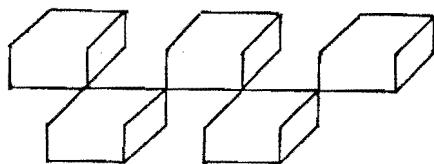


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AMONG YOUNG ADULTS IN THE  
NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, FRANCE AND  
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LIVING ARRANGEMENTS AND VALUES AMONG YOUNG ADULTS IN THE NETHERLANDS,  
BELGIUM, FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1990

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LIVING ARRANGEMENTS AND VALUES AMONG YOUNG ADULTS IN THE NETHERLANDS,  
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1. Introduction

Since the 1960s life-cycle transitions among young adults have become more complex in virtually all Western countries (e.g. Bumpass, 1990; Rindfuss et al., 1990). New, intermediate states have been added such as sharing or doubling up, premarital cohabitation or parenthood among cohabitants. The transitions between these states are no longer unidirectional since returns to previous states occur more frequently. Also the states themselves are less clearly defined. For instance, independent living and periodic returns to the parental "hotel family" are often combined.

One of the main reasons for the emergence of the intermediate states (independent living, sharing, premarital cohabitation) among young adults is clearly prolonged education. We are referring here to the mere mechanistic effect: continued education, say between ages 20 and 24, results in complete or partial economic dependence on the family of origin which automatically postpones marriage and parenthood for most. Once the education is finished and the lag it produced is taken into account, transitions to marriage or cohabitation with parenthood are often accelerated (see Lee et al, 1987). However, other theories postulate major additional effects.

According to the neo-classic economic theory (e.g. Becker, 1981) cohabitation, later marriage and later parenthood are essentially the outcome of a general reduction of gains to marriage for women and of a substantial increase in the opportunity costs of motherhood. The latter stem from increased female schooling, greater earning capacity and therefore from enhanced female economic autonomy. This factor equally accounts for the rise in divorce and the decline of remarriage, both after a divorce or following widowhood.

So far, the explanations are predominantly oriented at those who have enjoyed better education. But the passage through the intermediate states is also found among other segments of the population, despite the fact that, at least in continental Western Europe, the new living arrangements appeared first among the better educated. In Easterlin's theory (Easterlin et al, 1990), postponed home-leaving, sharing or doubling up, and cohabitation are not the outcome of the valuation of the female human resource potential, but of the combination of sustained consumption aspirations and deteriorating economic opportunities for new cohorts of young males. The intermediate states between home-leaving and marriage are added and the duration of residing in these states is prolonged, not only because of schooling, but also because of unfavourable labour market conditions. The view of Easterlin and

colleagues, documented with US-data, is essentially an economic relative deprivation theory. It is bound to get a sympathetic ear in the Mediterranean countries, such as Spain or Italy, where home-leaving is postponed to a considerable extent.

The two economic theories presented above have been criticized on several points. According to V. Oppenheimer (1988), the intermediate states stem from marriage market conditions. Higher education for women and concommittant financial independence have increased the quality standards for what constitutes a "minimally acceptable match". Prolonged dating and cohabitation reflect a more careful search or a trial run in matching the two utility functions of the partners concerned. In the neo-classical view, diminishing returns to marriage for women results in larger proportions not entering marriage and parenthood. In Oppenheimer's view there is only a postponement effect, not an economically induced "desinstitutonalization".

The notion of quality is also central in social exchange theory (e.g. Reszohazy, 1991) or economic transaction theory (e.g. England and Farkas, 1986). The quality of a relationship can be defined as the degree of satisfaction partners experience as the result of the incorporation of each other's needs and well-being into their own utility function. We are dealing here with "giving and taking", mutual trust and respect, fidelity, reciprocated understanding. In surveys probing into the various elements that are needed to constitute a successful partnership or marriage, these items get the highest scores (e.g. Harding et al, 1986; Lesthaeghe and Moors, 1992). Hence, aside from alterations in purely economic living conditions, also expectations of what partners can get out of a marriage or a union could have increased.

Support for the latter proposition stems from the rise of Maslow's (1954) "higher order needs". In Maslowian needs theory, the "higher order needs" associated with self-fulfilment, political emancipation, personal recognition and individual ethical autonomy emerge once the "lower order needs" associated with basic economic and physical security are satisfied. Inglehart's (1970, 1990) measurement of post-materialism in the economic-political domain shows that the Maslowian "existential needs" have been accentuated to a higher degree by each successive cohort.

Within the ethical and moral domain, individual autonomy manifests itself in further secularization, the refusal of institutional morality and ethical patronage, the accentuation of freedom of choice, the replacement of conformism by responsibility, and greater tolerance for the choices and life-styles of others. It was therefore no surprise to find that premarital cohabitation during the late 1960s and 1970s was almost a rite of passage for the "new left" (Dumon, 1977; Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa, 1986) in Belgium and the Netherlands. It was a manifestation of a refusal of the conventional "bourgeois marriage" which was being accused of being hypocritical in the sense that conformism was more important than the quality of the relationship.

If "postmaterialists" expect more from public life and more from private life, the evaluation of returns becomes a fundamental issue. If returns are unsatisfactory, reversibility should be an open possibility.

Also, positions need to be calibrated repeatedly to work out suitable solutions. The explicitation of such positions and opinions therefore becomes a basic characteristic of new relationships, especially when two young adults are not only facing strictly domestic issues but also elements of professional lives and their impact on the domestic sphere. This contrasts strongly with the more traditional marriages of their parents based on a relatively clear script, with division of labour and male economic support and companionship being exchanged against female inputs in overall domestic quality.

To sum up, the nature of adult relationships has changed considerably compared to the 1950s, partly as a result of economic factors associated with female employment, and partly as a consequence of ideational developments associated with increased individual autonomy and a quest for quality in the adult relationship. A moncausal theory cannot do justice in connecting these developments to the emergence of new life cycle states. In the present paper we shall therefore try to document that:

- i) the selection into various living arrangements, as observed at one point in time, is still associated with ideational factors pertaining to religious, political and ethical issues;
- ii) that ideational factors have an independant effect and serve as a filter in the selection process into the intermediate forms of living arrangements for *both sexes*, at *all* levels of education, and among *all* socio-economic groups;
- iii) that the differences in perceptions and aspirations with regard to the quality of relationships are equally associated with the selection process.

In short, the basic aim of the paper is to show that ideational factors and tastes related to what a partnership should yield are necessary elements in the selection of individuals into living arrangements, and that the omission of these factors in both the neo-classic economic theory and the relative economic deprivation theory constitutes a major weakness.

## 2. Data and limitations

The data used here stem from the European Values Surveys (EVS) held in 1990 in a number of Western countries. The main reason for the use of the EVS is its uniquely large body of value and attitudinal data, which is ideally suited for an exploratory analysis of this kind. We have retained the data for the Netherlands, France, West Germany and Belgium, largely because these countries exhibit similar developments. There are of course major differences between them, with the Netherlands and France having more young adults living in premarital cohabitation than in Germany or Belgium. Also value-orientations differ, with again the Netherlands and France being more libertarian on moral and sexual issues. However, the data sets for the four countries have been pooled for reasons of sample size. In total, the data pertain to 1386 persons aged between 20 and 29 years. Once broken down according to living arrangement, the sample sizes obviously decrease, but our aim has been

not to have much less than 100 respondents in each category. The resulting sample sizes are shown in Table 1.

Before pooling the four national data sets we inspected the association between the living arrangements and the relevant value characteristics. In almost all instances the national differentials went in the same direction, and differences in orders of magnitude are largely due to the small national sample sizes. It would be interesting to compare the present results with the pooled data for Denmark and Sweden and with those of the UK (Northern Ireland included) and Ireland. The analysis for Spain, Portugal and Italy, however, is hampered by the fact that few respondents would be found in the intermediate states ("single, not living with parents" or "cohabiting") as illustrated in Table 2.

From the EVS-data it is possible to distinguish between the following living arrangements:

- single, living with parents;
- single, not living with parents (but without distinction between living alone or sharing);
- with partner, cohabiting;
- with partner, currently married (divorced omitted from analysis).

Regretably, no questions were asked about previous states. As a result, no distinction could be made for the currently married between those who ever and never cohabited. Such a distinction would undoubtedly have elicited differences in value orientations within the category of the currently married respondents.

In pooling the four national data sets a weighting procedure was used so that the proportions of the respective national population are respected. As a result, the Dutch and Belgian samples contribute considerably less to the weighted pooled sample than the German and French data sets.

In section 3 we shall only report the differences in the attitudinal data according to living arrangement, without any additional controls. At this point, no significance tests are reported since chi-square test are almost always confirming the significance of associations when samples exceed a thousand respondents. In section 4, however, controls are introduced for sex, education, income, employment and socio-economic stratification. At this point, the net associations between living arrangement and values are subjected to F-tests in an analysis of variance.

### 3. Value orientations according to living arrangements: overall results from the pooled sample

In this purely descriptive section the following domains covered by the value orientations are tabulated by living arrangement:

- religious values (15 items)
- political values, including the Inglehart scale (14 items)
- political party preference

- factors perceived as contributing to a successful marriage (12 items)
- attitudes concerning working women and mothers (6 items)
- importance of children, socialization values (15 items)
- attitudes toward sexuality (8 items)
- life satisfaction indicators (13 items)

The main problem with the strictly cross-sectional nature of the data is of course that no causal inferences are possible. We presume therefore that the associations are the result of two processes: selection into particular living arrangements depending on value orientation and affirmation of particular values depending on living arrangement. The associations hide a recursive relationship, and the distinction between the effects of selection and affirmation respectively cannot be made. Nevertheless the results show unambiguously that strong associations exist for a considerable number of items, and that the ideational factor is therefore still a forceful agent in the patterning of life-course transitions.

### 3.1. Religious values

A recurrent finding has been the association between higher degrees of secularization and the opting for a period of cohabitation. This finding has been reported for the US (Tanfer, 1987; Thornton and Camburn, 1987), Canada (Rao, 1989), Australia (Khoo, 1987), France (Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1990), the Netherlands (Liefbroer, 1991) and Belgium (Lee et al., 1987). The striking feature here is that the association was not only strong in the late 1960s or 1970s when cohabitation was beginning to emerge in these countries, but that it still holds in a virtually unaltered fashion. The data presented in Table 3 bear witness to this effect, particularly when cohabitants are compared with the currently married respondents. Of the 15 items considered, 10 produce differences in excess of 10 percentage points, with the largest being the belief in God (30 percentage points less among cohabitants than married), the non-attendance of religious services (-20 pts), the saying of prayers (-18 pts), the belief in the notion of sin (-17 pts) and the drawing of comfort and strength from religion (-15 pts). Parental secularization also played a major role in currently being selected into cohabitation since fewer cohabitants (-17 pts) than married persons report to have been brought up religiously.

By contrast, the differences between cohabitants and married respondents almost vanish for a few items pertaining to particular traditional beliefs, such as life after death (-2 pts), the devil (-3 pts) and hell (-3 pts). The situation is reversed with respect to the belief in the soul with slightly more cohabitants adhering (+3 pts), and particularly with respect to the belief in reincarnation (+14 pts). The survey did not probe into other metaphysical and para-psychological beliefs, so that we cannot extrapolate the stronger belief in reincarnation among cohabitants toward the paranormal in general.

The religiosity dimension is, on the other hand, much weaker when single persons residing and not residing with parents are compared. The only major distinctions are a weaker belief in God among the single home-

leavers (-9 pts) and fewer of them being brought up religiously (-7 pts). Also praying and the belief in sin is weaker among them (-5 pts). Furthermore, it should be noted that the responses of those without partner are situated between those of cohabitants and married individuals (results in columns 1 and 2 between those in columns 3 and 4). Hence, it seems that the secularization dimension is particularly operative in the choice of type of union (selection), and/or that the choice of the latter tends to polarize the opinions with respect to religiosity (assertion).

### 3.2. Political attitudes

Differences with respect to political attitudes are studied in this paper via the approval of emancipation movements (human rights, anti-apartheid, women's liberation) and of the "green" agenda (ecology, anti-nuclear, disarmament movements), via the Inglehart "materialist-postmaterialist" scales, and via preferences for political parties.

Table 4 contains the outcome for the various political pressure groups. Again, the proportions expressing approval among the single living with their parents and those living separately fall between the proportions observed among the married and cohabitants. Except for the human rights and anti-apartheid movements, the differences between single-stayers and home-leavers are not large. A stronger polarization occurs when considering the contrast between cohabitants and married respondents, with cohabitants showing considerable greater support for all pressure groups, and for the women's liberation and anti-apartheid movements in particular. Hence, the responses according to living arrangement in Table 4 exhibit the same structure as those pertaining to religion in Table 3, with the stronger contrasts emerging between cohabitants and married couples.

The result for the Inglehart "materialist" versus "postmaterialist" distinction are reported in Table 5. Two operationalizations were used. In both instances respondents are being presented with four items, two of which containing a materialist concern with economic and physical security ("maintaining order", "fighting rising prices" in set 1 and "a stable economy" and "fight against crime" in set 2), and the other two containing a postmaterialist concern with grassroots democracy and autonomy ("giving people more say in government", "protecting freedom of speech" in set 1, and "less impersonal and more humane society", "society in which ideas count more than money" in set 2). At this point, it is essential to stress that Inglehart's term of "materialist" does not refer to high consumption aspirations (e.g. for luxury goods), as has been repeatedly misunderstood in the economic literature, but only to basic economic and physical security. In each set, respondents are requested to pick two items out of the four being presented. "Materialists" and "postmaterialists" are respectively those respondents who pick the two materialist or postmaterialist items in each set. The others constitute the mixed types.

As expected, both home-leavers and cohabitants contain smaller percentages of "materialists" and higher percentages of "postmaterialists". In this instance, the contrast already exists between single home-stayers and home-leavers, and does not widen any more

for set 2 when comparing cohabitants with married persons. Of all categories, married persons have the lowest proportion of "postmaterialists" and the highest proportion of "materialists", which is completely consistent with the findings reported for the early 1980s (Lesthaeghe and Meekers, 1986).

The distinctions continue to emerge with respect to political party preference. In Table 6, the results are presented by country as to allow for national differences in the political landscape.

The general picture across the countries is that single home-leavers and cohabitants, compared, as usual, to respectively home-stayers and married persons, have a considerably reduced preference for the Christian Democrats or the French Centre, and a very pronounced preference for the Green parties instead. The shift in voting intentions among those in the intermediate living arrangements further benefits the Social Democrats in Belgium, the Communists and extreme left in France, and the various Liberal parties in the Netherlands and Germany. Regional parties in Belgium and the extreme right in all countries are less attractive to single home-leavers than home-stayers, but this is not necessarily so among cohabitants compared to married respondents. Finally, the percentages of uncommitted persons among home-leavers and cohabitants is generally smaller in all countries than among home-stayers and married persons respectively.

The relative aversion for the Christian Democrats among those in the intermediate living arrangements obviously stems from the more anti-establishment outlook of home-leavers and cohabitants, and from a reaction against the pro-family and pronatalist stands of the Christian parties. The large shift towards the Greens is entirely consistent with the more pronounced "postmaterialist" outlook of single home-leavers and cohabitants. The larger attraction of the Liberal parties, particularly in the Netherlands, but to some extent also in Germany and among cohabitants in Belgium stems from the fact that the economic individualistic outlook as opposed to welfare state interventionism does ring a bell among a presumably wealthier segment of those in less conventional living arrangements. In Belgium and France, however, this is more than matched, especially among home-leavers (who are presumably in a more precarious position), by a greater preference for the left.

### 3.3. Family and social values

Under this heading we shall cover the topics of the perceived prerequisites for a successful marriage, the attitudes toward working women, the importance of children, the socialization values, attitudes with respect to public morality, and the attitudes toward sexuality.

In Table 7, the results are presented for the list of characteristics chosen as being important for a successful marriage. The respondents were presented with a list of 12 items and they had to indicate their preference on a three-point scale, ranging from "very important" to "not very important". The social exchange theory, as presented in the introduction, draws ample support from the results since the items most frequently quoted as being very important are all those

that stress reciprocity: mutual respect and appreciation, tolerance and understanding, and faithfulness. Home-leavers and cohabitants score consistently lower on faithfulness than home stayers and especially married couples, whereas the opposite holds for tolerance and understanding. This indicates that those in the intermediate living arrangements wish to maintain some latitude with respect to partner choice and commitment to this partner, and furthermore expect the partner to show tolerance and understanding for this weaker commitment. Home-leavers furthermore think more frequently that this can be combined with the maintenance of mutual respect and appreciation, but cohabitants tend to be more realistic in this respect. The latter score lowest on the item "mutual respect and appreciation" as a consequence.

The item concerning a happy sexual relationship does not provide any major differences according to living arrangement, but the importance of children for a successful marriage exhibits a very strong discriminating power. Single home-leavers stress this item much less than home-stayers (-12 percentage points), and cohabitants much less than married respondents (-20 pts). The items of faithfulness and children are consequently the most discriminating items in the entire battery.

Further down the ranking according to importance come the items concerning material conditions (adequate income, good housing) and those pertaining to social homogamy. In these respects, the differences between the single respondents according to living arrangement are small, but cohabitants have stressed these material items much less than married couples. The same holds for social homogamy with respect to sharing the same social or religious background. But on common tastes and politics, i.e. the two non-traditional items, cohabitants score slightly higher than married respondents.

The remaining item, i.e. sharing household chores, comes about in the middle of the overall ranking, but before the items concerning material conditions and social homogamy. As expected, cohabitants attach a greater importance to such symmetry than married respondents.

On the whole, this battery of questions sheds light on the required nature of relationships. It is therefore intimately connected to what the respondents define as "quality". The results confirm that especially cohabitants attach greater value to symmetrical relations with weaker commitments in terms of faithfulness, a greater orientation to the adult dyad and less to children, material conditions or social and religious backgrounds. In other words, individual autonomy less hampered by children and material considerations are still more strongly represented among cohabitants in the four countries concerned.

The importance of children is taken up in greater detail in Table 8. The differences reported here are again very striking and confirm with three additional items that home-leavers and cohabitants are far less oriented to having children than the others. In the fourth question pertaining to abortion in case a couple does not want any children, the ethical and reproduction issues are combined. This item therefore produces the strongest contrast between those in the intermediate living arrangements and those either at home or already in a marriage.

The opinions about the qualities to be stressed in the education of children, presented in Table 9, clearly demonstrate the great attachment to individual autonomy and the reduced weight of conformism among those in the intermediate living arrangements. Single home-leavers and cohabitants score much lower on the items concerning good manners, obedience, thrift, hard work and religious faith than single persons living with parents and married couples. By contrast, the former score higher on items that stress personality development such as independance and imagination in particular. The third group of items in the set pertain to social qualities: responsibility, tolerance and unselfishness. Since only 5 items could be picked from the entire list (as opposed to Likert-like ratings of each item) and since the conformism-related items were less attractive to those in the intermediate living arrangements, tolerance and unselfishness are emerging as more attractive to home-leavers and cohabitants. This is also in agreement with the overall higher tolerance among them for minorities and for socially more deviant groups. However, home-leavers and cohabitants do not score higher on responsibility, which is correlated with their reduced support for public morality as we shall now show.

In Table 10, 15 items pertaining to civic morality are presented. In all instances a 10-point scale has been used, with the score of 1 denoting "never justified" and 10 meaning "always justified". The percentages considering the act as "never justified" are compared across living arrangements.

The pattern of weakened public morality among those in the intermediate living arrangements holds for virtually all items considered. Single home-leavers score substantially lower than home-stayers (differences in excess of 10 percentage points) on 3 items, but cohabitants score much lower (same criterium) than married persons on 10 items in the battery of 15. Moreover, the proportions never justifying the acts of incivic behaviour are systematically lowest among single home-leavers. This not only holds for incursions of a material or economic nature (buying stolen goods, tax cheating, avoiding public transportation fares, claiming unentitled social benefits) but also for "law and order" items (taking drugs, fighting with police, political assassination). Hence, the notion that the replacement of conformism by individual autonomy would also be accompanied by a greater sense of responsibility in public life needs to be qualified. Those in intermediate living arrangements may display on average a greater degree of political involvement than the others (see Tables 4 and 6), but this can not be extended to matters concerning civic morality.

The attitudes concerning economic and domestic roles of women are presented in Table 11. The items were presented with response categories varying from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". All items that stress domestic duties score much lower among single home-leavers and cohabitants, whereas those that stress female economic autonomy and non-domestic roles are favoured. The pattern is, in addition, particularly clear for the comparison between cohabitants and married respondents. Moreover, single home-leavers exhibit the strongest preference for female economic activity and autonomy and are most aversive to female domestic roles.

Finally, the attitudes concerning sexual permissiveness are considered in Table 12. Again, the patterning is highly consistent across the various items. Home leavers have systematically smaller percentages than home-stayers never approving of married persons having an affair, of sexual contact with minors, of homosexuality and prostitution. They also have smaller proportions refusing homosexuals and AIDS-carriers as neighbours. More single home-leavers than home-stayers agree with complete sexual freedom and with abortion for non-married women. The contrast between cohabitants and married respondents goes in exactly the same direction, with the former having considerably greater tolerance for sexual permissiveness. Particularly the items of extra-marital sex and complete sexual freedom distinguish cohabitants from married respondents.

The comparison of these numerous items pertaining to a large variety of familial and social values unequivocally show that home-leavers and particularly cohabitants, compared respectively to home-stayers and married persons, exhibit on average more libertarian ideas and value individual moral and economic autonomy to a significantly greater extent. The patterns across the various domains and measured for a large sample are simply too consistent to be denied. Also, it should be pointed out that for certain dimensions single young adults are less differentiated according to whether they are still residing with parents or not, than those with a partner depending on whether they are cohabiting or married. However, on a number of moral and economic issues, home-leavers exhibit even more libertarian and autonomy-related attitudes than cohabitants.

### 3.4. Life-satisfaction

In this section we hypothesize that non-conformism and individual autonomy with respect to both partner relations and extra-familial relations is conducive to increase levels of frustration, uncertainty about the future and uneasiness with one's actual situation. As a consequence one can expect individuals in the intermediate living arrangements to exhibit on average higher degrees of dissatisfaction with life. The strife for "quality" in relationships combined with similar aspirations in the direction of self-recognition and self-fulfilment seems indeed an ambitious undertaking. Returns may not live up to such expectations.

The results for various indicators of life-satisfaction, reported in Table 13, bear this out, particularly if comparisons are made between cohabitants and married individuals, i.e. among all those who have a tangible experience of living with a partner. We shall therefore compare these two groups first.

Cohabitants report more frequently than married persons any sentiments associated with restlessness, remoteness from other people or solitude, depression or boredom. They feel less frequently that things were going their way and had more rarely a sentiment of exhaltation. They also think slightly more often about death and the meaning of life than married respondents. On the other hand, cohabitants took greater

pride in accomplishments, thereby signaling their greater need for personal recognition. When it comes to an overall life-satisfaction rating on a 10 point-scale, cohabitants locate themselves more frequently at the dissatisfied end, and considerably less often at the satisfied end of the scale than married respondents.

Among single persons not living with their parents, one could expect that their life satisfaction or lack thereof is related to a greater sense of loneliness, whereas among those still residing with their parents such feelings should be more connected to frustrations with parental interference. The results show indeed that home-leavers suffer more often from loneliness, and this seems to be translated in a slightly more frequent reporting of boredom and depression, more frequent thinking about the meaning of life and about death and an overall higher dissatisfaction score. Home-stayers, on the other hand, report slightly more frequently that they are upset because of criticism and their greater lack of freedom is reflected in greater temporary restlessness. The overall satisfaction with life is on average more positive than among home-leavers.

Across the entire battery of items collected in Table 13, the highest frequencies of items that signal dissatisfaction are located either in the category of single home-leavers or cohabitants. Married persons, to the contrary, have systematically the highest frequencies for positive evaluations and the lowest frequencies for negative evaluations of life satisfaction.

Apparently, life in the two intermediate living arrangements does not, on average, produce any greater happiness than that in the two conventional states.

#### 4. Value orientations and living arrangements: resistance to controls and gender differentials

Since the economic theories discussed in the introduction postulate that the sorting over the various living arrangements is directly a function of either female economic autonomy or of employment and career development opportunities, controls have been introduced for the following variables:

- a) education, measured as the age of school-leaving;
- b) income, measured as household income (individual income not being available);
- c) employment and stratification, measured as a categorical variable consisting of the following groups: employers & professionals, middle & junior level white collar, blue collar, students, housewives, unemployed.

The resistance of the association between values and living arrangement to the controls for these socio-economic position variables was tested via an analysis of covariance (F-tests). In all subsequent tables deviations from the overall value or attitudinal means (percentages) are reported according to living arrangement before and after controls. The sample has also been split up according to sex.

Before turning to details, two general findings should be reported. First, the association between values and living arrangement remain firmly resistant to the introduction of the controls. This indicates that the ideational filter in the selection process and the subsequent assertion of value orientations are important additional and partially autonomous processes over and beyond those produced by the economic factors. Second, the distinction according to sex proved worthwhile since particularly ethical and religious values are more closely associated with the living arrangements of women than of men. Furthermore, also the life satisfaction indicators tend to show greater variations according to living arrangement for women.

#### 4.1. Religious values

The association between living arrangement and a set of six religiosity indicators is presented in Table 14. The zero-order associations all remain intact after the controls for the three socio-economic position variables, and the net relationships are virtually always significant. The only exception is that the religious experience in the household of origin produces much less of a sorting effect among males than among females. On the whole, however, the religious dimension remains one of the strongest differentiators in the selection process in the four countries concerned.

#### 4.2. Political values

In Table 15 we have retained the Inglehart "postmaterialism" scales (set 2) and the approval of four political movements for further testing. The zero-order associations are equally robust to the controls and continue to confirm the expected differentials for both sexes: single home-leavers and cohabitants score higher on postmaterialism than home-stayers and married persons respectively. For women, this pattern holds further for the various political movements. For men, however, the latter associations are much weaker except for the attitudes concerning the women's movement. With respect to this variable, it seems that men with a partner are more favourable to the female movement than those without, and among the former, the most favourable attitude is found among male cohabitants. Overall, however, these political dimensions are more weakly associated with living arrangements than the religious ones.

#### 4.3. Ethical values

Ethical values and attitudes concerning civil morality are tested in Table 16. Again, the differentials according to living arrangement remain intact after the controls, and the strength of the associations are comparable in magnitude to those found for religious values. There are, however, major gender related differences. First, joyriding, the use of drugs, and the approval of abortion when a woman is not married or when no children are wanted are patterned in the classic way for both sexes: single home-leavers have more libertarian attitudes than home-stayers and the same holds to an even stronger degree for cohabitants

compared to married persons. But for the other items, gender-related differences emerge. For instance, men are more likely to agree with sexual freedom than women, and furthermore, there is a strong contrast between single home-leavers and home-stayers and again between married men and cohabitants. Among women, contrasts are weaker and rather juxtapose those without partner and those living in a union. The opposite is found with the items measuring intolerance toward homosexuals and AIDS-carriers. In this respect, women exhibit the classic distinction with intolerance being considerably more frequent among single home-stayers and married women than among single home-leavers and cohabitants respectively. Among men, intolerance to AIDS-carriers is slightly higher among home-leavers and cohabitants, which runs counter to our expectations. On the other hand, cohabiting men are less intolerant to homosexuals than married men, which is in line with the overall higher degree of tolerance for non-conformism among cohabitants.

#### 4.4. Family and social values

Tables 17 through 19 present the results for attitudes concerning female role patterns, the requirements for a successful marriage, and the socialization values. The controls for the socio-economic position variables rarely alter the association, and in several instances the contrasts across living arrangements become crisper after these controls. The differentiations among women tend again to be more pronounced than among men.

The results in Table 17 contain no surprise. Single home-leavers are considerably less inclined than single home-stayers to subscribe to conventional female role patterns. The distinctions between married persons and cohabitants operate in exactly the same direction, with the former being much more in favour of traditional female roles than the latter. The strength of the association, after controls, is particularly high for items related to children as life fulfilment for women, children suffering when mother works, and housewives having equal fulfilment.

These contrasts are largely repeated in Table 18 with respect to the items considered very important for a successful marriage. The most discriminating one for both sexes is the requirement of having children, with a particularly striking contrast between married persons and cohabitants. Also the item of faithfulness produces the expected distinctions after controls for socio-economic position variables, and this holds particularly for men. By contrast, the items of sharing tastes and interests and of sharing household chores are no longer related in a significant way to living arrangement among women.

The general pattern is continued with the socialization values presented in Table 19. The two items stressing conformity (good manners, thrift) score lower among single home-leavers and cohabitants compared respectively to single home-stayers and married persons. The opposite holds for the items concerning autonomy (independence, imagination), and the contrasts in this respect are considerably more pronounced among female than male respondents. The social attitudes (responsibility, respect for others), are slightly less varied according to living

arrangement, and contain the surprise that cohabiting women stress the item of responsibility less than married women.

In short, the conformity versus autonomy contrasts in the socialization values exhibits the expected variation according to living arrangement, but the items concerning responsibility and respect for others fail to support the hypothesis that single home-leavers and cohabitants combine a significantly greater sense of responsibility with their stressing of individual autonomy. This is concordant with the finding that the latter groups also score lower on the items connected with civil morality.

#### 4.5. Life satisfaction

Eight items from the life satisfaction battery are selected for further testing in Table 20. As in the previous sections, the controls for socio-economic position variables fail to alter the nature of the relationships. However, the links between living arrangement and life satisfaction indicators are much more pronounced and more clearly patterned for women than for men. For instance, only two of the eight items produce significant contrast for men, whereas this number amounts to six for women.

In the female pattern, single women not residing with their parents are consistently more frequently bored, depressed and lonely than single home-stayers. This is presumably connected to the fact that many single home-leavers are living on their own. By contrast, they feel more frequently proud because of a compliment and "on top of the world" or wonderful. Single female home-leavers seem to exhibit the more extreme feelings than their counterparts residing with parents who tend to have a pattern of greater emotional stability.

Cohabiting women, compared to married women, equally exhibit a pattern of greater frustration and dissatisfaction: they are more frequently bored, depressed, lonely, upset and less frequently pleased. Cohabiting women also report less often that they feel wonderful or that things are going their way. The only item that differentiates the other way around concerns being proud as a result of an accomplishment.

The patterning is further confirmed by the data in Table 21 concerning overall life-satisfaction. Single male home-leavers think more frequently about the meaning of life and death than home-stayers. Furthermore, home-leavers of either sex are more frequently found among the respondents reporting the lowest overall life satisfaction scores.

The pattern also holds for cohabitants irrespective of gender, with lower overall satisfaction scores than married persons. In short, it appears that home-leavers and cohabitants have higher expectations of what life or a partnership should yield, and may therefore be more easily frustrated or dissatisfied with reality. All of this is resistant to controls for current socio-economic position.

## 5. Conclusions

The process of selection into the various living arrangements according to the values and the experience during the formative years is undoubtedly a major element in the life course patterning of young adults. In several western societies the selectivity according to the domestic quality in the parental household has been well documented (e.g. Kiernan, 1992, for the UK; Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1990, for France; Thornton, 1991, and Aquilino, 1991, for the US). In all instances earlier home leaving and more cohabitation was found among individuals stemming from broken or reconstituted families. Frictions with parents equally increase these probabilities (e.g. Liefbroer, 1991, for the Netherlands). The selectivity is also strongly connected to the religious values in the household of origin, with children coming from secularized backgrounds having higher probabilities of earlier home-leaving and subsequent cohabitation (Liefbroer, 1991, and this study).

As documented for the late 1970s (e.g. Lee et al., 1987; Lesthaeghe and Meekers, 1986), the religious dimension has continued to play a major role in the sorting process (see also Sweet and Bumpass, 1990, for recent US results). The European Values Studies document that this holds equally for a wide array of items connected to ethical issues and civil morality. The 1990 EVS-data and those of the 1981-round show a remarkable stable patterning in this respect. This is echoed into the political dimensions as well: Inglehart's postmaterialism scale, voting behaviour and sympathy for reformist movements produce consistent patterns both at the end of the 1970s and of the 1980s. The autonomy element, typically stressed to a higher degree by home-leavers and cohabitants, is furthermore strongly reflected in the differences regarding female roles and particularly regarding the socialization values. The connection with the other familial values and especially with the importance of having children also emerges very clearly in this data set. This is entirely consistent with the results of Axinn and Thornton (1992) based on US-panel data, showing that a lower familial commitment at the onset lies at the core of the selection into cohabitation and subsequent union dissolution.

Last but not least, important differences in life satisfaction emerge according to living arrangement. More stable situations, such as marriage, are more conducive to increase life satisfaction, probably because individual autonomy and self-fulfilment are less accentuated, which in its turn facilitates the giving and taking within a partnership. More transient states, such as living separately or cohabitation, are associated with lower self-ratings on the life satisfaction scale and with sentiments of frustration. This seems indicative of a wider gap between aspirations and reality.

The major finding of this study is that the associations between the wide array of value orientations or life satisfaction and living arrangement are all resistant to controls for the current socio-economic position of respondents. This is probably connected to the findings of inter alia Inglehart (1990), Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (1988), and van Rysselt (1989) showing that religious, ethical and autonomy-related value orientations are strongly patterned according to the cohort model and much less according to economic life-cycle variations. Our findings

indicate that the selection filter according to these ideational dimensions operates among *all* social classes and at *all* income or educational levels. Admittedly the ideational filtering effect may be stronger in one socio-economic group than in the other (interactions), but the thesis that value orientations and living arrangements are merely codetermined by socio-economic position does not hold. Future research could profitably explore the nature of the interaction between socio-economic position and the strength of the value filter (cf. the gender related interactions found in this paper), which would constitute a major step forward toward the integration of the economic and sociological views on the matter.

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Tabel 1: Sample sizes according to age group and living arrangements in the pooled EVS-surveys of the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany (West), 1990

<u>Living arrangement</u>	Age		
	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>total</u>
- single, living with parents	343	85	428
- single, not living with parents	166	146	312
- with partner, cohabiting	115	145	260
- with parner, married	79	307	386
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	703	683	1386

Table 2: Sample sizes and distributions by living arrangement in the 1990 national EVS data sets; respondents aged 20-29

	Women, 20-24					Women 25-29				
	single, living with parents	single, not living with parents	cohabiting	married, or divorced	N	single, living with parents	single, not living with parents	cohabiting	married	N
Netherlands	25%	33%	23%	19%	106	2%	21%	15%	63%	106
France	36	20	24	18	55	7	10	23	59	69
Great Britain	40	14	24	22	68	10	7	15	68	81
Germany (West)	46	26	18	10	104	10	20	20	51	100
Belgium	48	7	18	27	138	15	6	11	68	141
Portugal	68	6	7	20	91	-	-	-	-	46
Spain	69	9	3	20	136	29	13	3	56	136
Ireland	72	15	4	9	54	28	14	2	56	57
Italy	83	8	2	6	138	45	15	1	38	143
men, 20-24						men, 25-29				
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	19
France	48	25	18	9	56	14	30	20	36	51
Great Britain	57	13	16	15	75	22	13	12	53	66
Germany (West)	67	19	7	7	116	14	25	23	38	103
Belgium	61	15	10	13	145	36	13	12	38	175
Portugal	79	9	0	12	125	32	9	1	59	60
Spain	83	8	2	6	138	45	15	1	38	143
Ireland	82	16	2	0	61	-	-	-	-	38
Italy	78	5	2	16	100	44	4	3	50	108

Note: percentages do not always add up to 100 because of rounding; percentages based on 50 cases or less are not reported.

Table 3: Indicators of religiosity according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France, 1990 (N = 1386)

	Without partner			With partner			Total
	living with parents (1)	not living with parents (2)	difference (2) - (1)	married (3)	cohabiting (4)	difference (4) - (3)	(5)
A. Attends religious service at least once a month (a)	14.7	12.4	-2.3	16.3	5.0	-11.3	12.8%
Never, practically never attends a religious service	40.2	44.1	+3.9	41.5	61.9	+20.4	45.5%
B. Gets comfort and strength from religion (b)	26.2	24.6	-1.6	35.5	20.9	-14.6	27.2%
C. Prays to God outside religious services (c) "often + sometimes"	28.1	23.0	-5.1	35.1	17.2	-17.9	26.9%
D. Believes in ..... (positive answers)							
- God	57.6	48.9	-8.7	68.6	38.5	-30.1	55.2%
- Life after death	41.1	43.9	+2.8	44.4	42.0	-2.4	42.9%
- Soul	64.9	66.9	+2.0	55.9	59.0	+3.1	61.8%
- Devil	12.2	14.5	+2.3	16.9	14.2	-2.7	14.4%
- Hell	10.8	12.9	+2.1	12.3	9.8	-2.5	11.5%
- Heaven	27.0	25.1	-1.9	32.8	19.9	-12.9	26.7%
- Sin	44.9	39.4	-5.5	47.4	30.6	-16.8	41.5%
- Resurrection	28.6	23.7	-4.9	30.1	18.6	-11.5	12.0%
- Re-incarnation	27.1	29.0	+1.9	19.0	32.9	+13.9	26.4%
E. Brought up religiously (positive answers)	61.4	54.4	-7.0	59.4	42.6	-16.8	55.8%
F. Considers shared religious belief as very important for a successful marriage (d)	6.9	8.8	+1.9	11.2	1.8	-9.4	7.6%

a) Excluding weddings, christenings and funerals.

b) Response categories were: yes, no, don't know.

c) Response categories were: often, sometimes, hardly ever, only in times of crisis, never, don't know.

d) Respondents were to pick up to 5 qualities in a list of 10.

Table 4: Attitudes toward political pressure groups, according to living arrangements; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France, 1990 (N = 1339)

	Without partner			With partner			Total		
	living with parents	not living with parents	difference	married	cohabiting	difference			
				(1)	(2)	(2) - (1)	(3)	(4)	(4) - (3)
<b>Approves of:</b>									
- Human rights movement	58.0	67.1	+9.1	61.4	67.5	+6.1	62.8%		
- Ecology movement	61.0	58.4	-1.6	56.3	63.4	+7.1	59.5%		
- Anti-apartheid movement	50.0	55.7	+5.7	51.0	60.2	+9.2	53.5%		
- Disarmament movement	42.4	44.0	+1.6	40.5	45.6	+5.1	42.9%		
- Anti-nuclear movement	32.8	32.4	-0.4	35.0	38.0	+3.0	34.3%		
- Women's movement	20.9	20.6	-0.3	17.6	27.4	+9.8	21.1%		

Response categories were "approve strongly", "approve somewhat", "disapprove somewhat", "disapprove strongly"; the figures above refer to the first two response categories.

Table 5: Inglehart "Materialism-Postmaterialism" scale, according to living arrangements; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990 (N=1328)

	Without partner			With partner			Total (5)	
	Living with parents (1)	not living with parents (2)	difference (2) - (1)	married (3)	cohabiting (4)	difference (4) - (3)		
<b>Set 1</b>								
% "materialists" choosing - maintaining order - <u>and</u> fighting rising prices	9.4	7.0	-2.4	18.3	11.0	-7.3	11.6	
% "postmaterialists" choosing - giving people more say in government - <u>and</u> protecting freedom of speech	34.8	45.3	+10.5	23.5	45.9	+22.4	36.1	
<b>Set 2</b>								
% "materialists" choosing - a stable economy - <u>and</u> fight against crime	28.8	13.5	-15.3	32.7	22.3	-10.4	25.2	
% "postmaterialists" choosing - less impersonal and more humane society - <u>and</u> society in which ideas count more than money	19.7	32.9	+23.2	13.4	27.1	+13.7	22.3	

Table 6: Political party preference, according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France, 1990

"If there were a general election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?"	Without partner			With partner			Total	
	living with parents	not living with parents	difference	married	cohabiting	difference		
<b>A. Belgium (N=510)</b>								
- Christian democrats (CVP, PSC)	17%	6	-11	21	6	-15	16	
- Social democrats (SP, PS)	10	27	+17	26	36	+10	21	
- Liberals (PVV, PRL)	25	21	-4	13	19	+6	20	
- Green parties (AGALEV, ECOLO)	25	39	+14	20	31	+11	25	
- Regional parties (VU, FDF)	2	0	-2	5	0	-5	3	
- Extreme right (Vlaams Blok)	3	0	-3	2	0	-2	2	
- No preference	19	6	-13	13	8	-5	14	
<b>B. Netherlands (N=225)</b>								
- Christian democrats (CDA)	44	13	-31	18	10	-8	22	
- Social democrats (PvdA)	22	11	-11	32	17	-5	25	
- Liberals (VVD)	7	11	+4	4	18	+14	9	
- Progressive liberals (D66)	13	32	+19	21	28	+7	24	
- Green party	0	22	+22	5	10	+5	10	
- Other	6	4	-2	7	3	-4	5	
- no preference	9	7	-2	13	15	+2	11	
<b>C. Germany (N=368)</b>								
- Christian democrats (CDU, CSU)	32	20	-12	28	20	-8	26	
- Social democrats (SPD)	38	40	+2	46	44	-2	41	
- Liberals (FDP)	5	8	+3	8	13	+5	8	
- Green party	15	23	+8	10	14	+4	15	
- Extreme right (NPD, Republ.)	2	3	-1	1	2	+1	2	
- no preference	7	5	-2	7	9	-2	7	
<b>D. France (N=159)</b>								
- Centre (UDF-RPR)	21	18	-3	15	3	-12	15	
- Socialists	38	39	+1	42	26	-17	37	
- Communist & extreme left	2	6	+4	8	10	+2	6	
- Green parties	13	21	+8	17	45	+28	22	
- Extreme right (Front Natl.)	4	3	-1	0	3	+3	3	
- No preference	21	12	-9	19	13	-6	17	

Note: percentages are rounded

Table 7: Factors perceived as contributing to a successful marriage; according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France, 1990  
(N=1385)

Considers as "very important" for a successful marriage (a):	Without partner			With partner			Total
	living with parents	not living with parents	difference	married	cohabiting	difference	
	(1)	(2)	(2) - (1)	(3)	(4)	(4) - (3)	(5)
- Mutual respect and appreciation	78.4	85.2	+6.8	83.2	78.2	-5.0	81.2%
- Tolerance and understanding	75.2	82.2	+7.0	71.8	75.9	+4.1	76.0%
- Faithfulness	74.3	62.2	-12.1	82.1	66.9	-15.2	72.4%
- Happy sexual relationship	64.7	64.9	+0.2	68.0	65.1	-2.9	65.7%
- children	41.6	31.0	-11.6	64.7	45.0	-19.7	46.4%
- Sharing household chores	31.0	31.8	+0.8	31.3	37.7	+6.4	32.5%
- Tastes and interests in common	38.7	35.5	-3.2	37.6	39.7	+2.1	37.9%
- Adequate income	27.2	22.9	-4.3	31.8	23.7	-8.1	26.9%
- Good housing	20.8	23.3	+2.5	34.4	23.4	-10.0	25.7%
- Being of the same social background	12.9	10.4	-2.5	13.6	6.4	-7.2	11.2%
- Sharing the same religious convictions	6.9	8.8	+1.9	11.2	1.8	-9.4	7.6%
- Agreement on politics	4.2	5.7	+1.5	2.9	5.9	+3.0	4.5%

(a) Response categories were: very important, rather important, not very important

Table 8: Importance of children; according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France, 1990 (N=1368)

	Without partner			With partner			Total (5)
	living with parents (1)	not living with parents (2)	difference (2) - (1)	married (3)	cohabiting (4)	difference (4) - (3)	
A. Having children is <u>NOT</u> very important for a successful marriage (a)	19.1	27.8	+8.7	8.0	24.6	+16.6	18.9%
B. Ideal number of children equals 3 or more	34.6	41.0	+6.4	41.4	35.5	-5.9	38.1%
C. A woman needs to have children to be fulfilled (b)	44.7	30.5	-14.2	55.4	41.5	-13.9	43.9%
D. Approves of abortion if couple desires no children (c)	34.1	50.4	+16.3	30.7	53.7	+23.0	40.5%

(a) Categories were: very important, rather important, not very important

(b) Categories were: needs children, not necessary, don't know

(c) Categories were: approve, disapprove

Table 9: Socialization qualities according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990 (N=1382)

Chose as one of the most important qualities for children to be learned at home (a)	Without partner			With partner			Total	
	Living with parents	not living with parents	difference (2) - (1)	married	cohabiting	difference (4) - (3)		
A. - good manners	67.1	54.5	-12.6	66.6	55.3	-11.3	61.9%	
- obedience	27.2	31.5	+4.3	35.4	31.2	-4.2	31.2%	
- thrift	29.1	17.1	-12.0	38.3	21.7	-16.6	27.6%	
- hard work	29.1	17.1	-12.0	26.6	22.4	-4.2	24.5%	
- religious faith	9.4	9.4	0.0	11.6	1.6	-10.0	8.5%	
B. - independence	58.5	62.8	+4.3	52.7	61.6	+8.4	58.4%	
- imagination	34.7	50.6	+15.9	25.2	46.9	+21.7	37.9%	
- perseverance, determination	44.2	44.9	+0.7	37.8	42.4	+4.6	42.2%	
C. - responsibility	81.1	80.7	-0.4	80.6	78.8	-1.8	80.4%	
- tolerance and respect for others	79.9	85.6	+5.7	74.3	84.1	+9.8	80.4%	
- unselfishness	15.4	28.5	+13.1	28.4	30.2	+1.8	24.7%	

(a) Respondents were requested to pick up to 5 socialization qualities as the more important ones in a list of 10.

Table 10: Attitudes concerning public morality according to living arrangements; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990 (N=1375)

Considers as NEVER justified (a)	Without partner			With partner			Total
	living with parents		difference	married		cohabiting	
	(1)	(2)	(2) - (1)	(3)	(4)	(4) - (3)	(5)
- taking drugs marijuana or hashish	70	50	-20	85	62	-23	68
- buying something you know was stolen	48	41	-7	60	40	-20	49
- cheating on tax if you had a chance	31	20	-11	41	22	-19	31
- avoiding fare on public transport	34	26	-8	48	30	-18	38
- claiming unentitled state benefits	37	28	-9	46	30	-16	36
- fighting with police	29	17	-12	44	29	-15	31
- keeping found money	17	11	-6	26	14	-12	20
- joyriding	76	76	0	85	73	-12	78
- failing to report damage accidentally done	38	36	-2	60	50	-10	47
- political assassination	70	65	-5	72	62	-10	69
- accepting a bribe in course of duty	45	50	+5	56	51	-5	51
- littering in public place	59	55	-4	65	62	-3	61
- lying in self interest	13	12	-1	20	18	-2	16
- driving under influence of alcohol	56	54	-2	65	67	+2	60
- threatening workers who refuse to join strike	68	60	-8	67	71	+4	66

(a) Percentage with score = 1 (never justified) on a 10-point acceptability scale (10 = always justified)

Table 11: Attitudes concerning working women and mothers, according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France, 1990 (N=1330)

"Strongly agrees" or "agrees" with the following statements: (a)	Without partner			With partner			Total	
	Living with parents (1)	not living with parents (2)	difference (2) - (1)	married (3)	cohabiting (4)	difference (4) - (3)		
A. A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works	71.8	57.7	-14.1	65.5	55.8	-9.7	63.9%	
B. Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay	46.1	35.3	-10.8	61.7	36.5	-25.2	46.7%	
C. A job is alright, but what most women really want is a home and children	41.6	32.2	-9.4	56.2	45.9	-10.3	44.4%	
D. A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work	59.2	75.3	+16.1	61.3	68.9	+7.6	65.3	
E. Both husband and wife should contribute to household income	75.2	73.9	-1.3	62.1	75.7	+13.6	71.3%	
F. Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person	81.9	82.1	+0.2	69.7	79.4	+9.7	78.1%	

(a) Response categories were: strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, don't know

Table 12: Attitudes toward sexuality according to living arrangement, respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France, 1990 (N=1386)

	Without partner			With partner			Total
	living with parents	not living with parents	difference (2) - (1)	married	cohabiting	difference (4) - (3)	
				(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)
<b>A. Never approves of (a):</b>							
- married women/men having an affair	26.8	16.2	-10.6	43.4	20.5	-22.9	28.1%
- sex under the age of consent (18 years)	19.2	15.9	-3.3	32.4	20.7	-11.7	22.4%
- homosexuality	22.9	13.0	-9.9	25.8	18.4	-7.4	20.6%
- prostitution	27.5	19.4	-8.1	29.3	22.5	-6.8	25.2%
<b>B. Agrees with: "Individuals should have the chance to enjoy complete sexual freedom, without being restricted (b)</b>							
	46.1	52.3	+6.2	35.5	49.1	+13.6	45.2%
<b>C. Would rather <u>NOT</u> have as neighbours (c):</b>							
- homosexuals	24.4	15.9	-8.5	21.1	11.1	-10.0	19.1%
- persons with AIDS	15.8	9.7	-6.1	17.1	12.5	-4.6	14.9%
<b>D. Abortion justified if woman is not married (d)</b>							
	27.0	45.4	+18.4	22.5	34.3	+11.8	31.2%

(a) Response categories were: 10-point scale from "never justified" to "always justified"; percentages above correspond with extreme score "never justified".

(b) Response categories were: tends to agree, tends to disagree, neither/it depends, don't know.

(c) Specific groups could be picked as not desired as neighbours from a list of 14 groups.

(d) Response categories were: approve, disapprove.

Table 13: Individual emotions and life satisfaction according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany (N=1385)

	Without partner			With partner			Total								
	living with parents (1)	not living with parents (2)	difference (2) - (1)	married (3)	cohabiting (4)	difference (4) - (3)									
<b>A. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel....</b>															
(positive answers) :															
- so restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair?	48.1	42.3	-5.8	35.0	41.5	+6.5	41.9%								
- very lonely or remote from other people?	27.8	32.7	+4.9	15.8	27.7	+11.9	25.6%								
- upset because somebody criticized you?	24.1	22.4	-1.7	23.1	26.5	+3.4	23.9%								
- depressed or very unhappy?	29.4	32.4	+3.0	21.0	29.2	+8.2	27.7%								
- bored?	32.5	35.9	+3.4	23.6	33.1	+9.5	31.0%								
- proud because someone had complimented you on something you have done?	65.2	65.1	-0.1	51.6	61.5	+9.9	60.7%								
- pleased about having accomplished something?	84.1	86.9	+2.8	77.5	77.3	-0.2	81.5%								
- that things were going your way?	53.9	57.4	+3.5	62.7	55.8	-6.9	57.5%								
- on top of the world; feeling that life is wonderful?	51.6	47.1	-4.5	54.9	50.8	-4.1	51.3%								
<b>B. How often, if at all, do you think about....</b> :															
- the meaning and purpose of life?	72.6	76.6	+4.0	74.6	77.4	+2.8	74.9%								
- death?	44.3	50.3	+6.0	46.2	50.4	+4.2	47.4%								
(answers = "often" and "sometimes")															
<b>C. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?</b> :															
- not satisfied (scores 1, 2, 3)	3.3	5.4	+2.1	0.5	6.2	+5.7	3.5%								
- satisfied (scores 8, 9, 10)	50.5	45.2	-5.3	57.3	44.7	-12.6	50.1%								

Table 14: Selected religiosity indicators according to living arrangements before and after controls for socio-economic position variables; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990

A. MEN (N=490)	% Believe in God		% Religiously brought up		% Believe in sin		% Pray outside church		% Picking religious faith as socialization value		% Belief in reincarnation	
	mean		49% deviations		53% deviations		39% deviations		22% deviations		7% deviations	
	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	+3	+5	+3	+3	+9	+10	+7	+7	+2	+3	-5	-6
- single, not with parents	-5	-6	-1	-1	-4	-7	-5	-5	-2	-2	+1	+3
- married	+15	+14	+2	+2	+6	+8	+1	+2	+4	+4	-7	-8
- cohabiting	-14	-15	-5	-6	-14	-14	-6	-7	-6	-6	+12	+13
eta/beta	.20	.21**	.06	.06	.18	.20**	.13	.14*	.14	.14*	.17	.20**
B. WOMEN (N=530)												
mean	61%		52%		42%		30%		9%		30%	
	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	+6	+2	+11	+9	+1	-1	-2	-1	+11	+9	+11	+10
- single, not with parents	-4	-3	-2	-4	+1	-3	-4	-4	+0	-2	+2	+5
- married	+11	+12	+4	+7	+5	+8	+11	+11	-1	+2	-8	-9
- cohabiting	-19	-19	-13	-14	-9	-10	-12	-12	-7	-8	+3	+2
eta/beta	.24	.25**	.17	.18**	.11	.14*	.20	.20**	.20	.20**	.15	.16*

Notes: \* distinctions according to living arrangements significant at .05 level (after controls)

\*\* idem, at .01 level

BC = before controls, AC = after controls for employment and stratification, income and education

Table 15: Selected political attitudes according to living arrangements before and after controls for socio-economic position variables; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990

A. MEN (N=490)	% Postmaterialists (set 2)		% Approving of							
			Anti-Apartheid movement		Human Right movement		Ecology movement		Women's movement	
	mean	21% deviations	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	-6	-4	+0	+0	-2	-3	+8	+5	-2	-1
- single, not with parents	+14	+9	+0	-1	+0	-1	-6	-4	-5	-7
- married	-12	-9	+3	+4	+0	+1	-3	-1	+0	+1
- cohabiting	+5	+4	-3	-4	+3	+4	-2	-1	+10	+10
eta/beta	.24	.17**	.04	.06	.04	.05	.11	.07	.14	.15*

B. WOMEN (N=530)	24%		56%		64%		64%		24%	
	mean	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC
- single, with parents	-3	-3	-10	-10	-13	-15	-1	-1	+4	+6
- single, not with parents	+7	+2	+7	+2	+11	+8	+7	+6	+6	+1
- married	-7	-4	-4	-2	-1	+1	-7	-7	-6	-5
- cohabiting	+7	+7	+8	+9	+4	+3	+6	+7	+1	+2
eta/beta	.15	.11	.14	.12	.16	.15*	.13	.12	.12	.09

Notes: \* distinctions according to living arrangement significant at .05 level (after controls)

\*\* idem, at .01 level

BC = before controls, AC = after controls for employment and stratification, income and education

Table 16: Selected ethical and civil morality attitudes according to living arrangement before and after controls for socio-economic position variables; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990

A. MEN (N=490)	% Never approving of:						% Agree with complete sexual freedom		% Approving of abortion if:				% Not wanted as neighbours:											
	Joyriding		Use of drugs		Tax evasion				No children wanted		Woman not married		Homosexuals		AIDS-patients									
	mean	78% deviations	BC	AC	67% deviations	BC	AC	24% deviations	BC	AC	51% deviations	BC	AC	42% deviations	BC	AC	32% deviations	BC	AC	24% deviations	BC	AC	13% deviations	BC
- single, with parents	-1	-2	+6	+8	+4	+5	-5	-2	-14	-13	-11	-8	+5	+6	-4	-4								
- single, not with parents	+1	+4	-20	-20	-5	-5	+10	+12	+7	+4	+8	+4	+0	-1	+5	+7								
- married	+8	+7	+19	+17	+6	+6	-13	-17	-5	-3	-5	-4	+1	+0	-2	-3								
- cohabiting	-9	-9	-5	-6	-7	-7	+8	+6	+18	+19	+12	+13	-8	-8	+1	+1	+2	+2	+2	+2	+2	+2	+2	+2
eta/beta	.14	.14*	.31	.30**	-.13	-.13	.18	.22**	.24	.23**	.20	.17*	.10	.11	.10	.13								
B. WOMEN (N=530)																								
mean	79%		69%		37%		42%		41%		29%		15%		14%									
- single, with parents	-7	-9	+0	+1	-1	-2	+7	+6	-2	-4	+2	-1	+14	+18	+13	+15								
- single, not with parents	-5	-3	-21	-19	-17	-11	+4	+4	+13	+7	+19	+14	-7	-10	-11	-11								
- married	+9	+9	+15	+13	+16	+13	-4	-3	-13	-8	-11	-6	+1	+1	+2	+0								
- cohabiting	-4	-5	-6	-5	-10	-10	-2	-2	+11	+9	-1	-1	-7	-7	-7	-3	+2	+0	-3	-3	-3	-3	-3	-3
eta/beta	.17	.18**	.29	.25**	.28	.22**	.08	.08	.23	.15*	.24	.16*	.21	.26**	.22	.24**								

Notes: \* distinctions according to living arrangement significant at .05 level (after controls)

\*\* idem, at .01 level

BC = before controls, AC = after controls for employment and stratification, income and education

Table 17: Attitudes concerning female roles according to living arrangement before and after controls for socio-economic position variables; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990

A. MEN (N=490)		% Agreeing with the following statement:									
		Women need children for life fulfilment		Pre-school children suffer if mother works		Housewife has equal fulfilment		Both husband and wife should contribute to hhld. income		Job best way for women to establish independence	
mean		39% deviations		67% deviations		48% deviations		67% deviations		75% deviations	
		BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	+0	+4	+6	+5	+5	+5	+5	+0	-2	+2	+1
- single, not with parents	-10	-13	-9	-7	-10	-10	-10	+3	+6	+2	+3
- married	+10	+9	+1	-2	+12	+11	+11	-16	-16	-9	-8
- cohabiting	+2	+2	+1	+3	-10	-10	-10	+14	+14	+4	+4
eta/beta	.14	.18**	.12	.10	.19	.18**	.21	.22**	.11	.11	
B. WOMEN (N=530)											
mean		43%		62%		47%		71%		79%	
		BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	-7	-3	+17	+23	-2	+2	+2	+11	+6	+7	+3
- single, not with parents	-17	-17	+1	+4	-20	-17	-17	+4	-3	+13	+10
- married	+14	+12	+0	-6	+20	+15	+15	-9	-2	-11	-6
- cohabiting	-3	-3	-12	-11	-14	-12	-12	+3	+1	-1	-2
eta/beta	.24	.22**	.20	.25**	.33	.27**	.16	.07	.23	.14*	

Notes: \* distinctions according to living arrangement significant at .05 level (after controls)

\*\* idem, at .01 level

BC = before controls, AC = after controls for employment and stratification, income and education

Table 18: Items considered as very important for a successful marriage according to living arrangement before and after controls for socio-economic position variables; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990

A. MEN (N=490)	% Faithfulness		% Having children		% sharing similar tastes		% sharing household chores	
mean	72% deviations		36% deviations		37% deviations		29% deviations	
	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	+4	+5	-7	-5	+4	+1	-4	+0
- single, not with parents	-13	-11	-9	-10	-6	-6	-3	-9
- married	+12	+10	+23	+22	-6	-5	+4	+7
- cohabiting	-2	-3	-4	-5	+10	+12	+4	+4
eta/beta	.20	.18**	.27	.25**	.14	.13*	.09	.13*
B. WOMEN (N=530)								
mean	74%		50%		40%		36%	
- single, with parents	+2	+3	-16	-14	-2	+0	+0	-5
- single, not with parents	-2	+8	-22	-18	+1	+1	+5	+5
- married	+6	+0	+18	+15	+3	+2	-4	-1
- cohabiting	-9	-9	+2	+3	-5	-4	+3	+1
eta/beta	.14	.13*	.32	.28**	.07	.05	.07	.06

Notes: \* distinctions according to living arrangement significant at .05 level (after controls)

\*\* idem, at .01 level

BC = before controls, AC = after controls for employment and stratification, income and education

Table 19: Selected socialization attitudes according to living arrangement before and after controls for socio-economic position variables; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990

A. MEN (N=490)		% stressing socialization value (selection of 5 most important ones in list of 11)											
mean		Good manners		Thrift		Independence		Imagination		Responsibility		Respect for others	
		56% deviations		25% deviations		63% deviations		41% deviations		81% deviations		79% deviations	
		BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	+6	+2	+1	+1	+6	+4	-8	-5	+2	-1	-2	-4	
- single, not with parents	+0	+5	-5	-4	-1	-2	+9	+5	-6	-5	+6	+5	
- married	+5	+2	+14	+13	-3	+0	-4	-2	+2	+3	-6	-4	
- cohabiting	-14	-13	-11	-11	-4	-2	+5	+4	+3	+4	+3	+4	
eta/beta	.14	.13*	.20	.19**	.08	.05	.15	.09	.09	.09	.11	.10	
B. WOMEN (N=530)													
mean		62%		29%		62%		37%		81%		79%	
		BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
		+8	+8	-4	-5	+8	+7	-1	-1	+5	+1	-2	-2
- single, with parents	+8	+8	-4	-5	+8	+7	-1	-1	+5	+1	-2	-2	
- single, not with parents	-15	-18	-10	-11	+9	+13	+17	+8	+6	+9	+9	+6	
- married	+5	+6	+9	+10	-8	-10	-17	-12	-1	+0	-7	-4	
- cohabiting	+0	-1	-3	-4	+0	+0	+13	+13	-7	-8	+5	+4	
eta/beta	.16	.19**	.17	.19**	.15	.18**	.29	.21**	.13	.15*	.15	.10	

Notes: \* distinctions according to living arrangements significant at .05 level (after controls)

\*\* idem, at .01 level

BC = before controls, AC = after controls for employment and stratification, income and education

Table 20: Life satisfaction indicators according to living arrangement before and after controls for socio-economic position variables; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, 1990

A. MEN (N=490)		During the last few weeks, did you ever feel.... (positive answers)															
		% bored		% depressed		% Lonely		% upset (criticism)		% pleased (accomplish- ment)		% proud (compliment)		% wonderful		% things going my way	
mean		31% deviations		27% deviations		28% deviations		24% deviations		79% deviations		62% deviations		49% deviations		58% deviations	
		BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	-1	-1	+3	+7	+3	+4	-2	+1	+0	-3	+5	+4	-3	-4	-6	-8	
- single, not with parents	-1	+1	-1	-4	+4	+3	+0	-2	+2	+6	+8	+10	-7	-8	+5	+6	
- married	+3	+2	-1	-2	-8	-8	+4	+2	-4	-4	-11	-13	+7	+9	+4	+4	
- cohabiting	-1	-2	-2	-4	+0	-1	+0	-2	+2	+2	-5	-5	+5	+6	-2	-1	
eta/beta	.04	.03	.05	.11	.11	.11	.05	.04	.07	.12	.16	.18**	.11	.13*	.09	.11	
B. WOMEN (N=530)																	
mean		30%		31%		28%		25%		79%		64%		55%		59%	
		BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	-1	-1	+5	+6	+0	-3	+4	+3	+12	+9	+12	+9	+3	-3	-2	-6	
- single, not with parents	+14	+14	+14	+11	+15	+14	+0	-1	+7	+6	+12	+13	+7	+6	-6	-6	
- married	-12	-13	-11	-10	-11	-9	-7	-6	-3	+0	-12	-12	-2	+3	+5	+8	
- cohabiting	+9	+9	+1	+2	+5	+5	+7	+7	-10	-11	+0	+0	-5	-6	-2	-4	
eta/beta	.23	.24**	.20	.18*	.22	.19**	.13	.12	.19	.17**	.21	.21**	.09	.09	.09	.13*	

Notes: \* distinctions according to living arrangement significant at .05 level (after controls)

\*\* idem, at .01 level

BC = before controls, AC = after controls for employment and stratification, income and education

Table 21: Life satisfaction indicators according to living arrangement (continued)

A. MEN (N=490)	% "often" or "sometimes" think about:				Life-satisfaction overall			
	the meaning of life		death		% not satisfied (scores 0,1,2)		% satisfied (scores 8,9,10)	
	70% deviations		38% deviations		3% deviations		46% deviations	
mean	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	-7	-9	-7	-8	-3	-2	+5	+4
- single, not with parents	+2	+5	+4	+3	+2	+2	+0	+2
- married	+2	+2	+4	+6	-2	-3	+2	+0
- cohabiting	+6	+5	+2	+1	+3	+3	-9	-9
eta/beta	.11	.14*	.10	.11	.17	.14*	.10	.10

B. WOMEN (N=530)	79%				54%			
	mean				5%		55%	
	79%				5%		55%	
mean	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC	BC	AC
- single, with parents	+0	+2	+0	-1	+1	+2	+3	+4
- single, not with parents	+2	-3	-2	-6	+2	+1	-9	-5
- married	-2	+0	-3	+0	-4	-4	+8	+5
- cohabiting	+0	+1	+7	+6	+3	+3	-8	-7
eta/beta	.04	.04	.08	.08	.14	.14*	.15	.11

Notes: \* distinctions according to living arrangement significant at .05 level (after controls)

\*\* idem, at .01 level

BC = before controls, AC = after controls for employment and stratification, income and education