that daughters are influenced in particular by their mothers' values. On the whole, mothers play an important role in the socialization of their children and they have been found (Blee and Tickamyer, 1986) to transmit their egalitarian values to their daughters in particular (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Thornton, Alwin & Camburn, 1983). The second hypothesis is therefore that girls set greater store by an egalitarian division of labor between partners than boys (H2).

Differences in adolescent's preferences within one and the same ethnic group may not depend only on gender but also on the degree of modernity of their parents' values. We can assume that children of parents who have modern values will have more egalitarian gender role attitudes. Children of parents with more traditional values, on the other hand, are expected to attach greater importance to gender roles based on the breadwinner model in which the woman is responsible for caring and the man takes primary responsibility for earning (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Trent & South, 1992). Research identifies religiosity and level of education as important indicators of the degree of modernity of values. Various studies have shown that people who are less religious are more inclined to have egalitarian values regarding gender roles than people with a stronger religious affiliation (Jansen, 2002b; Kulik, 2002). The same is found among migrant groups, where those who are religiously orientated tend to be more in favor of a gender-specific division of labor (Dagevos, 2001a; Janssens, 1993, 1996). Research has also shown that the more highly educated – both migrant and non-migrant – have more egalitarian views on the division of labor (Barber, Axinn, & Thornton, 2002; Gijsberts & Merens, 2004; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). A higher level of education has been found to promote familiarity with and openness towards more egalitarian gender role perspectives. As these parental values can be expected to directly affect the preferences of children we hypothesize that adolescents whose parents a) are better educated and b) are not religious will be more in favor of an egalitarian division of tasks between partners than adolescents whose parents are less educated and religious (H3).

3.2.5 Role models and experiences

Social learning theory emphasizes the importance of parents' behavior for the preferences formed by their children (Bandura, 1977). Children learn behavior not only through instruction, but by observing the behavior of others, and the repercussions of this behavior. This may apply in particular to the behavior of those with whom the child associates most and who are of prime importance to the child. We may assume that mothers and fathers are important role models when it comes to the division of labor. In practice, adolescents tend to see the way in which their own parents divide responsibilities as a model for gender roles. The gender roles observed by adolescents in their immediate environment are therefore believed to have a major influence on the preferences they form (Denuwelaere, 2003).

Based on social learning theory, we may first of all assume that the mother's labor force participation will serve as an example in the formation of gender role attitudes by adolescents. Thornton et al. (1983), for example, showed that the role model of a mother who works outside the home leads to more egalitarian gender role preferences among both their sons and daughters (see also Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Moen et al., 1997; Booth & Amato, 1994). Other studies have shown that the more a woman works outside the home, the more time her partner tends to spend on housework, such as preparing meals and cleaning (Alders et al., 2003; Keuzenkamp & Hooghiemstra, 2000). We may therefore expect that paid

employment by mothers will serve as an example for their children and will lead to more modern gender role preferences among both girls and boys.

Second, the type of family in which adolescents grow up may serve as a role model. Young people will observe different gender roles, depending on the situation in the parental home. Children who grow up in single-parent families may observe a less gendered division of labor as in these households one parent (usually the mother) tends to combine a paid job with household. Growing up in a one-parent family will most likely make adolescents attach less importance to conventional gender roles and set greater store by the independence of women (Duindam & Spruijt, 1998; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Kulik, 2002). We thus expect that adolescents a) whose mothers have a paid job and b) who are raised in single-parent families will set greater store by an egalitarian division of labor between partners than adolescents whose mothers do not have a paid job and who are raised in two-parent families (H4).

And lastly, young people learn directly through their own behavioral experiences. A number of studies underline that adolescents' experience with helping out in the home can have an important influence on young people's gender role preferences. Denuwelaere (2003) showed that the gender-specific division of domestic labor by the parents influences the household duties children perform in the (parental) home. Children whose parents have a strongly gendered division of labor are found to perform more gender-specific domestic tasks themselves. Studies carried out in the United States also show that the time spent on housework by one of the parents influences the household chores performed by a child of the same sex (Cunningham, 2001b). In his studies, Cunningham (2001a, 2001b) found that the influence of the parental gendered division of household labor is particularly strong on the gender roles assumed by sons in their own homes later in life. He therefore suggests that helping out in the home contributes to more egalitarian gender role attitudes among boys in particular. It may well be that girls who help out in the home experience and see the gender-specificity in the division of tasks. By helping with housework they may, in fact, acquire gender-specific roles (Buckley & Carter, 2005). The last hypothesis therefore includes an interaction between the adolescent's behavior and sex: whereas girls who help out in the home will be more inclined to develop gender-specific role preferences, boys who help out in the home will be more inclined to form egalitarian gender role preferences (H5).

3.3 DATA AND METHODS

3.3.1 Data and measures

To test the hypotheses, data from the Dutch National Secondary School Pupil Surveys (NSO) of 1992, 1994, 1996 and 1999 were used. In these surveys, pupils in secondary education in the Netherlands complete a written questionnaire on topics ranging from themes like finances, leisure time, to school and politics. Data are collected at schools that represent

different levels of education, denominations and regions in the Netherlands (Zwart & Warnaar, 1993). The datasets from the four above-mentioned years were pooled and compared for the purpose of this study resulting in 46,782 Dutch, 1,069 Turkish, 1,169 Moroccan, 1,687 Surinamese and 464 Antillean respondents. Although the NSO was not designed primarily to explain young people's gender role preferences they allow for analyses of preferences regarding the future division of labor between partners and the parental influence on these preferences. One great advantage of the NSO is that it incorporates a considerable number of young migrants as well as Dutch young people. Few datasets are available in the Netherlands that include a sufficient number of immigrant youth to analyze these groups on a differentiated basis.

The present study focuses on two main aspects of a gender-specific division of labor: namely paid work and division of domestic duties. In total four measures of gender-role preferences were included: (1) having a paid job outside the home when *not* having children; (2) having a paid job outside the home when having children; (3) preparing meals by partners who have children; and (4) doing housework by partners who have children.

The first dependent variable was based on the question: “When you are older, and living with a partner in a married or unmarried union without having any children (yet), would you want to 1) be the only one to have a paid job, 2) both of you to have a job, 3) only your partner to have a job?” The second to fourth dependent variables were based on the question how would you “like to organize the housework when you are older and living with a partner in a married or unmarried union, and have children.” Having a paid job, doing the housework and preparing meals were separate items for which participants could indicate whether they would prefer the task to be carried out 1) preferably alone, 2) preferably by both, or 3) preferably by the partner only. The four dependent variables were dichotomized for analyses: adolescents who said they preferred a traditional gender-specific division of labor constituted the reference group and were compared in the analyses with the group who said they did not give preference to a traditional breadwinner model. This latter group comprised of adolescents who preferred a division of labor in which partners share responsibilities and a small percentage of respondents (at most six percent) who preferred a set-up in which the woman is the breadwinner and the man the homemaker.

The independent variables are set out in Table 3.1, by ethnic group, and are described below.

Ethnic origin. Participants who had at least one parent born abroad were, based on this country of birth, assigned to a migrant group (definition Statistics Netherlands, CBS; Keij, 2000).

Sex. This was a dummy variable with boys being the reference group.

Age. The age of the respondent (in years) at the time of completion of the questionnaire is a continuous variable in the analyses.

Educational level. The educational level attended by the respondent at the time he/she completed the questionnaire was coded from 1 (Lower General Secondary Education) to 4 (Upper General Secondary Education).

Migrant generation. Participants' country of birth was used to assess who was born outside the Netherlands (first generation) or in the Netherlands (second generation; reference group).

Survey year. Year in which the survey was conducted ranging from 1 (1992) to 4 (1999).

Parental Religiosity. Participants were asked: "What religion has your father/mother?" If one of the parents had a religious persuasion, this was included in the analyses as a dummy variable; people with no religious persuasion were the reference group.

Parental level of education. The highest educational level of either one of the parents was determined based on the question: "What is the highest level of education your father/mother completed?" The answering categories ranged from 1 ("Primary school") to 8 ("University").

Maternal labor force participation. Whether or not the participants' mother had paid work outside the home was included in the analyses as a dummy variable (adolescents whose mother did not have a paid job were the reference group).

Type of family. Participants were asked: "What type of family do you live in?" Adolescents growing up in two-parent families (reference group) were compared with those who grew up in other types of families (such as single-parent families or foster families).

Helping out in the home. Respondents were asked: "How many hours a week do you help out in the home during an average school week (7 days)?" Adolescents who helped with household chores were compared with those who did not (reference group).

3.3.2 Analysis

First an analysis of variance was carried out to examine differences in the gender role preferences of the various ethnic groups. Post hoc pairwise comparison of the four ethnic groups (broken down by sex) was performed for each of the four dependent variables. Second, given the four dichotomous dependent variables, logistic regression models were estimated. The analyses were performed separately for each ethnic group. Antillean and Surinamese respondents were combined in this part of the analyses in view of the limited number of Antillean adolescents in the dataset and the minor (demographic) differences between these two ethnic groups.

Table 3.1 Description of the independent variables by ethnic group

Variable	Range	Dutch		Surinamese/ Antillean		Turkish		Moroccan	
		<i>n</i> = 46,782		<i>n</i> = 2,151		<i>n</i> = 1,069		<i>n</i> = 1,169	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Adolescent characteristics</i>									
Sex	0/1	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Age	12-18	15.0	1.8	15.2	1.9	15.2	1.8	15.2	1.8
Educational level	1-4	2.5	1.0	2.3	0.9	2.0	0.9	2.0	0.8
Migrant generation	0/1			0.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5
Survey year	92-99	95.0	2.6	95.0	2.7	95.6	2.8	95.1	2.7
<i>Parental home characteristics</i>									
Parental religiosity	0/1	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.5
Parental level of education	1-8	4.3	1.9	4.3	1.7	3.4	1.8	4.0	1.3
Maternal labor force part.	0/1	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.3
Type of family	0/1	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3
Helps out in the home	0/1	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5

Source: NSO, 1992-1999 (unweighted data)

3.4 RESULTS

3.4.1 Adolescents' preferences: ethnic and gender differences

Adolescents' gender role preferences on each of the four gender role facets, broken down by sex and ethnic group, are presented in Table 3.2. It was tested whether adolescents from the various ethnic groups and of different sexes differ from one another in terms of their gender role attitudes. The results are presented on a continuum ranging from gender-specific role preferences to an egalitarian outlook on the division of labor between partners. Boys and girls from the five ethnic groups have been placed on the continuum (Figures 3.1 to 3.4). In the figures, groups that did not differ significantly from one another are divided by a comma.

Two results are immediately apparent with respect to preferences regarding working outside the home by partners who do not have children. First, boys from all ethnic groups prefer a more traditional division of labor than girls do. Between 17% and 46% of the male respondents are of the opinion that a job outside the home was the exclusive responsibility of the man (Table 3.2). Second, in all groups relatively small percentages of girls were in favor of this breadwinner model (ranging from three percent among Surinamese girls to seven

percent of the Moroccan girls). The overwhelming majority of the female respondents felt that the responsibility of having a paid job should at least be shared by both partners.

Table 3.2 Adolescents who prefer traditional gender roles, four aspects of the division of labor, by ethnic group and sex (percentages)

Ethnic group	Sex	Job without children	Job with children	Preparing meals	Household chores
Dutch	boy	17	41	47	52
	girl	5	22	32	24
Surinamese	boy	18	32	33	34
	girl	3	10	24	16
Antillean	boy	17	37	40	46
	girl	3	13	29	20
Turkish	boy	46	55	55	58
	girl	6	16	39	32
Moroccan	boy	31	45	42	42
	girl	7	13	27	21

Source: NSO, 1992-1999 (unweighted data)

Girls from all ethnic groups (Tg, Mg, Sg, Ag, Dg) did not differ significantly in terms of their preferences regarding paid employment by partners who do not have children. In all groups, girls had more modern views than boys on this point (Figure 3.1). Turkish boys (Tb) were most strongly in favor of the traditional breadwinner model for partners without children. Moroccan boys (Mb) occupied an intermediate position: they were found to be significantly more traditional than native Dutch (Db), Surinamese (Sb) and Antillean boys (Ab), but more modern than Turkish boys. The attitudes of Dutch, Surinamese and Antillean boys did not differ from one another.

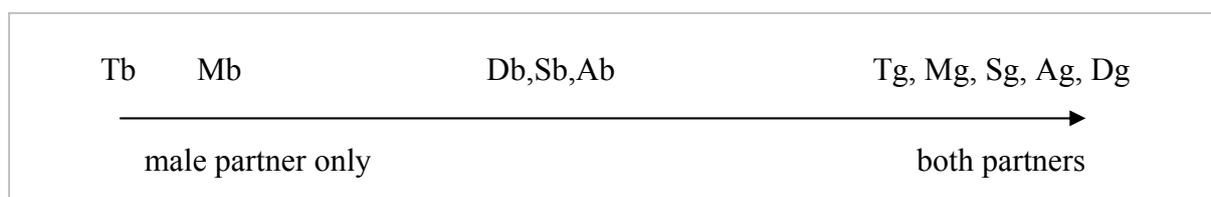


Figure 3.1 Position of ethnic groups, by sex, on a continuum of modernity in terms of labor force participation by partners without children

With respect to the question who should have paid employment outside the home if partners have children, it was once more found that boys are more strongly in favor of the breadwinner model than girls. Between 32% (Surinamese) and 55% (Turkish) of the boys said they would want to be the only one to have a paid job if they had children (Table 3.2). Although girls have more modern views than boys in all ethnic groups (Figure 3.2), girls are

more in favor of the male breadwinner model if a couple has children than if a couple does not have children. This change is biggest among Dutch boys and girls. Surprisingly, among women, Dutch girls were the least in favor of participating in the labor force if they had children. Among boys, Turkish boys were once again found to have the most traditional views and Surinamese boys the most modern views. It is noteworthy that whereas boys of Dutch descent held more modern views than their Turkish counterparts, their views did not differ from those of Moroccan descent.

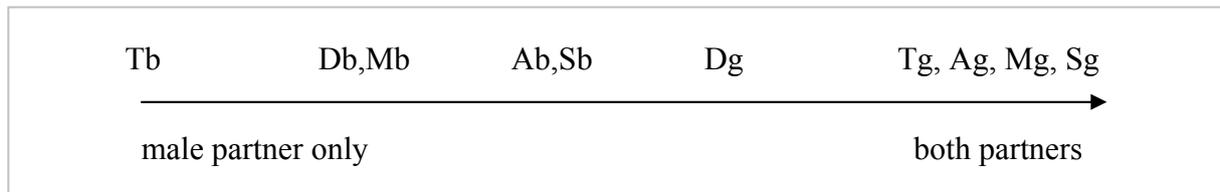


Figure 3.2 Position of ethnic groups, by sex, on a continuum of modernity in terms of labor force participation by partners with children

With respect to preparing meals and housework, substantial percentages of the male adolescents perceived this as a woman’s job (Table 3.2). Although Surinamese boys were found to be most prepared to cook themselves from time to time, no less than 33% of them indicated that preparing meals should preferably be done by the woman. The percentage of boys who felt that cooking is a woman’s job was highest among Turkish adolescents (55%). On the whole, girls felt that cooking was a task that should preferably be shared by both partners. Surinamese girls were most inclined to share this responsibility with a future partner (76%) and Turkish girls least inclined to prefer any assistance from male partners (61%). When placed on a continuum ranging from gendered division to egalitarian with respect to preparing meals, Turkish boys were again found to be most strongly in favor of distinct gender roles (Figure 3.3). Dutch boys come next, followed at a distance by Moroccan and Antillean boys who are significantly less traditional. Again, Surinamese boys have the most modern views in this respect (and do not differ significantly from Dutch girls on this front). We may conclude that girls are more in favor of an egalitarian division of cooking duties than boys from all groups, with the exception of Turkish girls.

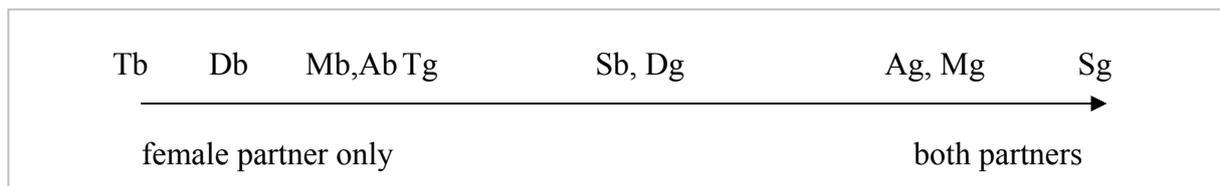


Figure 3.3 Position of ethnic groups, by sex, on a continuum of modernity in terms of preparing meals by partners with children

With regard to other household chores (last column Table 3.2 and Figure 3.4), relatively few boys appeared to be prepared to share household responsibilities with their partners in the

future. Girls were found to be more in favor of an egalitarian division of housework. It is nevertheless interesting to note that a substantial proportion (16% to 32%) of the girls indicated that they would prefer to perform these duties without the help of their partners in the future. Another noteworthy result is that in terms of the division of housework, only the Turkish boys and only the Turkish girls were more traditional than native Dutch boys and girls.

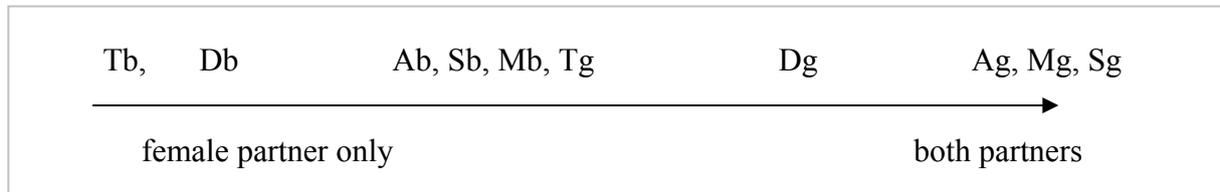


Figure 3.4 *Position of ethnic groups, by sex, on a continuum of modernity in terms of household chores by partners with children*

These findings partly support the first hypothesis: Turkish youth are most traditional and Surinamese and Antillean young people had most modern views. Having said that, the fact that native Dutch young people did not hold equally egalitarian views as their Surinamese and Antillean counterparts regarding three of the four aspects of the division of labor and that they were sometimes more traditional than young Moroccans is unexpected. The second hypothesis assumed that gender role preferences would differ between boys and girls. This hypothesis was confirmed by the findings on all fronts: girls were found to be more in favor of sharing responsibilities both in the public (paid job) and private (household) domain than boys.

3.4.2 Parental influence: values and role models

Tables 3 to 6 present the results of the logistic regression analyses for the four aspects of the division of labor, broken down by ethnic group. Based on socialization theory, it was hypothesized that parents influence the preferences of their children through the transmission of values and attitudes (H3). Two indicators for parental values were included: parental religiosity and the parents' level of education. The parents' religiosity was not found to be associated with their children's preferences regarding the labor force participation of women in couples without children among any of the ethnic groups. For all three other gender role preferences, parental religiosity had the expected relationship among native Dutch youth. Among Turkish adolescents, religiosity was found to be associated with preferences regarding the labor force participation of partners with children as well as preferences regarding the preparation of meals. In both cases, children with religious parents were found to have more traditional perspectives than those whose parents had no religious persuasion. Among the Moroccan group, religiosity had no significant association whatsoever on gender role preferences.

Among Surinamese and Antilleans, religiosity was found to have a significant relation, but the direction of the relationship was opposite to what was hypothesized. Adolescents with religious parents were found to be more in favor of partners sharing the responsibility for preparing meals than young people whose parents are not religious. Since the group of people with a religious persuasion is highly diverse in the Surinamese and Antillean population, separate analyses by religious affiliation were carried out (not included in the table). A comparison of Christians, Hindustanis and Muslims showed that there are no differences between these groups in this respect. This indicates that it is not so much their denomination but rather the parents' religiosity as such that influences the gender role preferences of adolescents in this group.

The second indicator of parental values was the parents' level of education. Although it was hypothesized (H3) that a higher parental level of education would result in more egalitarian gender role preferences among adolescents, this was only confirmed among youth of Dutch descent. Among Turkish youth, the parents' level of education was only related to attitudes regarding the division of housework. And among the other ethnic groups, the parental level of education had no association whatsoever with any of the four gender role variables. This suggests that the parental level of education has no direct influence, but that it may influence adolescents' attitudes indirectly through the (educational) characteristics of the adolescent. However, separate analyses (not included in Table) including characteristics of the parental home only (child's level of education *not* included), showed that also in this case parental level of education was not associated with their children's preferences.

We furthermore analyzed whether another socialization mechanism, namely parental role modeling, was associated with adolescents' gender role preferences. It was expected (H4) that a more egalitarian division of labor between parents would lead to more egalitarian gender role preferences among their children. The first indicator used was the labor force participation of the mother. Native Dutch, Surinamese and Antillean adolescents whose mothers had a paid job were indeed found to have more modern attitudes about the division of paid and domestic labor. The gender role preferences of young Turks and Moroccans were not, however, associated with the labor force participation of their mothers. Given the traditionally low labor force participation of women from these groups in the Dutch labor market, one might expect that having a working mother would result in a more modern outlook on gender roles of these young people in particular. In a model that did not include adolescent's characteristics, a modernizing relationship between the labor force participation of the mother and the attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan girls *was* found (results not shown). However, as soon as the child's sex was included in the analyses the labor force participation of the mother was no longer found to have any relationship. This suggests that among these two migrant groups role modeling is manifested in part through gender-specific socialization.

Table 3.3 *Logistical regression coefficients for preferences regarding egalitarian labor force participation by partners without children, by ethnic group*

	Dutch		Surinamese/ Antillean		Moroccan		Turkish	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
<i>Adolescent characteristics</i>								
Sex (1=girl)	1.57***	0.04	2.18***	0.27	1.77***	0.24	2.73***	0.29
Age	0.16***	0.01	0.15**	0.05	-0.02	0.05	0.06	0.05
Educational level	0.19***	0.02	0.17~	0.09	0.33**	0.11	0.21*	0.10
Survey year	-0.02**	0.01	0.07	0.05	0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05
Migrant generation			-0.06	0.17	-0.05	0.19	-0.31	0.19
<i>Parental home characteristics</i>								
Parental religiosity	-0.02	0.04	0.16	0.26	-0.05	0.63	0.02	0.58
Parental level of education	0.03***	0.00	0.05	0.05	-0.05	0.07	0.07	0.06
Maternal labor force part.	0.64***	0.04	0.59**	0.22	0.16	0.17	0.14	0.22
Type of family	0.12*	0.06	-0.16	0.17	-0.16	0.28	0.49~	0.27
Helps out in the home	0.21***	0.05	-0.04	0.23	0.56**	0.26	0.59**	0.23
Girl* helps out in the home	-0.37***	0.08	-0.50	0.41	-0.19	0.43	-0.51	0.45
Pseudo R ² (Nagelkerke)		0.14		0.18		0.20		0.33

~ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 3.4 *Logistical regression coefficients for preferences regarding egalitarian labor force participation by partners with children, by ethnic group*

	Dutch		Surinamese/ Antillean		Moroccan		Turkish	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
<i>Adolescent characteristics</i>								
Sex (1=girl)	1.04***	0.03	1.50***	0.17	1.46***	0.20	2.07***	0.23
Age	0.06***	0.01	0.13***	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.08**	0.05
Educational level	0.13***	0.01	-0.02	0.07	0.13	0.10	0.09	0.10
Survey year	-0.06***	0.01	-0.07*	0.03	-0.07~	0.04	-0.13**	0.04
Migrant generation			0.23~	0.13	-0.09	0.16	-0.33*	0.17
<i>Characteristics parental home</i>								
Parental religiosity	-0.26***	0.03	0.10	0.19	-0.14	0.56	-1.21*	0.58
Parental level of education	0.07***	0.01	0.06	0.04	0.00	0.06	0.01	0.05
Maternal labor force part.	0.83***	0.03	0.87***	0.16	0.17	0.24	0.28	0.20
Type of family	0.37***	0.04	-0.01	0.13	0.32	0.26	0.41~	0.24
Helps out in the home	0.14***	0.04	0.40*	0.18	0.13	0.22	0.03	0.23
Girl* helps out in the home	-0.13***	0.05	-0.07	0.26	0.46	0.33	-0.16	0.34
Pseudo R ² (Nagelkerke)	0.13		0.19		0.19		0.27	

~ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 3.5 *Logistical regression coefficients for preferences regarding the egalitarian division of cooking duties by partners with children, by ethnic group*

	Dutch		Surinamese/ Antillean		Moroccan		Turkish	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
<i>Adolescent characteristics</i>								
Sex (1=girl)	0.82***	0.03	0.50***	0.13	0.47**	0.17	0.81***	0.18
Age	0.09***	0.01	0.06**	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04
Educational level	0.16***	0.01	0.04	0.07	0.13	0.09	-0.02	0.08
Survey year	-0.03***	0.01	-0.05~	0.03	-0.01	0.04	-0.10**	0.04
Migrant generation			0.03	0.11	-0.22	0.15	-0.01	0.15
<i>Characteristics parental home</i>								
Parental religiosity	-0.23***	0.03	0.44**	0.17	0.10	0.50	-0.81~	0.47
Parental level of education	0.09***	0.01	0.01	0.03	-0.03	0.06	0.07	0.05
Maternal labor force part.	0.38***	0.03	0.56***	0.14	0.20	0.22	0.18	0.17
Type of family	0.36***	0.04	0.02	0.11	0.20	0.23	-0.04	0.20
Helps out in the home	0.39***	0.04	0.37*	0.17	-0.21	0.22	0.43*	0.22
Girl* helps out in the home	-0.37***	0.05	-0.16	0.21	0.53*	0.29	-0.48~	0.29
Pseudo R ² (Nagelkerke)	0.10		0.05		0.07		0.08	

~ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 3.6 *Logistical regression coefficients for preferences regarding the egalitarian division of household duties by partners with children, by ethnic group*

	Dutch		Surinamese/ Antillean		Moroccan		Turkish	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
<i>Adolescent characteristics</i>								
Sex (1=girl)	1.46***	0.03	1.14***	0.13	0.88***	0.17	1.20***	0.18
Age	0.08***	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.10*	0.04	0.02	0.04
Educational level	0.18***	0.01	0.14*	0.07	0.11	0.09	0.02	0.08
Survey year	-0.06***	0.01	-0.03	0.03	-0.02	0.04	-0.14***	0.04
Migrant generation			0.06	0.12	-0.23	0.15	-0.01	0.15
<i>Characteristics parental home</i>								
Parental religiosity	-0.25***	0.03	0.59***	0.17	0.75	0.49	-0.57	0.47
Parental level of education	0.06***	0.01	0.05	0.03	-0.09	0.06	0.09*	0.05
Maternal labor force part.	0.38***	0.03	0.29*	0.15	0.31	0.23	-0.07	0.18
Type of family	0.40***	0.04	0.18	0.11	-0.15	0.23	0.22	0.21
Helps out in the home	0.55***	0.04	0.56***	0.17	0.09	0.22	0.47*	0.22
Girl* helps out in the home	-0.53***	0.05	-0.31	0.23	0.13	0.30	-0.27	0.29
Pseudo R ² (Nagelkerke)	0.16		0.11		0.10		0.14	

$\sim p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

The second indicator of parental role models is the type of family: adolescents raised in single-parent families were expected to set greater store by an egalitarian division of labor than children from two-parent families (H4). This hypothesis was confirmed for the group of native Dutch adolescents. Dutch youth who were raised in single-parent families were found to have more egalitarian attitudes towards all four gender role aspects than adolescents who grew up in two-parent families. Among Turkish youth, the type of family was only related to preferences regarding the labor force participation of women. The direction of the relationship was found to be in line with the hypothesis: adolescents who are raised outside

two-parent families are more strongly in favor of working women (both with and without children). The hypothesis was not confirmed, however, for adolescents from the Surinamese, Antillean and Moroccan migrant groups.

The last hypothesis (5) relates to adolescents' own behavioral experiences in terms of helping out in the home. An interaction effect between the adolescent's sex and behavior was expected because earlier research suggested that the effect of helping with housework differs for boys and girls. In order to examine whether helping out in the home is differently associated with the gender role preferences of boys and girls the main effect is compared with the association found for girls who help with homemaking. The hypothesis is confirmed for all aspects of the division of labor among boys of Dutch descent: those who help out in the home have significantly more modern attitudes towards the labor force participation of their future partners. As expected, the analyses show that Dutch girls who help with household tasks are more inclined to take on gender-specific roles in terms of all four aspects. The correlation found for Surinamese and Antillean boys who help with housework is also as expected (with the exception of labor force participation without children). The hypothesis is also confirmed for Turkish boys, who are more inclined to form egalitarian attitudes towards three of the four gender role variables if they help out in the home. Interestingly, helping with household chores by Moroccan boys only has a positive correlation with their preferences regarding the labor force participation of women who do not have children. No connection was found among this group for the three other gender role variables. For migrant girls, helping out in the home is found to be associated with attitudes towards sharing the responsibility of preparing meals only. This expected relationship was found among Turkish girls, but Moroccan girls who help with household chores were found to have more modern attitudes towards the future division of cooking duties with their partners. Broadly speaking, findings indicate that the behavioral experience of helping out in the home mainly influences the gender role preferences of boys.

In addition to examining the parental influence through their values and behavior, the logistic regression analyses were controlled for a number of characteristics relating to the adolescents themselves. As hypothesized and in line with descriptive results, multivariate analyses showed that within each ethnic group, girls appeared to have more egalitarian attitudes than boys. They were more strongly in favor of women working outside the home and of both partners sharing household duties.

In all ethnic groups the level of education of the adolescents themselves was connected with their preferences regarding labor force participation among couples without children. Regarding the preferred division of paid work and cooking when having children, the adolescents' level of education was only found to have a modernizing relationship among people of Dutch descent. Nevertheless, among Surinamese and Antillean youth, a higher level of education went hand in hand with a greater willingness to share housework in the future.

Migration generation was found to be related with preferences regarding labor force participation of women with children among Turkish and Surinamese/Antillean youth's only. Whereas first-generation Turkish adolescents were found to have more traditional attitudes about female labor force participation among couples with children, first-generation Surinamese and Antillean adolescents, on the other hand, were more in favor of working mothers. No other relationships between migration generation and gender role preferences of migrant youth were found.

Among youth of Surinamese, Antillean and Dutch descent age was found to play a role: the older they were, the more egalitarian their gender role preferences in almost all areas. In addition, older Turkish adolescents were found to be more in favor of labor force participation of women when having children, and older Moroccan adolescents more often preferred egalitarian division of household chores between partners. For the other gender role aspects age was not found to be related to Turkish and Moroccan youth's preferences.

Lastly, note that the preferences of adolescents from all groups towards the labor force participation of women with children became more traditional between 1992 and 1999. Also with respect to who should prepare meals, more Dutch, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean adolescents felt this was a woman's job in 1999 than was the case in 1992.

3.5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study has examined the gender role preferences of migrant and Dutch adolescents. Extending on previous research the two main aims of this study were to assess differences in gender role preferences between migrant and Dutch youth as well as to unravel how and to which extent migrant and Dutch parents influence their children's gender role preferences. Analyses of intergenerational transmission focused on the importance of parental value socialization and role modeling among each of the ethnic groups. This study included four different aspects of gender roles by studying preferences regarding labor force participation before and after having children, division of cooking and household chores.

A first conclusion that can be drawn is that a substantial proportion of adolescents are in favor of a gender-specific division of labor, in particular for couples with children. Although a majority is in favor of women working if they do not have children, a substantial share of adolescents felt women should not have a job outside the home if they have children. This shift in preferences regarding labor force participation by women *without* and *with* children was particularly marked among Dutch youth. This finding is in line with actual behavior in the Netherlands: many women start working less or stop working altogether as soon as they have a child. It is often assumed that the limited female labor force participation may be explained by the impossibilities of combining a paid job and raising children. The results show, however, that substantial percentages of boys *and* girls express a preference for the breadwinner model before they have to make these choices themselves (see also Hakim,

2003b). This suggests that female labor force participation is influenced not only by practical restrictions at the time the choice has to be made, but also by the attitudes formed at a younger age.

Second, it was hypothesized that gender role preferences of Turkish and Moroccan youth would differ from Dutch. Through parental value socialization, traditions apparent in the countries of origin were expected to be transmitted to the next generation of migrant youth. In line with the hypothesis (H1) young Turks, in particular boys, were most strongly in favor of the gendered division of labor. On all four aspects Turkish youth are found to have the most traditional gender role perspectives. Moroccan adolescents, on the other hand, have a far more egalitarian outlook on gender roles than was expected based on the traditions in their (parents) country of origin. These findings are in line with earlier studies that showed differences between the Turkish and Moroccan community in both the Netherlands and Belgium. Turks are reported to fall back on closed kin networks with a high degree of solidarity and social control, whereas Moroccans are more individualistic and more inclined to break with traditional values (Dagevos, 2001a; Lesthaeghe, Surkyn, & Van Creanem, 2000). This indicates that the migration experience may not affect migrant groups, even those with rather similar characteristics, in the same way.

Surinamese and Antillean adolescents were indeed found to perpetuate the prevailing traditions of their ethnic group, such as relatively high labor force participation among women with children. Contrary to expectations they were in this respect clearly more egalitarian oriented than Dutch adolescents. Broadly speaking it can be concluded that adolescents of Dutch descent are not more egalitarian than migrant youth (Turks being the only exception) in their preferences towards working mothers and the division of housework. With respect to the latter, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean youth are even more egalitarian-oriented than their Dutch counterparts. Given these rather progressive gender role perspectives of migrant youth, it would be interesting to examine, how and to which extent adolescents' preferences are realized in actual behavior within partner relationships. Longitudinal data including migrant youth with different origins are needed to provide more detailed insight.

Our findings show that girls have more egalitarian gender role preferences than boys in all ethnic groups and with respect to all aspects of the division of labor. This is in line with findings in earlier research among the native white population. Our study shows that this holds for *migrant* youth with very diverse ethnic backgrounds as well. At the same time, this finding raises the question why actual behavior tends to be much less emancipated than prevailing attitudes would lead us to believe. The behavior of (future) male partners is believed to play an important role in this respect. As the results indicate that boys have more traditional attitudes than girls, it may well be that once they are in a partner relationship girls adjust to the more gender-specific expectations of their partners. The conclusion is warranted for both migrant and non-migrant adolescents that emancipatory measures should be targeted

more at boys than at girls because it is among boys in particular that changes in gender role attitudes have to be achieved.

Based on socialization theories it was expected that parental values would be an important determinant of the gender role preferences of their children (H3). Contrary to the hypothesis, however, adolescents' gender role preferences were only partially influenced by their parents' values: effects of parents' level of education and religiosity were most clearly confirmed among adolescents of Dutch descent. No influence, or only a very weak influence, was found among each of the migrant groups. An interesting finding relates to the influence of religiosity on attitudes regarding the division of housework among Surinamese and Antillean youth. Contrary to the hypothesis, adolescents with religious parents held more egalitarian views about the division of domestic duties (preparing meals and household chores) compared to youth with non-religious parents. This might be related to the specific Caribbean family system as is common among Surinamese and Antilleans: women from these groups often live alone with their children because the male partner is absent. It may well be that religious Caribbean men are more inclined to commit themselves to their wives and children, including a more egalitarian task division resulting in more egalitarian gender role perspectives among their children.

The fact that relatively little support was found for the hypothesis about the influence of parental values among migrant families may be attributed to a number of factors. It may, first of all, be caused by the fact that actual task division choices are still relatively far removed from adolescents and their parents. Parental attitudes are expected to have more influence on actual behavior than on preferences regarding behavior in the (distant) future. Parental values can thus be expected to play a role in the long term. Analyses of longitudinal data that compare preferences and behavior could shed more light on this issue. A second explanation could be that the values of society at large and of adolescents' peer groups have a stronger influence on their gender role preferences. Particular migrant youth may experience incompatibilities between the gender role values encountered in the parental home and in Dutch society. This could result in weaker intergenerational transmission of values among migrant families. The data used in this study do not provide any information on parent-child value discrepancies or peer group relations. Parents' values were only measured indirectly and through child's reports here. Direct measurement of parental attitudes could possibly shed more light on their actual effect on the preferences of their children.

Socialization theories also underline the influence of parental behavior: parents are said to act as role models on which their children base their own preferences. This was confirmed by the findings of this study, which showed that parental behavior had an important influence among the various ethnic groups. The influence of parental behavior may be expressed indirectly in the behavior of young people in terms of helping out in the parental home. On the whole, boys who help their parents with household chores appear to be more open to an egalitarian division of work (both in public and private life) with their partners. This finding

indicates that the prevailing gender roles in the parental home give rise to certain gender role preferences at a young age.

A final remark is due about the shift in preferences found between 1992 and 1999: adolescents' gender role attitudes became more traditional rather than more egalitarian during this period. This finding appears to be in line with findings from surveys held among the Dutch population into issues such as female labor force participation and acceptance of divorce. Whereas attitudes in the Netherlands have become distinctly more progressive since the 1960s, the Social and Cultural Planning Agency observed a turn of the public opinion in the 1990s (SCP, 1998; Keuzenkamp & Hooghiemstra, 2000). The migrant and Dutch participants in the Secondary School Pupil Survey (NSO) seem to follow this trend in public opinion. This indicates that the socialization influence is not restricted to the parental home. In future research it would be valuable to examine the wider social context including family and peers, in which adolescents grow up, alongside the influence of their parents.

CHAPTER 4

TIMING PREFERENCES FOR WOMEN'S FAMILY LIFE TRANSITIONS: INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION AMONG MIGRANTS AND DUTCH

Helga A.G. de Valk & Aart C. Liefbroer

Abstract

This study examines the transmission of preferences regarding the timing of family life transitions of women among migrant and native Dutch families. We study how and to what extent parental preferences, migrant origin and family characteristics affect the child's timing preferences. We use parent and child data (N = 1,210) from the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (2003) and the Social Position and Provisions Ethnic Minorities Survey (2002). OLS regression analyses reveal that parental timing preferences regarding family life transitions are strongly associated with the timing preferences of their children. Analyses also show that these preferences clearly vary by migrant origin, educational level, and religious involvement. The process of intergenerational transmission is, however, found to be very similar among migrants and Dutch.

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4 TIMING PREFERENCES FOR WOMEN'S FAMILY LIFE TRANSITIONS: INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION AMONG MIGRANTS AND DUTCH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

An extensive literature shows the importance of intergenerational transmission of family related attitudes. Parents are known to influence, among other things, sexual attitudes (Thornton & Camburn, 1987), family formation attitudes (Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Trent & South 1992), attitudes toward divorce (Amato, 1996), attitudes regarding fertility (Barber, 2001; Musick 2002), and gender role attitudes (Cunningham, 2001; Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997). Parental socialization is identified as a key mechanism through which intergenerational consistency in attitudes and preferences occur (Acock & Bengtson, 1980; Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Starrels & Holm, 2000; Thomson, 1992). Although intergenerational transmission is well documented for native (white) families, much less is known about the intergenerational transmission process among immigrants and their children from non-Western countries (hereafter called migrant families) (for exceptions see Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Hogan & Kitagawa, 1985). This is unfortunate for several reasons. First, the population in many Western countries includes substantial numbers of migrant families. Increasing our understanding of the factors that predict the formation of preferences among adolescent children with different migrant backgrounds is even more important as a growing share of children making the transition to adulthood will have a migrant background. Second, it is unclear whether intergenerational transmission of preferences is equally strong and operates in the same way among migrant families as among the native population. A specific feature of socialization in migrant families is that first-generation parents have mainly been brought up with the norms and preferences predominant in their countries of origin. Often, the norms and preferences that are dominant in the country of origin of migrants contrast with those predominant in the country of destination. As a result, migrant children are exposed both to parental preferences regarding family formation and preferences prevalent in the country of settlement during their formative years at school and with peers (Nauck, 2001b). It is largely unknown what implications this has for the strength of intergenerational transmission.

This paper explores intergenerational transmission of preferences for the timing of transitions in the family life domain. Leaving the parental home, getting married, and having children constitute important transitions in the life course of many young adults (Heckhausen 1999; Jansen & Liebroer, 2001). We examine how and to what extent migrant and Dutch parents influence their children's preferred timing of these three transitions. Studying the preferred timing of family life transitions is important because preferences are found to have a major influence on future family formation choices which have clear consequences for

young adults (Barber et al. 2002; Hogan 1986; Settersten 1997). Early home leaving and teenage pregnancies in particular are often associated with negative individual and social consequences. The timing of family formation can have negative effects on educational attainment, labor force participation, relationship stability and well-being (Furstenberg, Levine, & Brooks-Gunn, 1990; Kahn & Anderson, 1992). Tracing the mechanisms that lead to specific timing preferences of family life transitions is thus highly relevant.

Our study, furthermore, focuses on women. The role of women in Western societies has changed quite dramatically since the 1960s. Women's educational attainment and labor force participation have increased (Fussell & Furstenberg, 2005). This has resulted in postponement of major family life transitions. Although parallel changes occur in many non-Western countries, most family related transitions still occur earlier and stronger norms on the timing of these transitions exist in non-Western countries (Nauck, 2002; Oropesa, 1996). An important reason for this is that women's behavior in the family domain affects the honor and reputation of the whole kin network (East, 1998; Goodwin, 1999; Manning & Landale, 1996). Differences in timing preferences between migrants and natives may thus be most pronounced for women.

This study contributes to our understanding of intergenerational transmission by paying specific attention to preferences of migrant parents and their children with regard to the timing of a number of major events in the family life domain. We do so by using data that include substantial numbers of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, Antillean, and Dutch parent-child dyads. These data provide a unique possibility to study migrant families in more detail. The importance of intergenerational transmission of timing preferences among migrant and Dutch children is assessed and the conditions under which intergenerational influence is stronger or weaker are analyzed. In addition, mechanisms of parental socialization among Dutch and migrants are compared and it is determined whether and how these mechanisms vary according to migrant background. Before presenting the hypotheses and results, we provide insight in the migrant groups under study as well as a background on family life transitions among migrants and Dutch.

4.2 MIGRATION HISTORY AND MIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Around 19% of the total 16.3 million inhabitants of the Netherlands is born abroad or has at least one parent who is born abroad. Migrants and their descendents are more or less equally divided between Western and non-Western countries of origin (Statistics Netherlands, 2005). This study focuses on four of the largest migrant groups in the Netherlands: Surinamese, Antilleans, Moroccans, and Turks. Together they compose 67% of the non-Western migrant population in the Netherlands in 2005 (Statistics Netherlands, 2005).

Historically, three major types of migration to the Netherlands can be distinguished: migration from former Dutch colonies (for example Indonesia, Suriname), labor migration

(for example Turks, Moroccans), and asylum migration. Despite the fact that the size of the latter group of migrants has increased significantly in the 1990s, they still constitute a relatively small proportion of residing migrants and include a wide variety of backgrounds. In addition, asylum migrants are mainly first-generation migrants with young children making a comparison of timing preferences between parents and young adults impossible. The situation is clearly different for Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks, and Moroccans. For the first time since their settlement in the Netherlands, these migrant populations include substantial numbers of young adults. All four migrant groups have a clearly younger age structure than the Dutch: 17% of the Dutch population is between 15 and 30 years of age whereas among the four migrant groups this percentage varies between 25 and 30%.

Nowadays, the majority of young Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands are children of the (predominantly male) migrant workers who were recruited in the 1960s to carry out unskilled labor in the Netherlands. The majority of these migrants originated from rural areas in Turkey and Morocco (e.g. the Rif region). They migrated not only to the large cities in the west of the Netherlands, but also went to live in industrial areas in the southern and eastern parts of the Netherlands. Although their stay was originally expected to be temporary, most of them settled down in the Netherlands permanently and family members who initially stayed behind joined them later on. Nowadays, many Turks and Moroccans still find a partner in their countries of origin (De Valk et al., 2004). The majority of Turks and Moroccans adhere to Islam (Phalet & Van Praag, 2004).

Due to their recruitment as unskilled laborers, first generation Turks and Moroccans are predominantly low-educated and have limited Dutch language proficiency. As a result of the economic recession in the 1980s and their physically taxing work, many Turks and Moroccans have become dependent on state-provided unemployment and disability benefits. Although the position of the second generation is improving, Turkish and Moroccan migrants still have a low socio-economic status in the Netherlands (Odé & Veenman, 2003). Based on their (perceived) socio-economic, cultural and religious characteristics, Dutch public opinion regarding Turks and Moroccans, in particular Moroccan youth, in the Netherlands is nowadays rather negative (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2003).

Migration from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles to the Netherlands stems from the colonial history between the Netherlands and these countries. Surinamese society includes a wide variety of ethnic groups with Creoles and Hindustanis being the two major ones. Traditionally, migrants from Surinam and the Antilles came to the Netherlands for educational purposes. Furthermore, a substantial number of Surinamese migrated to the Netherlands around the independence of Surinam in 1975. Until 1980, Surinamese kept Dutch nationality and could thus easily settle down in the Netherlands without residence permits. Because The Antilles are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands migration is relatively easy. In recent years the limited job opportunities on the Antilles made many young Antilleans decide to migrate to the Netherlands. The socio-economic position of Surinamese and Antilleans is more diverse and in general better than that of Turks and Moroccans. Their

Dutch language proficiency is good, they reach higher educational levels, and both men and women more often have paid work (Odé & Veenman, 2003). Among Surinamese a diversity of religions is found: Islam, Hinduism and Christianity. Antilleans mainly identify themselves as Christian. Interethnic contact between Dutch and Surinamese is more frequent and the public opinion towards Surinamese is generally more positive compared to other migrant groups (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2003). Antillean youth, however, are generally associated with criminal activities and have a rather negative stigma in Dutch society nowadays. This has resulted in ongoing debates regarding criteria for entrance and residence in the Netherlands.

4.3 FAMILY LIFE TRANSITIONS AMONG MIGRANTS AND DUTCH

Like in many Western industrialized countries, patterns of family formation and timing of family life transitions have changed considerably in the Netherlands in the past decades. Pathways into adulthood are delayed both in the family domain and with respect to economic independence (Furstenberg, Rumbaut, & Settersten, 2005; Jansen & Liefbroer, 2001). Marriage and childbearing have been postponed and unmarried cohabitation as well as living alone have become more common. Whereas up until the 1960s, leaving home and marriage often coincided, today most young adults live by themselves or cohabit with their partner for a certain period (Jansen & Liefbroer, 2001). The timing of family life transitions of women in the Netherlands is characterized by a young age at leaving the parental home ($M = 22$; Statistics Netherlands, 2003), a late age at first marriage ($M = 29$ years; Statistics Netherlands, 2004), and a very late mean age at first birth ($M = 29$ years) (Statistics Netherlands, 2004).

Changes in timing and sequencing of family life transitions have taken place within the changing socio-structural and cultural context of Dutch society. The Netherlands are nowadays characterized as an individualized and secularized society (Inglehart, 1997; Lesthaeghe, 2002). This implies a strong emphasis on the importance of autonomous decision making. Individual considerations (own preferences and readiness), rather than familial or religious concerns, are supposed to be the main determinants of the timing of transitions into adulthood (Arnett, 1995).

Despite the fact that in Turkey, Morocco, Surinam, and the Antilles family life transitions have also changed, processes and mechanisms of leaving home, marriage, and childbearing in these countries differ from those in the Netherlands (Lesthaeghe, 1996; Nauck, 2002; Todd, 1985). A fundamental characteristic distinguishing these societies is the role assigned to the individual. Whereas Dutch society stresses the importance of individual autonomy and independence in making family related choices, Caribbean and Mediterranean societies emphasize obligations towards the kin group (Kagitcibasi, 1994b; 2005). In Turkish and Moroccan society, parents arrange a marriage partner for their child at a young age. This

results in relatively young ages at marriage because there is no need to wait until the person him- or herself has found a marriage partner (Nauck, 2002). Young adults in general do not leave the parental home before marriage and after marriage the young couple moves in with the husband's parents. These patterns are, of course, susceptible to change and young Turks and Moroccans are reported to look for ways to choose their own partners without rejecting the part played by their parents (Hooghiemstra, 2001; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). However, despite shifts in the process of partner selection, marriage is still the dominant living arrangement among Turks and Moroccans. These patterns of family formation in their home countries are also reflected to some extent in the demographic behavior of Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands. Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands marry at a younger age than Dutch young adults; in the 1995-1999 period the women's ages at first marriage were 23, 24, and 28 years for the three groups respectively (De Valk et al., 2004). Furthermore, Turkish and Moroccan women are relatively young at first birth (24 and 25 years in the 1995-1999 period; De Valk et al., 2004). Families often encourage a young couple to have children shortly after they get married because great importance is attached to the continuation of the kin group and family line.

In Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles women play a central role in kinship relations and traditions. This is also referred to as the matrifocal Caribbean family system (Shaw, 2003). Women are often the head of household as their (male) partners are not, or only partly, present. In these Caribbean countries different alternative partner arrangements exist, and entry into parenthood is a much more important life transition than entry into marriage. Unmarried cohabitation and giving birth out of wedlock are thus very common. Single-mother families are relatively common and women often combine motherhood and working life (Distelbrink, 2000). In the Netherlands, too, we find that only a small percentage of women from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles marry, and those who do so, marry relatively late (29 and 30 years respectively in the period 1995-1999; De Valk et al., 2004). The age at childbearing among Surinamese and Antillean women is younger than among Dutch women but older than among Moroccans and Turks. The age at first birth is around 26 years for Antillean women and 28 for Surinamese women.

Given these differences in demographic and cultural background between the Netherlands and the countries of origin of many migrants, our focus will be on differences in demographic preferences between migrant and native young adults in Dutch society. At the same time, attention is paid to inter-group and intra-group diversity among Dutch and the migrant population as well (Elder, 1994). Therefore, in the next section, hypotheses will be formulated on differences in timing preferences between native Dutch adolescents and adolescents with a migrant background, and on the role of parental characteristics in understanding timing preferences.

4.4 HYPOTHESES

4.4.1 Migrant background

Previous studies have found that ideas about the appropriate timing and sequencing of family life transitions vary between ethnic and racial groups. Whereas White American adolescents, for example, have a preference for motherhood after marriage, childbearing before marriage is not perceived to be unwanted among Black Americans (East, 1998; Hogan, 1986; Oropesa, 1996). Also in the Netherlands ethnic diversity in preferences of young adults with regard to the age at which women should leave home, marry and enter into motherhood is expected given the existing ethnic differences in the actual timing of these events and in the importance attached to autonomy. In the previous section, it was reported that marriage and motherhood occur earlier among Turks and Moroccans, and to a lesser extent also among Antilleans and Surinamese in the Netherlands than among native Dutch. We expect that the preferences of young adults will at least partly reflect these existing ethnic differences in the timing of these events. Less is known about the timing of leaving home. However, in the previous section we suggested that generally the native Dutch strongly value autonomy. Therefore, attaining (residential) independence from parents can be considered to be a key transition among native Dutch young adults. It was also suggested in the previous section that autonomy is a less central value among most migrants. If so, attaining residential independence may be less important to adolescents with a migrant background than to native Dutch, leading to a higher preferred age at leaving home among the former than among the latter. Our first hypothesis summarizes these expected ethnic differences in the preferred timing of family life events during young adulthood: children with a migrant background prefer older ages for leaving the parental home and younger ages for marriage and childbearing than native Dutch children (H1).

Socialization theories emphasize the importance of parents in the socialization of children (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Younnis & Smollar 1985). We focus on two aspects of parental socialization that have been found to be of major influence on children's preferences: (i) direct transmission of parental timing preferences and (ii) cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the parental home (Starrels & Holm, 2000).

4.4.2 Parental timing preferences

According to socialization theory, children perceive and internalize parental expectations and attitudes. In line with this, studies on several aspects of family formation and fertility attitudes show similarities in parent's and children's attitudes and preferences (e.g. Acock & Bengtson, 1980; Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Thornton & Camburn, 1987). Furthermore, parental attitudes are found to have a direct influence on their children's preferences and behavior (Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Axinn, Clarckberg, & Thornton, 1994; Barber, Axinn & Thornton, 2002). Transmission of preferences from parent to child is likely to be particularly strong with respect to issues that parents find important. Timing choices

made in the family domain have a long-lasting effect on the child's life course, affecting, for example, their children's life chances, educational attainment, and labor market participation (Furstenberg, Levine, & Brooks-Gunn, 1990; Kahn & Anderson, 1992). Parents thus have a strong interest in influencing their children's preferences (and subsequent behavior) regarding the timing of such family life transitions. The centrality of family formation in the future plans of adolescents motivates the following hypothesis: parental timing preferences have a direct positive effect on the child's timing preferences for leaving the parental home, marriage and childbearing (H2).

This hypothesis suggests that, in general, some level of intergenerational transmission is expected both among native Dutch and among migrants. However, it remains unclear whether parental influences on the child's timing preferences are equally strong for all ethnic groups. The migration literature suggests two competing hypotheses on the influence of migrant parents. One line of research suggests that migration results in the strengthening of family ties. In addition to being an important coping resource in a new society, the family provides continuity with the past (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Goodwin, 1999, Pels & Nijsten 2003). Because the family systems of Surinamese, Antilleans, Moroccans, and Turks stress the importance of mutual dependence and respect for older kin members, these values tend to be particularly important after migration.

However, according to another line of reasoning found in the migration literature, migration disrupts existing family relations and leads to changes in parent-child relations (Goodwin, 1999; Nauck, 2001b; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). In the society of settlement, migrants will be exposed to different preferences regarding family life. This will be particularly true for migrant children, given their participation in and exposure to school, peer groups and the media (Oropesa & Landale, 2004; Pyke, 2005). In these circumstances, intergenerational transmission of timing preferences is no longer self-evident and parental influence is assumed to be weaker. This leads to two competing hypotheses on the strength of intergenerational transmission in migrant families compared to Dutch families namely: (H3') the intergenerational transmission of timing preferences will be stronger among migrants than among Dutch versus (H3'') the intergenerational transmission of timing preferences will be weaker among migrants than among Dutch. In the empirical part of this chapter, it will be tested which of these two competing hypotheses gets most support.

4.4.3 Socioeconomic characteristics of the parental home

According to the literature, differences in life course timing preferences are also related to cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the parents, more particular their religiousness and level of education (East, 1998; Marini, 1984; Nauck, 2001b). Various studies show that parental religiousness has an effect on the family formation attitudes of children (Thornton & Camburn, 1987; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993; Oppenheimer, 1988). Religious persons are found to have more traditional and strict precepts toward family life and the timing of these transitions. However, several studies indicate that it is not so much religious

affiliation but rather religious involvement and participation that results in more traditional family formation values and behavior (Alwin, 1986; Thornton, Axinn, & Hill, 1992). Phalet & Van Praag (2004) draw similar conclusions for young Muslims of Turkish and Moroccan descent in the Netherlands who by majority identify themselves as being Muslim, but show considerable variation in their religious practices. This suggests that the embeddedness in a religious environment, as a result of religious involvement, leads to transmission of more restrictive family life preferences.

Parental educational attainment is another factor that might influence the timing preferences of their children. Children from higher educated families tend to leave the parental home at younger ages to acquire an education (Mulder & Clark, 2000). It is, furthermore, known that the higher educated are frontrunners when it comes to new forms of relationships and delay of childbearing (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993). Children with higher educated parents can thus be expected to prefer a relatively early age at leaving home and a relatively late age at marriage and parenthood.

If parental educational attainment and religious involvement influence the timing preferences of young adults solely or mostly because these variables act as proxies for parental preferences, it can be expected that they will not be important in this study, given that parental preferences are measured directly. However, we expect that parental educational attainment and religious involvement also tell something about the broader social network in which the child grows up and thus may have a direct effect on the child's timing preferences even after inclusion of parental timing preferences. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis is: children whose parents (a) are religiously involved, and (b) are lower educated prefer an older age for leaving the parental home and a younger ages for marriage and childbearing than children whose parents are not religiously involved and whose parents are highly educated (H4).

Beside parental characteristics, individual child characteristics may influence the timing preferences of young adults. Because women generally leave home earlier and marry younger than men, we compare preferences of men and women in our analyses (Fussell & Furstenberg, 2005). The child's age is included in the analyses because young adults may adjust their preferences when growing older. Finally, migrant generation of the child is taken into account: compared to first generation, second generation youth grow up in and are generally more focused on the country of settlement (Pyke, 2005).

4.5 DATA AND METHODS

4.5.1 Data

We analyzed data from the main sample of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS Wave 1 2002/2003) and the Social Position and Provisions Ethnic Minorities Survey (SPVA 2002). The Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS) is a national representative sample of

about 8,000 Dutch respondents (Dykstra, Kalmijn, Knijn, Komter, Liefbroer, & Mulder, 2005). It is a random (address) sample of individuals (aged 18 to 79) within private households in the Netherlands. Potential respondents were approached by the interviewer either in person or by phone. The main respondent was interviewed in a computer assisted personal interview (CAPI) supplemented with self-completion questionnaires. Up till five kin members (partner, one parent, one sibling and two children) of this main respondent (both in and outside the household) were asked to complete a self-completion questionnaire. The NKPS had an overall response rate of 47% which is about average for surveys in the Netherlands (for details see Dykstra et al., 2005; Stoop, 2005).

Additionally, we used the Social Position and Provisions Ethnic Minorities Survey (SPVA), which includes 4,100 migrants with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean background. This survey sampled heads of households from the population registers of the 13 municipalities in the Netherlands in which half the migrants from the four migrant groups live (Groeneveld & Weijers-Martens, 2003). These heads of household were approached at home by an interviewer with the same ethnic background. The interview followed a structured (paper and pencil) questionnaire which was available in Turkish, Arabic or Dutch. Respondents could indicate their language preference. In addition to this main interview with the head of household, the partner and children over the age of 12 who lived in the same household were asked to fill in a short self-completion questionnaire. Themes included in these questionnaires ranged from demographic background, educational trajectories, work history, religion, and opinions on a range of topics. The response rate of the SPVA was 52% among Turks and Moroccans, 51% among Antilleans, and 44% among Surinamese. This response rate is in line with previous waves of the SPVA in 1998 and 1994 and other surveys in the Netherlands (for more details Groeneveld & Weijers-Martens, 2003; Stoop, 2005).

As a result of cooperation between the NKPS and the SPVA surveys, many questions were posed in both surveys resulting in availability of data on migrants and Dutch, and allowing for meaningful comparisons between groups. Both surveys allow comparison of parents and children living in the same household. Our analyses required that information was available on the age preferences of both parent and child. We selected respondents who had at least one child aged between 15 and 30 years living in the parental home at the time of interview. Information on one of the parents and a randomly chosen child (that meets the above-mentioned criteria) was included in the analyses. After selection, the data included 661 Dutch, 250 Turkish, 173 Moroccan, 132 Surinamese, and 74 Antillean parent-child dyads.

It is difficult to assess the representativity of the data on these dyads, given that censuses have not been taken in the Netherlands since 1970. However, a limited comparison with other data sets that contain information on migrant populations can be made regarding educational attainment and religious involvement (SCP/WODC/CBS, 2005). In the 2004 Labor Force Survey, almost the same ranking of the five groups on educational attainment as in our study (cf. Table 4.1) was observed, with Turks and Moroccans being less well-educated than Surinamese, and Dutch having the highest level of education. The only difference between

the two studies concerned the position of the Antilleans, who are somewhat less well-educated in our study than in the Labor Force Survey. The ranking of the five groups with regard to religious involvement can be compared to data from a recent survey on the living conditions of ethnic minorities. Again, the ranking in our survey corresponds to that in this living conditions survey, with Turks and Moroccans showing the highest level of religious involvement, followed by Antilleans and Surinamese and the Dutch showing the lowest level of religious involvement. The correspondence between these rankings from different surveys suggests no strong biases in our data.

4.5.2 Measures

Dependent variables. The three dependent variables are the child's preferred age for a woman to experience family life transitions. Respondents were asked: "What do you consider a good age for a woman to (a) leave the parental home, (b) marry a partner and (c) have a first child?" Nonresponse on these questions was between one and four percent for migrant children, Antilleans having the highest nonresponse on all three items. Nonresponse among Dutch varied between eight percent (preferred age at leaving home) and 11% (preferred age at marriage). Difference in nonresponse between the Dutch and the can be attributed to the fact that among migrants the interviewer was present until completion of all questionnaires. Dutch respondents could return the self-completion questionnaires to the interviewer at a later time. A second reason for the lower nonresponse rate among migrants could be that migrant respondents have more clear age preferences for family life transitions than Dutch respondents.

Independent variables. Descriptive information on the measures is given in Table 4.1.

Parental age preferences. The questions on preferred ages at major life course transitions posed to children were posed to parents as well. The parents' preferred ages for a woman to leave the parental home, marry a partner, and have a first child were included in the analyses as a continuous variable. Nonresponse on these three items was comparable to that among children. Nonresponding parents were assigned the mean preferred age for their ethnic group. In order to examine whether the parents who did not indicate a specific age preference differed from those who did, a separate dummy variable was included for the former.

Migrant background. Children born in Turkey, Morocco, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles or having at least one parent born in these countries were defined as migrants and assigned to one of the four migrant groups. By far the majority (96%) of parents are born in the same country. Following the rules used by Statistics Netherlands, children of mixed marriages were classified according to the country of birth of their mother, unless their mother was born in the Netherlands. In the latter case, the country of birth of their father was used in determining migrant background.

Parental religious involvement. Parents were asked: "How often do you currently attend church or religious services?" Answers ranged from 1 = *never*, 2 = *several times a year*, 3 = *several times a month* to 4 = *once a week or more often*.

Parental level of education. The highest level of education completed with a diploma, either abroad or in the Netherlands, was included in the analyses. If the certificate was received from a school abroad, the respondents were asked to indicate how it compared to educational levels in the Netherlands. The answers were recoded into three categories: 1 = *low* (lower vocational education, lower general secondary education or lower), 2 = *medium* (intermediate vocational education) 3 = *high* (upper general secondary education, higher vocational education, university).

We controlled for possible confounding factors by including sex of the child (dummy variable, men reference category), age of the child (continuous variable), and migrant generation of the child (dummy variable, born abroad/first generation reference category). We also tested for parental age and sex in our models. However, no effects were found and these last two variables were omitted from the analyses.

4.5.3 Method

First, a descriptive analysis is presented of the preferences of parents and children regarding the appropriate age for a woman to leave home, marry, and have a first child. The mean ages and standard deviations are calculated and differences between mean group preferences are tested using posthoc multi-group comparisons (Least Significant Difference). Second, the correlation between parental and children's timing preferences is computed for each (migrant) group. Correlations found among the four migrant groups are compared to those found among Dutch using a *Fisher z*-test. Finally, OLS regression is used to study the effect of parent characteristics on their children's timing preferences. For each timing preference, three models are presented. The first model contains parental preferences, characteristics of the parental home and control variables. This model allows testing of hypothesis 2, on the strength of intergenerational transmission of timing preferences. In Model 2, ethnic background and whether the child is a first or second generation migrant is included in the analysis. This model allows the testing of hypothesis 1 on differences in timing preferences between Dutch and members of different migrant groups. Finally, in Model 3 interactions between parental preferences and ethnic group are added. This model allows testing alternative hypotheses 3' and 3'' on differences in the strength of intergenerational transmission between ethnic groups and hypothesis 4 on the direct effect of parental religious involvement and parental educational attainment.

Table 4.1 Description of independent variables by (migrant) group, mean and SD

Independent variables	Range	Dutch (<i>n</i> = 661)		Turks (<i>n</i> = 250)		Moroccans (<i>n</i> = 173)		Surinamese (<i>n</i> = 132)		Antilleans (<i>n</i> = 74)	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
		Parental level of education (1 = low-3 = high)	1-3	1.89	0.85	1.28	0.60	1.01	0.42	1.42	0.75
Parental religious involvement (1 = never - 4 = at least once a week)	1-4	1.81	0.10	2.95	1.11	3.14	1.14	2.13	0.95	2.47	1.14
Sex child (1 = women)	0-1	0.49	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.55	0.50	0.54	0.50
Age child (in years)	15-30	18.9	3.15	18.2	3.05	18.2	3.28	18.9	3.40	18.8	3.07
Migrant generation child (1 = 2 nd gen)	0-1	n.a.		0.17	0.37	0.22	0.42	0.23	0.45	0.45	0.50

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study 2002/2003, Social Position and Provisions Ethnic Minorities Survey 2002

4.6 RESULTS

4.6.1 Preferred ages for transitions

In Table 4.2, timing preferences of children and parents are presented for each ethnic group. From this table, it can be concluded that, within each ethnic group, parents generally prefer older ages for leaving home and younger ages for marriage and childbearing than children. The mean preferred age to leave the parental home was in the early twenties among all groups. Among the children's generation, Antilleans stated the youngest age ($M = 20.3$), whereas Moroccans showed a preference for the oldest age ($M = 21.6$) for a woman to leave the parental home. Among parents, those of Surinamese origin stated the oldest age ($M = 22.6$) for a woman to leave the parental home and Turkish and Dutch the youngest age (both $M = 21.1$). Regarding the mean preferred ages at marriage we found a dichotomy (particularly among children) between Turks and Moroccans on the one hand and Surinamese, Antillean, and Dutch on the other. Whereas the preferred age at marriage among Turks and Moroccans was in the early twenties, the other groups gave mid-twenties as the preferred age for women to marry. With respect to parenthood, we found a clear distinction between Dutch and the four migrant groups. Dutch parents and children had a clear preference for the oldest ages for women at childbirth ($M = 26.9$ and 27.2 respectively). Again, Moroccan parents and children were in favor of the youngest ages for women to experience this transition ($M = 23.3$ and 24.8 respectively).

Table 4.2 Means of preferred ages for three family life transitions of women, by (migrant) group

Preferred age for a woman to:	Leave the parental home				Get married				Have a first child			
	parent		child		parent		child		parent		child	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Turks	21.1 _a	2.03	21.5 _a	2.34	22.1 _a	2.09	22.9 _a	2.35	24.6 _a	2.28	25.5 _a	2.57
Moroccans	21.3 _a	2.34	21.6 _a	2.43	21.4 _b	2.51	22.6 _a	2.45	23.3 _b	2.56	24.8 _b	2.49
Surinamese	22.6 _b	3.98	21.3 _a	2.48	24.3 _c	2.76	24.7 _b	3.50	25.3 _c	2.98	25.5 _{a,c}	3.11
Antilleans	21.5 _a	2.31	20.3 _b	1.79	24.3 _{c,d}	2.85	25.4 _{b,c}	3.41	25.2 _{a,c}	2.90	25.1 _{a,b,c}	3.18
Dutch	21.1 _a	2.02	20.8 _b	2.44	24.7 _d	2.61	25.9 _c	3.31	26.9 _d	2.56	27.2 _d	2.97

Note: Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < .05$ in the multiple comparison Least Significant Difference (LSD) test

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study 2002/2003, Social Position and Provisions Ethnic Minorities Survey 2002

We are interested not only in the mean ages preferred by parents and children, but also in the extent to which timing preferences for family transitions of women differ between individuals within a particular (migrant) group. Table 4.2 gives the standard deviation as an indicator of the variation in preferred ages per group. To test for differences in variation of age preferences among migrant groups and Dutch, we performed a Levene's test for equality of variance (not in Table). The timing preference for women to leave the parental home has a lower variance among Dutch and Turkish parents than among the other three groups. For the other two family life transitions no difference in variance was found among parents. Children of all migrant groups showed homogeneity of variance with Dutch regarding the preferred home-leaving age of women. However, less variation in preferred age for a woman at marriage and childbearing was found among the Turkish and Moroccan children compared with the other groups.

4.6.2 Parent-child similarity

To get a first impression of parent-child similarities in timing preferences, we computed the percentage of parent-child dyads mentioning the same age, or an age that deviated at most one year from each other (not in Table). For the migrant groups we found that around 40% of parents and children prefer (almost) the same age for a woman to leave the parental home. For the Dutch population the level of agreement on the timing of leaving the parental home was even somewhat higher (50%). Regarding the preferred age for a woman at marriage we also found around 40% agreement between migrant parents and children. For Dutch, however, the agreement on age at marriage was lower (30%). With respect to the preferred ages for women at childbearing, around 44% of the Turkish, Surinamese, and Antillean

parents and children more or less agreed on this point. This is the case for around 36% of Moroccan and Dutch parents and children.

Parent-child similarity in timing preferences was further analyzed by computing the correlation between the parental and child's preferred age for a woman to experience a transition. In order to test for significant differences in parent-child correlation between Dutch and the four migrant groups, we performed a *Fisher z*-test (defined as: $r_1 - r_2 / \sqrt{(1/N_1 - 3) + (1/N_2 - 3)}$). We thus compared the correlation found within each separate migrant group with that of Dutch.

On the whole the correlation found between parent and child preferences was significant (with one exception all at $p < .01$ level). In general, Moroccan parents and children showed the highest and Dutch the lowest correlation for all three transitions. The highest correlation among Dutch parents and children was found for the preferred age at leaving the parental home ($r = .35$). This correlation does not differ significantly from that found among any of the migrant groups (Turks $r = .25$, Moroccans $r = .41$, Surinamese $r = .25$, and Antilleans $r = .29$ ($p < .05$)). For the women's preferred age at marriage, the correlation between preferences of Turkish, Moroccan, and Antillean parents and children were stronger ($r = .40$, $r = .55$, and $r = .49$ respectively) than among the Dutch ($r = .23$). The correlation between Surinamese parents and children ($r = .34$) did not differ significantly from that among Dutch dyads. Finally, regarding childbearing, only the Moroccan parent-child correlation ($r = .46$) was found to differ significantly from that found for Dutch parent-child dyads ($r = .27$).

4.6.3 Intergenerational transmission

The multivariate analyses focus on how parental timing preferences, migrant background and other characteristics of the parental home are associated with the child's preferred age for a woman to experience a specific family life transition. Results of hierarchical OLS regression analyses predicting the child's preferred ages for a woman to leave the parental home, marry, and have a first child are presented in Tables 4.3 to 4.5.

Table 4.3 shows the results for the child's preferred age for a woman to leave the parental home. In Model 1, parental preferences, characteristics of the parental home and control variables are included. The parental age preference is, as expected, associated with the child's age preference. Children whose parents prefer women to leave the parental home at an older age, themselves also prefer older ages for this transition (no evidence was found that parents who did not respond to the question on preferred age differ from those who did). This finding is in line with Hypothesis 2. In line with Hypothesis 4, both parental level of education and parental religious involvement are related to the timing preference of their children. Children's preferred age for a woman to leave home is higher, the higher educated and the less religiously involved their parents are. In addition, the preferred age at leaving home increases with children's age.

Migrant background is introduced in Model 2. As expected (H1), Turks and Moroccans prefer older ages for leaving the parental home. However, no significant differences are

found between the Surinamese and Dutch. Moreover, for Antilleans the findings are contrary to Hypothesis 1: Antillean youngsters prefer younger ages for a woman to leave the parental home compared to their Dutch compatriots.

Inclusion of interactions between migrant background and parental age preference (Model 3) reveals among Surinamese a weaker relationship between the parental age preference for leaving home and the child's preferences. For the Surinamese we thus find support for Hypothesis 3", according to which the age preferences of migrant parents are less associated with that of their children than among Dutch. However, among Turks, Moroccans, and Antilleans the association between parental and children's preferred ages does not differ from that among Dutch families. In addition, parental education is no longer significant in Model 3, suggesting that its initial relationship was overestimated because it captured part of the differences between ethnic groups.

Table 4.3 Hierarchical regression coefficients for child's preferred age for a woman to leave the parental home

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	13.26***	0.70	12.65***	0.70	11.60***	1.05
Parental level of education	-0.25***	0.08	-0.14	0.09	-0.12	0.09
Parental religious involvement	0.12*	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.01	0.06
Sex child	-0.02	0.13	0.00	0.13	-0.01	0.13
Age child	0.14***	0.02	0.16***	0.02	0.15***	0.02
Parental preference	0.25***	0.03	0.26***	0.03	0.31***	0.05
Parental preference missing	0.20	0.28	0.21	0.27	0.21	0.27
Turkish			0.82***	0.19	1.49	1.75
Moroccan			0.82***	0.22	-0.36	1.80
Surinamese			-0.01	0.23	3.61**	1.50
Antillean			-0.60*	0.29	2.20	2.49
First generation child			-0.14	0.21	-0.10	0.21
Turkish x parental preference					-0.03	0.08
Moroccan x parental preference					0.06	0.08
Surinamese x parental preference					-0.16**	0.07
Antillean x parental preference					-0.13	0.12
R^2	.14		.17		.18	
F for change in R^2	42.88***		8.27***		2.36*	

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study 2002/2003, Social Position and Provisions Ethnic Minorities Survey 2002

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

The second analysis focuses on the child's preferred age for a woman to marry. Results of the OLS regression are presented in Table 4.4. Model 1 again includes characteristics of the parents as well as the control variables. Results indicate that parental age preferences are directly related to the child's timing preference: the older the preferred age for marriage of the parent, the older the preferred marriage age of the child, which is in line with Hypothesis 2. Parental level of education and parental religious involvement both are associated with the child's age preference. Whereas children with more highly educated parents prefer a later age at marriage, children whose parents are more religiously involved prefer younger ages for women to marry. Both findings are in line with Hypothesis 4. Of the individual control variables, only age is correlated with the child's timing preference for marriage.

The direct relationship of parental age preference and children's age preference becomes weaker when migrant background is entered (Model 2). Inclusion of migrant background reveals that all migrant groups, except Antilleans, prefer a younger age at marriage than the native Dutch. This finding largely confirms Hypothesis 1, which expected younger marriage age preferences among migrant children. No differences in timing preferences for marriages between first- and second-generation migrants are observed. In Model 2, the results for parental level of education and parental religious involvement become weaker, suggesting that part of the relationship initially ascribed to level of education and religious involvement in fact are due to ethnic differences rather than to educational or religious ones.

Inclusion of the interaction term between migrant background and parental age preferences in Model 3 indicates that age preferences of Moroccan and Antillean parents are having a stronger correlation with their children's preferences than those of Dutch parents. Hypothesis 3', which states that migrant parents have a stronger influence than parents of Dutch descent, is thus confirmed for these two migrant groups only. The results show that compared with Dutch, the correlation of parental age preference is neither stronger (H3') nor weaker (H3'') among Surinamese and Turks.

The final analysis focuses on the relationship of intergenerational transmission with the child's preferred age for a woman to have a first child (Table 4.5). The results in Model 1 show that parents' age preference is significantly linked to the preferred age of the child, which is in line with Hypothesis 2. Parental level of education and parental religious involvement are also found to have the expected relation with the children's age preferences for childbearing. As hypothesized (H4), a lower level of education and greater religious involvement of parents results in younger preferred ages for women at childbearing. In addition, a positive correlation with the child's age is observed.

Entering migrant background in Model 2 (Table 4.5) reveals that all migrant children except those of Turkish descent prefer younger ages for childbearing than Dutch children, thus in general supporting Hypothesis 1. No differences in age preferences between first- and second-generation migrants are found. Finally, the results in Model 3 show that, contrary to Hypotheses 3' and 3'' (suggesting stronger or weaker parental influences) no differences in intergenerational transmission were found among migrant groups compared with Dutch.

Table 4.4 Hierarchical regression coefficients for child's preferred age for a woman to marry

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	12.54***	0.95	15.10**	1.03	17.24***	1.30
Parental level of education	0.57***	0.11	0.37***	0.12	0.39***	0.12
Parental religious involvement	-0.43***	0.08	-0.29***	0.08	-0.28***	0.08
Sex child	-0.09	0.17	-0.12	0.17	-0.11	0.17
Age child	0.13***	0.03	0.11***	0.03	0.11***	0.03
Parental preference	0.42***	0.03	0.35***	0.03	0.27***	0.05
Parental preference missing	0.16	0.37	-0.10	0.36	-0.10	0.36
Turkish			-1.58***	0.26	-4.86*	2.28
Moroccan			-1.43***	0.30	-6.13**	2.21
Surinamese			-0.93***	0.30	-3.31	2.60
Antillean			-0.07	0.39	-7.21**	3.04
First generation child			0.22	0.28	0.24	0.29
Turkish x parental preference					0.14	0.10
Moroccan x parental preference					0.21*	0.10
Surinamese x parental preference					0.10	0.11
Antillean x parental preference					0.29**	0.12
<i>R</i> ²	.27		.29		.30	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	85.36***		9.09***		2.24*	

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study 2002/2003, Social Position and Provisions Ethnic Minorities Survey 2002

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

Table 4.5 Hierarchical regression coefficients for child's preferred age for a woman to have a first child

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	15.16***	0.92	16.27***	0.99	17.87***	1.33
Parental level of education	0.50***	0.11	0.38***	0.11	0.39***	0.11
Parental religious involvement	-0.23**	0.07	-0.18*	0.08	-0.18*	0.08
Sex child	-0.04	0.16	-0.02	0.16	-0.03	0.16
Age child	0.09***	0.03	0.09**	0.03	0.08***	0.03
Parental preference	0.36***	0.03	0.33***	0.03	0.27***	0.04
Parental preference missing	-0.51	0.36	-0.63	0.36	-0.64	0.36
Turkish			-0.40	0.24	-2.97	2.23
Moroccan			-0.56**	0.29	-3.88	2.26
Surinamese			-0.92**	0.28	-2.88	2.42
Antillean			-1.12**	0.36	-5.41	3.01
First generation child			-0.09	0.27	-0.04	0.27
Turkish x parental preference					0.10	0.09
Moroccan x parental preference					0.13	0.09
Surinamese x parental preference					0.07	0.09
Antillean x parental preference					0.17	0.12
<i>R</i> ²	.21		.22		.23	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²	74.12***		3.87**		0.99	

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study 2002/2003, Social Position and Provisions Ethnic Minorities Survey 2002

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

4.7 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study explored timing preferences for life course transitions among migrant and Dutch families. Four hypotheses on ethnic differences in timing preferences and on the transmission of these preferences from parents to children were formulated and tested. In line with our first hypothesis, clear ethnic differences in timing preferences were observed. Turkish and Moroccan young adults tend to prefer somewhat older ages for women to leave the parental home and much younger ages for women's marriage and entry into motherhood. The differences in timing preferences between native Dutch young adults and young adults of Surinamese and Antillean descent are smaller for leaving home and marriage, but still in the expected direction. Ethnic differences are particularly pronounced for entry into motherhood. These findings mirror the differences in actual behavior observed between these ethnic groups. Although ages at marriage and at first birth have risen since the early 1990's among

migrant women in Dutch society, they still experience these transitions at younger ages than native women. At the same time, it is interesting to note that children in all ethnic groups favor a later age at marriage and entry into motherhood than their parents. This suggests that the ideational shift to delayed commitment to family roles that has been observed among the native population in Western societies (Lesthaeghe, 2002), is also occurring among migrants.

Intergenerational transmission of timing preferences turned out to be strong. Our hypothesis that parents transmit their own age preferences to their children is supported for all three preferences and for all groups. Parental preferences have a substantial effect on their children's preferences, in particular on preferences regarding the timing of women's marriage and entry into motherhood. Intergenerational transmission is somewhat weaker for the preferred age for women to leave the parental home. This suggests that both migrant and Dutch parents are more concerned about the child's family formation choices than about the age at leaving home. The latter may be viewed as resulting from decisions made in other life domains, such as education, work and family formation.

Another important finding is that the strength of intergenerational transmission of timing preferences does not fundamentally differ between migrants and Dutch. Based on existing research two contrasting hypotheses on the differences in the strength of intergenerational transmission were formulated, but neither of them received much empirical support. This suggests that children within all ethnic groups apparently deal in more or less the same way with partially divergent opinions from their families and from other socializing agents (e.g. Hooghiemstra, 2001; Wakil et al., 1981). At the same time, a few ethnic differences were found. Intergenerational transmission of the timing preference regarding leaving the parental home was weaker among Surinamese than among native Dutch, and transmission of the timing preference concerning marriage was stronger among Moroccans and Antilleans than among native Dutch. These results do not make a clear pattern, and thus are hard to interpret.

In line with our fourth hypothesis, we find that preferences of young adults concerning the timing of leaving home, marriage and parenthood vary according to the educational and religious background of their parents. Children from highly educated families and children from non-religious families prefer to postpone marriage and parenthood compared to children from families with little educational attainment and strong religious involvement. This suggests that the influence of the parental home on the preferences of children is not restricted to the direct transmission of specific preferences, but that the broader social networks within which the parental family is embedded are important as well. In other words, parental influence on timing preferences does not only result from value socialization but also from status inheritance (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986).

These results have a number of implications for our understanding of ethnic differences in intergenerational transmission. First, although clear ethnic differences in timing preferences were observed, only few differences in the strength of intergenerational transmission between migrant native Dutch families were found. This suggests that processes of intergenerational transmission may be operating in basically the same manner in all ethnic groups, and one

should be careful in assuming that intergenerational transmission is inherently more or less problematic in migrant families. Second, timing preferences varied considerably between migrant groups and a few ethnic differences in the strength of intergenerational transmission of timing preferences were observed. This suggests that one should not juxtapose migrants and natives, but should pay attention to the variety of cultural backgrounds among migrants and how this influences their preferences and behaviors. Third, our analysis showed that childrens' timing preferences varied by the preferences of their parents and by the level of education and religious involvement of their parents. Evidently, these factors do not only vary between ethnic groups, but also within ethnic groups. Therefore, it is important to realize that, even though timing preferences vary between ethnic groups, there will still be considerable intra-ethnic variation in preferences as well.

Finally, some limitations of this study should be mentioned. First, this study is limited to timing *preferences*. Relatively little is known about the actual timing and sequencing of family life events among migrants and how this is related to parental attitudes and behavior. Therefore, more insight into the actual transition into adulthood among migrant children and the role played by their parents and kin network would be valuable. Second, this study focuses on the preferences towards the timing of family life transitions for *women* only. Paying attention to the preferences with regard to the timing of these events in men's lives could provide additional indications for changes in family formation preferences. Third, this chapter studies the influence of the parental home only. However, it is also well-known that for example peer groups are important socializing agents for children. Future research should try to enlarge the scope by including peer group and broader family relations. Finally, future work should address transitions in different domains of the migrant adolescents' life. Preferences regarding family life transitions are not formed in a vacuum but are clearly related to other life course transitions as well as the social context in which the child grows up.

CHAPTER 5

CO-RESIDENCE AMONG MIGRANT AND DUTCH YOUTH: THE FAMILY INFLUENCE DISENTANGLED

Helga A.G. de Valk & Francesco C. Billari

Abstract

This study examines the influence of the parental family on living arrangements of migrant and Dutch young adults. The first aim of the study was to identify patterns of co-residence among migrant and Dutch young adults. The second aim was to ascertain how the parental family influences the prevalence of co-residence. We studied how and to what extent migrant background, family ties and, socio-economic characteristics of the family influence the likelihood of living in the parental home. The sample consisted of 1,678 young adults aged between 15 to 30 years, from 847 families with five different ethnic backgrounds. Results show that the likelihood of co-residence compared to Dutch is higher for Moroccan youngsters only. Rather than an ethnic factor we find that family ties and socio-economic background of the parental home have a substantial influence on living arrangements of young adults. These effects are found to be comparable for levels of co-residence among migrant and Dutch young adults.

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5 CO-RESIDENCE AMONG MIGRANT AND DUTCH YOUTH: THE FAMILY INFLUENCE DISENTANGLED

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite a great deal of research on leaving home of young adults, previous research has paid little attention to the living arrangements of *migrant* youth, even though a considerable and increasing share of youth, both in the Netherlands as well as in other Western countries, is growing up in families with a migrant origin (Alders, Harmsen, & Hooghiemstra, 2001; Nauck, 1990; De Valk et al., 2004). The future generation of young adults includes many who have (parents with) a migrant background, raising questions on intergenerational continuity and change. Migrant youth's parents grew up in countries with traditions and norms regarding co-residence that differ from those of native young people. Migrants from non-Western countries are thought to have stronger kin bonds, feel stronger intergenerational obligations, and have less autonomy regarding the occurrence and timing of important life transitions (Nauck, 1990; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Reher, 1998). It is often thought that migrant parents transmit these culturally determined preferences to their children who are expected to follow these cultural scripts even when they themselves encounter different opportunities and traditions in the country of residence. Despite the growing attention to ethnic differences in co-residence patterns in North-American studies (Boyd 2000; Burr & Mutchler 1993; Glick & Van Hook, 2002; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1989, 1997; Mitchell, Wister, & Gee, 2004), insights in the mechanisms that may cause ethnic differences in living arrangements are limited. The first aim of the paper is therefore to achieve a more complete understanding of ethnic differentials in co-residence. In what follows, we go beyond the simple division by ethnic origin and elaborate on key family features that may influence living arrangements of young adults and potentially explain differentials by ethnic origin. More specifically, we question whether there is an ethnic component in patterns of co-residence connected to cultural and normative factors, or whether differences between ethnic groups are mainly attributable to differences in socio-economic resources available in the parental home.

Furthermore, in previous studies limited attention has been paid to the role of the family in the choice to stay in or leave the parental home. The choice to co-reside in or leave the parental home is a key decision in the lives of both young adults and their parents. For parents this transition is a crucial stage in their children's lives, not the least while leaving the parental home is interwoven with many other domains of young adults' lives like educational enrollment, labor force participation and reproductive behavior (Barber, Axinn, & Thornton, 2002; Hogan 1986). So parents can be expected to attach significance to the living arrangement of their children. Given the centrality of the relationship with parents in the lives of young adults, the parental family will be of importance for preferences and behavior young adults develop (Nauck & Suckow, 2003; Mitchell et al., 2004; Shaw, 2003; Younnis &

Smollar, 1985). The second aim of this paper is to shed light on the influence of the parental family on co-residence of young people. We study how and to what extent (migrant) parents, including the specific norms towards kin bonds, influence co-residence of (migrant) young adults.

During the last decades, the living arrangements of young adults in industrialized countries have changed considerably. Besides structural and economic causes, these changes are explained by shifts in norms and attitudes (Inglehart, 1997; Lesthaeghe, 2002; Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986; Marini, 1984). Nevertheless, despite this emphasis on changed norms and attitudes, relatively few studies have focused on the influence of parental norms and attitudes regarding kin ties on home-leaving choices of young adults (for exceptions, see: Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Baanders, 1998; Liefbroer & De Jong Gierveld, 1993; Waite, Kobrin-Goldscheider, & Witsberger, 1986). In our study we thus question how and to what extent the family is of importance regarding co-residence and whether family factors affect co-residence among migrant and Dutch youth differently.

We exploit data on co-residence from a representative sample of families living in the Netherlands. We focus on young adults aged 15-30 years from five ethnic groups: Dutch, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. The selection of the four migrant groups is based on the fact that youngsters from these groups constitute a significant proportion of the migrant population in the Netherlands. Of the approximately 1.5 million non-Western migrants in the Netherlands, 66% belongs to one of these four migrant groups. The age composition of these migrant groups is rather young (more than half of them are under the age of 30) and their share in the total group of young adults in the Netherlands is expected to rise in the coming years (Statline, 2005). Furthermore, the four migrant groups cover a diverse migration history, demographic background, and socio-economic position in Dutch society. The data we use offer the unique opportunity to assess living arrangements of young adults and connecting them to the characteristics of the parental family. We expand on previous work by explicitly including the role played by parental norms and attitudes concerning kin relations. This allows disentangling the influence of the ethnic, normative and socio-economic context of the parental home (Lesthaeghe, 1998, 2002; Mitchell, Wister, & Gee, 2004).

5.2 LEAVING HOME AND MIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Patterns of leaving home and co-residence with parents in the Netherlands, as well as in other industrialized countries, have changed considerably during the past decades. Whereas up until the 1960s, leaving home and marriage often coincided, today most young adults live by themselves or cohabit with their partner for a certain period (Liefbroer, 1999). The current mean age at leaving home in the Netherlands is around 22 years and the mean age at first marriage is 28.9 years for women (Statline, 2005). As far as data are available for migrant

youth in the Netherlands, living arrangement patterns seem to differ between groups (Garssen, De Beer, Cuyvers, & De Jong, 2001). Despite the growing variability in migrant origins in the Netherlands, a substantial part of young adult migrants has a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean background.

Nowadays, the majority of young Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands are children of the generation of (predominantly male) migrant workers who were recruited in the 1960s and early 1970s to carry out mostly unskilled labor in the Netherlands. The families of these migrants came to the Netherlands in the 1980s and 1990s, and even today many Turks and Moroccans find a partner in their countries of origin (De Valk et al., 2004; Hooghiemstra, 2001). The immigrants from these countries brought their own traditions with them in terms of living arrangements. Turkish and Moroccan societies are traditionally patrilineal and men and women largely live separate lives. Direct marriage is the norm, which is traditionally instigated by the parents and arranged by the two families. According to the tradition, sons continue to live with their parents after they marry, and daughters move in with their stepfamilies. Marriage is therefore a way of perpetuating kin cohesion and patriarchal family ties (Bolt, 2001; Pels & Nijsten, 2003; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001).

Although these traditional (marriage) patterns are susceptible to change, in Turkey and Morocco as well as in the countries of settlement after migration, co-residence with parents or relatives is very common and marriage is still the dominant living arrangement (Bolt, 2001; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981; Yacef, 1994). Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands marry at a younger age than Dutch young adults: the mean age at first marriage for women in the two migrant groups is 23 and 24 years respectively for the 1995-1999 period (De Valk et al., 2004). The mean age at leaving home is, according to Statistics Netherlands data from 2000, around 20 years (Alders et al., 2001). Recent research among Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands also shows that the preferred ages for a woman to leave the parental home is around 21 years (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2005).

The migration history of Surinamese and Antilleans is predominantly influenced by Dutch colonial history. Surinam is a former colony of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Traditionally, migrants from these countries came to the Netherlands for educational purposes. Furthermore, a substantial number of Surinamese migrated to the Netherlands around independence of Surinam in 1975. Up to 1980, they could settle down in the Netherlands easily without residence permits because of their Dutch nationality. The latter still applies to migrants from the Netherlands Antilles.

In Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, women play a central role in kinship relations and traditions. This is also referred to as the matrifocal 'Caribbean family system' (Shaw, 2003). Women are often the head of household as their (male) partners are not, or only partly present. This very often results in extended households of mothers and daughters living together. Data on the age at leaving home (Alders et al., 2001) indicate that 50% of the Surinamese and Antilleans are not living in the parental home at age 21-22, which is in line with recent figures on the preferred age for home-leaving among these groups (De Valk &

Liefbroer, 2005). In Caribbean countries, marriage does not play a central role in the living arrangements of young adults, and unmarried cohabitation is very common (Shaw, 2003). In the Netherlands, too, we find that only a small percentage of women from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles marry. Those who do so, marry relatively late (29 and 30 years respectively in the period 1995-1999; De Valk et al., 2004).

5.3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

Young adults' choices regarding co-residence with parents are assumed to be related to resources and constraints the young adult encounters in the parental home (De Jong Gierveld, Liefbroer, & Beekink, 1991; Goldscheider, 2000). We distinguish between cultural expectations, socio-demographic and economic resources available in the parental home. Migrant specific preferences, parental role modeling, and the importance attached to family ties are cultural resources that may influence leaving home of young adults. We compare these to the socio-economic resources in the parental home. We include socio-demographic and economic family characteristics in our study in order to assess the relative importance of different opportunities and constraints. Differences in patterns of co-residence between migrant and Dutch youth may at least in part be accounted for by differences in socio-demographic and economic background.

5.3.1 Migrant background, preferences and role modeling

The parental family forms the normative environment in which choices about co-residence are made (Astone, Nathanson, Schoen, & Kim, 1999). An important feature of the parental family in this respect is its ethnic origin and the culturally defined expectations it may bring along. Being part of an ethnic family may become particularly important as a source of orientation and support in a new society after migration (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, & Goldscheider, 2004; Pyke, 2003). The migrant family can be expected to attach importance to continuation of specific ethnic norms with regard to living arrangements because these decisions affect not only the individual but also the kin network. Studies in several countries report for example a continuation of demographic behavior reflecting the traditions in the migrants' countries of origin (Boyd, 2000; Hofferth, 1984; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993, 1997; Tang, 1997). Migrant origin may thus be of major influence on the living arrangements of young adults with a migrant background. Because in the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean tradition co-residence with parents has great importance, we can expect this to be reflected in the actual living arrangements of young adults. For migrant young adults, also those who are in a (married or unmarried) partner relationship, it is quite common to co-reside with parents (in-law) (Bernhardt, Goldscheider, Goldscheider, & Bjerén, 2005; De Vos 1995). Many Dutch young adults, however, move out of the parental home to live on their own or with a partner (either in a married or unmarried union). In the

Netherlands it is rather uncommon for young adults to co-reside in the parental home when they are in a long-term partner relationship. Compared to their Dutch compatriots migrant youth can thus be expected to postpone leaving the parental home resulting in prolonged co-residence with their parents. The first hypothesis is that young adults with a migrant background are more likely to live in the parental home than Dutch young adults (H1).

Another normative aspect of the parental family background is the existence of different expectations regarding co-residence for girls and boys. Previous studies found that women in general leave the parental home at younger ages than men (Van Hekken, De Mey, & Schulze, 1997; Nave Herz, 1997; Cordon, 1997; Murphy & Wang, 1998). Cordon (1997) and Billari et al. (2001) find that these gender differences in the timing of home-leaving are more pronounced in Mediterranean countries than in Northern Europe. Other studies also report larger differences in home-leaving patterns between men and women among migrant groups and link this to the level of group orientation and the importance attached to e.g. family honor (Boyd, 2000; Goldscheider et al., 2004; Koç, 2001; De Vos, 1989). Among the four migrant groups in our study, in particular the Moroccan and Turkish, tradition prescribes that a woman leaves the parental home only when she starts living with her husband's family after marriage. Rules regarding the honor of the kin network result in clearer prescriptions for women than for men (Lievens, 2000). When girls live on their own, out of sight of the direct family, this could lead to gossiping and put the family reputation at risk (Bernhardt et al., 2005). Men remain in the parental home longer because they are supposed to provide financial support to parents in old age. We therefore expect to find more pronounced gender differences in co-residence among Turks and Moroccans compared to the Surinamese, Antilleans and Dutch. Beside the main effect of gender, we thus formulate an additional hypothesis on the interaction between migrant origin and gender. Our hypothesis first of all is that female young adults are more likely to live outside the parental home than male young adults (H2'). Secondly we hypothesize that Turkish and Moroccan women are more likely to live outside the parental home than is the case for Surinamese, Antillean and Dutch women (H2").

Extensive literature shows the importance of parental role modeling on a range of child behaviors (Barber, Axinn, & Thornton, 2002; Barber, 2001; Bandura, 1977). This role modeling may result in intergenerational continuation of living arrangement patterns (Murphy & Wang, 1998). Therefore, the age at which parents left the parental home can function as a focus point for the child (Goldscheider, 2000). We expect that the parent's age at leaving home is positively related to the child's likelihood of co-residence. The third hypothesis is that young adults whose parents left home at a relatively late age themselves, are more likely to co-reside in the parental home than those young adults whose parents left home at a relatively young age (H3).

5.3.2 Family ties

The parental family can be expected to be of significant importance on major life course choices that affect not only the individual but also the group, as is the case for living arrangements (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1988; Goldscheider et al., 2004; Lesthaeghe, 2002). Studies on value orientations regarding the family and typologies of kinship relations often distinguish between individualistic family and collectivistic family oriented societies (Inglehart et al., 1997; Nauck, 1990; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Mitchell et al., 2004; Reher, 1998; Todd, 1985). Like many Western industrialized countries, the Netherlands is characterized as a typical individualistic society with “weak” family ties (Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986; Reher, 1998). This implies that the individual will give high priority to individual autonomy in decision making (Baanders, 1998; Pyke, 2003). Furthermore, these more individualistic orientated societies will attach importance to egalitarian relations between generations. In societies with this type of kinship relations, children move out of the parental home in order to live independently (alone or with a partner) from their parents. Parents encourage this step as an important phase in life, emphasizing the increase in independence—this being typical of choices of young adults’ living arrangements in a society with generally weak family ties. In these weak family societies, the state and other formal institutions take over the responsibility to care for older kin members who are in need, resulting in less necessity for family support and co-residence (Reher, 1998).

In societies with “strong” family ties, on the other hand, the predominant weight is on the kin group. Intergenerational relationships are strong, strictly defined and normative controlled (Kuijsten, 1999; Reher, 1998). This applies to a range of societies worldwide, amongst others Turkey/Morocco and Surinam/Antilles. In these societies, great importance is attached to (intergenerational) kin ties and extended family loyalties. This is for example reflected in the obligation to support (elderly) kin members (in case of need) which results in a prolonged co-residence of adult children in order to support their parents (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Nauck & Suckow, 2003; Reher, 1998). The obligation to take care of older kin members in these strong family societies results from the fact that elderly are perceived to be very important in the continuation of the family line and kin honor. Traditionally these older family members have a prominent say in major decisions (Nauck & Suckow, 2003; Pyke, 2003).

Based on this reasoning we expect that differences in the strength of family ties result in different co-residential behavior of young adults. In general, we expect that children from families with strong ties will more often co-reside in the parental home compared to those from weak tie families. Because cross-national studies indicate that differences in family ties run along ethnic origin, this implies that family ties may account for the possible differences in co-residence between migrants and Dutch. Our fourth hypothesis is that young adults whose parents attach more importance to family ties (reflected in current family relations, and

attitudes concerning family support and egalitarian relations) are more likely to live in the parental home than young adults whose parents attach less importance to family ties (H4).

5.3.3 Socio-demographic and economic resources

An extensive body of research among natives links socio-demographic and economic characteristics as push or pull factors to co-residence in the parental home (De Jong Gierveld et al., 1991; Berrington & Murphy, 1994; Murphy & Wang, 1998). A range of studies find that socio-demographic characteristics of the parents influence the extent of co-residence in the parental home. Young adults from (intact) two-parent families are found to stay in the parental home longer than those from disrupted families. Apparently two-parent families have more material and non-material resources resulting in prolonged co-residence with the parents (Aquilino, 1990; Buck & Scott, 1993; Kiernan, 1992; Ravanera, Rajulton, & Burch, 2002). The size of the parental family, indicated by the number of children, is also associated with the probability of leaving home. Literature shows that having many siblings reduces the propensity to co-reside with parents, possibly as a result of competition over parental resources (De Jong-Gierveld et al., 1991; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1989; Mitchell et al., 2004; Murphy & Wang, 1998; Wister & Burch, 1989). In addition, educational level is associated with co-residence in the parental home: children of higher educated parents are more likely to leave home earlier in order to pursue secondary education or for reasons connected to individual autonomy (Baanders, 1998; Goldscheider et al., 2004; Kerckhoff & Macrae, 1992; Murphy & Wang, 1998; Van Hekken et al., 1997; Van Hoorn, 2001). This leads to the fifth hypothesis: young adults growing up in (a) a two parent family, those with (b) fewer siblings and those with (c) lower educated parents, are more likely to reside in the parental home than those from disrupted families, with more siblings or higher educated parents (H5).

The literature furthermore relates economic resources like household income, housing situation and place of residence to co-residence with parents. Findings on the way in which household income influences living arrangements are, however, indecisive (Iacovou, 2001). Some studies find that higher income results in earlier home-leaving (Avery & Goldscheider, 1992; Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1985), whereas others report a prolonged co-residence among those from more well to do families (Laferrère, 2004; Van Hekken et al., 1997). Because of the tight housing market for young adults in the Netherlands and the economic advantage of pooling resources, it is likely that economic constraints will keep young adults in the parental home (Bolt, 2001). Only those young adults whose parents have more financial resources will be able to afford independent housing outside the parental home. Previous research, furthermore, associates the housing situation and the crowdedness in the parental home with decisions on co-residence. This suggests that having a suitable dwelling is an important prerequisite for co-residence (Aquilino, 1990; Bolt, 2001; Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1985; Laferrère, 2004). Parents' ability to house children may be reflected in their home-owner status: parents who own a house may have better possibilities to house their

children which results in a prolonged co-residence with parents (De Jong Gierveld et al., 1991; Murphy & Wang, 1998). Earlier studies also link the place of residence of parents to the propensity of co-residence of children. Young adults whose parents live in smaller towns and cities are found to have a higher propensity to live in the parental home than those in larger cities. Availability of cheap housing in larger cities may provide young adults the opportunity to leave the parental home (Bolt, 2001; De Vos, 1989; Ravanera et al., 2002; Van Hekken et al., 1997). The last hypothesis thus is that young adults whose parents have (a) a low income, (b) are home-owners and (c) live in smaller towns, are more likely to live in the parental home than young adults whose parents have high incomes, rented accommodation and live in larger towns (H6).

5.4 DATA AND METHODS

5.4.1 Data and sample characteristics

We analyze data from the main and migrant samples of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (Wave 1, NKPS, 2002/2003, NKPS-SPVA, 2002). The NKPS main sample is a national representative sample of about 8,000 Dutch respondents (Dykstra, Kalmijn, Knijn, Komter, Liefbroer, & Mulder, 2005). An additional migrant sample, drawn from 13 Dutch cities in which half of the migrants from the four migrant groups live, resulted in additional data on 1,400 migrants with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean origin (Groeneveld & Weijers-Martens, 2003; NKPS-SPVA, 2002). The topics covered in the main and the migrant questionnaires are highly equivalent, and therewith provide data that make meaningful comparisons possible. The NKPS provides the first unique data that allow comparing co-residence and the influence of the parental family on co-residence between different migrant groups and Dutch.

The NKPS has an overall response rate of 47% for main sample respondents (Dykstra et al., 2005; Groeneveld & Weijers-Martens, 2003). The response rate among migrants was comparable to that of Dutch, ranging from 40.4% among Surinamese to 52.3% among Turks (Dykstra et al., 2005).

The NKPS includes information on a primary respondent (anchor) and multiple kin members (in or outside the same household). We select anchor respondents who had at least one child aged between 15 and 30 years at the time of interview. Furthermore, to achieve greater comparability, we confine the analyses to Dutch living in one of the 13 cities as used in the migrant sample. However, we carried out analyses in order to test for differences between Dutch respondents with children in the eligible age range living in these 13 cities compared to the total group of Dutch respondents in the NKPS with children in the eligible age range. The groups are found to be highly comparable and significant differences are only found for the number of children, homeownership, current family ties, and importance attached to family support.

Analyses require that information is available on whether the child lives in or outside the parental household. Data on the responding (anchor) parent and all children (that meet the above-mentioned criteria), as reported by the parent, are included in the analyses. After selection, the data include 305 Dutch, 149 Turkish, 117 Moroccan, 172 Surinamese and 104 Antillean families. We have information on a total of 1678 children within these 847 families.

The respondents (parents) were on average 49.5 years old, respondents with a Turkish background being the youngest ($M = 47.1$) and those with a Dutch background being the oldest ($M = 51.8$). There were more mothers than fathers included (57% versus 43%) in the total sample. However, in the Turkish and Moroccan group the majority of the respondents are men (52% and 55% respectively). Female respondents are overrepresented in the other three groups and most pronounced among Surinamese and Dutch (67% and 61% respectively).

5.4.2 Measures

The dependent variable in the analyses is the co-residential status of the child. This is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the child lives in- (= 1) or outside (= 0) the parental home.

Independent variables

Descriptive information on the independent variables is presented in Table 5.1. The independent variables are introduced in the same order as they are included in the models. The correlation matrix of the independent variables does not reveal problems of multicollinearity.

Migrant background, preferences and role modeling

Migrant background. The migrant background of the respondent (parent) is defined according to his/her country of birth and that of the parents. Respondents born abroad or with at least one parent born abroad were defined as migrants and assigned to one of the four migrant groups. For each group, a separate dummy variable was created to compare them to the Dutch.

Parental age at leaving home. Migrant respondents were asked “at what age did you leave the parental home for the first time?” Respondents from the NKPS main sample were asked to indicate the year of first leaving home. In order to make responses comparable responses from the NKPS are recoded into age at leaving home by subtracting the year of leaving home from the year of interview. This results in a continuous variable on parental age at first leaving home.

Family ties

Family relations. Respondents were asked what characteristics apply to the relationships within their family. We selected three items on which respondents reported (on a five point Likert scale) whether they agreed with: “bonds within my family are strong”, “we keep each other informed regarding important events in the family”, and “there are often quarrels in my family” (reverse coded). We calculate the level of agreement by adding scores on each of the

three items and dividing it by three. This results in a measure on actual family ties that ranges from 1) weak to 5) strong family ties. The scale has an overall reliability of $\alpha = .68$ and ranges from $\alpha = .50$ for Antilleans to $\alpha = .73$ among Dutch. Given the fact that the scale is based on three items only these α 's indicate sufficient reliability across the different ethnic groups.

Family support attitude. This scale consists of seven items on the (relative) importance of the family with respect to practical and emotional support. Included items are for example: “you should always be able to count on your family”, “if you have worries your family should help”, and “children should take care of their sick parents”. Item responses were again given on a five point Likert scale from 1) totally agree to 5) totally disagree. The answers on the items are summed and divided by seven. The measure thus codes the respondents' value towards family support from 1) family is unimportant to 5) family is important in providing emotional and practical support. The overall reliability of this scale is $\alpha = .82$. Also among separate groups this scale shows good reliability (lowest for Turks $\alpha = .72$ and highest for Moroccans and Surinamese both $\alpha = .82$).

Egalitarian orientation. This scale refers to the extent of egalitarian orientation in both intergenerational as well as gender relations. Respondents were asked whether they agree with statements like “the man should take major decisions”, “education is more important for boys”, and “older family members should be dominant in decisions”. Again a five point Likert scale was used for each item to measure the respondents agreement (1 (totally agree) to 5 (totally disagree)). The individual scale score is calculated by summing the responses on the eight items and dividing by eight. This results in a scale ranging from 1) egalitarian orientation to 5) patrifocal orientation. We find an overall reliability of $\alpha = .77$. The reliability of the scale for each separate group is good and is found to be highest for Dutch ($\alpha = .78$) and lowest for Moroccans ($\alpha = .56$).

Socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the parental home

We notice that the socio-economic characteristics of the parents are documented at the time of the interview. Ideally, this information should be gathered during the socialization period up to the moment when the residential state of the child changes. Nevertheless, we assume that (most) indicators used here do not change dramatically over the period between the time the child reached age 15 and the moment of survey. All indicators used refer to the status of the parents.

Family structure. Respondents (parents) who are married at the time of interview are compared with those who have a different marital status (divorced, widowed or never married). The latter are the reference group in the analyses.

Family size. Respondents (parents) were asked for the total number of (own or adopted) children they have had in their life. The absolute reported number of children is included in the analyses. Only a small number of respondents indicated to have 7 children or more; the latter are thus grouped at the level of 7 children.

Table 5.1 Description of independent variables by (migrant) group, mean and SD

Independent variables	Range	Turks (n = 149)		Moroccans (n = 117)		Surinamese (n = 172)		Antilleans (n = 104)		Dutch (n = 305)	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
		<i>Preferences and role-modeling</i>									
Family relations (1 = weak - 5 = strong)	1-5	4.34	0.55	4.18	0.60	4.13	0.72	3.98	0.67	3.61	0.78
Family support attitude (1 = unimp.- 5 = important)	1-5	4.09	0.52	4.36	0.52	3.55	0.79	3.52	0.58	3.18	0.55
Egalitarian orientation (1 = egalitarian - 5 = patrifocal)	1-5	3.34	0.66	3.29	0.54	2.71	0.72	2.69	0.57	2.32	0.44
Parent age at leaving home	12-62	21.4	5.62	22.1	7.08	20.5	4.73	21.6	4.69	21.1	3.74
<i>Socio-demographic and economic characteristics</i>											
Family structure	0-1	0.83	0.38	0.86	0.35	0.35	0.47	0.27	0.45	0.63	0.48
Family size	1-7	3.41	1.30	5.32	2.47	3.00	1.80	3.07	1.45	2.28	1.01
Parental educational level	1-3	1.24	0.56	1.17	0.50	1.82	0.68	1.73	0.76	2.10	0.82
Parental income level	1-5	2.28	0.99	1.92	0.60	2.75	1.11	2.26	1.25	3.30	1.44
Parental home-ownership	0-1	0.32	0.47	0.43	0.49	0.55	0.49	0.22	0.42	0.69	0.46
Parental place of residence	0-1	0.76	0.43	0.78	0.42	0.73	0.45	0.58	0.49	0.49	0.50
<i>Individual characteristics</i>											
		(n = 315)		(n = 338)		(n = 317)		(n = 200)		(n = 508)	
Child's sex	0-1	0.48	0.50	0.49	0.50	0.51	0.50	0.51	0.50	0.50	0.50
Child's age	15-30	21.4	4.26	21.4	4.57	22.3	4.75	22.2	4.71	22.6	4.68

Source: NKPS 2002/2003

Parental educational level. The educational level of the responding parent is the indicated highest level completed with a certificate. Because this produces a substantial number of missing among migrants, we take the highest educational level enrolled in (either with or without a certificate) for these respondents. Among migrants the education enrolment can have been in the country of origin or the Netherlands. The indicated levels are recoded in

three categories 1) low (e.g. primary education, lower vocational), 2) medium (e.g. medium general secondary, intermediate vocational), and 3) high (e.g. upper general secondary, higher vocational).

Parental income level. Respondents were asked to indicate their own net monthly income (from work or social benefits). This information was combined with the partners' income in order to calculate the total net household income per month. In case the respondent refused to give the exact amount, the income could be indicated in fixed categories. All information on household income is then recoded into five categories 1) € 950 or less, 2) € 950 - < € 1350, 3) €1350 - < € 1950, 4) €1950 - < € 2950 and, 5) € 2950 and more. Missing values (17% of total sample) are replaced by the median category of the ethnic group. A separate dummy variable indicating income is missing was included to check for differences. No dissimilarity was found between those who did and did not report their income.

Parental home-ownership. Respondents are asked whether they or their partner owned the house they live in. A dichotomous variable indicates the home-ownership status of parents, with parents who do not own the dwelling they live in as the reference category.

Parental place of residence. Those parents who live in one of the four major cities in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) are compared with those who live in one of the other nine sampled cities spread all over the country (reference category).

Individual characteristics

Sex. A dichotomous variable indicating the sex of the child (men are the reference group).

Age. Because previous studies clearly showed that the older the young adult is, the more likely he or she is not co-residing in the parental home (see e.g. Boyd, 1998). The child's age in years as reported by the parent (anchor) at the time of interview is included as a continuous variable ranging from 15 to 30 years.

5.4.3 Method

We start with a descriptive analysis of the level of co-residence of young adults in the parental home by migrant group and age group. An overview of children living in and outside the parental home per migrant group is provided and differences in mean group numbers are tested using posthoc multi-group comparisons (LSD). Our analyses are necessarily confined to the child's co-residential status at the time of interview because no data are available on the age at leaving home, thus not allowing hazard analyses.

The extent to which the parental family influences the co-residence propensities of young adults is estimated by applying a multilevel sibling design. The children in our study are nested within specific households. Children (level 1) are nested within families (level 2) with specific family features. The family characteristics (like migrant origin, family ties and parental preferences) are the same for all children of one family, while child's sex and age may differ among siblings. Because children share the same context at the family level, data are non-independent: observations within a family tend to be more similar than between families (Snijders & Bosker, 2002). A multi-level approach is most suited for data with this

characteristic because it takes the dependency of the measurements of children within households into account (see also Murphy & Wang, 1998). Because our dependent variable is dichotomous, we estimate (multi-level) logit models (using STATA).

The analyses are carried out in several steps. First, empty models (without covariates) are estimated to predict the significance of family-level characteristics. Then age (control) and sex are entered (model 2). In Model 3, the influence of the migrant origin is estimated. Finally two additional models are estimated by stepwise inclusion of predictor variables at the family level (model 4 and 5). These same analyses are, furthermore, rerun to check for current partnership status of the child.

5.5 RESULTS

5.5.1 Co-residence with parents among migrant and Dutch young adults

For a first impression of the living arrangements among young adults with a migrant and Dutch origin, Table 5.2 provides an overview of the number of (15-30 year old) children living in- and outside the parental home. The total group of parents has on average 1.48 in- and 1.58 children living outside the parental household. Table 5.2 shows that the largest (absolute) number of children living both in and outside the parental home are found among Moroccans ($M = 2.74$ and $M = 2.31$ respectively). Dutch parents report the smallest number of children living in the parental home as well as outside of their household ($M = 0.94$ and $M = 1.30$ respectively). The other groups hold an intermediate position in between these two extremes.

Table 5.2 Means of (absolute) number of children in and outside the parental household, by (migrant) group

	Number of children in parental home			Number of children outside parental home			Proportion of all children living in parental home
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>range</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>range</i>	
Turks	1.85 _a	1.39	0-6	1.50 _{a,c,d}	1.65	0-7	0.59 _a
Moroccans	2.74 _b	2.11	0-9	2.31 _b	2.67	0-9	0.58 _{a,c}
Surinamese	1.31 _c	1.20	0-5	1.62 _{a,c}	1.81	0-9	0.48 _{b,c}
Antilleans	1.39 _c	1.27	0-5	1.67 _{a,c}	1.68	0-8	0.49 _{a,b,c}
Dutch	0.94 _d	1.09	0-5	1.29 _{a,d}	1.18	0-7	0.42 _{b,c}

Note: Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < .05$ in the LSD comparison

Source: NKPS 2002/2003

These absolute numbers reflect the differences in total number of children as found among the five groups. Moroccan women have for example noticeably higher fertility rates than Dutch women. Therefore, Table 5.2 (last column) includes the proportion of children living in the household compared to the total number of children (in the age range 15 to 30 years) the parent has. We find the largest proportion of children in the parental home among Turks and Moroccans (59% and 58% respectively). The lowest percentage of co-residence with parents is found among Dutch. Although the first absolute numbers suggested clear differences between each of the groups, when taking the total number of children into account, we find a dichotomy between the five groups. Based on the relative proportion of children living in the household (last column Table 5.2), significant differences in co-residence are found between Turks and Moroccans on the one hand and Surinamese, Antilleans, and Dutch on the other.

Based on ideas of culturally determined preferences regarding co-residence we expected that migrant young adults are more likely to live at the parental home (H1). Figure 5.1 shows for selected age groups and per (migrant) group the percentage of young adults living in the parental home.

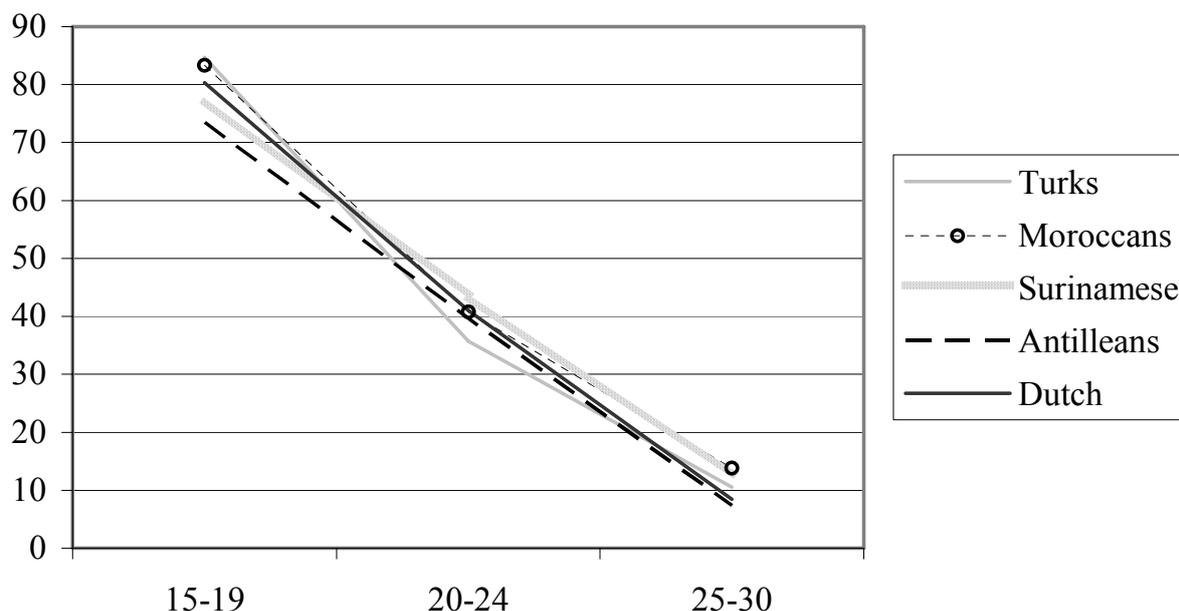


Figure 5.1 Percentage of young adults living at the parental home, by age and per (migrant) group

Source: NKPS 2002/2003

Despite some deviations at specific ages it is clear that the overall pattern is quite similar for all (migrant) groups. Among teenagers, by far the majority of young adults reside

with their parents (ranging from 73% among Antilleans to 85% for Turks). This percentage decreases by age for all groups and the strongest decline of young adults leaving in the parental home is between the age groups 15-19 and 20-24 years. This is particularly the case among Turks, of which many leave the parental home between 19 and 22 years (not in Figure). Among Dutch we find that a second wave of young adults leave home between 23 and 25. After age 25 only small proportions of young adults live in the parental home, ranging from seven percent of Antillean youth to 14% among Moroccan youth.

5.5.2 Family influences on co-residence

The results of the multilevel logit models for the probability of co-residing with the parents are shown in Table 5.3. To gain insight into the family-level effect on co-residence we start by estimating an empty model (Model 1). The random effect is found to be significant, which indicates a strong cluster effect of co-residence for children from the same parental family. The intra-class correlation coefficient (not shown in the table) is relatively high, which implies that a substantial proportion of the variance in co-residence is the result of family differences: In this empty model, 43% of the variance is attributable to the parental family (not in Table). Additional analyses per migrant group (not in Table) reveal that among Dutch, Turks and Antilleans around two fifth (41%, 44% and 37% respectively) of the variance is explained by the parental families. Among Moroccans this is 54% whereas among Surinamese 27% is found to be attributable to family variation. These findings show that parental family background is overall a fundamental factor in understanding co-residence.

In the second step (Model 2, Table 5.3) we include sex of the child and age (control variable). In line with hypothesis 2' being a woman significantly reduces the chance of living in the parental home. For age we also find what was expected: young adults who are older are less likely to live in the parental home than their younger compatriots.

In the third Model we include migrant background. Contrary to our hypothesis (H1) we do not find a higher likelihood of co-residence with parents among migrants compared to Dutch young adults. The already described associations between co-residence and age and gender do not change by including the young adults' migrant origin.

Model 4 shows the results of including preferences, role modeling and family ties in the parental home. We see that our third hypothesis on parental role modeling is not confirmed by the analyses. The age at which the parent left the parental home her-/himself is not directly related to the likelihood of co-residence of the child. Family ties are, however, related to the chances of co-residence. First of all, the actual strength of family relations is linked to the likelihood of co-residence. Children whose parents report stronger ties in the extended family are more likely to live in the parental home (H4). Second, the extent to which parents value egalitarian family relations has a significant correlation with co-residence, though the direction is contrary to what we expected (H4). Children of parents who attach more importance to patrilocality are less likely to co-reside. Family support attitude, finally, seems unrelated to co-residence of young adults with their parents.

In the last model socio-economic characteristics of the parental home are included. Family structure, number of siblings and educational level of the parents are, in line with hypothesis 5, all found to be related with co-residence of young adults. Young adults who grow up in a two-parent family, have fewer siblings and have lower educated parents are more likely to co-reside with parents. Although we do not find an association with migrant background in the previous models, after taking the number of siblings into account we find that a Moroccan background is related to the likelihood of living in the parental home. In line with hypothesis 1, we find that young adults who have a Moroccan background are more likely to live with their parents.

For two of the socio-economic characteristics of the parental home, referring to housing, we find the expected association. Children of home-owners are more likely to live in the parental home whereas those whose parents live in one of the four largest cities of the Netherlands are less likely to co-reside in the parental home (H6).

After entering all main effects, we explored the interaction between gender and migrant background in a separate model. Contrary to our hypotheses (2") we do not find any significant results: we do not find that Turkish and Moroccan girls are less likely to live at the parental home compared to girls with a different (migrant) origin. The same procedure was followed for interactions between family relations and migrant background, family support value and migrant background, egalitarian orientation and migrant background, and age and migrant background. None of these interactions are found to be statistically significant. We also explored the significance of the birth order of the child, but this was also found to be unrelated to the likelihood of co-residence.

Analyses were rerun per migrant group separately to study the association between migrant generation and the likelihood of co-residence with parents. Among each of the four migrant groups a substantial portion of the young adults is born in the Netherlands (second generation) and ranges from 31% among Antilleans to 59% among Turks. Nevertheless, for none of the groups migrant generation was linked with the likelihood of co-residence.

In order to check whether the current partnership status is related to co-residence, we carried out additional analyses in which the child's partnership status is included (not in Table). In the data the current marital status of a maximum of two randomly selected children per household were known. A selection of the children (either living in- or outside the parental home) for whom the marital status is known results in a subsample of 1,058 children nested in 703 families (similarly distributed over the migrant groups as mentioned before). The findings of the final model (Table 5.3) remain overall the same. In addition, we find that Dutch and Surinamese young adults who are in a (un-)married relationship are much less likely to live in the parental home than those who are single. For young adults with a Turkish, Moroccan or Antillean origin co-residence is not found to be related to their marital status. This finding is in line with what is known on co-residence among Turks and Moroccans: even after marriage children often remain in the parental home.

Table 5.3 Multilevel logit models for co-residence with parents

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	-0.24**	16.87***	16.91***	16.20***	16.48***
Age		-1.07***	-1.08***	-1.10***	-1.10***
(Age) ²		0.01**	0.01**	0.14**	0.01**
Gender		-0.61***	-0.61***	-0.62***	-0.61***
Turkish			0.00	0.26	0.44
Moroccan			0.24	0.59	1.15**
Surinamese			0.04	0.05	0.53
Antillean			-0.33	-0.29	0.36
Parent age at leaving home				0.00	0.00
Family relations				0.39**	0.38**
Family support attitude				-0.19	-0.09
Egalitarian orientation				-0.35*	-0.54**
Family structure					0.86***
Family size					-0.26***
Parental educational level					-0.37*
Parental income level					0.01
Parental home-ownership					0.37~
Parents live in larger city					-0.53*
σ (se)	1.57 (0.13)	1.67 (0.12)	1.67 (0.12)	1.66 (0.12)	1.47 (0.11)
Log-likelihood	-1096.44	-760.43	-759.27	-753.58	-721.03

Source: NKPS 2002/2003

~ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

5.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study has examined the influence of parental family characteristics on co-residence of Dutch and migrant young adults. Taking migrant background and parental norms into account allowed for a more thorough analysis of how and to what extent family

characteristics affect living arrangements of young adults. In general, parental attitudes towards family ties are found to be important determinants of co-residence among young adults. Not including these parental characteristics may result in an underestimation of the effect the parental family on living arrangement choices of young adults.

Though our descriptive results indicated differences in co-residence between migrant and Dutch young adults (in line with H1), multivariate analyses showed that these differences are basically deducible to a different age and gender composition of the groups. When controlled for socio-economic background of the parental home, only Moroccans reside significantly more often in the parental home than is the case for Dutch young adults. Contrary to expectations on ethnic differences (H1) all other groups do not differ from Dutch when it comes to co-residence. The fact that Moroccans are more likely to co-reside with parents than Dutch, seems to be mainly related to the larger family size of Moroccan families. When controlled for the larger number of siblings (which reduces the chances of co-residence) we find that Moroccans do co-reside with their parents more often than their Dutch compatriots. The positive effect that Moroccan origin has on co-residence thus seems to be suppressed by their larger family size. This finding underlines the importance of including socio-demographic characteristics of the parental home when studying living arrangements of young adults.

Furthermore, our finding that Moroccan young adults are more likely to live in the parental home may indicate that they postpone the transition to marriage. Other (alternative) living arrangements before marriage, like unmarried cohabitation, and living on ones own may still be not acceptable within the Moroccan community, resulting in prolonged residence in the parental home. Marriage at a young age apparently still is the norm in the Turkish group (see e.g. Statistics Netherlands, 2005; De Valk & Liefbroer, 2005).

As mentioned before, the norms and attitudes of parents are found to affect young adults' co-residence with parents. Children from parents who report stronger family relations stay in the parental home longer than those with weaker ties. Apparently current family relations indicate the closeness of the family network which is an important family feature making the young adult stay in the parental home. The egalitarian orientation of parents was found to have an effect which is contrary to our hypothesis: holding a more egalitarian perception of intergenerational and gender relations leads to prolonged residence in the parental home. This suggests that the parental attitude towards egalitarian relationships is may be indicative for the parent-child relationship quality. Having a better relationship and more individual freedom may keep children in the parental home longer. Unfortunately, our (migrant) data do not include sufficient information on the parent-child relationship quality to test this. It would however, be very interesting to see how the influence of relationship quality compares to parental and cultural norms with respect to co-residence.

Family support attitude was not found to influence co-residence of young adults in our study, although in the migrants' countries of origin children are expected to co-residence with parent to support them. Our finding suggest that this type of parental support expectations are

not so important in a society like the Netherlands, where most practical services to the sick and elderly are provided by the welfare state. One should, however, bear in mind that family support here refers to the parental attitude and does not necessarily reflect the family support obligations felt by the children. The children's sense of family obligation could very well have an influence on their choice to co-reside in or leave the parental home. Unfortunately, our data do not allow for this type of analysis. Future research should put effort in measuring both parent's and child's attitudes, particularly among migrant groups.

Contrary to the general assumption that having a migrant background may reinforce the strong family ties of the countries of origin, we do not find any significant interaction effects between the parental norms and migrant background. The implications of parental preferences on living arrangements of young adults thus seem to be highly comparable among both migrants and Dutch. The choice of leaving the parental home appears to be surrounded by the norms and expectations of parents and the embeddedness in the parental home. In future research, closer attention to the composition and closeness of the family network could shed light on the way in which group norms on living arrangements function within specific groups.

As in previous studies, women were found to be much more likely to live outside the parental home than men. It is nevertheless striking that our hypothesis on the stronger gender effect among Turks and Moroccans is not corroborated by the results. The findings suggest that there is no difference in the 'genderedness' of living arrangement between groups. This does, however, not automatically imply that there are no gender differences between the groups. Although girls in general, for example, live in the parental home less often than boys, the reason for home-leaving can be very different among ethnic groups. Given the importance attached to marriage among Turks and Moroccans it is likely that they will leave home for marriage whereas Dutch girls may leave home to live independently. In our study we had only limited individual information on the young adult's characteristics. To assess the relative importance of family and individual characteristics of migrant young adults it would be worthwhile to include for example the reason for leaving home in future studies.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, pathways into adulthood of youth with different ethnic origins in the Netherlands were studied. Based on a review of the literature, we concluded that little is known about the family life transitions of migrant youth and the mechanisms influencing these transitions. First, we aimed to find out which preferences and behavior regarding family life transitions are predominant among migrant and Dutch youth. Second, we examined how and to what extent the preferences and behaviors regarding family life transitions among migrant and Dutch youth are influenced by their parents. Although cross-cultural studies have shown that family life transitions differ among societies worldwide, it is largely unknown whether these culture-specific pathways into adulthood remain important after migration. This study sought to provide more in-depth knowledge on migrant youths' pathways into adulthood in the family domain by combining the literature on family related cultural differences with that on (parental) socialization.

Gaining more insight into the mechanisms that shape the pathways into adulthood among youth with different ethnic backgrounds has a clear societal relevance. In the Netherlands, as in many Western countries, a substantial and growing share of youth has a migrant background. Today 25% of youth between the ages of 15 and 30 years in the Netherlands have at least one foreign-born parent (Statistics Netherlands, 2005). In view of the growing importance of migrant youth in society this study included, besides people of Dutch descent, four of the largest migrant groups in the Netherlands: Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. A substantial number of young people from these four migrant groups are about to experience major transitions to adulthood. This gives us the unique possibility to gain more insight into the pathways into adulthood among migrant youth and to examine the role played by their parents in shaping these pathways.

In the next Section (6.2) the main findings of this thesis will be recapitulated and the two research questions will be answered. Section 6.3 follows with a discussion of the findings and a reflection on their scientific and societal implications. This chapter concludes with suggestions and directions for future research (Section 6.4).

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

6.2.1 Family life transitions among different ethnic groups

The first research question addressed in this study refers to ethnic differences in pathways into adulthood and reads:

What preferences and behavior regarding family life transitions are predominant among migrant and Dutch youth?

Four different aspects of family life transitions were examined in this thesis. Attention was paid to the choice between marriage and unmarried cohabitation, the division of labor within partner relationships, the timing of family life transitions and patterns of co-residence of parents and children. With regard to the first three of these aspects the analysis focused on preferences of adolescents and young adults whereas the analysis of the fourth aspect focused on the actual pattern of co-residence. In order to answer the first research question two notions were introduced that guided the analysis (Section 1.3.3). The first notion referred to ethnic differences. Based on the literature, it was expected that Dutch youth are more inclined to postpone major family transitions and attach importance to individual independence in family life arrangements compared to migrant youth. The second notion that structured the analyses was that ethnic differences in family life transitions were expected to be more pronounced for Turkish and Moroccan young women compared to Surinamese, Antillean, or Dutch youth. These notions are taken as a starting point for presenting our findings on each of the studied family life transitions.

The first aspect of attaining adulthood we studied was the type of union preferred by migrant and Dutch adolescents (Chapter 2). One of the characteristic features of the postponement of major commitments in the Netherlands is that marriage is delayed and that many of today's Dutch youngsters opt for a period of unmarried cohabitation. In the Turkish and Moroccan tradition much importance is still attached to marriage without prior cohabitation by partners. In order to find out whether preferences between Dutch and migrant youth differ, data were analyzed on adolescent Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch youth who attend secondary school in the Netherlands. The results showed that Moroccan and even more so Turkish adolescents were more inclined to prefer to marry a partner without prior cohabitation than Dutch youth, a large majority of whom preferred a period of unmarried cohabitation before marriage. Nevertheless, even though Turkish and Moroccan youth still are more inclined to prefer marriage without prior cohabitation, we also found that a substantial share of the Turkish and Moroccan adolescents prefer a period of unmarried cohabitation before marriage. The results showed that boys of all groups were more in favor of unmarried cohabitation than girls with the same ethnic background.

The second aspect of family life transitions that was studied was the preferred timing of these transitions for women (Chapter 4). We analyzed the preferred ages for leaving the parental home, marriage and childbearing among a sample of Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean youth aged 15-30 years. The findings revealed clear ethnic differences. Compared to Dutch, migrants preferred older ages for women to leave the parental home and younger ages for women's marriage and entry into parenthood. Among Turks and Moroccans, differences with people of Dutch descent were particularly pronounced for the timing of marriage. Native Dutch prefer to postpone marriage more often than the latter two migrant groups. For Surinamese and Antilleans the main difference in

timing compared with the Dutch was the preferred age at parenthood. The two migrant groups preferred to have a first child at younger ages than the Dutch. It is interesting to note that these differences in timing preferences between migrants and native Dutch were found among both the parents and the children's generation. We analyzed whether ethnic differences were more pronounced among Turkish and Moroccan girls. The results did not, however, show any gender differences in timing preferences at all.

The third aspect of the transition to adulthood in the family domain studied here referred to the gender role preferences of adolescents (Chapter 3). Again, we used data on adolescents in secondary education in the Netherlands. We included gender role views of Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean adolescents. It was expected that, in view of the importance attached to individual independence, Dutch youth would have a more egalitarian outlook on gender roles in a partner relationship than migrant youth. However, our findings revealed that compared to Dutch adolescents, only young Turkish migrants were more strongly in favor of a gendered division of labor. Moroccan adolescents were found to be at least as egalitarian-oriented (regarding the labor force participation of women and division of household tasks) as Dutch adolescents. Surinamese and Antillean youth were found to prefer to perpetuate the prevailing traditions of their ethnic group, such as the relatively high labor force participation of women with children. Broadly speaking, adolescents with a Dutch background did not have more egalitarian role perspectives than migrant adolescents. The findings even suggested the contrary, namely that Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean youth were more egalitarian-oriented than their Dutch counterparts. We also expected stronger ethnic gender effects among Turkish and Moroccan girls. By and large we can conclude that girls were more egalitarian-oriented than boys in all ethnic groups. The expected stronger ethnic effect among girls was found in one instance only: Turkish girls were more inclined than Dutch girls to think that doing household tasks is a woman's job. Contrary to what was expected, girls with a Turkish or Moroccan background were just as likely to prefer egalitarian gender roles as Dutch girls. Girls from these two migrant groups had even more egalitarian views regarding female labor force participation than Dutch girls. In addition, Moroccan girls preferred a more equal sharing of household tasks than Dutch girls. Surinamese and Antillean girls were, on the whole, more in favor of an egalitarian division of paid work and household tasks than Dutch girls.

A final aspect of family life transitions examined in this thesis was the pattern of co-residence (Chapter 5). We used data on living arrangements of youth with a Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean background. It was expected that Dutch youth attach more importance to independence and therefore are less likely to co-reside in the parental home than migrant youth. The results, however, revealed no differences in patterns of co-residence between migrant and Dutch youth. Here, too, we examined whether stronger ethnic effects existed among Turkish and Moroccan girls. Our findings indicate that girls were generally more likely to live outside the parental home. This applies both to girls of Dutch

descent and to those with a migrant background. No ethnic-specific gender effect was found regarding co-residence.

6.2.2 Parental influence on family life transitions

The second question of this study focused on the influence parents have on young people's family life transitions. The research question was:

How and to what extent are the preferences and behavior regarding family life transitions among migrant and Dutch youth influenced by their parents?

In order to answer this research question we relied on socialization theories in which different modes of intergenerational transmission are identified. This part of the analysis was first of all structured by a notion on the importance of parental socialization (Section 1.4.1). Following socialization theories it was suggested that parents influence their children's family life transitions through three modes of intergenerational transmission: value transmission, role modeling and status inheritance. The distinction between different modes of intergenerational transmission was made to identify which mechanisms influence family life transitions among youth with different ethnic backgrounds. Second, we wanted to unravel whether intergenerational transmission had the same influence among migrant families as it had among Dutch families. Following migration sociological theories, two contradictory notions on socialization in migrant families were formulated (Section 1.4.2). Theories on intergenerational transmission in migrant families were found to be inconclusive regarding whether to expect either stronger or weaker effects of socialization in these families compared to native families. Some of these theories stress the importance of the parental family as a resource for coping in a new society and suggest stronger intergenerational transmission among migrant families compared to native families. Other theories emphasize the disruptive effects of the migration experience on family relationships. According to this perspective less parental influence is expected among migrant families compared to Dutch families. In this study, we explored these two contradictory notions in order to find out which of the two theories on youth's family life transitions was supported. Here, first attention will be paid to the findings regarding the three modes of parental transmission. Next, results on the effects of socialization among migrant families compared with native Dutch are presented.

First of all, value transmission was identified as an important way in which parents influence their children's family life choices. With regard to two aspects of family life transitions, timing preferences and patterns of co-residence, parental values were included in our study. We found that parental timing preferences were a major predictor of the child's preferred age for a woman to leave the parental home, get married and have a first child. Whereas young adults' preferences regarding the timing of women's marriage and entry into motherhood were strongly influenced by parental preferences, intergenerational transmission was somewhat weaker for preferred age at leaving the parental home. The influence of parental values was also studied in the analyses of patterns of co-residence. Parents' values,

in particular their attitudes towards family ties, were found to be important determinants of the likelihood that their young adult children would still be living in the parental home. Children whose parents reported stronger family ties were more likely to live in the parental home than those reporting weaker ties. Apparently, current family relations are indicative of the closeness of the kin network, which determines whether the young adult is inclined to stay in the parental home. In addition, children were more likely to reside in the parental home if their parents held more egalitarian views on intergenerational and gender relations. Parental values focusing on egalitarian relationships may thus be indicative for the level of individual freedom the young adult gets: more freedom could result in prolonged co-residence in the parental home.

The second mode of socialization identified in the literature is role modeling. The consequences of parental role modeling for young people's family life transitions were included in our study in two ways. First, in the analysis on adolescent's gender role preferences, maternal labor force participation and helping in the household were included as important indicators of gender-specific role modeling. On the whole, having a mother with a paid job increased the likelihood that the adolescent would hold more egalitarian gender role views. Furthermore, boys who helped their parents with household chores appeared to be more willing to share domestic and non-domestic responsibilities with their partners when they were older. This finding indicates that the observed gender roles in the parental home shaped gender role preferences at a young age. A second way in which role modeling was studied was through the inclusion of the parental age at leaving home in the analyses of the living arrangements of young adults. We found that the age at which the parent left the parental home her-/himself did not affect the child's likelihood of co-residence.

Finally, the literature suggests that status inheritance is an important mode of socialization within the parental family. The effect of the socio-structural position of the parental family was analyzed for all four aspects of family life transitions studied in this thesis. The three indicators of socio-structural position of the parental home that were used in the analyses were parental educational attainment, parental religiousness and family structure. We found that all four family life transitions included in this study were associated with the parental level of education. Children from higher educated families had a stronger preference for premarital cohabitation, had more egalitarian gender role attitudes, had a stronger preference for postponement of marriage and parenthood, and were less likely to co-reside in the parental home compared to children from families with low educational attainment. The only exception to this pattern was the finding that parental education did not affect the preferred age at leaving home. Although the preferred (and realized) ages at leaving the parental home may not differ, the reasons for leaving the home can be assumed to differ between children from highly educated and those from lower educated families. This study also showed that religion is an important factor influencing choices in the family domain. Growing up in a religious family resulted in a stronger preference for marriage, more traditional gender role preferences, and younger preferred ages for marriage and parenthood. Generally, one can

conclude that young people with religious parents had a more traditional outlook on family life transitions and arrangements. No influence of religion was found for the preferred age for leaving home and the labor force participation of women without children. Apparently, religious parents tend to stress the importance of marriage in the transition to adulthood and to emphasize the importance for women to have children, and take on housework and child caring responsibilities. A last finding regarding status inheritance was that growing up in a two-parent family was associated with a more traditional perspective on family life transitions. Youth who grew up in this type of family were more likely to prefer marriage, hold traditional gender role views and still live in the parental home.

Although different modes of transmission were distinguished in this thesis, it was impossible to test the relative importance of each of the three ways of transmission consistently. This is due to fact that we used secondary (non-experimental) data which were not primarily designed to test (the three) modes of intergenerational transmission against each other. In each of the used data sets we had to deal with different (and not always the most optimal) measures regarding intergenerational transmission. These data limitations make that we necessarily restrict ourselves to distinguishing the importance of different modes of transmission for different family life transitions.

Apart from seeking to identify the mechanisms through which parents influence their children's choices in the family domain, we also wanted to assess whether socialization effects differ between Dutch and migrant families. Two contradictory notions on socialization in migrant families (Section 1.4.2) were formulated to guide our analyses. For all four family life transitions included in this thesis, we studied whether migrant parents have a stronger or weaker influence on their children compared with Dutch parents.

First, with respect to the union formation preferences of adolescents, the influence of parental socialization of Turkish and Moroccan families was generally found to be neither stronger nor weaker than in Dutch families. The only two exceptions that were found related to Moroccan youth. Having a working mother had a strong modernizing effect on the union formation preferences of young Dutch and Turks, but no such effect was found for Moroccans. Furthermore, the quality of the parent-child relationship was found to be essential in the transmission of union formation preferences among Dutch and Turkish youth. Among Moroccans, however, a good relationship with one's parents had no effect. Compared with Dutch families, the parent-child relationship and socialization among Moroccan families is known to be rather authoritarian (see, for example, Pels & Dieleman, 2000). In the Moroccan parent-child relationship a more affective component, like the quality of the parent-child relationship, seems to be a less important facilitator for intergenerational transmission. Our findings showed, however, that among Moroccan adolescents too, having conflicts with one's parents was associated with a preference for unmarried cohabitation (before marriage). This could indicate that Moroccan adolescents who enter into debates with their parents achieve greater freedom in forming their own union formation preferences than their compatriots who do not debate with their parents.

With regard to adolescents' gender role preferences the effects of intergenerational transmission were also found to be similar among migrant and Dutch families. For example, helping in the household had a modernizing effect on the gender role preferences of migrant and Dutch boys alike. Nevertheless, parental value transmission, role modeling and status inheritance only partially affected the gender role preferences of adolescents in all ethnic groups.

The third aspect of the pathway into adulthood studied here concerned young adults' timing preferences for women's family life transitions. Intergenerational gaps in these preferences were not greater in migrant families than in Dutch families. Furthermore, the process of parent-child value transmission was basically comparable in different ethnic groups: by and large the magnitude and direction of the effects of parental preferences did not differ between migrant and Dutch families. Our results revealed only two exceptions. First, regarding the preferred age for leaving home, weaker effects of parental age preferences were found among Surinamese families. And second, the age preferences of Moroccan and Antillean parents regarding marriage had a stronger effect on their children's preferences than those of Dutch parents. These results suggest that migrant parent-child relationships are not more prone to intergenerational value conflicts than parent-child relationships in the native Dutch population, as suggested by theories on the disruptive effects of the migration experience on migrant families.

Finally, also with regard to patterns of co-residence, no support was found for differences in intergenerational transmission among the different ethnic groups. The magnitude and direction of the effects of parental preferences on the living arrangements of young adults were highly comparable among both migrant and Dutch families. The likelihood of residing in the parental home for both migrant and Dutch youth was determined by the parents' norms and expectations and the embeddedness in the parental home.

6.3 DISCUSSION

In this section we discuss and reflect on the main findings of this study along the line of the three levels of analysis which were introduced in Chapter 1 (see 1.1). The first level of analysis focuses on a comparison of family life transitions and the influence of the parental family between migrant and Dutch youth. Second, attention is paid to inter-group comparisons of family life transitions between each of the four migrant groups. We aimed to unravel whether possible differences between migrant groups are related to migrant background or to the socio-structural position of the parental family. Furthermore, we focus on the question whether the same or different mechanisms influence family life transitions for youth with different migrant backgrounds. Finally, intra-group differences were studied at the third level of our analysis. We analyzed which factors influence the choices in the family

domain among young people within each of the five ethnic groups. In the following three sections the findings on each of these three levels will be discussed.

6.3.1 Pathways into adulthood: migrant and Dutch youth compared

At the first level of analysis we compared the family life preferences and behavior of migrant youth with those of Dutch youth. We concluded that as a rule no clear ethnic line can be drawn between Dutch and migrant youths' choices in the family life domain. Insofar ethnic differences existed they pertained to union formation preferences and the timing of marriage and childbearing. Dutch youth had a stronger preference for (premarital) cohabitation and preferred to postpone marriage and parenthood compared to migrant youth. No ethnic differences were found for the preferred timing of home-leaving or for the actual patterns of leaving home. It can be concluded that although Dutch youth preferred to postpone major commitments in the transition to adulthood, they did not attach more importance to independence in relationships compared to migrant youth. This is clearly reflected in the finding that Dutch youth were not more likely to live outside the parental home and do not hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes than young migrants. The gender role views of Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean youth were at least as egalitarian, and often more egalitarian than those of Dutch youth.

At this first level of analysis we also tried to unravel whether differences between migrant and Dutch youth's family life choices are linked to their cultural background or related to the socio-structural position in the parental home. Our findings showed that the socio-structural position of the family explained part of the differences found between migrant and Dutch youth. When parental educational level, religiousness and family structure were taken into account, the ethnic differences diminished, but in general remained significant. As discussed before, this is particularly the case for choices related to union formation and parenthood.

These findings suggest that theories on cross-cultural differences in family life transitions are not necessarily suitable to explain differences in these transitions among migrant youth in the Netherlands. Although these theories place emphasis on the continuation of cultural patterns, we found that these patterns could not be extrapolated to the situation of migrant families in a straightforward way. The migration experience can result in a change away from the strict differences in customs and values between the countries of origin and those of the host society. Cultural differences in family life transitions observed in cross-cultural studies at the societal level may no longer be fully applicable to migrants who settle down in a new country, where they will adapt to the new situation. We found that what appeared to be cultural differences were at least partially differences in the socio-structural position of the migrant family in the host society. It is thus crucial to take into account socio-structural characteristics of the parental home when studying family life transitions of migrant youth. When just making a distinction between youth with a migrant and non-migrant background, the effects of ethnic cultural factors on migrant youth's choices in the family domain can be overestimated.

Furthermore, values that were important in the parents' country of origin are not all to the same extent of continued importance in the host society after migration. The findings in this study implied that the attachment to cultural values and customs may differ for different aspects in the transition to adulthood. Our study suggests that family- and union formation preferences are embedded in core values, which young Mediterranean and Caribbean migrants continue to hold onto even after they have migrated. The attachment to cultural traditions regarding living arrangements was much weaker according to our findings. Patterns of leaving home may often be related to other life course transitions and may be linked particularly strongly to more practical (economic) opportunities or limitations faced by young people. Egalitarian gender roles were also found to be easily adapted by adolescents as they create new opportunities for a 'better' life in the host society, the latter being a major reason for many international migration moves in the first place.

In order to further assess the role cultural factors have for young adults' preferences and behavior in the family domain, the influence of migrant and Dutch parents was studied. All in all we can conclude that the parental family in which the youngster grows up has an important influence on children's family life transitions. This finding supports socialization theories that emphasize the crucial role parents play in the lives of their children. Both the transmission of values and social status inheritance were found to be important mechanisms in intergenerational transmission. The results regarding the importance of role modeling were less straightforward. Clear effects were observed only with regard to the gender role attitudes of adolescents. This may indicate that role modeling is particularly important in the transmission of day-to-day practical issues that can be observed by children. Such a situation obviously exists with regard to the transmission of behavior in the realm of the division of paid and unpaid labor.

Our findings furthermore showed that the strength of the process of intergenerational transmission among migrants and people of Dutch descent is more or less similar. In migration sociology it has been suggested that migration leads to either stronger or weaker effects of socialization in the family. Our study finds only very limited evidence for either one of these theories. This could mean that theories on socialization in migrant families apply in particular to first-generation migrants and less to the second-generation. For those experiencing a migration, this may result in a stronger focus on the family or the disruption of family ties. Second-generation migrant youth have often not experienced a migration move themselves. The majority of migrant youth in this study was born in the Netherlands or came to the Netherlands at a young age. Therefore, they were largely socialized in Dutch society and their parents had lived in the Netherlands for a substantial period of time. Just like native Dutch youth, second generation migrant youth will thus try to combine their own preferences with those of their family and parents (e.g. Hooghiemstra, 2001; Wakil et al., 1981).

6.3.2 Migrant youth's pathways into adulthood

At the second level of analysis we examined inter-group differences between migrant groups in preferred and observed family life transitions. Our findings showed that the pathways into adulthood of Surinamese, Antillean, Moroccan and Turkish youth mainly differ with regard to aspects of union- and family formation and not so much regarding co-residence. The predominant traditions in the (parents') countries of origin were more or less reflected in the young adult's preferences among all four migrant groups. Of all four migrant groups, Moroccan youth most obviously broke with existing traditions on union formation and gender roles in their (parents') country of origin: they preferred a period of unmarried cohabitation and had egalitarian orientation on gender roles.

A main conclusion following from the migrant group comparison is that cross-cultural classifications of migrants into a few broad cultural or regional categories not sufficiently take differences among migrant groups into account. In our study we found no clear Mediterranean or Caribbean pathway into adulthood in the family domain. Although migrants may originate from countries that broadly share similar traditions and religious backgrounds, it does not automatically imply that migrant youth from these countries will share the same characteristics in the transition to adulthood. In our study, marked differences were, for example, found between Turks and Moroccans living in the Netherlands, even though they originate from countries with many similar characteristics at the societal level. Young Moroccans were not found to differ from Dutch youth in preferred family life transitions. Turkish adolescents, however, more often preferred direct marriage and they had more traditional views on gender roles than adolescents from all other ethnic groups. Apparently adaptation to the challenges in the host society can result in different coping mechanisms among different migrant groups. As the ethnic network is found to be of major importance when settling down after migration it can be assumed that the organization and functioning of this network plays an important role in shaping the ways in which migrants adapt (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Foner, 1997; Goodwin, 1999). Previous studies have, for example, found that the control exerted by the Turkish social network is stronger than that of the Moroccan network (Dagevos, 2001a; Lesthaeghe, Surkyn, & Van Creanem, 2000). This suggests that kinship and network characteristics, like the closeness of the ethnic network, can be an important factor in determining differences between migrant groups.

6.3.3 Individual pathways into adulthood

The third level of analysis covered in this study focused on intra-group comparisons within each of the ethnic groups. We first studied the extent to which personal and parental (family) characteristics influence preferences and behavior in the family domain. Results revealed that, within groups, it is important to distinguish between the pathways into adulthood of boys and girls. Compared to boys, girls were less likely to live in the parental home, had a stronger preference for a married union and had a more egalitarian perspective on gender roles. Given the stricter role prescriptions for women in Turkish and Moroccan society, it was

suggested that in particular girls from these migrant groups are more bound by rules on the appropriate behavior and thus have a stronger preference for marriage, prefer clear distinct gender roles, prefer an early timing of main transitions and are more likely to live outside the parental home. The results only partially supported this notion. More pronounced gender effects for Turkish and Moroccan girls were only found with respect to the preferred type of union. Turkish and Moroccan girls were noticeably more in favor of direct marriage than their Dutch compatriots. For preferred timing of transitions and co-residence no ethnically reinforced gender differences were found. Girls with a migrant background, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean in particular, were shown to be more egalitarian oriented than Dutch girls when it comes to gender roles.

Despite the clear gender differences in gender role preferences it is worth noting that substantial percentages of adolescent boys and girls expressed a preference for the breadwinner model. This indicates that young people's preferences regarding the labor force participation of women are formed at a young age. Policies aimed at achieving a more equal sharing of tasks between partners and higher female labor force participation rates should thus also be directed at adolescents. It is at these younger ages that policies focusing on gender role changes could be really effective. In addition, boys were found to have more traditional gender role attitudes than girls. It may well be that once they have a partner, girls adjust to the more gender-specific expectations of their partners. The conclusion is warranted for both non-migrant and migrant adolescents that emancipatory measures should be targeted more at boys than at girls because it is among boys in particular that more egalitarian gender role attitudes can be achieved.

In addition, we found that union formation preferences varied by the ethnic identification of the adolescent. Migrant adolescents in general and Moroccans in particular, who identify with their own ethnic group, are more likely to prefer marriage than those who identify themselves as being Dutch. Apparently the ethnic identification indicates to what extent migrant youth are open to new and other ways of shaping the transition to adulthood. This implies that the ethnic identification may be an important determinant in family life choices of migrant youth.

The intra-group comparisons furthermore attempted to provide more insight in how the parental family accounted for variation in family life transitions of youth within each of the ethnic groups. The societies from which migrant youth (or their parents) originate clearly differ from Dutch society with regard to how kinship relations are organized. Findings indicate that relationships within the parental family had a clear effect on patterns of co-residence and union formation preferences. Growing up in a family with strong family ties and a good parent-child relationship resulted in a more traditional outlook and behavior regarding family life transitions. These findings, however, apply to youngsters of all ethnic groups and may thus not so much be related to specific ethnic groups. This suggests that it is of importance to take into account the quality of relationships within the family when studying the transitions to adulthood among both migrant and Dutch young adults.

Socio-demographic characteristics accounted for a substantial proportion of the observed intra-group variation in each of the ethnic groups. The findings thus show that status inheritance is an important mode of intergenerational transmission in all ethnic groups. Adolescents from with religious parents were, for example, found to favor more traditional patterns of family formation than adolescents with a non-religious background. Given the importance of Islam to a large share of young Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands (see, for example, Phalet et al., 2000), it can be expected that religion among migrants will remain an important factor in family life choices. In addition, we showed that a higher level of parental education is related to a preference for unmarried cohabitation, postponement of transitions and more egalitarian gender roles. Given that both educational attainment and employment are expected to increase among second-generation migrants, second-generation parents may be expected to have more modern union and family formation attitudes than first-generation parents. As a result, family life transitions of third-generation migrant adolescents may in the future become more comparable to Dutch family life transitions.

6.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study was one of the first that analyzed different aspects of family life transitions among youth with different ethnic backgrounds in the Netherlands. While comparing family life preferences and behavior of migrant and Dutch youth we also focused on the role played by parents in the formation of these preferences and behavior of their children. We concluded that the preferences of migrant and Dutch adolescents differ mainly in terms of union formation and childbearing. Processes of intergenerational transmission were found to be comparable between migrant and Dutch families.

This study, however, has a number of limitations that may have affected our conclusions and need further elaboration in the future. First, it focused mainly on preferences. When adolescents express a preference, they may pay relatively little attention to the reactions of their parents and the attitudes of the broader community, whereas they will certainly become aware of these reactions and related consequences when they have to take an actual decision. This suggests that parental influence on the behavioral *choices* youngsters make, may well be greater than on their preferences. Young adults may thus overestimate the likelihood and possibilities of modern family formation behavior in the belief that they have more control over these choices than they will actually have in practice. Even though the strength of the influence of parental preferences was found to be similar among migrant and Dutch families, this could be no longer the case when it comes to behavior. Given that migrant parents still adhere strongly to traditions regarding family formation, they probably will try to influence their children's behavior more than is the case for preferences. Although we did not find differences between co-residential behavior of migrant and Dutch youth in this study, it can

be expected that parents will place more emphasis on exercising control when it comes to union and family formation.

Second, this study did not include reciprocal influences between parents and children. It could very well be that parents in general, and migrant parents in particular, are influenced by their children. Many parents migrated to provide better chances for their children in the future. In addition, given that migrant youth generally adapt to the new situation faster than the parental generation, migrant parents can become dependent on their children for many practical issues. This could result in more openness towards new and alternative attitudes. Traditional parent-child relationships can thus change and leave room for children's viewpoints. Panel studies among migrant and Dutch youth are needed to determine how parental influences change over time when it comes to actual family life transitions.

Third, our study exclusively focused on the role of parents and socialization in the parental home. Although we found important socialization effects among both migrant and Dutch families, this might, be only a part of the socialization process. An important feature of families in Mediterranean and Caribbean countries is the extended network of kin ties. In future research, closer attention to the composition and closeness of the kin network could shed light on the way in which group norms regarding family life transitions function within specific groups. This could provide new insights into the role of the kin network in the pathways into adulthood among adolescents from different ethnic origins. In addition to extending research to the wider kin group, more in-depth knowledge on the importance of the parent-child relationship in the transmission processes would be very valuable. For example, our findings showed, that among Moroccan adolescents higher levels of conflict with their parents were related to more openness towards unmarried cohabitation. This possibly indicates that Moroccan adolescents who discuss with their parents achieve greater freedom in forming their own (union formation) preferences. Future research should take into account characteristics of the parent-child relationship in order to gain a better understanding of how this relationship affects the pathways into adulthood of adolescents with different ethnic backgrounds.

This study has underlined the general importance of parental socialization for family life transitions among both native Dutch and migrant adolescents. However, socialization influence is not restricted to the parental home and socialization theories have increasingly stressed the importance of peers, particularly in the lives of adolescents. It would therefore be interesting if follow-up studies include peers in order to examine the relative influence of parents and peers in the transition to adulthood. Inclusion of the ethnic composition of the peer group and the ethnic identification of migrant youth would be a worthwhile extension of research as well.

Finally, an important finding of this study was that parent-child relationships among migrants are not necessarily more prone to intergenerational value conflicts about family life transitions than among people of Dutch descent. In order to ascertain whether this is also the case for other domains in the transition to adulthood as well as for actual behavior, it would

be interesting to examine migrant youths' transitions to adulthood more closely. Data that more fully cover the transition to adulthood are a prerequisite to attain this. Preferences regarding family life transitions are not formed in a vacuum but are, of course, related to other life course transitions as well as to the social context in which the child grows up. More extensive and longitudinal data, including data about different migrant groups and native Dutch in the Netherlands are therefore needed.

SAMENVATTING

(SUMMARY IN DUTCH)

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Sinds de jaren zestig is het aandeel migranten in de Nederlandse bevolking aanzienlijk gegroeid. Van de totaal 16,3 miljoen inwoners in Nederland heeft tegenwoordig 19 procent tenminste één in het buitenland geboren ouder en wordt daarom tot de allochtone bevolking gerekend. Onder de 15 tot 30 jarigen is nu al 25 procent van allochtone herkomst. Het aandeel allochtonen en hun kinderen is dus substantieel en zal in de nabije toekomst naar verwachting nog verder toenemen. De gevolgen die deze etnische diversiteit voor de samenleving heeft, is in de afgelopen jaren zowel maatschappelijk als wetenschappelijk onderwerp van discussie geweest.

Er is heel wat onderzoek gedaan naar de sociaal-economische positie en integratie van allochtonen. Desondanks is er nog weinig bekend over de transitie naar volwassenheid van allochtone jongeren. Het is onduidelijk welke preferenties en gedrag allochtone jongeren ten toon spreiden en hoe deze zich verhouden tot autochtone jongeren. Verder is er nog nauwelijks inzicht in de determinanten die van invloed zijn op de transitie naar volwassenheid onder de groeiende groep allochtone jongeren. Steeds meer kinderen van de eerste generatie migranten uit Turkije, Marokko, Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen komen in de leeftijd dat zij de transitie naar volwassenheid gaan maken. Dit biedt de unieke mogelijkheid om de transities naar volwassenheid onder deze grote groep allochtone jongeren in Nederland te bestuderen. Om het belang van diverse mechanismen van intergenerationele overdracht te vergelijken omvat deze studie naast de vier genoemde allochtone groepen ook autochtone jongeren.

In dit onderzoek staan de opvattingen en gedrag van allochtone jongeren over de transitie van jeugd naar volwassenheid centraal. Meer in het bijzonder richten we ons op vier demografische transities op het domein van relatie- en gezinsvorming te weten: preferenties voor ongehuwd samenwonen en trouwen, preferenties voor taakverdeling, preferenties wat betreft timing van transities, en patronen van uit huis gaan. De volgende twee algemene onderzoeksvragen worden in dit onderzoek behandeld:

- *Welke preferenties en gedrag ten aanzien van demografische transities hebben allochtone en autochtone jongeren?*
- *Hoe en in welke mate zijn ouders van invloed op de preferenties en gedrag ten aanzien van demografische transities onder allochtone en autochtone jongeren?*

Om de onderzoeksvragen te beantwoorden zijn in deze studie drie analyseniveaus onderscheiden. Op het eerste niveau vergelijken we allochtone en autochtone jongeren zowel wat betreft preferenties en gedrag ten aanzien van demografische transities als de rol van ouders hierin. Op het tweede niveau maken we een vergelijking tussen de vier allochtone groepen onderling. Ten slotte worden de factoren die van invloed zijn op de transities in het

familie domein onder de vijf etnische groepen bestudeerd. Dit derde niveau richt zich dus op verschillen binnen ieder van de groepen afzonderlijk. Op ieder van de drie analyse niveaus wordt verder aandacht besteed aan het belang van culturele en sociaal-structurele factoren.

Ondanks het feit dat de transitie naar volwassenheid sterk in de belangstelling staat in zowel de familiesociologie als de demografie, richt het bestaande onderzoek zich vooral op autochtone jongeren. De studies die er zijn onder allochtone jongeren behandelen veelal één aspect in deze transitie namelijk partnerkeuze. Het eerste doel van deze studie is om een systematische vergelijking te maken van verschillende aspecten in familie keuzes onder jongeren met een verschillende herkomst in Nederland. Op deze wijze proberen we te achterhalen of mechanismen die tot bepaalde preferenties of gedrag leiden hetzelfde zijn voor allochtone en autochtone families. Vaak wordt verondersteld dat er culturele verschillen bestaan in preferenties en levenspaden van allochtone en autochtone jongeren. Door gelijktijdige analyse van etnische en sociaal-structurele karakteristieken kan beter inzicht worden verkregen in de invloed van ieder van deze factoren.

Het tweede doel van dit onderzoek is om te achterhalen hoe en in welke mate ouders van invloed zijn op de levenspaden van allochtone en autochtone jongeren. Het merendeel van het onderzoek naar intergenerationele overdracht is gericht op de Westerse samenleving. Meer recent wordt in de literatuur ook aandacht besteed aan socialisatie in andere culturele contexten en verschillen tussen culturen. Theorieën over socialisatie in allochtone families zijn echter nog gefragmenteerd en vaak gelimiteerd tot één etnische groep. In deze studie bestuderen we verschillende manieren van intergenerationele overdracht in allochtone- en Nederlandse families.

Verder willen we met deze studie ook methodologische vooruitgang boeken. Onderzoek onder allochtone jongeren in Nederland heeft vaak een kleine steekproefomvang, is beperkt tot één allochtone groep, maakt in beperkte mate vergelijking met autochtonen of bestudeert alleen de eerste generatie. Data over allochtone jongeren in Nederland die inzicht kunnen bieden in de transitie naar volwassenheid en de mechanismen die hierop van invloed zijn, zijn schaars. Om deze reden wordt in deze studie gebruik gemaakt van meerdere data sets. Hoofdstukken 2 en 3 zijn gebaseerd op data uit het Nationaal Scholierenonderzoek (NSO 1992-1999; De Zwart & Warnaar, 1993). De NSO omvat een aanzienlijk aantal allochtone en autochtone jongeren. De data uit de NSO surveys van 1992, 1994, 1996 en 1999 zijn voor analyse samengenomen. Turkse, Marokkaanse, Surinaamse, Antilliaanse en autochtone jongeren zijn geselecteerd op basis van het geboorteland van henzelf en dat van hun ouders. De hoofdstukken 4 en 5 gebruiken data uit de hoofd steekproef en de allochtone steekproef van de Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS 2003) en de survey Sociale Positie en Voorzieningsgebruik Allochtonen (SPVA 2002). Deze gerelateerde surveys zijn ontworpen voor de bestudering van familie relaties en vergelijking tussen allochtone en Nederlandse families. De NKPS is een nationale representatieve steekproef van ongeveer 8000 Nederlandse respondenten. De migranten steekproef van de NKPS omvat 1400 respondenten van Turkse, Marokkaanse, Surinaamse en Antilliaanse herkomst in 13 Nederlandse steden

(Dykstra, Kalmijn, Knijn, Komter, Liefbroer, & Mulder, 2005). In de SPVA zijn verder 4100 respondenten uit de vier genoemde migrantengroepen in dezelfde 13 steden geïnterviewd (Groeneveld & Weijers-Martens, 2003).

Bij de vergelijking van demografische preferenties en gedrag tussen allochtone en autochtone jongeren zoeken we aansluiting bij studies naar cross-culturele verschillen in familierelaties en de tweede demografische transitie. Op basis van deze literatuur verwachten we dat Nederlandse jongeren transities op het terrein van relatie- en gezinsvorming vaker uitstellen en meer hechten aan autonomie bij transities in het familie domein dan allochtone jongeren. Bovendien verwachten we dat deze etnische verschillen het meest uitgesproken zijn tussen Turkse en Marokkaanse meisjes enerzijds en Surinaamse, Antilliaanse en autochtone jongeren anderzijds.

Voor de beantwoording van de tweede onderzoeksvraag naar de rol van ouders, maken we gebruik van theorieën over socialisatie in de familie. Op basis hiervan zijn drie verschillende manieren van intergenerationele overdracht te onderscheiden. Allereerst vindt in het ouderlijk huis directe overdracht van waarden plaats. Jongeren internaliseren de verwachtingen en attitudes van hun ouders. Ten tweede leren jongeren door het observeren van gedrag van belangrijke anderen in hun omgeving. Ouders vervullen op deze wijze een rolmodel voor hun kinderen. Ten derde vindt status overdracht van ouders naar hun kinderen plaats. De sociaal-economische status van de ouders vormt de context waarbinnen de preferenties en het gedrag van jongeren worden gevormd. Door deze drie wijzen van overdracht te onderscheiden kunnen we zien of dezelfde mechanismen van intergenerationele overdracht van toepassing zijn in families met een verschillende etnische herkomst. Over het effect van socialisatie in allochtone families worden twee tegengestelde hypothesen getoetst. Doordat de familie in een nieuwe samenleving een bron van steun is om te overleven wordt in de migratiesociologie enerzijds gesuggereerd dat socialisatie in allochtone families sterker is dan in autochtone families. Anderzijds wordt het ontwortelende effect dat migratie heeft voor familierelaties benadrukt. Als gevolg daarvan zou intergenerationele overdracht in allochtone families juist zwakker zijn dan in autochtone families.

Deze theoretische insteek is het uitgangspunt voor de bestudering van de twee algemene onderzoeksvragen in de vier empirische hoofdstukken (2 tot en met 5) van deze studie. De empirische hoofdstukken behandelen steeds één aspect van de transitie naar volwassenheid: ongehuwd samenwonen en trouwen (hoofdstuk 2), taakverdeling (hoofdstuk 3), timing van transities (hoofdstuk 4) en uit huis gaan (hoofdstuk 5).

In hoofdstuk 2 van dit proefschrift staan de voorkeuren van Turkse, Marokkaanse en autochtone jongeren voor huwen en samenwonen centraal. Relatievorming in Nederland wordt tegenwoordig gekenmerkt door het uitstellen van verbintenissen op het gebied van relatie- en gezinsvorming. De meeste Nederlandse jongeren wonen eerst ongehuwd samen en huwen niet direct vanuit huis zoals een aantal decennia geleden gebruikelijk was. In de Turkse en Marokkaanse traditie wordt daarentegen veel waarde gehecht aan een huwelijk

zonder voorafgaande periode van ongehuwd samenwonen. Op basis van data van jongeren in het voortgezet onderwijs in Nederland (NSO) hebben we de voorkeuren van jongeren met een Turkse, Marokkaanse en autochtone herkomst bestudeerd. De resultaten laten zien dat Marokkaanse en vooral Turkse jongeren meer voelen voor een direct huwelijk dan autochtone jongeren, welke laatste de voorkeur geven aan een periode van ongehuwd samenwonen alvorens te trouwen. Echter, ook onder Turkse en Marokkaanse jongeren prefereert een aanzienlijk deel een periode van samenwonen voor het huwelijk. Voor alle etnische groepen geldt dat jongens meer voelen voor ongehuwd samenwonen dan meisjes. Voor de Turkse en Marokkaanse jongeren blijkt identificatie met de eigen etnische groep samen te gaan met een sterker gerichtheid op het huwelijk dan het geval is voor degenen die zich vooral als Nederlandse identificeren.

De preferenties voor ongehuwd samenwonen blijken overigens sterk af te hangen van het gezin waarin jongeren opgroeien. Zo voelen jongeren met hoger opgeleide ouders, niet-religieuze ouders, een werkende moeder en degenen die opgroeien in een eenoudergezin meer voor ongehuwd samenwonen. De manier en sterkte van overdracht blijkt niet te verschillen tussen autochtone en allochtone families. Een goede relatie tussen ouder en kind blijkt bovendien te resulteren in betere intergenerationele overdracht van preferenties in Turkse en autochtone families.

In hoofdstuk 3 komen de taakverdelingspreferenties van autochtone, Turkse, Marokkaanse, Surinaamse en Antilliaanse jongeren aan de orde. Zowel de verdeling van betaald werk als huishoudelijke taken wordt in dit hoofdstuk bekeken. Gezien het belang van individuele onafhankelijkheid en ontwikkelingen in emancipatie in Nederland was de verwachting dat autochtone jongeren een meer egalitaire taakverdeling prefereren dan allochtone jongeren. De resultaten laten echter zien dat dit niet het geval is. Alleen Turkse jongeren blijken meer traditioneel georiënteerd te zijn dan autochtone jongeren. Marokkaanse, maar vooral Surinaamse en Antilliaanse, jongeren blijken een duidelijk meer egalitaire taakverdelingspreferentie te hebben dan autochtone jongeren. Overigens vinden we in alle etnische groepen dat meisjes meer voelen voor egalitaire verdeling van betaald en huishoudelijk werk dan jongens. Wat betreft de arbeidsparticipatie van de vrouw (met kinderen) zien we dat meisjes uit de vier allochtone groepen hier duidelijk meer voor voelen dan autochtone meisjes. Tot slot geven Marokkaanse, Surinaamse en Antilliaanse meisjes er, meer dan autochtone meisjes, de voorkeur aan dat huishoudelijke taken gedeeld worden tussen partners.

Kenmerken van het ouderlijk huis blijken slechts in beperkte mate samen te hangen met de taakverdelingspreferenties van jongeren. De meest duidelijke samenhang wordt gevonden onder autochtone en Surinaams/Antilliaanse families. Zo zijn jongeren uit deze groepen met hoger opgeleide ouders meer egalitair georiënteerd dan degenen met lager opgeleide ouders. Verder geven de resultaten aan dat ouders een rolmodel functie hebben voor wat betreft de taakverdelingspreferenties van kinderen. Jongeren wiens moeder een betaalde baan heeft, prefereren bijvoorbeeld een meer egalitaire verdeling van betaald en huishoudelijk werk.

Hoofdstuk 4 van deze studie gaat in op de geprefereerde leeftijden voor het meemaken van demografische transitie van vrouwen. We bestudeerden de geprefereerde leeftijden voor uit huis gaan, huwelijk en het krijgen van een eerste kind van autochtone, Turkse, Marokkaanse, Surinaamse, en Antilliaanse jongeren in de leeftijd van 15 tot 30 jaar en hun ouders. De resultaten laten zien dat er duidelijke etnische verschillen bestaan: vergeleken met autochtone jongeren prefereren allochtone jongeren oudere leeftijden voor een vrouw om uit huis te gaan en jongere leeftijden voor het huwelijk en het krijgen van een eerste kind. Dit verschil in de timing van de drie transitie wordt overigens zowel onder de jongeren als onder hun ouders gevonden. De resultaten later verder zien dat de timingpreferenties van jongens en meisjes binnen ieder van de etnische groepen niet van elkaar verschillen.

Intergenerationele overdracht van timingpreferenties is volgens onze bevindingen groot. Vooral wat betreft de geprefereerde leeftijd voor het huwelijk en krijgen van kinderen is de waarde overdracht sterk. Daarnaast vinden we dat de religiositeit en de opleiding van de ouders sterk samenhangen met de geprefereerde timing van huwelijk en krijgen van kinderen. De processen van intergenerationele overdracht, zowel wat betreft omvang en richting, waren over het geheel genomen zeer vergelijkbaar in autochtone en allochtone families. In deze studie vinden we geen bewijs dat socialisatie effecten in allochtone families sterker dan wel zwakker zouden zijn dan in autochtone families.

In het laatste empirische hoofdstuk (5) worden de patronen van uit huis gaan onder autochtone en allochtone jongeren bestudeerd. Met behulp van een multilevel design gaan we na op welke wijze en in welke mate ouders van invloed zijn op de kans dat een jongere al dan niet in het ouderlijk huis woont. Onze verwachting was dat autochtone jongeren meer zouden hechten aan onafhankelijk en bijgevolg minder in het ouderlijk huis zouden wonen dan jongeren met een allochtone herkomst. De kans dat een jongere in het ouderlijk huis woont blijkt echter nauwelijks te verschillen voor autochtone en allochtone jongeren: alleen Marokkaanse jongeren wonen vaker in het ouderlijk huis. Overigens hebben meisjes in alle etnische groepen meer kans om het ouderlijk huis reeds te hebben verlaten.

Intergenerationele waardeoverdracht en meer specifiek de attitude van ouders ten aanzien van familiebanden blijkt een belangrijke voorspeller voor de kans dat de jongere nog in het ouderlijk huis woont. Jongeren wiens ouders sterke familiebanden rapporteerden, hebben een grotere kans nog in het ouderlijk huis te wonen dan jongeren met ouders die zwakke familiebanden rapporteerden. Verder blijkt de kans om in het ouderlijk huis te wonen groter wanneer ouders een meer egalitaire houding hebben ten aanzien van intergenerationele- en sekse relaties. Deze ouderlijke waarden geven mogelijk aan hoe hecht de familierelaties zijn en hoeveel vrijheid de jongere krijgt van de ouders: hechtere relaties en meer vrijheid resulteren klaarblijkelijk in langer thuis blijven wonen. Verder kunnen we concluderen dat jongeren die opgroeien in een twee-ouder gezin, minder broers/zussen hebben en wiens ouders lager zijn opgeleid meer kans hebben om in het ouderlijk huis te wonen. De gevonden effecten blijken overigens niet te verschillen tussen autochtone en allochtone families. Dit

suggereert dat processen van intergenerationele overdracht vergelijkbaar zijn voor families met een verschillende etnische herkomst.

Wat leert deze studie ons nu over de verschillen in preferenties en gedrag omtrent demografische transitie tussen allochtone en autochtone jongeren? Ten eerste kunnen we concluderen dat er geen duidelijke etnische scheidslijn te trekken valt tussen allochtone jongeren enerzijds en autochtone jongeren anderzijds. De grootste verschillen betreffen de relatievormingsvoorkeur en de timing van huwelijk en gezinsvorming. Op deze terreinen worden de tradities uit het land van herkomst (van de ouders) weerspiegeld in de preferenties van de jongeren. Dit duidt erop dat autochtone jongeren het aangaan van relationele verplichtingen weliswaar uitstellen, maar dat zij niet meer hechten aan onafhankelijkheid dan allochtone jongeren.

Ten tweede blijkt dat een indeling van migrantengroepen in een paar algemene regio's van herkomst tekort doet aan de diversiteit tussen migrantengroepen. We vinden in onze studie geen duidelijk Mediterraan of Caraïbisch pad naar volwassenheid. Zelfs wanneer migranten afkomstig zijn uit landen die globaal dezelfde tradities delen wil dit niet automatisch zeggen dat zij dezelfde karakteristieken in demografische transitie delen na migratie. We vinden in onze studie bijvoorbeeld opvallende verschillen tussen Turkse en Marokkaanse jongeren. De laatste groep heeft sterker de wens te breken met de tradities op het terrein van relatie- en gezinsvorming dan het geval is voor Turkse jongeren. Dit geeft aan dat de wijze waarop een migrantengroep reageert op en aanpast aan de ontvangende samenleving kan verschillen.

Ten derde blijken verschillen in preferenties en gedrag tussen allochtone en autochtone jongeren niet uitsluitend toe te schrijven aan de culturele herkomst. De sociaal-structurele positie van de familie verklaart tenminste een deel van de verschillen in relatie- en gezinsvormingsvoorkeuren tussen allochtone en autochtone jongeren. Wanneer bijvoorbeeld opleidingsniveau, religiositeit en familiestructuur worden meegenomen, blijken de culturele verschillen kleiner (hoewel ze - zeker wanneer het gaat om preferenties rondom relatievorming en ouderschap - niet geheel verdwijnen). Deze bevinding geeft aan dat theorieën over cross-culturele verschillen in demografisch gedrag niet automatisch geschikt zijn om verschillen in demografische transitie van *allochtone* jongeren te verklaren. Het blijkt van belang om de sociaal-structurele positie van het gezin van herkomst mee te nemen wanneer demografische transitie van migranten wordt bestudeerd. Wanneer slechts een tweedeling naar migranten en niet-migrant herkomst wordt gemaakt kunnen mogelijke verschillen tussen groepen ten onrechte als culturele verschillen worden geduid.

Zoals het vorige punt al aangaf is een vierde belangrijk inzicht dat het van belang is om aandacht te hebben voor de diversiteit die bestaat binnen ieder van de etnische groepen. Onze resultaten laten zien dat relatievormingsvoorkeuren van allochtone jongeren samenhangen met kenmerken van het gezin van herkomst en van de jongere zelf. Een voorbeeld hiervan is de etnische identificatie. Vooral Marokkaanse jongeren die zich identificeren met de eigen etnische groep voelen meer voor het huwelijk dan degenen die zichzelf vooral als

Nederlander zien. Een ander voorbeeld is het feit dat preferenties en gedrag ten aanzien van demografische transitie verschillend zijn voor jongens en meisjes. Op het terrein van taakverdeling blijken meisjes meer modern georiënteerd dan jongens. Wanneer het gaat om relatievorming zijn meisjes juist meer traditioneel ingesteld dan jongens.

Ten vijfde lijken allochtone families niet aan alle waarden en normen rondom de transitie naar volwassenheid uit het land van herkomst (van de ouders) in gelijke mate vast te houden. Onze bevindingen suggereren dat vooral waarden rond relatie- en gezinsvorming worden gecontinueerd onder jonge allochtonen van Mediterrane en Caraïbische origine. Aan de culturele tradities rondom uit huis gaan en taakverdeling wordt minder vastgehouden. Dit is mogelijk het gevolg van het feit dat zowel uit huis gaan als verdeling van taken tussen partners gerelateerd zijn aan (economische) mogelijkheden en beperkingen die jongeren tegenkomen. Bovendien hangt het verlaten van het ouderlijk huis, maar ook taakverdeling, sterk samen met andere transitie die de jongere doormaakt op weg naar volwassenheid, zoals het volgen van opleiding, het aangaan van relaties en het krijgen van kinderen.

Onze studie levert ook een aantal inzichten op over de betekenis van ouders voor (preferenties) rondom demografische transitie (de tweede onderzoeksvraag). Een eerste conclusie is dat het ouderlijk huis een duidelijke invloed heeft op de (preferenties rond) demografische transitie van jongeren. Vooral waarde overdracht en status overdracht blijken belangrijke mechanismen voor transmissie binnen het gezin. Ouders lijken verder als rolmodel te fungeren voor zaken die gerelateerd zijn aan de dagelijkse praktijk zoals bijvoorbeeld de verdeling van betaald werk tussen partners. Bij andere gebeurtenissen speelt deze wijze van overdracht slechts een bescheiden rol. Kijken we naar de effecten van status overdracht dan kunnen twee conclusies voor de toekomst worden getrokken. We vinden dat jongeren met religieuze ouders een sterkere voorkeur hebben voor traditionele patronen van relatie- en gezinsvorming dan degenen met een niet religieuze herkomst. Gezien het belang van de Islam voor een groot deel van de Turkse en Marokkaanse jongeren in Nederland kan verwacht worden dat dit ook in de toekomst een factor van betekenis blijft in de demografische transitie van deze jongeren. Verder blijkt een hoger opleidingsniveau van de ouders gerelateerd aan meer moderne opvattingen rondom demografische transitie. Gegeven dat zowel opleidingsniveau als arbeidsparticipatie waarschijnlijk zullen toenemen onder de tweede generatie allochtonen, kan verwacht worden dat hun opvattingen over demografische transitie meer zullen gaan lijken op die van autochtone jongeren. Bijgevolg zullen de demografische transitie onder derde generatie allochtonen mogelijk meer vergelijkbaar worden met die onder autochtonen.

Een tweede belangrijke conclusie van onze studie is dat de relaties binnen de familie een duidelijk effect hebben op de voorkeuren omtrent relatievorming en het verlaten van het ouderlijk huis. Jongeren die opgroeien in een familie met sterke familiebanden en degenen met een goede relatie met hun ouders vertonen vaker meer traditionele preferenties en gedrag op deze terreinen. Ouders slagen er in deze families blijkbaar beter in om hun preferenties over te dragen. Deze bevindingen gelden overigens zowel voor autochtone als allochtone

jongeren en lijken dus niet zozeer gerelateerd aan een specifieke etnische herkomst. Het geeft in ieder geval aan dat het bij de bestudering van demografische transitie van belang is om aandacht te hebben voor familiebanden en de kwaliteit van relaties.

Ten derde laten onze bevindingen zien dat het proces van intergenerationele overdracht in allochtone en autochtone families in grote lijnen vergelijkbaar verloopt. We vinden slechts zeer beperkte ondersteuning voor de in de migratiesociologie gesuggereerde sterkere of zwakkere overdracht in allochtone families. Dit is mogelijk het gevolg van het feit dat deze migratiesociologische noties over intergenerationele overdracht in allochtone families vooral van toepassing zijn op eerste generatie migranten die recent naar een andere samenleving zijn gekomen. De allochtone jongeren in onze studie zijn merendeels van de tweede generatie en ook hun ouders wonen al zeer geruime tijd in Nederland. Vooral in allochtone gezinnen zou wederzijdse beïnvloeding van ouder en kind belangrijk kunnen zijn: allochtone jongeren hebben zich misschien meer aangepast aan de Nederlandse situatie dan hun ouders, wat maakt dat ouders mogelijk deels van de kinderen afhankelijk zijn als het om praktische zaken gaat. Het is niet ondenkbaar dat juist in deze situatie ouders beïnvloed worden door hun kinderen. Longitudinale data zijn nodig om verder inzicht te geven in de wederzijdse beïnvloeding binnen het gezin. Algemeen kunnen we echter verwachten dat allochtone jongeren net als autochtone jongeren, hun eigen preferenties met die van hun ouders proberen te verenigen.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Helga de Valk was born in Oss (the Netherlands) on June 7, 1972. In 1990 she started studies in General Social Sciences and Education at the University of Utrecht. In September 1995 she obtained a Master degree in General Social Sciences, and in February 1998 she received her Master degree in Education. During and after her studies she studied and worked at the Humboldt University Berlin (Germany), the University of Warwick (UK), and the Antofagasta British School (Chile). In 1998 she started to work as a researcher at the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) in the Hague (the Netherlands). She worked on several projects related to international migration and (demographic) characteristics of migrant populations in the Netherlands. From September 2001 onwards she was a PhD student at NIDI and was affiliated with the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) of the Sociology department of Utrecht University. In 2005 she spent a two month research period at Università Luigi Bocconi in Milan (Italy). She co-organized the Dutch Demography Day 2005. Currently she works as a post-doc fellow on the project “Children of Immigrants in School” (CIS) jointly with the University of Amsterdam and the City University of New York (USA). Furthermore, she is a post-doc researcher at NIDI on the project “Towards Integration of the European Second generation” (TIES).

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