INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION REVIEW

Labor Force Participation of Immigrant Women in the Netherlands: Do Traditional Partners Hold Them Back?[1]

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

INTRODUCTION

In most Western societies, female labor force participation (FLFP) rates differ substantially across ethnic groups (Van Tubergen 2006). In the Netherlands, 64–68 percent of the native Dutch, Surinamese, and Antillean

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women have a paid job of at least 12 hours a week or are actively looking for employment, whereas Turkish and Moroccan women participate less in the labor market by about 20 percentage points (CBS Statline 2013). These discrepancies are disconcerting not only for female emancipation but also for the sociocultural integration of immigrant women.

Previous research in the Netherlands failed to explain ethnic differences in FLFP sufficiently despite considering a large range of individual factors of the women such as human capital, household conditions, and traditional gender role attitudes (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2010; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). In fact, most of the general individual-level research on FLFP has focused on the human capital of women or the presence of children in the household as explanatory factors (Van der Lippe and Van Dijk 2002). However, FLFP is not only influenced by women's individual, but also by their partner's characteristics (Blossfeld and Drobnič 2001). In partnerships, women have the option to coordinate their labor market behavior with their partner and may do so based on certain partner characteristics. Ethnic differences in partner characteristics may therefore help explain ethnically varying FLFP, particularly given the high and ethnically varying rates of endogamous marriages in the Netherlands (Kalmijn and Van Tubergen 2006; Lucassen and Laarman 2009). Indeed, some studies found that the effect of having a partner on FLFP depends on women's and their partner's origin country (Read 2004; Brekke 2013), hinting at the importance of the partner's characteristics for the explanation of ethnic differences in FLFP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

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

Household Specialization versus Social Capital

The two dominant theories on partner effects, household specialization and social capital theory, both emphasize the relevance of the partner's

labor market resources, such as educational level, labor force participation, and earnings as a determinant of their female partner's labor market behavior. Given the ethnic differences in the labor market resources of men (Van Tubergen 2008), partner effects may also contribute to the explanation of ethnically varying FLFP rates.

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

The hypotheses of social capital theory are based on the same factors as household specialization theory, but propose an opposing mechanism connecting the partner's labor market resources with FLFP (Bernasco, De Graaf, and Ultee 1998; Bernardi 1999; Van Tubergen 2008). Social capital theory argues that people in cohabiting partnerships use their partner's resources to improve their own labor market situation. Partners can improve each other's skills and competencies and provide each other with useful information, guidance, and training in several steps of the employ-

ment process: They can inform each other on how to best search for a job and how to behave in a job interview and even sometimes provide access to employment (Bernasco, De Graaf, and Ultee 1998; Bernardi 1999). Furthermore, the opportunity costs for non-participation increase for people with a highly skilled compared to a lower skilled partner through a transfer of human capital between the partners. Hence, through mutual support and spillover effects, the partners help each other with their labor market endeavors, although the partner with lower resources might profit more from this relation.

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

Hence, we formulate the two following opposing hypotheses:

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

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

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

female partner (the reference category) as this comparison is based on women's levels of education held constant at the sample mean.

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

Gender Role Attitudes

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

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

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

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

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

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

woman working as a homemaker is an option that the partners want to avoid if possible and to which they attach low subjective utility. Actions that are taken with regard to the use of the partner's labor market resources may therefore differ substantially between couples with egalitarian and traditional attitudes as egalitarian couples want to use their economic resources to avoid what traditional couples try to achieve.

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

This leads to the hypotheses that *in partnerships in which women have rather traditional gender role attitudes, the labor market resources of the partner will have a more negative effect on FLFP, whereas in partnerships in which women have rather egalitarian gender role attitudes, the labor market resources of the partner will be more positively related to FLFP* (H3). Additionally, we expect that *in partnerships in which the male partner has rather traditional gender role attitudes, his labor market resources will have a more negative effect on FLFP, whereas in partnerships in which the male partner has rather egalitarian gender role attitudes, his labor market resources will be more positively related to FLFP* (H4).

Immigrant Groups and the Institutional Context in the Netherlands

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

The first Turkish and Moroccan immigrants arrived at the beginning of the 1960s during the economic boom in the Netherlands. The peak of this immigration was reached in the early 1970s before the state stopped admitting low-skilled labor immigrants in 1973 and since then, a large part of the immigration from Turkey and Morocco is due to family reunification and marriage migration (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff and

Groeneveld 2004). Recent estimates claim that about 56 percent of the Moroccan women and 59 percent of the Turkish women live in partnerships (as compared to about 56% of the native Dutch women; Loozen, De Valk, and Wobma 2011) with more than 90 percent of first and second generation Moroccan and Turkish women marrying within their own ethnic group (Lucassen and Laarman 2009). In 2003, about 341,000 Turks and 295,000 Moroccans lived in the Netherlands, of whom 47 percent are women (CBS Statline 2003). Mass migration movements from the Antilles and Suriname to the Netherlands occurred in the same period as the guest-worker migration, and it continued throughout the 1980s until the Dutch government installed visa requirements restricting migration from the former colonies to the Netherlands. However, due to family reunification and marriage migration, the Surinamese and Antillean population in the Netherlands continued to grow afterward. About 40 percent of the Surinamese and 37 percent of the Antillean women live together with a partner, and about 65 percent of the married Surinamese and 47 percent of the married Antillean women have a husband from their own ethnic group; 26 and 40 percent, respectively, are married to native Dutch, and 9 and 13 percent, respectively, are married to men from other ethnic groups (Kalmijn and Van Tubergen 2006; Loozen, De Valk, and Wobma 2011). In 2003, 320,000 Surinamese and 129,000 Antilleans lived in the Netherlands of whom 52 and 50 percent, respectively, are women (CBS Statline 2003).

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

tion (on average, 1.99 and 2.81 children, respectively) than native Dutch, Surinamese, and Antillean women (about 1.8 children; Loozen, De Valk, and Wobma 2011), which may contribute to their lower FLFP rates.

Moreover, gender traditionalism is generally stronger among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands than in other ethnic groups (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009). We therefore expect women with a Turkish or Moroccan background, as well as their partners, to endorse more traditional gender role attitudes than women from the other ethnic groups, which in turn may lead to less FLFP among guest worker compared to native Dutch. Motherhood in the Caribbean often implies rearing children as well as providing income for the family and women are often single parents (De Valk 2008). Hence, immigrants from Suriname and the Antilles are not expected to have substantially more traditional gender role attitudes than native Dutch.

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

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

DATA AND METHOD

Data

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

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

As the main NKPS sample is a random sample of the whole population in the Netherlands, it includes few immigrants. Hence, in order to increase the number of ethnic minority respondents in our sample, we also had to make use of the migrant sample, which was collected in cooperation with the SPVA from 2002 to reduce costs and to benefit from the experience of the SPVA in surveying migrant groups in the Netherlands. From 1988 until 2002, the SPVA regularly collected data among the four largest ethnic minority groups. Individuals are defined as migrants when they or at least one of their parents was born abroad. For a subsample of about 1,300 individuals of the survey conducted in 2002 (which has a total sample of over 4,000 individuals), the SPVA adapted

its anchor and alter questionnaires to those of the NKPS. Unfortunately, the questionnaires for the anchors and alters were substantially shortened in the migrant sample, which limits the range of variables that can be used in the analysis. The data of the anchor in the SPVA were collected in face-to-face interviews using pencil and paper questionnaires (PAPI), and the data for other household members (alters) were collected with a self-completion questionnaire. Questionnaires were translated into Turkish and Arabic for immigrants with few Dutch language skills, and bilingual interviewers with fluency in the minority language were used. As former colonial migrants, Surinamese and Antillean minorities have high levels of Dutch proficiency. The response rate for anchors ranged from 40 percent for Surinamese to 52 percent for Moroccans (Groeneveld and Weijers-Martens 2003).

The NKPS and the SPVA used different sampling techniques. Whereas the sample of the NKPS is a random sample of individuals within private households in the Netherlands between the age of 18 and 79, the SPVA was limited to 13 municipalities with relatively large migrant populations, and therefore covers only about 50 percent of the migrant population, mostly those living in urban areas (Groeneveld and Weijers-Martens 2003). In general, the migrant sample is biased toward middle-aged migrants with children in their household. Young second-generation migrants who live alone or with their parents are strongly underrepresented and also childless couples are underrepresented (Dykstra et al. 2005). However, as this research focuses on the oversampled group, this is not a major issue for this study. We will analyze the two subgroups of the NKPS and the SPVA data, which received matched questionnaires. Given that the NKPS subsample consists only of respondents who live in one of the SPVA municipalities, they are also more comparable with regard to sample characteristics.

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

Measures

Dependent Variable. A binary variable indicated whether the woman is *participating in the labor market* (1) or *not* (0). Following the Dutch Statistical Office (CBS), LFP implies that the respondent either has employment (or a contract) of more than 12 hours a week at the time of the survey or is unemployed, but available and actively looking for employment of more than 12 hours a week. For those without employment of more than 12 hours a week, we have to rely on a variable that captures the self-declared main economic activity at the time of the interview instead of more precise measures about whether respondents without employment are available and searching for a job. Respondents without work of more than 12 hours a week had to choose whether they consider their main activity to be unemployed, a homemaker, student, disabled, or retired. The advantage of our measure is that it comes closer to the way respondents see themselves, while the disadvantage is the loss of comparability with other surveys. We categorized respondents who are not in paid work for more than 12 hours a week and indicated being a homemaker as their main activity as not participating in the labor market (0). Respondents that are in paid employment or that are at the time of the survey not employed and described their main activity as being unemployed were coded as 1.

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

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

partners that are higher educated than their female partner. The reference category in these analyses therefore consists of couples with the same value on the 8-point scale of educational attainment.[4]

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

Men's income: We use the sum of the monthly net income and, if applicable, the welfare benefits (e.g., social security, pension, student grant) of the male partners. In the migrant sample, we had no information on alters' income but only on the income of the anchor and the total net household income. To have a proxy for the male alter income in the migrant sample ($n = 86$), we subtracted the income of the female anchor from the household income. A subsequent t-test showed that the income in the migrant sample is significantly lower for the male alters than for the male anchors, $t(256) = 3.98$; p two-sided < 0.001, which indicates that the remaining household income (after subtracting the female anchor's income) is not likely to include the income of other potential household members other than the male partner. Respondents could either precisely specify the amount they receive or choose from a number of income categories that each had a range of 200–250 euros (e.g., [3] 750–950 euros; [8] 1,750–2,000 euros). To use income as a continuous variable, we calculated the mean for the income categories (e.g., [3] 850 euros; [8] 1,875 euros). We excluded two respondents that indicated having an income of more than 10,000 euros a month to avoid bias through outliers.

Traditional gender role attitudes: We used the item "A woman must quit her job when she becomes a mother" as indicator of gender role attitudes of the female and the male partners. Respondents expressed their agreement on a scale from 1 "strongly agree" to 5 "strongly disagree." Due to the shortened partner questionnaire in the migrant sample, we did

[4]In a robustness check, we also constructed relative education based on the four-point scale for women's and their partner's education and found a Pearson's correlation of 0.92 between both measures of relative education.

not have more items to construct a multi-item scale. However, a previous study used the anchor data in the NKPS and SPVA to examine the factor structure of the family, marital, and gender role value items and found that the item we use is part of a factor that only consists of gender role attitude items and is structurally equivalent across ethnic groups (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009). We recoded the item so that a higher value represents more traditional gender role attitudes. The attitudes of the partners were correlated, as expected ($r = 0.51$, $p = 0.00$). We therefore use the variance inflation factor as post-estimation test for collinearity.

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

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

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

Missing Values. The share of missing values on each independent variable was not higher than 10 percent (for income) and in most cases even lower than 5 percent (Table 1). However, listwise deletion would lead to a loss of about 100 cases (20% of the sample). Little's MCAR test indicates that the missing values are not missing completely at random

TABLE 1
RANGE, MEAN/PROPORTION (M), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND MISSING VALUES (MV) OF THE VARIABLES (N = 540)

		All respondents						Native Dutch				Turkish				Moroccan				Surinamese/Antillean			
		Women			Male partners			Women		Male partners		Women		Male partners		Women		Male partners		Women		Male partners	
	Range	M	SD	MV (%)	M	SD	MV (%)	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Labor market characteristics																							
LFP	0/1	0.65		0	0.83		0	0.78		0.87		0.36		0.81		0.34		0.68		0.81		0.86	
Unemployed (only men)	0/1				0.07					0.03				0.13				0.10				0.10	
Student/retired/disabled (only men)	0/1				0.17		0.01			0.13				0.19				0.32				0.14	
Income in € (only men/other household members)	0–10,000				1,595	1,042	0.09			2,016	1,179			1,184	657			1,093	428			1,158	696
Dutch language problems	0/1	0.11						0				0.60				0.08				0			
Education	0–3			0.03			0.01																
Primary (Ref.)	0	0.19			0.21			0.05		0.07		0.56		0.45		0.48		0.58		0.12		0.16	
Secondary vocational	1	0.32			0.23			0.29		0.18		0.22		0.25		0.38		0.18		0.45		0.37	
Upper secondary	2	0.25			0.25			0.30		0.27		0.16		0.19		0.13		0.18		0.27		0.31	
Tertiary	3	0.24			0.31			0.36		0.48		0.06		0.11		0.01		0.06		0.16		0.16	
Male partner relatively lower educated	0/1	0.29		0.04				0.23				0.28				0.45				0.34			
Male partner relatively higher educated	0/1	0.39		0.04				0.39				0.27				0.14				0.35			
Male partner equally educated	0/1	0.32		0.04				0.37				0.45				0.41				0.31			
Traditional gender role attitudes																							
Women should stop working after 1st child	1–5	2.22	1.20	0.02	2.45	1.17	0.02	1.88	0.96	2.14	1.01	3.01	1.40	3.26	1.38	2.97	1.29	2.92	1.14	1.94	0.90	2.22	0.97
Control variables																							
First generation (Ref. Native Dutch/2nd gen.)	0/1	0.45						0.03				0.94				0.9				0.86			
Age	18–65	39.00	10.9	0.04				41.5	11.12			34.8	8.58			34.5	10.7			38.3	10.2		
General health	1–5	3.95	0.77	0.01				4.08	0.68			3.75	0.97			3.66	0.73			3.97	0.76		
Anchor (Ref. Alter)	0/1	0.17		0	0.83		0	0.00				0.33				0.2				0.47			
Number of children in the household	0–7	1.27	1.30	0				0.87	1.02			1.72	1.12			2.25	1.82			1.19	1.08		
Child younger than 6 years	0/1	0.35						0.25	0.44			0.49				0.61				0.31			

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

($\chi^2 = 95.47$; df = 60; $p > 0.002$). As listwise deletion is therefore also likely to produce biased estimates (Acock 2005), we used multiple imputations by chain equations to replace missing values with predicted values (Royston and White 2011). Following the rule of thumb that the number of imputed datasets should be equal to the percentage of missing cases (White, Royston, and Wood 2011), we created 20 imputed datasets. The chain equation method uses separate models for every variable with missing values. The variables included in each of the models correspond with the variables we used in the explanatory analysis of our dependent variables.

Method

We used average marginal effects (AME) based on logit regressions to examine the FLFP. As the dependent variable FLFP is binary and the interest of this study is in comparing coefficients across groups and models, the statistical analysis has to account for the scaling problem (cf. Mood 2010). The scaling problem refers to the fact that logistic regression estimates are implicitly rescaled based on a fixed residual variance of 3.29. This means that regardless of model specification or varying unobserved heterogeneity between models or groups, the residual variance is always assumed to be the same. Hence, unless all factors that might cause differences in unobserved heterogeneity in the dependent variable between respondents are accounted for, coefficients may not be comparable across groups and models (Karlson, Holm, and Breen 2012).[5] We therefore followed Mood's (2010) suggestion and, using the margins command in stata, estimated AME, which are calculated by averaging effects

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

over all observations based on an initially estimated equation (in our case logit regressions). This makes them relatively unaffected by unaccounted explanatory factors unrelated to the already included independent variables (Mood 2010). Moreover, AME are intuitive to interpret as they express the change in the expected value (or the expected probability) of the dependent variable as an explanatory variable increases by one unit. Note that the margins command does not allow calculating interaction terms but provides predicted probabilities and marginal effects conditional on specific values of the variables involved in the interaction accounting for the interactions terms included in the base logit equation (StataCorp 2013).

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

The ethnic distribution of our sample is similar for women and men. Even though not directly shown here, the Turkish and Moroccan women in our sample are almost exclusively married within their ethnic group. Interethnic marriage can only be found to some extent between native Dutch women and Surinamese or Antillean men. Table 1 shows that women participate about 18 percentage points less in the labor market than men. The men in our sample are slightly higher educated than the women. Whereas 31 percent of the men have tertiary education, this is only the case for 24 percent of the women. In turn, the share of women who obtained a secondary vocational degree is 9 percentage points higher than the share of men. Within couples, 39 percent of the men are higher and 29 percent lower educated than the women. Furthermore, 7 percent of the men are unemployed and 17 percent are not available for the labor market due to retirement, disability, or education. The average income of men, including salary and/or social benefits, is 1,595 euros each month. Finally, men have on average more traditional gender role attitudes than women; $t(487) = -4.05$; p two-sided < 0.001).

Explanatory Analysis

We start our explanatory analysis by only including the ethnicity of the women in Model 1 to estimate ethnic differences in FLFP (Table 2). Then, we include the socio-demographic characteristics of women and household

TABLE 2
AVERAGE MARGINAL EFFECTS, DV: FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION (FLFP)

	(1) FLFP	(2) FLFP	(3) FLFP	(4) FLFP	(5) FLFP
Characteristics of women					
Native Dutch (ref.)					
Turkish	−0.41***	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.08
	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Moroccan	−0.44***	−0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02
	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Surinamese/Antillean	0.03	0.19**	0.2**	0.17*	0.16*
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Age (centered)		−0.006**	−0.004*	−0.004*	−0.004†
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age2		−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.001***
		(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
General health		0.06**	0.06**	0.05*	0.05*
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
First generation		−0.15*	−0.17*	−0.15*	−0.14*
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Dutch language problems		−0.17*	−0.15*	−0.14*	−0.14*
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Max. primary education (ref.)					
Lower secondary education		0.05	0.03	0.04	0.03
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Upper secondary education		0.23***	0.21**	0.17*	0.15*
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Tertiary education or higher		0.27***	0.25**	0.18*	0.16*
		(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
No. of Children in the household		−0.06**	−0.06***	−0.05**	−0.05*
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Child younger than 6 years		−0.09*	−0.09*	−0.1*	−0.11**
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered)				−0.06***	−0.05***
				(0.01)	(0.01)
Characteristics of men					
Unemployed			−0.10	−0.11†	−0.11†
			(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Student, disabled, retired			−0.09†	−0.09†	−0.10*
			(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Male partner equally educated (ref.)					
Male partner relatively lower educated			0.05	0.05	0.06
			(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Male partner relatively higher educated			−0.001	−0.02	−0.02
			(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Income (centered and in 100€)			−0.001	−0.001	−0.001
			(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Traditional gender role attitudes (centered)					−0.04*
					(0.02)
N	540	540	540	540	540

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses.
†$p < 0.1$, *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$.

TABLE 3
PREDICTED PROBABILITY OF FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE AND BY ETHNIC GROUP, TWO-WAY INTERACTION: GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE (GRA) OF WOMEN*MAN HIGHER EDUCATED AND GRA OF MEN*MAN HIGHER EDUCATED

	Both partners equally educated (%)	Man higher educated than woman (%)	Difference (in percentage points)	Significance of difference *p* (two-sided)
All respondents[1]				
f-eg. & m-eg.	81	78	−3	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	53	79	26	<0.05
f-tr. & m-eg.	71	39	−31	<0.05
f-tr. & m-tr.	39	40	1	n.s.
Native Dutch[2]				
f-eg. & m-eg.	94	91	−3	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	52	89	37	n.s.
f-tr. & m-eg.	83	38	−45	<0.05
f-tr. & m-tr.	25	27	2	n.s.
Turkish[3]				
f-eg. & m-eg.	55	62	7	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	26	44	18	n.s.
f-tr. & m-eg.	44	44	0	n.s.
f-tr. & m-tr.	17	24	7	n.s.
Moroccan[3]				
f-eg. & m-eg.	66	34	−32	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	24	58	34	n.s.
f-tr. & m-eg.	67	8	−59	<0.05
f-tr. & m-tr.	18	30	12	n.s.
Surinamese/Antillean[3]				
f-eg. & m-eg.	87	96	9	n.s.
f-eg. & m-tr.	78	87	9	n.s.
f-tr. & m-eg.	81	8	−73	<0.001
f-tr. & m-tr.	77	2	−75	<0.001

Notes: f/m = female/male, eg./tr. = egalitarian gender role attitudes/traditional gender role attitudes.
[1]Predicted probabilities based on Model 5 + Interaction effects:

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

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

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

[3]See previous model + 1st generation immigrant. To keep the model as comparable as possible to the other three groups, we decided to exclude language problems for the Turkish subsample (as we do not have this variable for the Moroccan sample). However, we also run a model that included language problems and results did not differ substantially.

conditions in Model 2 before adding the labor market resources of the partner in Model 3. The gender role attitudes of the women and the partners are added in Models 4 and 5, respectively. In a final model (not shown in

Table 2), we add the two-way interactions between the women's and their partners' gender role attitudes with the labor market resources of the partners. Results are shown in the form of predicted probabilities for varying combinations of the highest and lowest values on the gender role attitudes measure of women and their partner as well as for couples in which the partner has similar and higher labor market resources (Table 3). To explore how far our model is applicable across women with different ethnic backgrounds, we additionally ran the model with the two two-way interactions separately for each ethnic group (also Table 3).

Table 2 presents the AME of the explanatory variables on FLFP. In Model 1, we can see that the chances for Turkish and Moroccan women participating in the labor force are more than 40 percentage points lower than for native Dutch women, whereas the chances of Surinamese and Antillean women to participate are not significantly different, statistically speaking, from those of native Dutch women.

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

In Models 4 and 5, we add women's and subsequently men's gender role attitudes. The variance inflation factor of 1.47 for the gender role attitudes of the women and 1.44 for the attitudes of the partner suggests unproblematic collinearity between the two variables. We find that women's gender role attitudes are negatively related to FLFP even after taking into account the partner's labor market characteristics and his gender role attitudes. *Ceteris paribus*, traditional gender role attitudes of the partner have a negative association with FLFP, providing evidence for our hypothesis on the direct influence of the partner's gender role attitudes (H2). The size of the coefficient of Surinamese and Antillean women decreases overall about 20 percent from 0.2 to 0.16 after including the women's and subsequently the partner's gender role attitudes. However, in Model 5, FLFP is still higher for Surinamese and Antilleans than for native Dutch, contradicting H5 that we can fully account for ethnic differences in FLFP.

To test H3 and H4 about the moderating role of women's and men's gender role attitudes on the effect of the partner's labor market resources, we included two-way interaction effects between all indicators of men's labor market resources (male partner higher educated, male partner lower educated, male partner unemployed, male partner disabled, student, or retired, income of male partner) and women's and men's gender role attitudes. To get a direct test for the interaction coefficients, we estimate an OLS regression, as linear models come usually relatively close to the estimates of AME (Mood 2010).[6] The results of this estimation, not shown here, support H3 that the effect of a higher educated male partner on FLFP is more negative the more traditional gender role attitudes women endorse ($b = -0.077$; SE = 0.04; p two-sided = 0.064). Moreover, and seemingly opposed to the prediction of H4, having a higher educated male partner has a more positive effect on FLFP if the partner is more traditional ($b = 0.076$; SE = 0.04; p two-sided = 0.072). The other interactions were not significant.

To illustrate how the significant interactions work within a couple, we show the predicted probabilities of FLFP based on Model 5 supplemented by these two interactions in Table 3. We calculated the predicted probabilities under eight different conditions, varying the composition of partnerships with regard to the gender role attitudes of the man and the

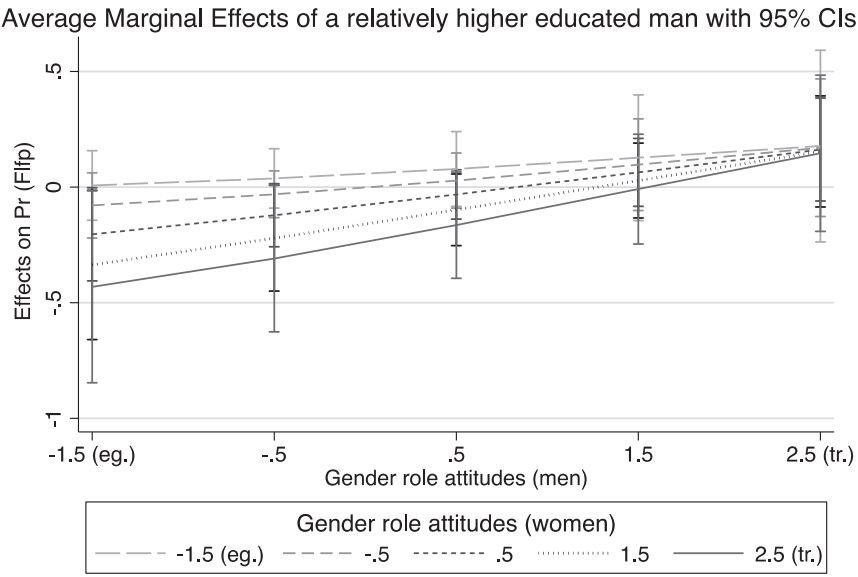
[6]To check the robustness of the results, we also tested the interaction effects with a logit regression, which came to the same results.

woman as well as with regard to the male partner being higher educated compared to the woman or not. Even though some of these constellations are rather uncommon in the population, particularly couples with a very traditional and a very egalitarian partner, they are helpful to understand the impact of the interaction effects on FLFP by revealing their most pronounced outcomes.

Table 3 shows that, if both partners are egalitarian, FLFP is predicted at about 80 percent regardless of the partner's relative education (81% for women with an equally educated partner and 78% for women with a higher educated partner). If the partners are both traditional, the predicted probability of FLFP is about 40 percent — again without being substantially affected by the partner's relative education. This clearly reveals the negative main effect of traditional gender role attitudes on FLFP. The effect of having a relatively higher educated partner becomes more relevant when we look at couples with opposing attitudes. If the woman has egalitarian gender role attitudes and the man traditional attitudes, a higher educated partner increases FLFP by 26 percentage points compared to similarly educated partners. If the female partner is traditional and the male partner egalitarian, FLFP is 31 percentage points lower for women with a higher educated partner than for women with a similarly educated partner. These findings suggest that in case of normative agreement between the partners with regard to women's gender roles, economic motives seem to be less relevant for a woman's decision whether to work or not. FLFP rates are consistently high when both partners have egalitarian attitudes and low if both partners have traditional attitudes. In contrast, if there is attitudinal disagreement between the partners, the relative education of the partners seems to matter more, suggesting that economic motives are in these cases more important for women's decision whether to participate in the labor force.

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

Figure I. **Average Marginal Effects, Three-Way Interaction: Varying Effects of a Higher Educated Male Partner on Female Labor Force Participation Dependent on Women's and Men's Gender Role Attitudes**



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

- Gender role attitude (GRA) of women* male partner higher educated than female partner,
- GRA of men* male partner higher educated than female partner,
- GRA of men*GRA of women,
- Male partner higher educated than female partner*GRA of men*GRA of women,
- GRA of women* male partner lower educated than female partner,
- GRA of men* male partner lower educated than female partner,
- Male partner lower educated than female partner*GRA of men*GRA of women.

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

To account for possible interactions between women's and men's gender role attitudes, we continued the analysis by including a three-way

interaction between a relatively higher educated man and both partners' gender role attitudes.

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

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

To explore in how far our assumption holds that a general model of FLFP can be applied to women from different ethnic groups, we conducted an additional analysis, in which we ran the model with the two-way interactions separately for the four different ethnic groups (Table 3). Note that the statistical power of these analyses is relatively low due to the small sample size, particularly of the ethnic minority groups, and significance levels may therefore be underestimated. This is also the reason why we decided to only include two-way interactions. In Table 3, we can see that the predicted probabilities show similar patterns between the ethnic groups. We find for women from almost every ethnic group, with the exception of Surinamese and Antillean women, that the effect of

a relatively higher educated male partner is strongest if the partners' gender role attitudes differ from each other. The most notable differences between ethnic groups can be observed for Surinamese and Antillean women whose partners' attitudes seem not to matter for their decision to participate in the labor force. The effect of a relatively higher educated man is strongly negative if the woman has traditional attitudes. Moreover, in all conditions in which Surinamese and Antillean women have egalitarian attitudes, FLFP is high — regardless of the attitudes and the relative education of the man. This suggests that household specialization seems to take place only if the woman has traditional attitudes and her partner has more labor market resources than herself. Under all other conditions, Surinamese and Antillean women are similarly and highly likely to participate in the labor market.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was, first, to extend previous explanations of ethnic differences in FLFP by adding the partner's labor market characteristics and his gender role attitudes and, second, to reconcile the opposing positions of household specialization and social capital theory about partner effects on FLFP by testing the moderating role of gender role attitudes.

Our key findings relate to the explanation of ethnic differences in FLFP. Our model is relatively successful in explaining ethnic differences in FLFP between native Dutch, Moroccans, and Turks, although most of the ethnic differences are already explained after accounting for women's individual characteristics and the presence of children in the household. This indicates that variations in partner characteristics seem to be a less important ingredient in explaining differences in FLFP between these three ethnic groups. This is an interesting finding, particularly within the context of previous research, which could not explain differences between these ethnic groups entirely with compositional differences in women's human capital and household conditions (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2010; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). One reason for this finding might be that our sample consists only of couples, whereas the previous studies also included single women. If that is the case, future studies should investigate differences in FLFP between single Turks, Moroccans, and native Dutch more thoroughly.

For Surinamese and Antilleans, we still find a higher FLFP than for native Dutch after accounting for individual characteristics, which has also

been observed in previous studies (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2010). Adding women's gender role attitudes and ultimately the partner's gender role attitudes slightly decreases the difference in FLFP, whereas the partner's labor market resources seem to matter less. This suggests that native Dutch, Turkish, and Moroccan women have more often partners with attitudes that lower FLFP than Surinamese and Antillean women. However, Surinamese and Antillean women are still participating 16 percentage points more than native Dutch women even after accounting for all these factors. So the question remains how to explain the higher FLFP of Surinamese and Antilleans. One explanation might be that the partner's attitudes are less relevant for Surinamese and Antillean women's decision on how to make use of their partner's resources and whether to participate in the labor force. This is in line with previous research claiming that Caribbean women are often taking the responsibility to provide income for the household because they do not expect or count on the partner to make a contribution (De Valk 2008).

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

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

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

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

A relatively higher educated partner compared to an equally educated partner seems to make the biggest difference for FLFP if the man has egalitarian and the woman traditional gender role attitudes. More specifically, in this scenario, a partner's relatively higher education decreases FLFP. This could mean that in this constellation, economic considerations as outlined by household specialization theory may be a more important factor in the decision-making process of women than normative considerations. The unexpected positive effect of a higher educated male partner for couples in which the woman has egalitarian and the man traditional attitudes is explained when we take into account the interaction between both partners' attitudes. The three-way interaction shows that women in a relationship with a traditional partner, him being higher educated, seems not to make a difference for FLFP — regardless of the woman's own attitudes. Traditional men may consistently reject FLFP whether it makes economic sense for the household or not, whereas egalitarian men are fine with letting the woman decide whether to work even if the man's higher labor market resources would allow the woman to withdraw from the labor market. Interestingly, in this context, the attitudes of the partner seem to matter much less for Surinamese and Antillean women. This supports previous findings, which showed that models for FLFP designed for women from Western society might not be as suitable for women with different cultural origins (Brekke 2013; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). The findings should encourage migration researchers to question how far conventional models of female labor market behavior, mostly designed for women with a white Western background, are in fact applicable to women with different cultural origins. The role of key characteristics such as the partner, children, and attitudes for FLFP might vary according to the broader cultural background that women live in and the socialization they experienced.

These results partly confirm our proposition of how to reconcile household specialization and social capital theory. We find indeed that women with traditional gender role attitudes are more likely to specialize on domestic work compared to women with more egalitarian views if the resources of the partner allow it (i.e., if he is relatively higher educated). Hence, household specialization seems to be more often applied as a strategy in households where women hold more traditional gender role attitudes. In contrast, we could not show that for women or partners with more egalitarian attitudes, the predictions of social capital theory are more applicable. This could also be a sign that for couples with egalitarian

gender role attitudes, individualization, meaning independence from each other with regard to labor market behavior, is already the norm (Hakim 2000). Our finding about the "irrelevance" of the attitudes of Caribbean women's partner also fits in the picture drawn by Berthoud (2005) that Caribbean women in the United Kingdom are "ahead of the trend" toward modern individualism as they showed lower rates of marriage and a higher share of single parenthood compared to other ethnic groups, while all groups were moving in this direction. Our finding might therefore also be read as an extension of this observation in terms of how Caribbean women combine work and family — namely without much consideration of their partner's attitudes — even though we cannot say anything about future developments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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